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THE LAKHERS

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A SABEU GIRL.

THE LAKHERS

BY

N. E. PARRY

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY

DR. J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Published by direction of the Government of Assam

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1932

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MIZO RAMA KUM LI HLIMTAK
HRIATRENGNAN

LUNGPUI PAWH LUNGTE-IN A KAMKILO
CHUAN A AWM THEILO

PREFACE

THIS account of the Lakhers was originally intended to be a brief record of those customs concerning which litigation most often arises, in order to facilitate an equitable decision of such disputes as the chiefs may be unable to settle. So interwoven with the whole life of the people, however, are all Lakher customs, that I soon realised that the record would be incomplete if confined to those points on which cases might arise, as without some knowledge of the daily life of the people, it is impossible to appreciate either their point of view or the practical effect of their customs. This book therefore has expanded beyond its original scope. I have, however, kept in view throughout the object with which I started, and have endeavoured to give a clear and detailed account of all customs which are likely to come before the courts. All those, I think, who have had the good fortune to serve in the Assam hills will agree as to the importance to an official of a thorough knowledge of the customs and languages of the tribes under his charge, and it is in the hope that it may be of some use both to the friendly and picturesque people with whom it deals and to those who have to control their destinies that this book has been written. I held charge of the Lushai Hills district in which the Lakher country is situated from February 1924 to April 1928. It was in 1924 that the hitherto independent Zeuhnang and Sabeu villages lying between Assam and Burma were first brought under control, so I was fortunate enough to be able to observe the customs of those groups of the tribe while they were still practically untouched by foreign influences.

I am deeply indebted to many Lakhers and Lusheis for much invaluable help while making my inquiries. Without the ungrudging assistance rendered me throughout by Chhali and Chhinga, the former a Lakher and the latter a Lushei interpreter, both of intelligence above the average and both keenly interested in their tribal customs, I could

not possibly have completed this work. Others who willingly told me all they could, though they must at times have been sadly bored at what they doubtless felt were tedious inquiries—one of the Savang chieflings going so far as to compose a couplet expressing their feelings on the subject, which they afterwards sang to me—are Taiveu, chief of Savang; Rachi, chief of Chapi; Zahia, chief of Paitha; Deutha, chief of Vahia; Tlaiko, chief of Tiahra; Khangcheh, macha of Savang; Sarong, macha of Saiko; Khama, Lushei interpreter, and many other chiefs and elders from all the Lakher villages. I must not omit to mention the clerical work done for me by Saighninga, Saitowna, and Zialunga of the Aijal office and the typing done by Chhinga, the Aijal typist, and by Debendra Chisim, the Garo typist of the Tura office. To Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., I owe very many thanks indeed for much advice and assistance, and also for his introduction and notes. I am indebted to Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., for very kindly allowing me to reproduce his list of Lai words from Vol. 3, Part III, of *The Linguistic Survey of India*. To the Rev. F. W. Savidge, till a few years ago of Serkawn, near Lungleh, my thanks are due for allowing me to make free use of his Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher language. Miss Hughes of the Welsh mission at Aijal kindly reduced the Lakher tunes to tonic solfa for me, for which I am most grateful, and to Rev. R. A. Lorrain of Saiko I am indebted for information on certain points. The plants given in the list in Appendix VII were all collected by my wife. For identifying most of these plants and for much help in drawing up the list I have to thank Mr. C. E. C. Fischer of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and for identifying a number of other specimens I am indebted to the Curator of the Herbarium at Sibpur Botanical Gardens. Of the illustrations, for the photographs I am indebted to my wife and to Miss Lorrain of Saiko, for the originals of the coloured plates to Miss Daria Haden and for the drawings to Miss Ruth Wood and Mr. W. B. Morrall of the School of Art at Exeter.

N. E. PARRY.

August 1931.

INTRODUCTION

MR. PARRY'S monograph on the Lakhers is primarily important as being a record of an Assam hill tribe taken before annexation and administration have had time to modify its primitive customs and mode of life, for the Lakhers have been independent and unadministered until the last few years, and generally detailed accounts of this kind are not obtained until a tribe have been administered for some time, and their customs and outlook have been modified in consequence, at any rate to the extent of causing them to conceal customs which they have discovered to engender disapproval on the part of strangers. But this account of the Lakhers is also extremely important as likely to throw light on the stratification of cultures in the Assam–Burma hills, since the features described are some of them typically Naga, and some typically Kuki, while others appear to belong to neither of these cultures.

Externally and superficially the Lakhers appear to be a definitely Kuki tribe. Their language and material culture associate them with Lusheis and Chins. Their terms of relationship are rather Kuki than Naga, their weapons, including their ceremonial *daos*, are similarly Kuki. The dislike, which Mr. Parry records, on the part of a Lakher of using anyone's comb but his own is typically Kuki, not based, of course, on any scruple of squeamish cleanliness, but on considerations of magic and the location of the soul in the head or in the hair. The story of the theft of fire by a fly has several local parallels, but differs from most in the case of the Lakher in that the secret stolen was that of flint and steel, used by all Kuki tribes, instead of that of the fire-stick as in the Naga versions. As by the Kuki, in contra-

distinction to the Naga, no bees are kept, and the absence of the *morung* as a separate building is essentially Kuki rather than Naga. It is true that Lushei tribes do build a *zawlbuk* for their unmarried men, and conversely the Sema Naga builds no bachelor's house as a rule, but the institution does not take among the Lushei the place it takes in Naga tribes, and its absence from among the Sema appears due to the same Kuki influence that has introduced a whole series of Kuki customs in connection with inheritance and the rights of chiefs. No doubt the *zawlbuk* among the Lushei represents the fortuitous survival or adoption of some non-Kuki customs, just as its occasional erection by Semas "in order to conform to ancient custom" indicates the disappearance under alien influence of a custom previously prevalent. The Lakher follows much the same practice as the Thado Kuki, young men choosing as a sleeping-place the house of any girl they admire. Like most Kukis and a few Nagas (*e.g.* the Tangkhul), the Lakher possesses the ordeal by water, or rather by diving, which is found from the Ganges to Siam, and is perhaps Mon in origin (see *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 68, *n.*[4]), but the fact that it is definitely unpopular may perhaps be taken to indicate that it belongs to an intrusive culture. However, there is so much, in any case, to associate the Lakher with his neighbours the Lushei and the Chins that it is unnecessary to labour the points of resemblance.

There is much, however, to suggest that underneath his externally Kuki culture the Lakher is something of a Naga at heart. His attachment to his village site and to the graves of his ancestors is essentially Naga, as distinct from the migratory habits of Kuki tribes. His want of discipline, as contrasted with the Lushei, is again Naga, as contrasted with Kuki. It is true that the Sema Naga, taken by these two tests alone, would conform to the Kuki instead of to the Naga type, but, as already pointed out, the Sema has many very markedly Kuki features in his culture. Place-names, as by the Naga generally (the Sema largely excepted), are taken by the Lakher from natural features, instead of from the traditional sites of former villages. The *Bongchhi*,

the sacred ficus, is obviously closely associated with the external souls of the village, and affords a close parallel to the Lhota *mingethung*. Doors made by cutting round openings in wood are characteristic of some branches of the Konyak tribe, though also perhaps of other Chin tribes besides the Lakhers. The warp-spacer of the Lakher loom is Kuki or Kachari, not Naga, but the use of the simple spool as a shuttle instead of a bamboo-covering sheath, with a hole for the exit of the weft, seems to be Naga rather than Kuki, and the grass rain-cloak is definitely Naga rather than Kuki, though found sporadically from Assam to the Nicobars and from Formosa to the Philippines. The absence of any institution corresponding to the Lushei *tuai*—men who wear women's clothes and follow women's pursuits—also suggests that the Malay element present in the Lushei may be weaker in the Lakher, while the use of conch-shell ornaments with patterns of circles and dots coloured in black is clearly a link with the Angami and with other Nagas, Konyak in particular, and one may note in passing that just such conch-shell ornaments identical with Naga types have been found in early Iron Age graves in Arcot in S. India, and have also been excavated at Mohenjo Daro, where pottery imitations of conch-shell ornaments have also been found, suggesting the baked-clay ornaments imitating conch-shell which the Nagas of Laruri make, or used to make, for their dead. Although the Lakher do not make the huge hollow wooden gongs, aptly described as "canoe drums," which are typical of so many Naga tribes, their *tekaleu*, a hollow wooden gong for scaring birds, is perhaps a survival of these, as also no doubt is the similar bird-scaring gong of the Kachha Nagas, while its real origin in a canoe may perhaps be traced to the "boat" made and used by a Kabui Naga village for its harvest festival, though the village is on the top of a hill and has never within traditional memory used or needed a real boat.[1] Mention of the Kachha Nagas reminds one that the Lakher *rapaw*, the due payable to a chief for cultivating his land, is the identical word used

[1] See *The Ao Nagas*, pp. 76 *n.*[1], 79 *n.*[3], 80 *n.*[2], 208 *n.*[1].

by the Kachha Nagas for the right to a payment, on each occasion that a person cultivates land which was originally cleared of virgin forest by the claimant of *rapô* or by the person from whom he inherited or purchased the claim, for the title to *rapô* is permanent and alienable among Kachha Nagas, even though a right to actual cultivation no longer exists and the land in question be now in the domain of another village.

Very suggestive also of the Naga tribes are the clans Mihlong, Hnaihleu and Bonghia, descended respectively from the hornbills, the tiger's man friend and the python, which animals respectively they may not kill. The exact parallel seems only to be found as regards the hornbill among Nagas, but the feeling about tigers and pythons is very similar, *e.g.* in the Chang tribes, where the Chongpo Hawang clan claims close kinship to the tiger, and may not injure one without giving him warning and a chance to escape, while the python is an object of awe and more or less tabu to the whole tribe, except that in time of great scarcity a man with nothing to lose is sent out to kill one in the hope of restoring prosperity, an enterprise regarded as most hazardous and followed by a prolonged period of tabu on the killer. So, too, in the Angami tribe, if a tiger be killed the village observes a tabu "for the death of an elder brother," the tiger being regarded as a close collateral relative of mankind.

These are, however, certain features of Lahker culture which seem to be definitely neither Kuki nor Naga, but in contrast to both. Thus the practice of reaping by pulling up the rice by the roots has probably no parallel in Assam. Most hill tribes use a reaping-knife, while others strip the ear by hand into the basket. Similarly the Lakher carelessness about the after-birth at parturition is in contrast to prevailing practice, whether Naga or Kuki, while their exclusion of women from sacrifices on account of the possibility of their menstrual uncleanness is totally at variance with both Kuki and Naga sentiment, in which a very prominent and important place is always given to the wife of a man performing sacrificial ceremonies. Indeed a Naga widower

would be unqualified to perform a feast of social status. Here again the Lakher differs from all the Naga and Kuki tribes in Assam in the almost total absence from his culture of these graded " Feasts of Merit," by which the individual celebrates and reinforces his prosperity and attempts to infect with it the whole of the community. Apparently only by the chiefly clan of one village are such series of feasts observed, their place being taken elsewhere by sacrifices to particular deities, which are obviously far more frequent and important than in Naga or Kuki tribes in general. Another point of divergence from the latter is also to be found in the weakness or absence of exogamy and in the strength of the traces which survive of a matrilineal system. These two are perhaps supplementary features indicating a comparatively recent amalgamation of a patrilineal with a matrilineal people, the result of which may have been to break down exogamy on both sides, and it is perhaps possible to see a trace of this process in the unusual practice of sending the bride-price by instalments, each of which is always refused until the next instalment appears, a formality which rather suggests the incorporation of strangers who can only get brides by an unfamiliar series of customary payments. This factor of recent amalgamation seems also indicated by the prohibition of marriage between half-brother and sister by the same father, whereas uterine relationship is no bar, a rule apparently quite at variance with anything like a matrilineal system. However that may be, the traces of a very recent matrilineal system are exceedingly strong. The maternal uncle receives a very substantial share of the bride-price, while a woman living with her husband nominates a sister to take her share of the bride-price of her daughter, thus effectively removing it from the control of her husband. The same survival probably accounts for the right of a divorced wife to retain her *angkia*, and perhaps for the absence of any prohibition on the marriage by a younger brother of his elder brother's widow, which most patrilineal Assam hill tribes prohibit, though the fact that the Lakher wife may address her husband's younger brother by his personal name, but not so his elder brother, suggests that

the custom of levirate was once restricted to the younger brother by Lakhers also, unless it be that this familiarity had special reference to the rights of the younger brother during the husband's lifetime. The matrilineal system seems again operative in the convention by which a daughter's bride-price exceeds the normal rate of her father's clan if her mother be of a superior clan. But the most convincing survival of all is in the custom which reserves as the right of his sister or her son the duty or privilege of opening the vault of the buried chief for a new interment and taking as the fee therefor the articles of value interred with the late chief, so that these heirlooms are lost to the male and secured in the possession of the female line.

These matrilineal survivals suggest at first sight Mon-Khmer associations, but, except perhaps for the locality in which the Lakhers are found, might equally well be Bodo and Bodo likewise is suggested quite as much as Naga by the existence of a tiger clan, such as those of the Kachari and the Garo, while the latter tribe, Mr. Parry points out, resembles the Lakhers in practising divination by the bullet-bow. The absence of the buffalo, moreover, also appears suggestive of Bodo rather than Mon-Khmer culture, but the line between these two is not at all clear, as there seems to be a good deal to connect the Manipuri, Kachari, Synteng and Ao Naga not only in physical characteristics, but also to some extent culturally, although the languages spoken by these four tribes belong to the Kuki, Bodo, Mon-Khmer and Naga families respectively.[1] The Lakher would seem to go further than any of these tribes in Assam in the importance they attach to the influence of sympathetic magic on the crop, as an instance of which may be quoted the *aoh* (tabu) which is observed in the case of any woman being delivered of a still-born child, for fear that such a birth may affect the paddy, causing the grain to fail to form in the husk. This point of view suggests a very intimate association in Lakher belief between human beings and the crop, but in head-hunting, so important to Nagas from a fertility point

[1] For the physical resemblances, see Dixon, *The Khasi and the Racial History of Assam*, "Man in India," Vol. II, pp. 1–13.

of view, as to the Wa, and probably aforetime to the Khasi, the Lakher seems, like the Kuki, to attach comparatively little importance to the fertility aspect and to be dominated by fear of the ghost. The two points of view are not necessarily contradictory, as the ghost must be distinguished from the soul or life-principle, and is so distinguished by most if not all Assam tribes. At the same time, the Lakher fear of the ghost and comparative indifference to the head as a giver of life agree with the Kuki point of view, in which head-hunting is probably a development, produced by contact or association with head-hunters, of the sacrifice of slaves to serve the dead in another world, and recalls the practice of the tribes north of the Brahmaputra—from which direction, after all, the Bodo, Kuki and Kachin peoples have migrated southwards—who do not take the head, but cut off the hands, probably to cripple the ghost. The Naga and Kuki, it may be noted, both cut off limbs as well, but it is the head which is the important member.

It remains to indicate one or two points of contact further afield. Mr. Parry has himself noted a number of Fijian parallels to Lakher beliefs or customs, and other Indonesian and even Pacific resemblances occur to one in reading his manuscript. For instance, the red worn in the headgear by warriors suggests at once the Mandaya of Mindanao, who wear red trousers for a martial exploit, and are later awarded what one might term a full- as distinct from a half-red in the form of a red cap and coat for further prowess. The Lakher methods of fishing, both with traps and intoxicants, are to be found throughout Indonesia and, whether or not there is any cultural connection, northern South America. The word *pana*, too, for tabu, has an interesting extension. Obviously it is to be associated with the Naga words *penna* (Angami) and *pini* (Sema), and probably with the Caroline Islands *penant* and the Tabui *panale*,[1] since Evans has shown [2] that *puni* in Malay links up across the Pacific to New Zealand, actually appearing in the word *tapbuni*, always with the sense of segregation or tabu. But the

[1] Delinar, *Religion des Marquisiens*, p. 62.
[2] *Kempunan*, "Man," May 1920.

resemblance of the Lakher word for rice wine, *sahma*, with the *soma* of the Vedas, we fear must be put down to the merest coincidence.

The Lakhers then, to conclude, must be classed, at any rate in so far as their language and material culture are concerned, with the Kuki tribes who have migrated almost in historic times down the valley of the Chindwin from its sources to the Bay of Bengal, continuously throwing off branches of their race westward into the hills, while the vanguard, having turned north again up the same range, are still involved in a slow drift back again, like their own fabled river, which runs down to a rock in the ocean and thence flows upwards to its source. At the same time, the Lakhers include in their composition more perhaps than their immediate neighbours of the races that preceded them, of which the Indonesian race, everywhere submerged by the Mongolian flood, appears to have been one, while Bodo, Mon-Khmer and Melanesian elements seem to be definitely traceable. The pity is that Mr. Parry, who, in spite of having had to write under circumstances of considerable difficulty, has described them here in greater detail in many respects than that yet recorded of any other Assam tribe, is unable to return to give us yet more information of themselves and their neighbours. Howbeit, he has left no unworthy memorial of his sojourn among them.

J. H. HUTTON.

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MAP 1

THE LAKHERS

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

THE Lakhers, or, to be more correct, the Mărās, Lakher being merely the name by which they are known to the Lusheis, inhabit the south-eastern corner of the Lushai Hills district, south of the Haka sub-division of the Chin Hills, and the extreme north of the Arakan Hill Tracts. Most of the villages are enclosed in the large bend made by the Kolodyne river, which, after rising in the hills near Haka and flowing in a southerly direction, takes a sharp turn, and flows northwards till somewhat north of Muallianpui village, when it again turns south and flows down to the Bay of Bengal at Akyab. There are a few Mărā villages situated west of the Kolodyne, between that river and Lungleh, and some powerful villages of the Sabeu tribe of Mărās on the east of the upper Kolodyne or Beinong in the Haka sub-division of the Chin Hills. This work deals more particularly with the Lakhers in the Lushai Hills district, though actually the Haka Lakher villages of Ngiaphia, Khihlong, Heima and Lialai and their subordinate villages are ruled over by Changza chiefs, and their customs are the same as those followed in Cahpi. The following are the principal Mărā tribal groups : Tlongsai, Hawthai, Zeuhnang, Sabeu, Lialai, Heima.

On the west the Mărās are bordered by Fanais and Lusheis, on the east and north by Chins, and on the south by the tribes of the Arakan Hill Tracts, Khumis, Matus and Khyengs. The Mărās are a branch of the Lai tribe of Chins, and speak a language closely akin to Lai. They are the

same people as the Shendus to whom Colonel Lewin makes constant references in his various works, and are still called Shendus by the Arakanese. Tradition says that the Mărās came from the north, and it is certain that they all came to their present homes from different places in the Haka subdivision of the Chin Hills, presumably being pushed forward by pressure from the east, in the same way as the Lusheis under their Thangur chiefs were pushed forward into the country they now occupy. The progress of the migration to their present territory can be traced fairly accurately. The Saiko and Siaha people are both Tlongsai, and say that they originated at a place called Leisai between Leitak and Zaphai. From Leisai they moved to Saro, and thence to Chakang, both of which places are in Haka. From Chakang they crossed the Kolodyne and came into the Lushai Hills, and settled first at Phusa, on a high hill between Ainak and Siata ; thence they moved to Khupi on the Tisi river, thence to Theiri, and thence to Beukhi. At Beukhi the Siaha and Saiko Tlongsais separated, the former occupying various sites in the neighbourhood of Beukhi, ending up at their present site of Siaha, while the latter moved successively to Saikowkhitlang, Khangchetla, Zongbukhi, Chholong and Khihlong, eventually settling at Saiko about fifty or sixty years ago. From Saiko they have formed the other villages of the Tlongsai group ruled over by Hleuchang chiefs. From the number of village sites they have occupied since coming to the Lushai Hills, it is certain that they must have been settled in the Lushai Hills district between 200 and 300 years.

The Hawthai clan, whose main village is Tisi, originated, they say, at a place called Chira in Haka, whence they came *via* Saro, Siata, Paimi and Nangotla to Tisi, where they have now been for thirty years. They are therefore more recent immigrants than the Tlongsai. Nangotla, Chholong, and Longbong, or, as the Lusheis call them Ngiawtlang, Chuarlung, and Lungbun, are Hawthai villages, as are also the two villages of old and new Longchei in Haka. The Zeuhnang, who are the people of Savang, originated at Hnarang in Haka, whence they crossed the Kolodyne and settled on

a high range called Kahri Tla. They moved in succession to Hlongma near Sehmung and Cheuong on the banks of the Tisi river, and then settled on their present site of Savang, where they have now been established for about 130 years.

The Sabeu, who are the people of Chapi, originated at Thlatla in Haka. One of their chiefs, Mahli, married a Lakher woman, and from that time the royal house has regarded itself as Lakher. This Mahli moved from Thlatla to Ngiaphia, whence his branch of the Sabeus moved in succession to Pazo, Khothlaw, Chorihlo, Chawkhu, Fachaw (near the junction of the Satlong river with the Kolodyne), Khiraw, Ravaw, Tichei, Pasei, Pemai, Sacho, Loma and thence to their present site called Tichhang, where they have now been settled for twenty years. The reason given for the frequent moves of site is that they were afraid of being raided.

The Sabeu, whose villages are in Haka, are of the same group as the Sabeu of Chapi. Their head chief, Vasai, is a Changza, and a cousin of Rachi, Chief of Chapi, and his village, Khihlong, is only about thirteen miles from Chapi along the top of the Kahri range.

The inhabitants of Heima and Lialai in the Arakan Hill Tracts belong to the Heima and Lialai groups, which are very closely allied to the Sabeu. The chiefs of both villages are Changzas, and they have been always more or less vassals of the Changza chiefs of Khihlong.

In addition to the purely Lakher villages, there are certain villages in Haka and also in the Lushai Hills the inhabitants of which are half-way between the Pois and the Lakhers, and it is difficult to say exactly what they are. Such villages are Hnarang or Ngaring in Haka and Iana, and Siata in the Lushai Hills; with Iana must also be classed the Haka villages Mangtu, Khabong and Zeuphia, known in Lushai as Vuangtu, Khawbung and Zaphai. The customs followed in these villages are partly Lakher and partly Poi. The Iana group are on the whole more Lakher than Poi, both in language and customs, and regard themselves as Lakhers. Hnarang is more Poi than Lakher, and

calls itself Poi, but Pois regard the Hnarang people as Lakhers, though their language is Poi. These villages on the border line between Pois and Lakhers show how the Lakhers gradually formed themselves into a separate tribe after they broke off from Thlatla and their other original homes in the Chin Hills.

The story of the origin of the Mărā tribe as handed down by tradition is as follows: Long ago, before the great darkness called *Khazanghra* fell upon the world, men all came out of a hole below the earth. As the founder of each Mărā group came out of the earth he called out his name. Tlongsai called out, "I am Tlongsai"; Zeuhnang called out, "I am Zeuhnang"; Hawthai called out, "I am Hawthai"; Sabeu called out, "I am Sabeu"; Heima called out, "I am Heima." Accordingly God thought that a very large number of Mărās had come out and stopped the way. When the Lusheis came out of the hole, however, only the first one to come out called out, "I am Lushei," and all the rest came out silently. God, only hearing one man announce his arrival, thought that only one Lushei had come out, and gave them a much longer time, during which Lusheis were pouring out of the hole silently in great numbers. It is for this reason that Lusheis to this day are more numerous than Mărās. After all men had come out of the hole in the earth God made their languages different, and they remain so to this day.

A similar story is current among the Khyeng.[1]

The number of Lakhers in Assam at the last census was returned at 3683,[2] as against 3647 in 1911. As there must be very nearly as many again in the Chin Hills, and as at the time of the last census the areas recently taken over by Assam and Burma were not included, as they were still unadministered, I estimate that the total number of the tribe is now somewhere about 10,000 souls.

The country, though high, is fertile, and though the neighbouring Chins live on maize and millet, the Lakhers' staple food is rice. On the lower slopes bamboo jungle

[1] Cf. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 238.—N. E. P.
[2] Lloyd, *Census of India* 1921. *Assam*, Part II.—N. E. P.

prevails; the higher hills are clothed with oaks, rhododendrons and dwarf bamboos (*Arundinaria falcata*), known as *lik* to the Lushei and *seuli* to the Lakhers, which make excellent fishing-rods. There is also a thorned bamboo (*Arundinaria callosa*), called by the Lakhers *aphaw*, which is found at slightly lower elevations. On the lower slopes all the ordinary bamboos found in the Lushai Hills flourish. The main range running between Savang and Chapi is the Ka Hri Tla, whose highest points are Ka Hri or Khashia Klang, 6292 ft., and Tliatlu or Mizen Tlang, 6368 ft., while further north, on the edge of the Lakher country, lies Pheupi or the Blue Mountain, 7101 ft., the highest peak in the Lushai Hills district. The climate in the cold weather is perfect, in the rains it has the drawbacks common to all places in South-east India with a heavy rainfall, the worst being leeches, insects and damp.

Early Relations with British.

For many years the Lakhers seem to have been a thorn in the side of the authorities in Chittagong and Arakan, and were regarded as a powerful and warlike nation. When first they came into contact with the British they were known as Shendus, a term which seems to have covered all the Haka Chin tribes and not only the Lakhers. It certainly covered the Klangklangs, who are known to the Lakhers as Thlatlas, and also other Chin tribes such as Hakas,[1] though as a matter of fact the Lakhers are now quite separate from both, and speak a different tongue, though some of them originally broke off from Thlatla.

Writing in 1841, Lieutenant Phayre [2] refers to the Tseindus, and gives a list of thirteen Tseindu clans, some of which can be identified with Mărā clans, though others appear to be Poi. The Lungkhes referred to by him are, I think, probably a branch of Lakhers who had a village at Liazeu, on the western slopes of the Mephrutong Hill, which has

[1] *Vide* Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, p. 4 and p. 16 *n.*[2]—N. E. P.

[2] "Account of Arakan," by Lieutenant Phayre, Senior Assistant Commissioner, Arakan, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. 117, 1841. —N. E. P.

now disappeared. Their chief, Leng-kung, was a Poi, who is known to the Lakhers as Laikong. Chiefs of this family still rule at Longtlai, Bungtlang and Sangao. The greater part of Laikong's villagers are said to have been Lakhers, the rest being Pois. This shows that the term *Shendu* covered Poi as well as purely Lakher tribes. Lewin [1] identifies some people called Lankhe by the Burmese with the Lushais. It seems more probable, however, that they are the same people as Phayre's Lungkhe, and closely related to the Lakhers. In "A Note on some Hill Tribes on the Kuladyne River," written in 1846,[2] Lieutenant Latter says, "The most powerful among them are the Shentoos, who, being beyond our frontier, are known to us only by their devastations on those tribes which pay us tribute; the suddenness, secrecy and never-failing nature of these attacks cause them to be held by the rest in a dread of which it would be impossible to give an idea. The Khons, who are likewise beyond our frontier, are employed by the Shentoos as guides and spies, and are on that account obnoxious to the vengeance of those clans who may owe a blood feud to the Shentoos."

The first account of the Lakhers as a separate tribe seems to have been written in 1852: the writer, Captain Tickell,[3] says, "And amongst these, the Shendoos, though well known by name and repute in Arracan, have never yet been visited by the people of the plains, nor has a single specimen of this race been seen, I believe, by either Mugh or European in Arracan until 1850, when two emissaries or spies from them met me at a hill village some distance up the Kolodyne river." Captain Tickell refers to the tribe as Heuma or Shendoos. Heima is the name of a Lakher village in North Arakan known to the Lusheis as Vaki.

Writing in 1875, Fryer says,[4] "The Khyengs call them-

[1] T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 98.—N. E. P.

[2] Lieutenant T. Latter, "A Note on some Hill Tribes on the Kuladyne River, Arracan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1846, No. 169.—N. E. P.

[3] Captain S. R. Tickell, "Notes on the Heuma or Shendoos," *J.A.S.B.* No. 111, 1852.—N. E. P.

[4] G. E. Fryer, "On the Khyeng People of Sandoway Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, Part I.—N. E. P.

selves Hiou or Shou, and state that the Shindoos, Khumis and Lungkhes are members of the same race as themselves. They have a tradition that they came down many years ago from the sources of the Kyendweng river." The Lakhers have no traditions about the Kyendweng river, but they undoubtedly are related to the Khumis and other Arakan hill tribes, and also to the Haka Chins.

Mackenzie, writing in 1884, says,[1] "The Shindus are a formidable nation living to the north-east and east of the Blue Mountain. All the country south of the Karnafuli has for many years been exposed to their ravages. Of their position and internal relations we know much less than we do of the Lushais. The whole aim of our frontier policy has of late years been the protection of the other tribes already named from the raids of the Chittagong Lushais and Shindus. The whole history of this frontier is, indeed, the story of their outrages and of the efforts to prevent, repel or avenge these." The Shindus or Lakhers, as we now call them, seem in fact to have been most assiduous raiders, and though the misdeeds of other tribes were doubtless not infrequently fathered upon them as the most redoubtable of the hill tribes, they seem to have well earned their reputation as harriers of the countryside. That it was, however, often a case of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him, is shown by para. 8 of Captain Hopkinson's letter No. 40 to the secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 7th May, 1856.[2] The first Lakher raid that we know of is on a Khumi village called Hlengkreing, when thirty to forty people were killed and thirty-eight women and children carried into slavery.[3] This was in 1838. A Shendu foray on Chittagong was reported in 1847, when they raided the subjects of Kalindi Rani and of the Phru, who is now known as the Bohmong.[4] Lewin [5] states that the reason why the Shendus were at enmity with the Poang, who is the same person as

[1] Mackenzie, *The North-East Frontier of Bengal*, p. 331.—N. E. P.
[2] Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 532.—N. E. P.
[3] Phayre, "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, No. 117, p. 708.—N. E. P.
[4] Mackenzie, *North-east Frontier of Bengal*, p. 335.—N. E. P.
[5] Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 306.—N. E. P.

the Phru or Bohmong, was that a Shendu chief sent an embassy to the Poang consisting of six men, bearing ivory and home-spun cloths. Of these men, five were murdered by the Poang's orders, and the man who escaped was murdered by Yuong on his way home. Colonel Shakespear gives a similar story, from which it appears that the Shendus in question were Tlongsais.[1] If Lakhers on a friendly embassy were murdered in this way, it is not to be wondered at if they avenged themselves by raiding their assailants. From 1847 onwards Lakher raids on the Chittagong Hill Tracts seem to have been of constant occurrence. In 1854, in a report by the Superintendent of Police, it is stated that during the preceding seventeen years there had been nineteen raids, in which 107 persons had been slain, fifteen wounded and 186 carried captive. All these forays were believed to be the work of Shendus or tribes from the south.[2] In 1865 it was reported that Shendus and other tribes regularly spent November to May every year in raiding the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and in 1866 the Shendus attacked a Mrung village only half a day's journey from Chima, the furthest outpost.[3] It is about this time that Lewin,[4] who really laid the foundations of British rule in the Lushai Hills, and who was the first Englishman to establish intimate relations with the hill tribes in this part of the world, appears on the scene. Lewin's adventures in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Lushai Hills are described in his books, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, and *The Fly on the Wheel*, and it is impossible to go into them here; he was, however, undoubtedly the first Englishman to get into touch with the Zeuhnang, the Khenung,[5] who sent his son Aylong to visit Lewin and take him to their village, being the then Chief of Savang, as is clear from the Savang chief's pedigree. Meanwhile the Shendus continued to give the Chittagong and Arakan authorities much food for thought, and it is

[1] Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 213.—N. E. P.
[2] Mackenzie, *North-east Frontier of Bengal*, p. 338.—N. E. P.
[3] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 349.—N.E.P.
[4] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 349.—N. E. P.
[5] Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 321.—N. E. P.

amusing to see how the Bengal and Burma Governments each tried to foist on to the other the responsibility of controlling them.[1] Bengal and Burma were equally ignorant about the Shendus, and owing to the difficulties of dealing with them, both provinces would have been glad to be rid of them. Colonel Phayre in a letter to the Government of India wrote :[2]—

"I have known all the tribes personally except the Shendus for many years. The Shendu tribe has always been spoken of as powerful, and as being much feared. . . . The Shendu tribe appears to be more numerous as a people than any other Indo-Chinese hill race which I know. It extends over a large tract of country. The clans are independent of each other as long as they have power to maintain independence. Their predatory expeditions appear to be organised, as indeed they frequently are among the Kumeis and Khyengs, by persons of influence, whether chiefs or not, who collect individuals among several clans into a war party."

The respect with which the Shendus were regarded must have been due mainly to lack of knowledge. Though undoubtedly a very warlike tribe, they were nothing like as numerous as the Lusheis. The chief difficulty with the Shendus seems to have been the impossibility of getting into touch with them. In 1871–72 the Shendus attacked the Pyndoo outpost, but were driven off,[3] and in 1874–75 they made an attempt at a raid, which was frustrated.[4] In 1869 the first Lushai Expedition took place,[5] and in 1871 two columns entered the hills, one from Cachar and the other from Chittagong. These expeditions dealt with the Lusheis, but left the Lakhers untouched.[6] For ten years after this both Shendus and Lusheis remained comparatively quiet. In 1888, however, a raiding party of Shendus under Hausata

[1] Mackenzie, *North-east Frontier of Bengal*, pp. 349, 350, 486, 489, para. 7, 532, para. 7.—N. E. P.
[2] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 351.—N. E. P.
[3] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 362.—N. E. P.
[4] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 365.—N. E. P.
[5] Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 302.—N. E. P.
[6] See Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 312 *et seq.*; also for a description of the work done by the Chittagong column, T. H. Lewin, *The Fly on the Wheel*, p. 255 *et seq.*—N. E. P.

murdered Lieutenant John Stewart of the Leinster Regiment, who was engaged in survey work with a small escort of Gurkhas.[1] As a matter of fact, these raiders, though referred to as Shendus, were not Lakhers. Hausata was a Thlatla Chin, and a brother of the equally evil Vantura, whose death after a raid on the Lakher village of Saiko will be related further on. This outrage was the immediate cause of the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1888–89, which resulted in the occupation of the Chin and the Lushai hills.[2] All three brothers concerned in the murder of Lieutenant Stewart came to bad ends. Hausata died within a year, and his body was eaten by the village pigs, after Stewart's gun, which had been buried with him, had been recovered; Vantura died of wounds received on a raid on the Lakher village of Saiko; Dokula died in the Andamans, whither he had been sent for the murder of a fakir. Dokula had previously escaped the hanging to which he had been sentenced for murdering two Lakhers of Boite village, and though sentenced to death a second time for the murder of the Fakir, was again lucky enough to have his sentence commuted.[3] Dokula's descendants still rule in their villages, and are men of like character to their father and their uncles. The Lakhers still fear and hate them, and were we ever to withdraw from the hills, war would surely break out again between the Lakhers and the Poi villages ruled over by Dokula's descendants. It was as a result of the expedition of 1888–89 that some of the Lakher villages were first brought under British rule. In 1891 Captain Shakespear visited Saiko and interviewed the Chief Theulai, whose brother Iaka had been responsible for a raid on Prenkyne's village. Compensation was assessed on the villages of Siaha and Saiko, and certain captives taken by the Ramri people

[1] *Vide* Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, p. 13, R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson, *An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, p. 25, and A. S. Reid, *Chin Lushai Land*, pp. 38–43.—N. E. P.

[2] For a description of these operations so far as they related to the Lushai Hills, see Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, "Lushai Reminiscences," in the *Assam Review*, Vols. I and II. For the Chin Hills, see Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, Vol. I, p. 12 *et seq.* Also Reid, *Chin Lushai Land*, *passim*, for both expeditions.—N. E. P.

[3] See Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, "Lushai Reminiscences," the *Assam Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, April 1929.—N. E. P.

from North Arakan were released. On another occasion when Captain Shakespear came to Siaha and was said to be coming on to Saiko, Theulai himself must have had an uneasy conscience, as he had recently led a raid against the Lakher village of Lialai and taken the head of its chief, Thaka. I was told at Saiko that while Captain Shakespear was at Siaha, the Saiko people were busy holding the *Ia* ceremony over the heads that had been taken at Lialai, and the news of his approach made them break off the festivities and hide all traces of their very questionable doings. After all, however, he did not come, and the Tlongsai might as well have finished the *Ia* festivities, which as it turned out were the last to be held in Saiko.

From this time on Saiko, Siaha and the other Tlongsai villages formed part of the South Lushai Hills, and Theulai, the chief of Saiko, who had previously been concerned in many raids, became an excellent chief. There still remained unadministered, however, a tract of country between the Lushai Hills, the Chin Hills and Arakan, containing the Zeuhnang, Sabeu and Lialai groups with certain villages dependent on them, which was to give trouble for some time to come. These villages, especially Savang, used to *jhum* beyond their boundaries in administered territory belonging to other chiefs, which was always giving rise to disputes. In consequence of these encroachments, Mr. Whaley, the Sub-Divisional Officer, of Lungleh, marched through the unadministered tract and came to an unofficial agreement with Beihra, Chief of Khihlong, but for practical purposes the area was left as it was. In 1906 the Zeuhnang raided a British village called Paitha and carried off some runaway slaves, one of whom they killed. An expedition was prepared, but before it was ready to start the captives were released and operations postponed till 1907. In 1907 Colonel Cole and Colonel Loch took a column to Savang and fined the Zeuhnang twenty guns for their raid on Paitha in 1906. Thence they went on to Laki, and met the Deputy Commissioner, North Arakan. After this no officials visited the area till 1918. In 1917 and 1918, as a result of the Haka rebellion, which itself was a repercussion of the

Great War, the whole area was in a ferment. In 1917 the Zeuhnang had raided the Arakan Lakher village of Teubu, had taken heads and made captives. In retaliation for this, the Lialais, who were friends of Teubu, raided the small Zeuhnang hamlet of Mangtu, below Laki and above the Tinglo river, killed the chief, Huatmanga, and four others and seized nine captives for slaves. The Zeuhnang village of Laikei had seized a girl from the British village of Kiasi, while Chapi had raided the British village of Longchei and carried off some women as slaves. As a result of these forays a column was taken through the independent villages by the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, and Chapi and Laikei were punished.[1] The Zeuhnang and the Lialai were dealt with by Arakan. In 1920, 1922 and 1924 the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills again toured the villages, and in 1922 a meeting was held at Baw between the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills and the Deputy Commissioners of the Chin Hills and the North Arakan Hill Tracts, at which the boundaries between the three districts were laid down and the villages in the independent area were divided among them. From 1924 the villages which fell to the Lushai Hills have been loosely administered as part of the district, the system of administration being the same in all essentials as that followed in the rest of the district. The villages which fell to the Chin Hills and North Arakan are being absorbed in the same way into those districts.

Effects of British Rule.

It is only since 1924, therefore, that all the Lakhers have been under British rule. The Zeuhnang and Sabeu have taken to British rule on the whole quite kindly. Though they naturally regret their former freedom in many ways, as is shown in their songs, and as they tell one themselves, still they admit that British rule has brought certain advantages in its train. Taiveu of Savang, one of the chiefs whom I was questioning on this matter, told me that the benefits his people had obtained from British rule were three

[1] *Vide* letter No. 1678 of 26th February, 1918, from Superintendent Lushai Hills to the Commissioner Surma Valley and Hill Division.—N. E. P.

—namely, that they can sleep at night without sentries and without fear of a raid, that they can travel wherever they like without let or hindrance and without fear of an ambush, and that they can have beer-parties without posting sentries and without the fear at the back of their minds that they may be raided and cut up while intoxicated. British rule therefore has removed fear, implanted a sense of security and enabled the people to make the most of their simple pleasures. They can now make themselves gloriously drunk without fear of advantage being taken of their temporary incapacity. These are undoubted and solid gains, which the tribes could never have acquired for themselves. So far, in the new area at any rate, there is no sign of the deterioration which so often supervenes when savages are brought into contact with a superior culture, and the population shows no signs at all of decreasing. In dealing with the new area, all customs, save a very few that could not be countenanced, have been meticulously respected, and the greatest of care has been taken to avoid in any way lowering the position of the chief. One inevitable change has, however, taken place, which undoubtedly has diminished the chief's wealth and importance—namely, the liberation of the chief's dependants. As soon as the area was taken over, numbers of these dependants came forward to pay the forty-rupee ransom which frees them from their obligations to the chief. I purposely refrain from calling these people slaves, and though further on I shall deal with the institution of slavery among the Lakhers in detail, the term slavery is a complete misnomer to-day, whatever it may have been in the past. In any case, the exodus of numerous dependants from the chiefs' houses naturally reduced the wealth of the chiefs. Some of the freedmen remained in the village, but many migrated elsewhere, fearing that the chief would revenge himself on them for having ransomed themselves from him. This was an undesirable development, in that it removed people from their old surroundings; on the other hand, it was both natural and inevitable that many of the freedmen should wish to migrate, and it was impossible to do anything to stop it. A certain number of them returned after a short

time to their old villages and settled down again quite happily.

Another noticeable sequel to the advent of British rule was the eagerness with which the people in the new area came forward to sell their surplus rice to the Tuipang guard in order to make a little money. Until these villages were taken over, they knew practically nothing about money; when, however, they found that they had to pay house tax, they realised that they had to set about and obtain money somehow. British rule therefore has led inevitably to a diminution in the importance of the chiefs and a desire to acquire wealth. I cannot pretend that I consider either development desirable, but neither could have been avoided. As compared with the people in the villages which for years have been under British rule, the people of the new area, especially the Zeuhnang, are more hard-working and energetic. Why this should be, I cannot say, but they have much larger *jhums*, and get heavier crops of rice. So far, except in the two instances mentioned above, these people have been hardly touched by modern influences. Isolated from the rest of the district till 1924, they have retained their old customs intact. On the other villages, which have been under British rule for years, Government and mission influences have necessarily had more effect, by no means with entirely good results. Litigation is excessive, the chiefs are less powerful and the people less well controlled than in the new area. In Saiko the combined influence of the mission and of Lushei interpreters has modified custom. The Lushei interpreters have given a Lushei tinge to certain customs, which have changed, not because officers intended to change them, but because they failed to realise that changes were being made. When a primitive people come under settled rule certain changes are inevitable, but the importance of altering as little as possible cannot be exaggerated. If the customs of a primitive race are allowed to decay or are suddenly replaced by alien customs, the race degenerates. All these tribes have been taken over against their will and solely in the interest of their more advanced neighbours, and to stop them from raiding in the plains.

Like the other primitive tribes of the Assam Hills, Garos, Lusheis, Nagas and others, the Lakhers were not assenting parties to the change in their political status. They were not brought under British rule in their own interest; in fact, whether they liked being taken over and whether it was in their interest to be taken over or not were never considered at all. The only motive actuating Government was the peace of the settled areas adjoining these primitive tribes. In view of this, therefore, a very special responsibility for their welfare falls upon Government.

Two articles in *The Times* of the 23rd and 24th July, 1929, dealing with conditions in that part of New Guinea which was formerly owned by Germany but for which Australia now holds a mandate, are of great interest as showing the multifarious forces which impinge upon a primitive people when first they come into contact with a higher civilisation, and the extent to which primitive people lose all interest in existence when forced too rapidly to alter their ways of life. The following passages, which have been reproduced by kind permission of *The Times* Publishing Company, illustrate these facts well :—

" In administering the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, Australia is discharging in a special sense the responsibility which the covenant of the League of Nations describes as ' a sacred trust of civilisation.' There is no more tragic example of the exploitation of primitive races by white men than the ravaging of the islands of the Pacific. The earliest white settlers were escaped convicts, deserting sailors, fugitives from justice, and others of the lowest character. The first ships brought sandalwood hunters; the next slavers, the so-called ' black-birders,' who carried off thousands of ' boys ' to work in South America and Queensland. In their train the white men brought disease, which swept through the insanitary native villages, and between 1860 and 1890, it is estimated, destroyed 75 per cent. of the population of the Pacific.

" Even then the tribulations of the New Guinea islanders had not ended. The pitiable relic of a once happy and numerous race had to suffer the shocks of collision with

traders and planters, officials and missionaries, with widely differing standards of morality and widely differing creeds. Some planters and traders treated the native decently, but the majority exploited them mercilessly. Roman Catholic missionaries encouraged native dances, forbade divorce and accepted no native gifts to the Church ; Methodist missionaries discouraged native dances, did not object to divorce and financed their work by an annual collection which the natives called the ' tula tula (Methodist) throwaway ' ; Lutheran missionaries proscribed all native dances and games ; and German officials, such as Bulwinski, colonised ruthlessly with the lash, and permitted traders and planters to flog and birch.

" Their delicate and complex social system almost demolished, the natives of New Guinea reacted to these bewildering influences with that *ennui* which defies psychoanalysis, but which is now appreciated as the most puissant factor in the depopulation of primitive races in contact with advanced civilisations. When, eight years ago, Australia took charge of former German New Guinea, charged by the mandate to fit the natives ' to stand under the strenuous conditions of the modern world,' its administration had to deal with 500,000 natives who were slowly but surely dying through apathy. In view of the centuries which separate their stage of evolution from ours, the administration cannot be expected to have done much for the natives in eight years, but it has done a great deal more than its detractors within the territory and without would have the League of Nations believe.

" By no means all the natives of New Guinea are natural agriculturists. In their natural state food was easy to procure, and the ' boys ' were so busy fighting that they left their ' marys ' (women) to do what little cultivation was necessary. Appreciable success has followed the paternal encouragement of agriculture by district officers, who are handicapped by the fact that although it is legal to compel natives to grow enough food for their sustenance (a striking symptom of the dreadful apathy with which they are afflicted), they cannot be compelled to cultivate for trade, because that would be forced labour.

"As in all native administration, much depends upon the personality of the District Administrator, whom the natives call 'Kiap.'"

Though the conditions described are the results of German rule, such reports make sorry reading. How can a savage appreciate the benefits of civilisation when rival missions fight like cat and dog for his soul, when his customs are destroyed and he himself is ruthlessly exploited? In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising if the race has become depressed to such a degree that the people have to be forced to cultivate their own food. What has happened in New Guinea shows how essential it is, in dealing with primitive people, that the administrator should be sympathetic and interested; customs so far as is possible should be preserved, missions should be controlled, and rival missions should not be allowed, only one mission being permitted to work in one field. It is wrong to inflict upon the savage the futile religious rivalries of the West, and with primitive people religious differences speedily end in broken heads. So far among the Lakhers there is but one mission, and it is to be hoped that they will be spared a second. Had the Zeuhnang and the Sabeu known of the blessings conferred by civilisation on the peoples of New Guinea, they would doubtless have welcomed its advent even less heartily than they did; as it is, I have not the smallest doubt but that they would much rather have been left independent, even though their treatment has been the absolute reverse of that meted out to the natives of New Guinea, and even though, as they themselves will admit, they have benefited by being taken under British rule. The process of absorption in this part of India may be said to have begun in 1777, when the Chief of Chittagong reports to Warren Hastings the bad behaviour of a mountaineer called Ramoo Cawn, who "committed great violence on the company's land-holders," and who called to his aid "large bodies of Kookie men, who live far in the interior parts of the hills, who have not the use of firearms and whose bodies go unclothed." [1] Coming gradu-

[1] Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 21 — N. E. P.

ally into closer contact with the hill tribes, Government was forced in 1860 to constitute the Chittagong Hill Tracts district. After this followed the various Lushai expeditions, leading to the annexation of the Hills, the process not finally ending till 1924, when the remaining unadministered territory was taken over by Assam and Burma. These tribes, having been brought under administration in interests other than their own, their activities have been circumscribed, head-hunting has been stopped, slaves have been freed, guns have been controlled, and the hillman has been made to conform to a settled though loose form of administration. It will naturally take a savage time to adapt himself to order and discipline, and meanwhile he may lose much of his interest in life. This is shown very clearly by the songs of the Zeuhnang: "Government has taken over all our country, we shall always have to work for Government; it were better had we never been born," or "Government has now hemmed us in, on the north, on the south, on the east, on the west. Henceforth none of our young warriors will drink of the waters of the Salu river, where we always used to raid." Much of the *joie de vive* has gone. To replace the old enthusiasm for war, the capture of slaves, the feasts over heads, the free hunting of all kinds of game whenever they pleased, the Lakher has been given security; this he appreciates, but it is doubtful whether security, at any rate at first, fills the place of what he has lost. It is necessary therefore to replace, so far as is possible, the pursuits that have been banned by other pursuits of a nature less objectionable to the civilised mind. Not only is it desirable that all customs save those which obviously cannot be tolerated should be sympathetically preserved, but it is equally essential that the hillman should be protected from an influx of plainsmen eager to exploit him and contemptuous of his customs and habits of life. Encouragement should be given to all pursuits such as agriculture which will fit the hillman to hold his own in modern life, while a stereotyped literary education which breeds denationalisation and fecklessness should be banned. What is needed above all is sympathetic and firm rule, personal knowledge of the

people and interest in their ways of life. I cannot do better than quote here the words penned by Lewin in 1869. Though Lewin wrote sixty years ago, what he said is as true now as it was then. "This I say, let us not govern these hills for ourselves, but administer the country for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein. What is wanted here is not measures, but a man. Place over them an officer gifted with the power of rule, not a mere cog in the great wheel of government, but one tolerant of the failings of his fellow-creatures and yet prompt to see and recognise in them the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin, apt to enter into new trains of thought and to modify and adopt ideas, but cautious in offending national prejudice. Under a guidance like this, let the people by slow degrees civilise themselves. With education open to them and yet moving under their own laws and customs, they will turn out not debased and miniature epitomes of Englishmen, but a new and noble type of God's creatures." [1] In order therefore to minimise the deterioration, mental or moral or physical, which may ensue when a primitive race comes in contact with modern civilisation, hill officers should be carefully selected and trained, as much harm can be done, with the best intentions, simply through lack of knowledge, which can be obviated by training young officers for what is most certainly a specialist's job.

The Mission.

A more active instrument of change than Government is the Christian mission. The Lakhers have not been affected by the mission in the same way as the Lusheis, for although a mission has been established at Saiko for nearly twenty years, it has made comparatively little headway. As yet the Lakher mission has done little or no harm, and has in certain directions done much good. The Lakhers have not witnessed the frenzied orgies of revival dancing that some years ago disgraced the Lushei Christians. It is not yet necessary on visiting a Christian friend to weep on greeting

[1] *Cf.* Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 118, and *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 351.—N. E. P.

your hostess, and to confess to her how wicked you are and how heavily your sins weigh upon you, while your hostess in her turn assures you that she is a much more miserable sinner than you, according to the custom of Biate village, as related to me by one of the more sensible of the Welsh Mission pastors, who strongly objected to such hysterical proceedings. The pharisaical attitude of "we alone are saved and all the rest are damned" has not yet been adopted by the Lakher Christian, though it is to be feared that this will come unless care is taken to suppress it. This absence of emotional hysteria is partly due to the fact that the hard-headed Lakher has little use either for education or for the teaching of the mission, and partly to the fact that so far the mission has always insisted on strict discipline among the boys in the school and on their all working in return for their education. No effort has been spared to ensure that education shall not lead to the creation of parasites; the boys have been encouraged to retain their own customs, and babuism has been sternly repressed. The Lakher mission is conducted on sound and sensible lines, and the only criticism to be made is that the boys in the school wear shorts and cut off their top-knots. It is gratifying to see that most of them grow their top-knots again on leaving school. It is difficult to understand why Christianity should involve denationalisation. There is no virtue in cotton drawers or in short hair. To quote Lewin again [1]: "Our present notions of sexual decorum are highly artificial. The question of more or less clothes is purely one of custom and climate. If it were the custom for the legs of horses and dogs to be clothed it would assuredly in a short time be stigmatised as gross indecency were they to appear in the streets without trousers." So with the Lakhers, if missionaries would try to improve their conditions without interfering with their dress and introducing the convict crop, they would receive more sympathy for their undoubtedly high ideals. The Lakher's dress is suited to his surroundings and his needs, his cloths are woven and decorated in the most artistic patterns; surely

[1] Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 117. —N. E. P.

it is better to encourage the people to weave and wear their own beautiful cloths than to impose upon them the drab uniform of khaki drawers and cotton shirt, on which good money is unnecessarily wasted. Their well-cared-for top-knots of hair give scope for a display of lacquered and brass hair-pins and combs of great beauty. With the advent of the shaven pate these will all disappear. When a primitive people have beautiful things they should be encouraged to wear them; far from inducing them to adopt a debased form of Western dress, we should endeavour to preserve all that is beautiful in their own costume. By so doing we shall increase their self-respect and encourage them to develop their own art on their own lines.

Again, Lakher and Lushei Christians are not allowed to drink wine, beer or spirits, and no one can become a Christian who ever touches alcohol. In the author's opinion this is going much too far. The people have few pleasures, and after strenuous work, most likely in torrents of rain, a stimulant is rather a good thing. It would therefore be better to encourage temperance than to insist on prohibition. Among more civilised people prohibition has led to deceit; its results are the same among these primitive hillmen. There are so few Christians among the Lakhers that the ill effects of prohibition are not yet so marked as among the Lusheis; but if Christianity spreads and prohibition is insisted on, the same ill effects will occur. There is bound to arise a body of ex-Christians who have been turned out of the Church for drinking beer, but who, having lost their own beliefs, are subject to no moral sanctions whatever. There are many such among the Lusheis. It is to be hoped that a lesson will be learnt from the evils which prohibition purporting to be based on religion has caused among the Lusheis, and that a more enlightened policy may be followed. To a lay mind the teaching that no one who drinks beer can be a Christian savours of deceit, and one cannot be surprised if surreptitious drinking exists among Christian Lusheis and Lakhers. The Lusheis are much more advanced than the Lakhers; they see many Christians who use alcohol, and naturally ask why their particular brand of Christianity

prohibits all alcoholic drinks. As they become more enlightened they will inquire deeper, and trouble will ensue. With a primitive people absolute truth is essential; once you deceive them, even with good motives, you forfeit their trust. For this reason, to make abstinence from drink an essential tenet of Christianity is entirely wrong, and is bound to lead to trouble. Encourage temperance in every way possible, but do not base your teaching on a false foundation.

The Lakher mission therefore has an object lesson at its doors showing the need for discrimination. It is unfortunately so much easier to destroy customs wholesale than to preserve and improve them, and among the Lusheis destruction, admittedly with the best intentions, has worked havoc. When mission work was first started among the Lusheis it was carried on largely by the light of nature, without training and without knowledge of the customs of the people. This led to the condemnation as heathen and useless of some most excellent customs, which no one who had studied them could have failed to wish to preserve. No use was made of the *zawlbuk* or bachelor's house, nor of the custom of *tlawmngaihna* (an untranslatable term, meaning the obligation on every one to be unselfish and to help others). The *zawlbuk* was condemned quite wrongly as an evil place where people drank, while the practice of *tlawmngaihna* was neglected. Through lack of knowledge, therefore, excellent customs which would have greatly strengthened the Church, while at the same time keeping it Lushei and averting denationalisation, were left unused, and actually discouraged. Mission influence therefore has been largely destructive, good customs having been destroyed and not replaced; at the same time, it is curious to see attempts on the part of Lushei church elders to arrogate to themselves temporal power at the expense of the chiefs. Such encroachments deserve short shrift. They are only made possible through ignorance and failure on the part of the heads of the Church to realise the importance of respecting Lushei custom. Is it too much to ask, therefore, that all missionaries should receive some training, at least in anthropology, before being

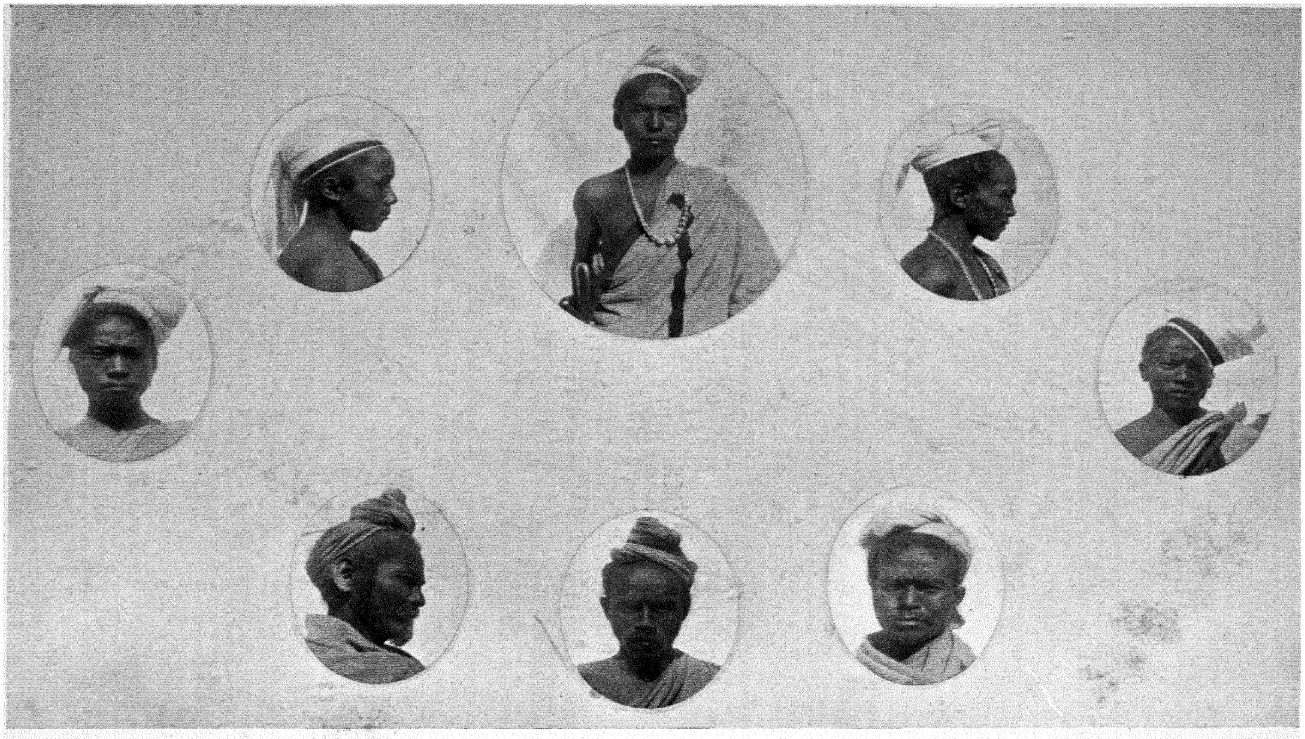
sent out to try their prentice hands on a primitive people? There are signs now that better training is being given by some missions, but no one in future should be allowed to become a missionary by the light of nature; missionary work requires training, like any other work. These primitive tribes have so many admirable customs that no one, however high his motives, should venture to interfere and condemn until he has studied the customs and knows what he is doing; while trying to improve, he should refrain from denationalising; instead of dressing his converts in the cast-off rags of Europe, he should preserve their native dress and allow them to maintain their own style of hair-dressing. Lakhers and Lusheis know perfectly well how to keep their hair clean, and it is only laziness if they do not do so. By encouraging schoolboys to cut their hair, the mission is encouraging idleness. No one can pretend that it is a good thing that *tlawmngaihna*, while still practised by heathen Lusheis, should often be conspicuous by its absence among Christian Lushei communities; the reverse should be the case, and the fact that it is not so is due to failure in the past to study and make use of Lushei custom. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Lakher mission will take warning and profit by the mistakes of its neighbours. I write as a friend, not as an opponent, as I am sure that, provided mission work proceeds on sound lines, much good can be done. Where, however, work is done purely by the light of nature, without training, without study, but simply under the influence of a call, which in many cases has only impelled the person called to preach, but not to make any study of the people he wishes to convert, I fear that as much harm is done as good. An incident that occurred some years ago when I was in the Garo Hills, where there is an American Mission, is a good example of the lengths to which denationalisation may go if the missionaries neglect the study and teaching of tribal customs. I was inspecting a mission school and asking the small boys various questions. Now there is a very well-known tradition among the Garos that formerly they came from Tibet, and they can tell you the route by which they came. I therefore asked one of the

small boys, " Where did the Garos originally come from ? " The answer came out pat, " We came from America."

In writing of the Lakhers it is impossible to avoid mention of the mission. For good or for ill the mission is working in the Lakher country, and almost inevitably it must in due time produce considerable effect on Lakher culture and habits of thought. It is just as necessary therefore for the mission to be conducted efficiently as for Government. It is absolutely essential that a mission should be intelligently controlled, as missionaries are constantly dealing with the minds and thoughts of their converts, and cannot help exercising considerable influence over them. Missionaries give their whole lives and sacrifice everything to their work ; surely it is worth their while to devote a short time to learning their job. Knowledge will give them real sympathy and understanding, and will keep them on the right road, unlike the false sympathy, based on sentiment and a vague belief in the rights of man, which can only lead astray. Once knowledge has been acquired, I venture to predict that missionaries will pause long before they venture to scrap even a detail of dress, and much more before condemning good customs wholesale. The work of the mission and of Government should follow similar lines ; while avoiding denationalisation like the plague, they should aim at improving the general condition of the people ; by maintaining indigenous customs and allowing the free development of the tribe on its own lines, they should help the people to grow up uncontaminated by foreign influences, and enable them to work out their salvation according to their own genius. The mentality of these hill tribes is such that there is nothing to prevent their developing into very fine races if properly handled.

I would commend to all interested in primitive races the remarks made by Dr. Schweitzer, a medical missionary of the Paris Evangelical Mission, in Chapter VII of his book *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest.*" [1] Though

[1] Dr. Albert Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest. Experiences and Observations of a Doctor in Equatorial Africa.* (A. and C. Black.)—N. E. P.



TYPES OF LAKHER MEN

Dr. Schweitzer is dealing with Africa, a very great deal of what he says applies equally to the Assam Hill Tribes, and is especially interesting as the opinion of a modern missionary. In concluding his remarks Dr. Schweitzer says, "My opinion is—and I have formed it after conversation with all the best and most experienced of the white men in this district—that we should accept but try to improve and refine the rights and customs which we find in existence, and make no alterations which are not absolutely necessary."

Physical Characteristics.

The Lakhers are not remarkable for their beauty, they are, however, of good physique, well built and strong. The average height of the men is about 5 feet 6 inches. They are taller than the Lusheis, and their physical fitness compares very favourably with that of their neighbours to the west in the villages situated on the lower hills between the Kolodyne and Lungleh, whose inhabitants are goitrous and unhealthy in the extreme.

The men are good porters, and regularly carry up from the *jhums* loads of at least a maund. When required for carrying loads, only the exact number of coolies ordered turn up, while when Lushei coolies are engaged double the number required always appear, each man bringing a friend to help him. The Lakher prefers to carry a full load and get full pay. When carrying loads the Lakhers never use a yoke. A woman carries from her forehead. The brow-band is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 4 inches wide; it is made of a cane called *ari* (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.), which is used because when made up it has a flat smooth surface which is comfortable to wear. To each end of this brow-band are attached ropes made from the bark of the *pazo* tree (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.) to tie round the load.

Men use a combined brow- and shoulder-band. The ends of each band are spliced to each other and also to the ropes for tying the load, which are made of *pazo*. The brow-band is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and is made of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.) and worn over the forehead like the woman's. The

shoulder band is 2 feet long, and is also made of *ari* cane. It is worn over either the right or the left shoulder. This double carrying-band is very practical, as it enables a man to shift the weight of his load from the brow to the shoulder and from one shoulder to the other at pleasure.

The constant carrying of heavy loads up and down hills leads to a great development of the muscles of the calves and thighs among both men and women.

The women, too, are rather taller than Lushei or Kuki women and of very good physique. Both sexes are of light brown complexion, but darker than the Lusheis, and good looks are less common. Colonel Lewin [1] held that both sexes were of a fairer complexion than other hill men, and says that the faces of those he had seen bore no signs of the prevailing Mongolian type of physiognomy; he also writes that the women reminded him of nothing more than a Portuguese half-caste, and describes how they tied their hair carefully in bands on each side of the face, fastening it in a knot at the back of the head. This mode of hair-dressing is no longer in vogue except among the Heima and Lialai in North Arakan. I cannot help thinking that Colonel Lewin must have seen particularly favourable specimens of the race, as his description does not apply to the average Lakher of to-day, who is darker than the average Lushei and of a distinctly mongoloid cast of countenance. As a rule they have broad noses, high cheek-bones and slightly oblique mongoloid eyes. Occasionally, however, you find men with really good features, but these are the exception. The men are far more manly in appearance than the Lusheis, and have none of that effeminate air which makes it so easy to mistake many Lushei men for girls. Looks vary somewhat in the different villages, the inhabitants of Chapi and Chakang having rather repellent and surly faces. The best-looking tribe are the Zeuhnang, and it was Zeuhnang that Lewin met on at least one occasion. The women when young are sometimes pleasing, but beauty is certainly not their strong point. They age

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, pp. 282 and 311.—N. E. P.

rapidly, and after marriage become sloppy and take no care whatever of their appearance. Even the few who have any pretence to good looks are spoilt by their unwashed condition. Lakhers do not bother themselves with overmuch washing, the usual allowance is once in three months, but some confine themselves to once in six months, and the real die-hards to once a year. When passing a river on the march or when out fishing they usually bathe, and if the village water supply is abundant and allows of their doing so one often sees them washing, but they do not go out of their way to be clean. Still, as their clothes are few, the dirt is washed off by the rain, and they are far less filthy than they would be if they wore clothes.

Character.

In character the Lakhers are reserved and rather dour on the surface, though when one knows them they open out and are friendly enough. As compared with the Lusheis, they are hard and unsympathetic, entirely lacking the spontaneous charm of manner and genuine kindliness of disposition so characteristic of many Lusheis, and especially of members of the Sailo clan. The Lushei is bound by his code of *tlawmngaihna* to be kindly, unselfish and hospitable ; [1] he must try to help others in distress, must never desert a companion out hunting or on a journey, and must vie with others in excelling in sport, work or hospitality, and in every branch of life must, at any rate in theory, consider others first. This code does, moreover, actively influence Lusheis in everyday life. The Lakher cares for none of these things, his language has no equivalent for *tlawmngaihna*, and though individual Lakhers are kindly and hospitable, they are not so as a race in the same way as the Lusheis. There is less hospitality and cheeriness among Lakhers and feasts are fewer, the chief occasions for merry-making being marriages and deaths. Lakhers are very undisciplined, and the lack of control in a Lakher village contrasts very strongly with the excellent discipline

[1] *Cf.* Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 19–21.—N. E. P.

maintained among Lusheis. A young Lakher when ordered to do something by an elder will argue, where a Lushei would obey at once, with the result that it takes much longer to enforce an order in a Lakher than in a Lushei village. I ascribe much of the indiscipline among the Lakhers to the fact that they have no bachelors' house or other equivalent to the Lushei *zawlbuk*. A young Lushei as soon as he is six or seven years old is no longer allowed to sleep in his father's house, but is sent off to the *zawlbuk* and becomes the fag of the older boys. Very strict discipline is maintained; the younger boys are obliged to work for the older, are taught to wrestle, are punished when disobedient, and generally are imbued with a sort of public school spirit, with excellent effect on their character in after life. A Lakher child's training is of the most rudimentary description. A child starts speaking by calling his mother "*Na, na, na,*" and next refers to his father as "*Pa, pa, pa,*" No deliberate training is given; if a child does wrong, its name is shouted loudly, and its father or mother says "*Ta kha*" (don't do that). Children are occasionally gently smacked, but are never really beaten till they are seven or eight years old, when they are licked with a cane if they do not obey. Once they are able to work by themselves, children are never beaten. Children are not taught the arts of hunting, fishing or trapping, but as soon as they are old enough they go with their father to the jungle, see what he does and on returning home make model traps. In this way they educate themselves. Boys and girls are taught how to weed and how to manage a hoe, and girls are taught to weave. The only religious exercise that is taught to children is the *Khazangpina* chant; they learn about other sacrifices by watching them. With this very meagre training, and without the discipline of the bachelor's house, the young Lakher is allowed to go his own gait, with the result that his natural selfishness and independence are never checked, and he is apt to grow up a very headstrong individual. Considering his surroundings and upbringing, this is hardly surprising, and on the other hand he has some excellent points. He is honest, and stealing is practically unknown; he is fond of

LAKHER GIRLS

LAKHER CHILDREN

his family and children, to whom he is indulgent to a fault; he is not greatly given to lying, though extremely litigious. In spite of the fact that on the surface some Lakher customs may seem to conflict with this view, from a Western standpoint the Lakher is a good deal more moral than the Lushei. Among the Lusheis bastards are common, and no one thinks any the worse of a girl for having given birth to a bastard. Among the Lakhers bastards are rare, and the mother of a bastard and her offspring are looked upon with the greatest contempt. A bastard suffers serious social disabilities, and can take no part in the religious ceremonies held by his relations. As a consequence of this, Lakher girls are much stricter and less free with their favours than Lushei girls, as they fear the social stigma incurred if an intrigue ends in its natural result. Suits for the bastard's price are rare in Lakher villages. Once married the women are very moral. Adultery is not common, and divorce, though it presents no difficulties, is less frequent than among the Lusheis. Unnatural offences, to which the Lusheis were at one time very prone, are quite unknown among the Lakhers, and the Lushei *tuai*, a man dressed in woman's clothes, who performed the work and other functions of a woman, has no counterpart among the Lakhers. The men I questioned on the subject expressed an amused horror at the possibility of the existence of such a creature.

Dress.

The most important article of a Lakher man's dress is the *dua* or loin-cloth.

There are two kinds of loin-cloth: the *dua kalapa* for everyday wear, and the *dua ah* for more ceremonial occasions. The *dua kalapa* is a cloth about $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Its manner of tying is rather complicated. When putting on a *dua kalapa* a Lakher holds the cloth about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from one end and places it against the lower abdomen, covering the genitals, and leaving about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet of cloth hanging down in front. The other end of the cloth is passed through the legs, pulled up tight to the small of the back, and then wound round the waist to the left,

passing over the portion of cloth covering the genitals and holding it in place. It is then wound round the waist once again, this time being wound over the body and not over the cloth. After this it is wound round a third time, and again taken between the flap hanging down in front and the cloth going between the legs. When it has been wound round the third time, the end of the cloth is passed through the cloth already wound round the body at the small of the back, and is tucked in on the wearer's left-hand side. Finally the flap of cloth hanging down in front is passed between the legs and tucked into the folds of cloth at the back.

The *dua ah* is a much more ornamental cloth, worn at beer-parties, feasts, marriages and other ceremonies. Its length is 3½ yards and its width 1½ feet. The cloth is an ordinary white cloth, but at each end there is sewn on a 2½-foot length of dark blue cloth, richly embroidered with patterns in different-coloured silks. In adjusting the *dua ah* it is held against the lower abdomen in the same way as the *dua kalapa*, about 7½ feet being left in front, the other end of the cloth being passed between the legs, pulled up to the small of the back, brought round the waist from the left-hand side, passed over the portion of cloth held against the abdomen so as to hold it in place, and then carried round the waist to the back again. The portion lying loose in front is then gathered up and held, so that while the embroidered flap hangs down in front, a double fold of the plain white cloth is laid against the cloth already covering the abdomen ; the other end is then brought round the waist again, passed between the embroidered flap hanging down in front and the double fold of cloth covering the abdomen, and wound round again to the back, whence it is again wound round the body, and not over the cloth which has been already tied. When the end of the cloth again reaches the wearer's back, it is passed through the cloth covering the scrotum and taken up and passed through the part of the cloth which forms a waistband, whence the embroidered end hangs down over the buttocks a little to the left-hand side. The embroidered ends are thus displayed in front and behind. The double end of white cloth which has been left hanging in front

under the embroidered flap is then passed between the legs and tucked into the waistband at the back.

When at work a man simply wears a *dua kalapa*, though occasionally nowadays men wear a plain cotton coat called *viapako*. When they are standing about and doing nothing, they usually wear another cloth measuring about 7 feet by 5 feet, which is drawn over the left shoulder, over the chest, and under the right arm, the end being again thrown over the left shoulder, the cloth hanging down so as to cover the whole body and to afford a modicum of warmth. On a cold day in winter, however, they look uncommonly chilly, and sit huddled up round any fire they can find, looking like nothing so much as a group of old vultures.

There are a number of different cloths which are worn in this way. The finest cloth produced is the *cheulopang*, the ground of which is dark blue. Two white lines run down the middle, and the whole cloth is heavily embroidered with patterns in silk, said to represent the eyes of different birds and beasts. The *cheulopang* is only worn by men or women belonging to a chief's family. Another fine cloth is the *cheunapang*. Its ground is red, and it is embroidered with red and yellow silk. It is worn by chiefs and well-to-do people. The *viapang* is a plain dark blue cloth with a red stripe down the middle, and the *zeupang* is a thin cloth with white stripes on a black ground. The cloth most usually worn is the *chiaraku*, which is a plain white cloth with two broad black stripes running through it. The *pangzapa* is a plain white cloth with no ornamentation. The warmest cloth the Lakhers possess is the *siahriapang*, a heavy cloth of very coarse cotton which is used as a blanket. It is something like the Lushei *puanpui*, but not nearly so warm. Burmese check cloths are also popular. All the cloths described above can be worn by men and women alike, except the *dua*, which can only be worn by men. Men do not lay aside their clothing at night; they wear the same cloths as in the daytime.

The existence of a much more primitive form of dress among the Sabeus of Khihlong and Heima was reported in 1901 by one Longtha of Kiasi, who was sent round the then

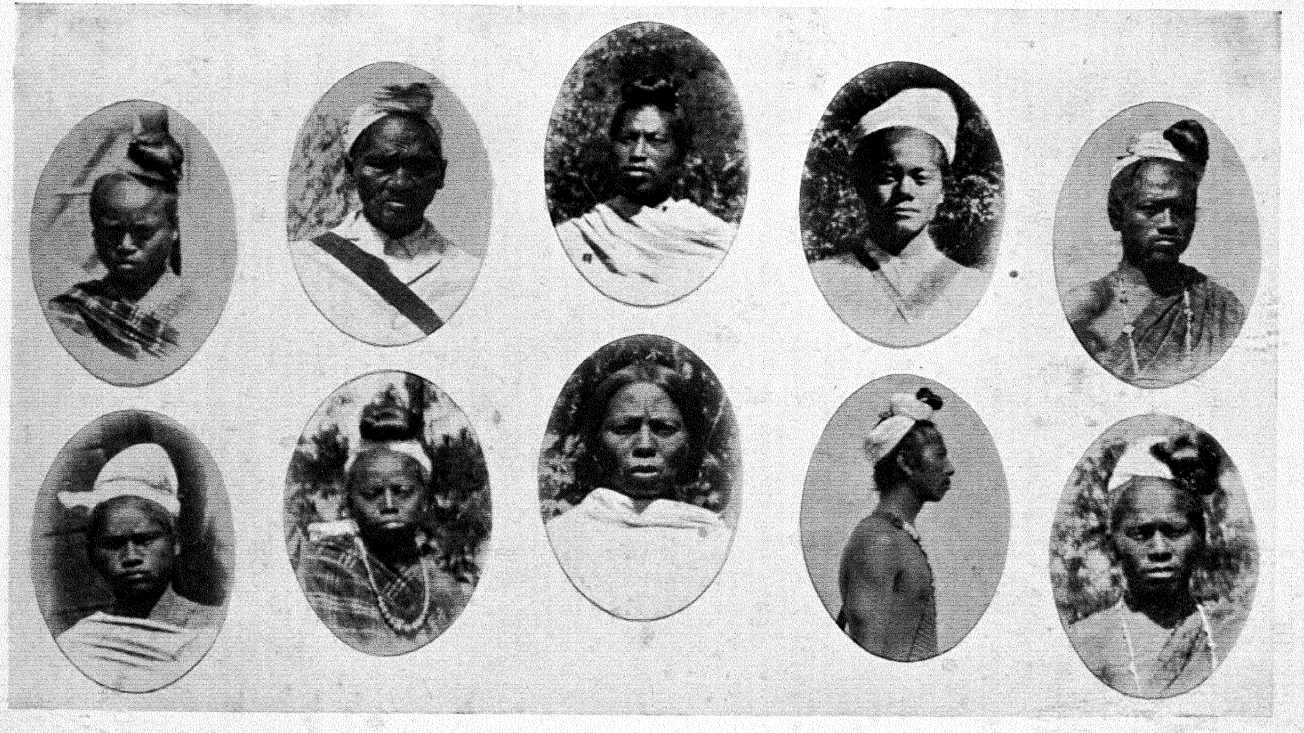
independent Lakher villages to collect information by Mr. Drake-Brockman, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Lungleh. Longtha reported that both men and women in these villages were practically stark naked. "The former strap their penis to their stomach in a vertical position, holding it there by means of a little strip of cloth, from the ends of which strings go and fasten round the waist and at the centre of the cloth. At the lower end there is also a string which passes through the centre or scrotum between the legs and fastens on the waist-string behind, leaving the testicles quite bare. The women wear a small bit of covering of the bark of a tree, suspended by a waist string just in front to hide their private parts, and nothing behind. This constitutes all the clothing worn by both sexes." [1]

I have never myself seen any Lakher man or woman wearing such a costume, whether in Khihlong or any other villages, but is is quite possible that in 1901, when they were still absolutely untouched by outside influences, these primitive clothes were in vogue among the poorer classes. There is no reason at all why Longtha should have invented the story, and it would never have occurred to a Lakher to describe such a mode of dress unless he had actually seen it. The men's dress appears to be a rudimentary form of the *dua kalapa*, which is probably a development from it. The bark skirt is certainly further removed from the voluminous skirts worn by women to-day, but such skirts are worn by women of other tribes, and it seems probable that Longtha's description of the Sabeu women's skirt is correct.

Men's Hair Dressing.

The men always wear *puggrees* called *khuthang*, which are of two kinds, according as the wearer belongs to the older or the younger generation. The elder men on all ordinary occasions merely wear a bit of rag round their top-knots, and this has to do duty as a *khuthang*. When on the war-path or on a journey, when dancing the *Sawlakia*, or when performing the *Khazangpina* sacrifice, and nowadays when

[1] From a note recorded by Mr. C. B. Drake-Brockman, dated Lungleh, 29th May, 1901.—N. E. P.



LAKHER MEN WITH WOMAN IN CENTRE OF BOTTOM ROW

going to meet a high official, the elder men wear a special *khuthang*, which must be tied in a particular way. This formal *khuthang* consists of 4 yards of white cloth about a foot wide. About 1½ feet from each end a black stripe an inch wide is woven into the cloth. The hair is worn in a knot on the top of the head just over the forehead. The *khuthang* is first wound round this top-knot. It is held in both hands ; the end held in the right hand is put round the top-knot and then twisted round the back of the head from right to left. After this it is twisted round the top-knot again once or twice, or as many times as are required, and the end is adjusted at the same spot on the top-knot as that from which the *khuthang* started, but the *khuthang* must be so tied that the black stripe 1½ feet from the end of the cloth is in an exact line with the wearer's nose.

The younger men also wear a *khuthang*, which consists of a strip of white cloth 2 yards long by 1 foot wide with no black stripes in it. After being woven the cloth is bleached by soaking it in water which has been strained through wood ashes. This *khuthang* is tied in the same way as that worn by the older men ; a brass hairpin (*sakia*) is run through the top of the hair knot to hold it in place, a lacquered comb (*sathi*) is worn at the back of the top-knot and a lacquered bamboo hairpin (*sawkahrong*) or sometimes a brass hairpin runs between the comb and the top-knot. Nowadays the ribs of old umbrellas cut to the right length are often used as hairpins. The end of the rib is sharpened, the little knob at the top serving as a head. These hairpins are very useful for extracting thorns from the feet when travelling in the jungle. Fine imported cloth is replacing the home-made product for *khuthangs*, and the modern blood adds a touch of colour by wearing a red or blue ribbon round the portion of the *khuthang* which encircles the top-knot. The hair is greased with pig's fat and kept carefully tended and clean. Lakhers are very proud of their hair. Boys' hair is cut up to the age of nine ; after that age the hair should never be cut. A man whose hair has been cut cannot take part in the *Khazangpina* sacrifice. In the old days only lunatics and idle, good-for-nothing slaves had their

hair cut; nowadays mission-school boys must be included in this merry company. The Lakhers do not like other people to use their combs or brass hairpins. It is not *ana* to use another's comb, and it is not a matter which would call for a fine, but there is a strong feeling against it. They fear that if a man who is subject to headaches or who has a vampire soul (*ahmaw*) uses another's comb, the owner of the comb, when it is returned to him, may also suffer from headaches, or may even become a vampire himself.[1] The Lushei share this belief. Lakhers dislike getting their hair wet, and hardly ever wash it. They say that wet hair smells unpleasant and is the cause of sickness. The Bunjogees, a kindred tribe to the Lakhers, wear their hair in the same way, and Lewin gives the following story of the origin of the fashion.[2] "One day the squirrel and the hornéd owl had a quarrel, and the squirrel bit the owl on the top of his head, so that he became all bloody; and when the squirrel saw the owl under this new aspect he became frightened and ran away, and the owl devoured all his young ones. A Bunjogee chief observed this. He was a Koavang, and the tiger came and told him that what he had seen was a message from Khozing. Thus it is that when the Bunjogees go to war they bind their hair over the forehead and put red cloth in their hair, so that, like the hornéd owl, they may take heads."

Earrings are not worn by the elder men, but the younger men, from the age of nine up to the time of their marriage, wear a special kind of earring called *hawmiraheu*, which is worn by both men and women. This earring is illustrated in Fig. 6, p. 40. These are the only metal earrings made by the Lakhers themselves. Some potter's clay or some of the clay thrown up by termites is pounded on a stone with a little water. When the clay is plastic it is placed on a stone or plank. A bamboo stick is cut to the size of the earring it is proposed to make, and is pressed into the clay till the end of the stick is level with the rim of the hole made in the

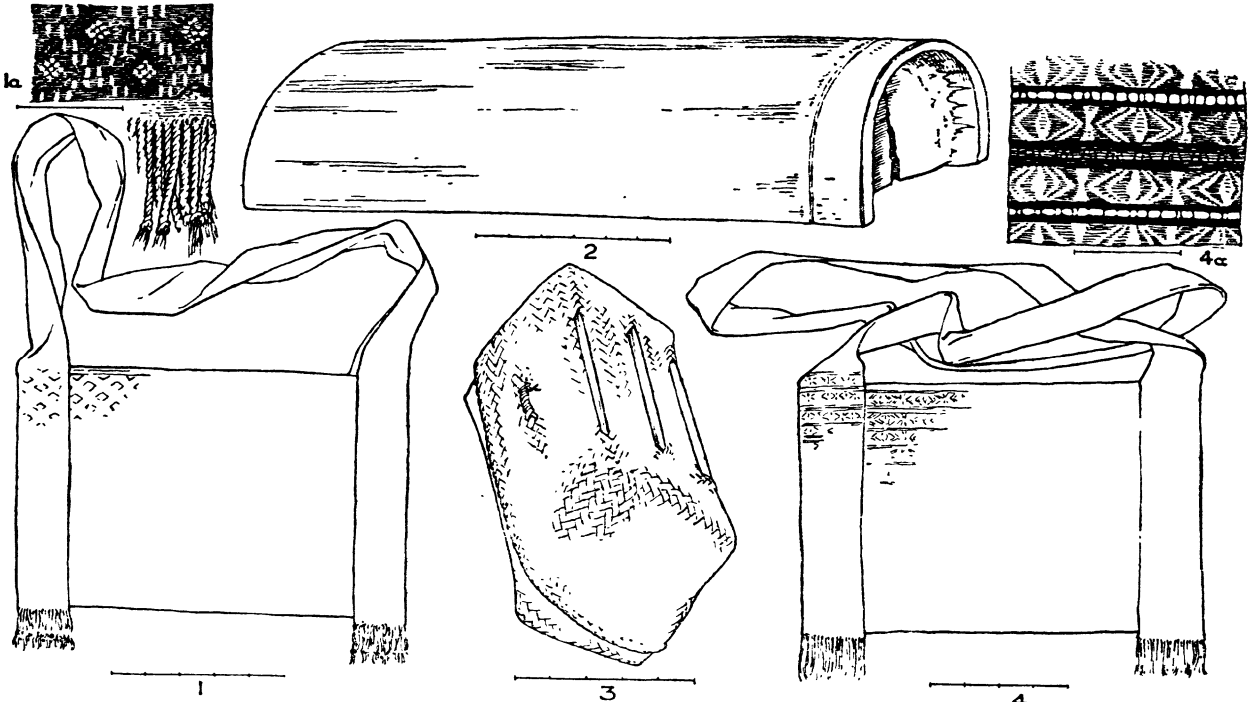
[1] *Cf.* Lieutenant R. Stewart, "Notes on Northern Cachar," *J.A.S.B.*, 1855, No. 7, for the comb among the Kookies.—N. E. P.

[2] Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 96.—N. E. P.

clay by the stick. The stick is then pulled out and the lump of clay is cut in half with a *dao*, leaving half the impression of the stick on each portion of the severed lump. A pattern is cut in the clay on each half with a knife, and the mould is placed in the sun to dry. When the mould is dry the two halves are tied together again with bark string. Some solder or white metal is mixed with pig's fat and melted in the forge, the fat being added as it is said to cause the metal to melt quickly. The molten metal is then poured into the mould and left to cool. When quite cool and hard, the clay is chipped off and the earrings are ready. I am told that the reason why only these small earrings are made by this process is that solder is scarce and difficult to get, what little there is having to be brought from Arakan. Men who possess them wear necklaces of *pumteks*, a black-and-white bead, sometimes round and sometimes oval or flat in shape. The round beads resemble peppermint bulls'-eyes. Old necklaces of these beads are very highly valued and treated as heirlooms. It is almost impossible to buy them, as no Lakher will part with them unless in the very last resort. Modern *pumtek* beads are imported from Mandalay, but I do not know where they are made. They are of very different quality from the old beads, and it is easy to distinguish a new bead from an old one. New beads fetch up to ten rupees each, according to their quality. Legend relates that old *pumteks* were the droppings of a goat. When the goat's owner fed him well, the goat produced *pumteks* of great excellence ; if the quality of the food fell off, the *pumteks* likewise deteriorated.

No Lakher's costume is complete without a small embroidered bag called *sahria*, which is worn hung over the left shoulder and contains the nicotine-water flask, pipe, tobacco and tinder box. When going to war a man only wore his loin-cloth, a plain white cloth tied crosswise over the shoulders, and a bag. The warrior also carried his *dao*, his gun or spear, his powder-flask and shield.

The nicotine-water flasks are called *karoawng*, and are made out of gourd or *mithun's* horn, the former being used by the common people and the latter by chiefs. Horn



1. Bag (*Sahria*).
1a. Detail of Pattern of *Sahria*.
2. Bamboo Pillow (*Lahva*).
3. Small Basket (*Bongtong Chapawpa*).
4. Bag (*Sahria*).
4a. Detail of Pattern of *Sahria*.

flasks are made by cutting off the base of a small *mithun's* horn, leaving a length of eight or nine inches to the tip. The opening at the base of this nine inches of horn is filled with a wooden plug, the point of the horn is cut off and closed with a wooden stopper. The horn and the wooden plug at the base are then ornamented to the owner's taste with patterns in red and black lacquer and solder; sometimes the flasks are simply lacquered plain red or plain black. The flask is filled with nicotine water, and the stopper, which is attached to the horn with a string, can be removed at will. Wooden flasks are also made like the horn flasks, and lacquered in the same way.[1] The gourd flasks are much commoner, and are made as follows. The top of the gourd is cut off, the pulp inside is crushed as far as possible with a small stick, sand mixed with water is poured in and left to stand for two or three days, after which the pulp is again crushed with a small stick and the seeds and pulp are poured out. The hollow gourd is next filled with water and left for three days, when the water is poured out. This process is continued until such time as the water in the gourd has ceased to be bitter to the taste, when it is ready to receive the nicotine water. The flask is completed by a small gourd cork which closes the opening (*cf.* Fig. 2, p. 91). Tinder boxes, called *pachi chilong*, are of two kinds. The commoner is illustrated at page 91, Fig. 6. The box itself is of plain wood and the cover of hide. The other kind is illustrated at page 52, Fig. 1. It is made of wood lacquered black. The two component parts of the box are kept together by string, which passes through two little wooden slots cut at each end. Each box contains flint, steel and tinder, the latter the dried sap of the *sasai* palm (*Caryota urens*).

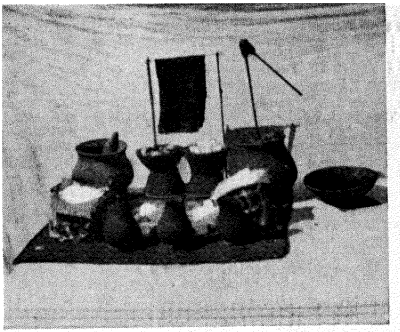
Women's Dress.

The women wear far more clothes than the men, and when going to bed at night keep on the cloths they wear by day. Unaffected by the modern fashions of the West, they cover their nether limbs with a dark blue cotton petticoat called

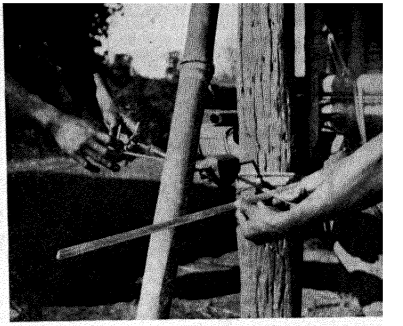
[1] For details of the process of ornamentation, see p. 46.—N. E. P.

cheunahnang, the lower part of which is embroidered in silk. Over this is worn a skirt, which is shorter than the petticoat, so as to display the embroidered end of the latter. This skirt may be of plain dark blue cloth, when it is known as *hnangra*, or, if the lady prefers gayer clothes, she wears an embroidered skirt called *viahnang* instead. The women of Iana village are famed for the beauty of their embroidered skirts, which command a ready sale. Ladies belonging to a royal house have a special cloth for ceremonial occasions called *sisai a hnang*, ornamented with cowries and different kinds of beads. The ornamentation varies in different villages. The cloth described below was seen by me in Savang. The cloth itself is dark blue, and the top quarter of the cloth, which is tied round the waist, is left plain. About three-quarters of the way up are placed three rows of cowries, one below the other, running the whole width of the cloth ; below these comes a row of small, round, green beads called *chhihrang*, followed successively by a row of wild coix seeds called *sachipa*, another row of *chhihrang*, a row of red beads called *sisai*, another row of *chhihrang*, a row of *sachipa* and a row of brass beads, of the size and shape of a match, called *dawchakopa*. Below the brass beads follow successively a row each of *sachipa*, *chhihrang*, *sisai*, *chhihrang*, *sachipa*, finished off at the bottom with tassels of red silk. The cloth is sometimes finished off with a row of the wings of a brilliant green beetle (*Chrysochroa bivittata*) instead of with the red silk tassels. The upper row of beads is sewn firmly on to the cloth, the lower rows are strung on to cotton thread, and hang down in a fringe below the bottom of the cloth. These cloths are very beautiful. They are made by their royal owners themselves, and form part of their dowry. It is practically impossible to buy one, as the owners refuse to part with them. They are worn at weddings and at the *Pakhupila* dance.

Ordinary skirts and petticoats are wide enough to go once round the body only. They are held up by metal belts worn round the waist and over the buttocks. These belts are called *hrakhaw* and *chaiphiapha*, the former being of brass and the latter of bell metal. Numerous belts are worn, and



THE ANAHMANG



MAKING A PIPE BOWL

LAKHER CLOTHS

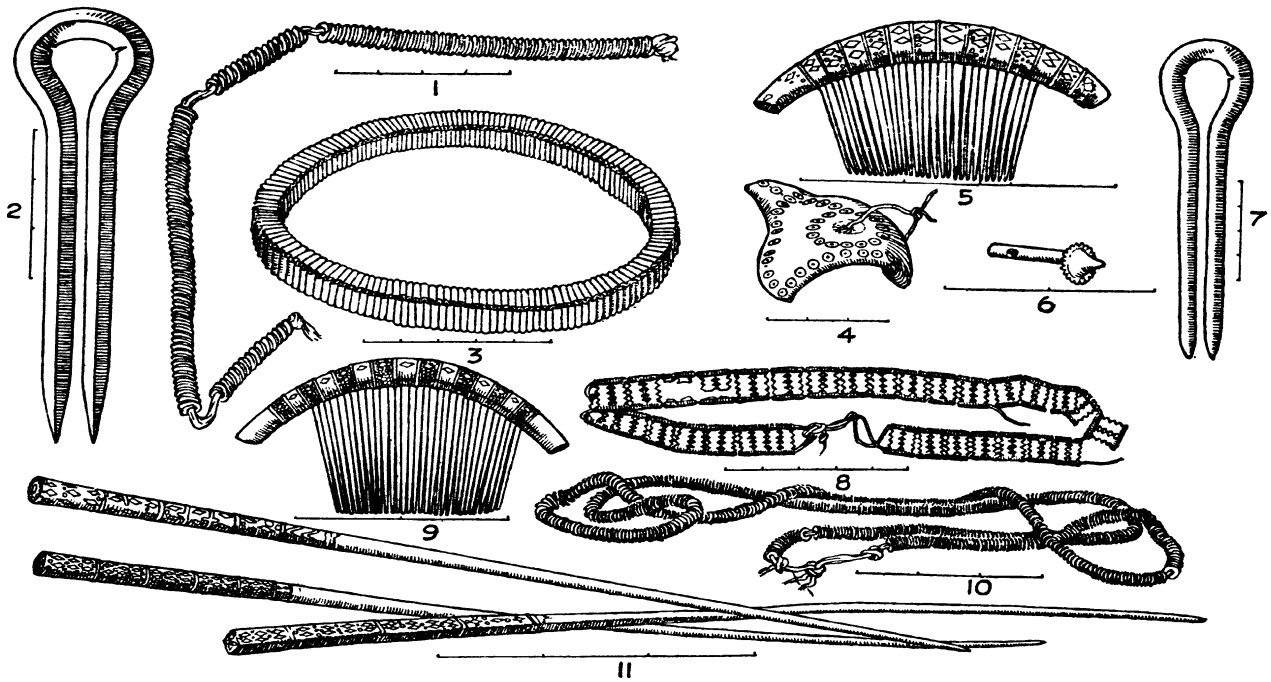
the number of belts is an indication of the wealth of the wearer. The women take great pride in having well-polished belts. New belts are never bright, and polish is only slowly acquired by the belt rubbing against the body of the owner as she walks. The *hrakhaw* is a heavy, flexible belt made of links of brass joining into each other. These are sold to the Lakhers by Chin merchants, and are made by the Chins of Hnarang. There is a smaller and lighter brass belt made in the same way, and also called *hrakhaw* (*cf.* Fig. 3, p. 40. The *chaiphiapha* is shown in Fig. 8, p. 40, and is made in three patterns in Hnarang, and sold by the Chins.

The *chongchi* (Fig. 1, p. 40) is made of lengths of spiral brass tubing, through the centre of which a string is run to attach the belt. These are also made in Hnarang and sold by the Chins.

The *saka* (Fig. 10, p. 40) is a white-metal belt made of hundreds of small, circular, metal rings like tiny washers, and is obtained from Arakan. The old belts are very highly prized, and the *saka* are the belts preferred above all else by the Lakher women.

The upper part of a Lakher woman's body is clothed in a small sleeveless jacket called *kohrei*, open or very loosely tied in front, which barely hides the breasts, while a considerable gap remains between the bottom of the jacket and the top of the skirt. One of the cloths already described, that can be worn by either men or women, is usually also worn in the same way as it is worn by the men, and cast off when doing any work.

A woman's hair is worn at the back in a knot held in place by a heavy brass hairpin called *hrokei* (Fig. 2, p. 40), which keeps the hair well down on the neck ; but the hair, being loosely tied, falls about and gives an untidy appearance. These *hrokei* and the men's *sakia* (Fig. 7, p. 40) are both made in the Lakher villages by the cire perdue process. Women also wear the bamboo lacquered hairpins called *sawkahrong* (Fig. 11, p. 40). In rainy weather both men and women wear hats called *lakhu*, made of dried leaves and bamboo, and also leaf raincoats called *chahnang*. On ordinary occasions the women wear no head covering at



1. Brass Belt (*Chongchi*). 2. Woman's Brass Hairpin (*Hrokei*). 3. Brass Belt (*Hrakhaw*). 4. Ornament from Savang (*Kihlong*) Woman's Conch-shell. 5. Man's Lacquer Comb (*Sathichapawpa*). 6. Earring (*Hawmiraheu*). 7. Man's Brass Hairpin (*Sakia*). 8. Woman's White-metal Belt (*Chaiphiapha*). 9. Man's Lacquer Comb (*Sathichapawpa*). 10. Woman's White-metal Belt (*Saka*). 11. Bamboo Lacquered Hairpins used by Men and Women (*Sawkahrong*).

all, but young girls at a dance wear a head-dress called *lakhang*, which is not unlike the Lushei *vakiria* worn by girls when dancing the *Chai*, but higher and more solidly made. The girl depicted in the frontispiece is wearing a *lakhang*. In making a *lakhang* they start with eight uprights of brass, about 1 foot 2 inches long and half an inch thick, to form a frame on which to build up the crown. These uprights are made by the cire perdue process. The upright is first made in wax ; this is pierced with holes at intervals, these holes are filled with clay, after which the whole upright is enclosed in clay and dried in the sun. The mould is then heated in the fire to melt the wax, and thus leave the inside of the mould hollow. Brass is then melted down in an earthenware pot on the furnace in the forge, and the molten brass is poured into the mould. As soon as the brass has cooled, the mould is chipped away and the clay inside the holes in the brass is pushed out with an iron hairpin and a bamboo stick.[1] The holes made in the uprights are at very close intervals, and are to hold strings of beads. Starting at the bottom, a long string of *sisai* beads is run through from one upright to the other, and so round and round up to the top of the uprights, which themselves are held in place by the strings of beads. The main body of the crown thus formed has no brim ; the lowest row of *sisai* beads rests directly on the wearer's head. When the *lakhang* is not being worn it can be folded up and put away. Having made the body of the crown, the next step is to get some parrot's tail feathers, cover the quills with lead foil made by paring off lead with a knife, and fix each of them with beeswax to a sharp bamboo spike, which is then pushed in between the top three rows of beads. The head-dress is now complete.

Lakhang are only worn by the daughters and sisters of

[1] Lusheis also practise the cire perdue process. I know of three men at North Vanlaiphai, Hranghleia, Khuanga and Neilaia who make pipe-stems in this way. The process is described in detail by Dr. Hutton in Appendix E at p. 145 of William Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*. The Vanlaiphai people work in the same way, but only use the red clay thrown up by termites. The ornamentation is put on as described, and bamboo syringes are likewise used to get the fine threads of wax ; the liquid wax being squirted into a trough of cold water, where it congeals. The Lakhers are not such skilled craftsmen as the Lusheis.—N. E. P.

chiefs on the occasion of marriages and when dancing the *Pakhupila*. When the owner of a *lakhang* marries, she wears it at her wedding, and takes it with her to her husband's house as part of her dowry; if divorced she takes it back home with her, as a *lakhang* is a woman's property and a husband has no power over it.

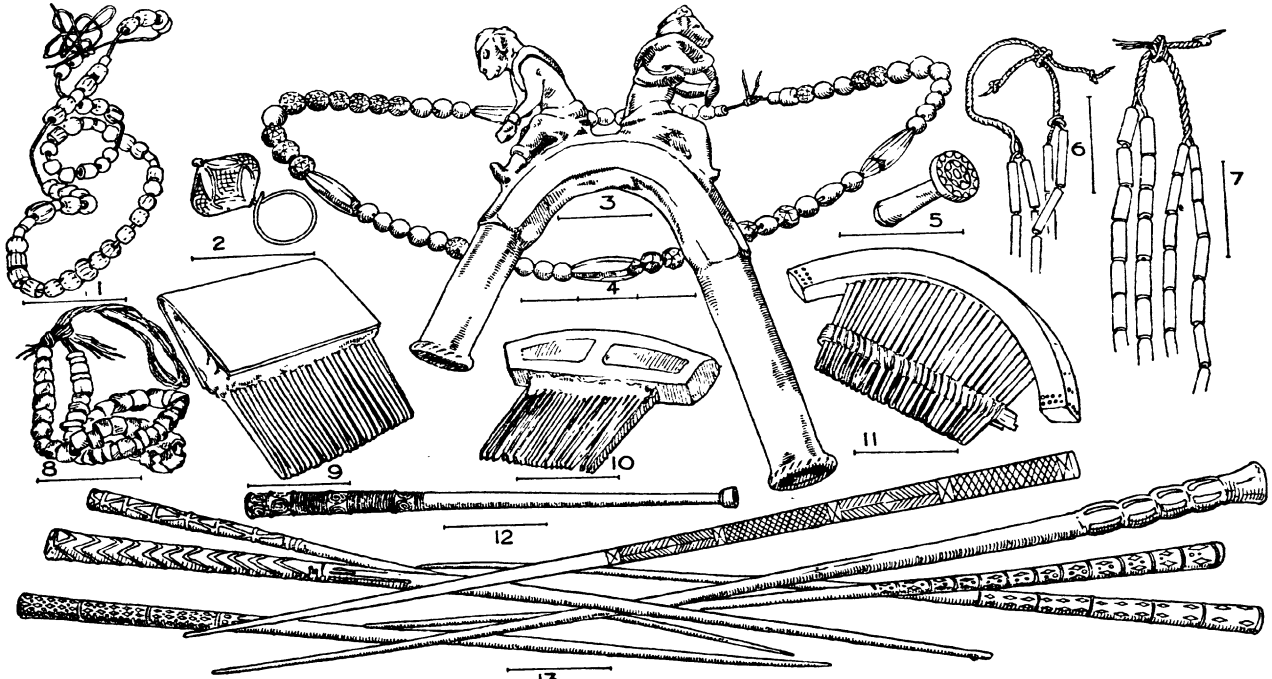
Women's Ornaments.

For ornaments the women wear necklaces, preferably, if they possess them, of the cherished *pumtek*, and, in addition to these, various kinds of beads. The *sisai* (Fig. 7, p. 43) is a necklace of small, long, red, opaque beads. Thirty or forty strings of these are worn at a time. They are brought from Haka, and sold to the Lakhers by the Chins. Another kind of necklace is the *dapachhi* (Fig. 6, p. 43), made of white glass beads shaped like *sisai* beads. Five strings of these are worn at a time. They come from Arakan, whence come also the hard, round, white beads called *lavaw*. About forty of these beads go to make one string, and only one string of them is worn at a time.

Naba (Fig. 4, p. 43) or *theisa* are cornelians, and come from Arakan. About eighty beads go to make up a necklace, and one string only is worn at a time.

The most expensive of these necklaces are those composed of *naba*, which are valued at ten rupees a string. *Lavaw* are worth one rupee a string, *sisai* four rupees for thirty strings and *dapachhi* only an anna a string.

Besides the earrings called *hawmiraheu*, which have already been described, there are two other kinds worn by Lakher women. The commoner kind is a wooden earring called *thangraheu* (Fig. 5, p. 43), made by the Lakhers themselves with their knives. It is shaped like a stud, the head being ornamented with patterns in lacquer and solder, by the same process as is followed in ornamenting powder-flasks. The less common kind is called *takaraheu* (Fig. 2, p. 43), and in shape is exactly like the seed of the tall begonia (*Begonia Roxburghii*) from which it has obviously been copied. The core consists of lac; the skin is of silver or white metal. These earrings are brought from Haka and sold by Chins.

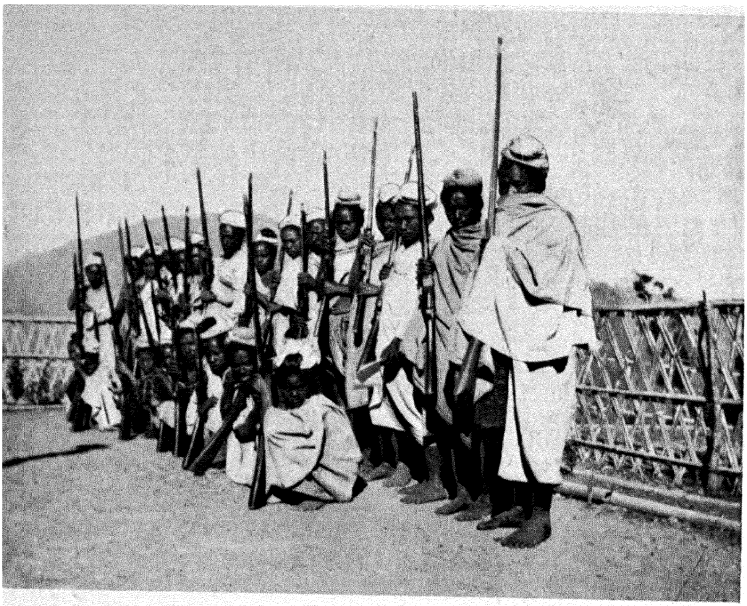


1. Bracelet (*Viachhipang*). 2. Earrings (*Takaraheu*). 3. Syphon Joint (*Pakong*). 4. Necklace (*Naba*). 5. Wooden Earrings (*Thangraheu*). 6. Necklace (*Dapachhi*). 7. Necklace (*Sisai*). 8. Brass Bracelet (*Rahongpachhi*). 9. Comb (*Sathichanongpa*). 10. Comb (*Sathichapawpa*). 11. Comb (*Sathichapawpa*). 12. Mouthpiece of Woman's Pipe. 13. Hairpins (*Sawkahrong*).

The younger generation of men and girls have taken to wearing in their ears brass and bone collar-studs, which they prize highly. Both young men and girls sometimes wear orchids or other brightly coloured flowers in their ears. This practice, however, is confined to the unmarried.

Bracelets, which are known generally as *lakeu*, though each kind has its special name, are worn by the women, but never by the men. The only kind of bracelet made by the Lakhers themselves is called *rahongpachhi* (Fig. 8, p. 43). This bracelet consists of brass beads strung upon a cotton string. The method by which these beads are made is as follows. A broken brass pot is cut into pieces, which are placed in an earthenware pot made for the purpose, which is then put on the fire in the forge. When the brass is melted it is poured off into another earthen pot, and as soon as it is cool enough to handle is hammered out on a stone till it is in thin sheets of the thickness of paper. The hammers used for this work are imported from the plains. The brass leaf is cut into strips an inch long by half an inch wide. The workman takes a strip, binds it round a piece of iron wire, the ribs of old umbrellas being preferred for this purpose, and works it into the shape of a bead by tapping it with the back of his *dao*. As soon as the bead is the right shape it is pulled off the wire and is ready for stringing. These bracelets are worn twisted once or twice round the wearer's wrist. *Viachhipang* (Fig. 1, p. 43) are bracelets made out of very small black and white beads resembling *pumteks*, but much smaller. The beads are threaded on cotton strings and wound two or three times round the wearer's wrist. The Lakhers buy them from Haka Chins. *Chhihrang* are bracelets made out of small, round, opaque green beads. They are worn in the same way as the *viachhipang*, and are also brought from Haka.

The bracelets described above are those which have always been worn by the Lakhers. Nowadays the girls wear all sorts of coloured glass bangles brought from Lungleh bazaar, and also a kind of metal bangle from the same source. These are all of very poor workmanship, and get broken quickly. Lakher women never wear anklets. There is one other ornament, called *kihlong*, which merits description,



LAKHERS ARMED WITH FLINTLOCKS

TWO WARRIORS OF CHAPI

and is illustrated at page 40, Fig. 4. A *kihlong* is a conch-shell, and they are brought in their plain state from Arakan and ornamented by the Lakhers with a pattern of small circles with a dot in the middle of each. To make the pattern they take two sharp thin pieces of iron, tie them together with string, and use them like the two legs of a compass. The dot in the centre is made with the fixed leg; the other leg moving round makes a small circle. The dots and circles are then coloured with lampblack. A hole is bored at the wide end of the conch-shell, through which passes a string whereby the shell is attached to a necklace of *sisai* beads. When the *sisai* beads are worn the *kihlong* is worn also at the back of the neck suspended from the strings of beads which hang down in front. These ornamented conch-shells are rare, and are highly valued.

Weapons and Tools.

The Lakhers do not possess many weapons. Till about a hundred years ago they had no guns. We know that the Kukies who came to help Ramoo Kawn in 1777 had no firearms,[1] and it was probably not till the disposal of surplus weapons at the end of the Napoleonic wars that guns began to trickle out to these wilds, being imported through Chittagong and Akyab. Most of the old flint-locks are Tower muskets marked with dates somewhere round 1815. Lakhers say that they had guns in the time of Iakhai, father of Theulai, chief of Saiko, who died in 1927 aged between a hundred and a hundred and twenty years. When Iakhai was chief, which was at least a hundred years ago, the Tlongsai were at war with the Thlatla Pois, and both sides used firearms and were able to make their own gunpowder. The Burmese are said to have had firearms in 1404, as when the King of Pegu advanced against Prome he dared not attack the place, because guns were mounted on the ramparts and some of the garrison were armed with firearms.[2] It is possible therefore that the Lakhers may have had a knowledge of

[1] Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 21.—N. E. P.

[2] Sir A. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 70.—N. E. P.

firearms at a much earlier date without actually possessing them.

It must have been later than this that the Lakhers learnt to make gunpowder, but from whom I have been unable to discover; that the Lusheis learnt the art from the Lakhers has, however, been recorded by Lewin.[1] The guns now are handsomely decorated, the stocks being lacquered red and black. With the gun is carried a powder-flask made out of *mithun's* horn, ornamented with patterns in black and red lacquer and inlaid white metal. The powder-flasks are called *zaiawng*, and are made and ornamented by the Lakhers themselves. The base of the horn is closed with a wedge of hard wood, the centre of which is covered with a large brass stud. This wedge is covered with a pattern in red and black lacquer and inlaid with tin foil. The point of the horn is cut off and the hole closed with a wooden stopper, which is bound on to the horn with a brass band; below this band the red, black, and silver ornamentation is continued. The flask is worn on a sling attached to two brass slots. The slings are of cloth, and are often ornamented with cowries sewn on in three rows of three, with a star of four cowries between each group of rows of three. The wooden stopper is capped with a brass stud, and is attached to the body of the flask with string to prevent its falling off and being lost. The details of the construction and the patterns vary according to the taste of the maker. For measuring the charge a small bamboo measure is used, about 3 inches deep and 2½ inches in circumference.

The ornamentation of these powder-flasks is very beautifully executed, and the work requires great skill and patience. The portion to be ornamented is first covered with black lacquer. While this is still wet, the patterns are made on the lacquer with thin pieces of solder which have been cut and kept ready. The solder is cut into the thinnest possible flakes, which stick on to the wet lacquer and are handled with a small pair of tweezers, as they are far too small to manage with the hands. The marvellous thing is that the

[1] T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 107.—N. E. P.

1. Ceremonial Dao (*Vaina*).
2. A Dao (*Takong*).
3. A Knife (*Chaizong*).
4. A Sword (*Zozi*).
5. A Brass-handled Knife (*Chaizong*).
6. Powder-flask (*Zaiong*).

patterns are symmetrical, as the only tools used are a small knife for cutting up the solder and the tweezers. Frequently tweezers are dispensed with, and the little pieces of solder are picked up on the sharp edge of a knife or with the point of a metal hairpin, and set in position on the lacquer. When the solder has been applied and fixed in the required patterns, red lacquer is added as desired. As the lacquer takes three days at least to dry, it gives time to apply the solder at leisure, for the work is so delicate that it cannot be done in a hurry. No other tribes in the Lushai Hills do delicate work of this nature. The black lacquer is called *athi*, and is made from the sap which exudes from the bark of the *Melanorrhoea*. This sap when it leaves the tree is reddish in colour. Two coats are applied to the object to be decorated. The first coat is allowed to dry before the second coat is applied, and when the second coat has dried the colour is deep black. The red colouring is a powder called *taku*, and the red lacquer is made by mixing this red powder with some of the juice of the *Melanorrhoea* freshly collected from the tree, as at this time it quickly acquires a bright red hue when mixed with the red powder. It is only necessary to apply one coat of red lacquer. The Lakhers buy the red powder from the Haka Chins.

The process described above is also used in colouring and ornamenting bamboo or wooden combs, hairpins, and nicotine-water flasks.

Before Lakhers acquired guns their weapons of war were bows and arrows, *daos* and spears.

Lakher bows are plain. The whole bow is called *li*, the stave is called *libaw*, and the string is called *liri*. The stave, which is single, is made either of *rasang* bamboo (*Bambusa Tulda*) or of *rahniapa* bamboo (*Dendrocalamus Hookeri*, Munro), as these two kinds are the strongest and most suitable for the purpose. The stave is generally about 5 feet long, the inside of the bamboo forming the convex side. The ends of the stave are notched to receive the string. The string is made out of the bark of a tree called *pazo* (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.). The bark having been stripped from the tree, the outer bark covering is removed

and thrown away. The inner skin is held against the sole of the foot, and the sticky outer covering is squeezed off with a *dao*. After this it is dried thoroughly in the sun, and is then ready for use. To make a bowstring, a strip of dry bark is rubbed between the hands or rolled against the thigh until it is thoroughly twisted. When two strips have been prepared in this way they are rolled together against the thigh to make a two-ply string, which is knotted at each end to prevent its component strips from flying apart. The string is attached directly to the stave by a knot called *chakhi*. In stringing the bow, the stave with the string tied at its lower end is placed on the ground and bent over by the knee until the string can be tied round the notch at the other end. When the bow is not in use, the string is loosened from one end and twisted round the stave, so as to allow the stave to return to an upright position, and is then kept on the shelf above the hearth, as warmth and smoke are said to harden it.

In shooting, the stave is held perpendicularly in the left hand, and is gripped just below a knot in the bamboo, which is purposely left slightly projecting for the index-finger to rest against. The thumb is protected by a bracer called *kneuthli* (Fig. 7, p. 52), made of any fairly durable ordinary wood, which is worn on the wrist. The arrow is generally allowed to run between the first and second fingers, though some archers let it rest on the thumb, and in the case of right-handed persons it rests on the right-hand side of the bow, the position being reversed in the case of left-handed persons. The butt end of the arrow is held between the thumb and first finger. The arrows are carried in a bamboo quiver called *lavaong* (Fig. 6, p. 52), about 1 foot 10 inches long and 3 inches in circumference. The quiver is fitted with a cover so that the arrows cannot fall out, the cover being attached to the quiver sling by a cane rope fixed to its top, so that it will not fall down and get lost when opened in a hurry. An ordinary quiver holds twenty or at most thirty arrows. The quivers are coloured with plain black lacquer from the *athi* tree (*Melanorrhoea*). The quiver is suspended over the right shoulder by a sling made of plaited cane and hangs at the

level of the archer's breast so that he can pull out the arrows quickly. When about to shoot, two arrows are taken out of the quiver ; one is placed in the bow, and the other is held in the archer's mouth for his second shot.

Arrows are of two kinds : those with bamboo heads, called *theiri*, and those with steel heads, called *chatai*, and are about 1 foot 10 inches long. The shafts are made of the same kind of bamboo as the bow staves, but rounded and polished. They are never feathered. The *theiri* has no separate head. The end of the shaft is made very sharp, and shaped like a spear-head. The head of the *chatai* is made of steel, which is beaten into shape in the village forge. The shaft is run into a socket in the head and fixed in with melted lac, which when it has cooled and hardened holds the head tightly in place. The notch for the bow-string is made in the end of the shaft butt, and is a quarter of an inch deep. In the old days bows and arrows were used both for war and for hunting, but now they are obsolescent.

Nowadays the Lakhers do not poison their arrows. It is said that formerly they used a poison called *theipipakia*, which they smeared on the steel arrow-heads. The poison was made by taking the head of a snake, the head of a large black or red ant, the head of a centipede and the head of a bee or wasp, placing these in an earthen pot, and leaving them there till they rotted. When it appeared from the smell that the mixture was sufficiently rotten, the arrow-head was warmed, smeared all over with the poison, placed in the fire till it was red hot, and then plunged into water. By this process the arrow-head was supposed to get impregnated with poison. The poison had to be prepared by men too old to beget children. It was *ana* for others to make it, as the man who discovered the use of the poison laid a curse on all who made it in future, which prevents any person who makes it from having children. The prescription calls to mind that favoured by the witches in *Macbeth*, and even though the rotted heads of the snake and the insects with poisonous stings possessed poisonous properties, any poison present due to the rotten flesh would surely have been sterilised by plunging the arrow-head smeared with it into the

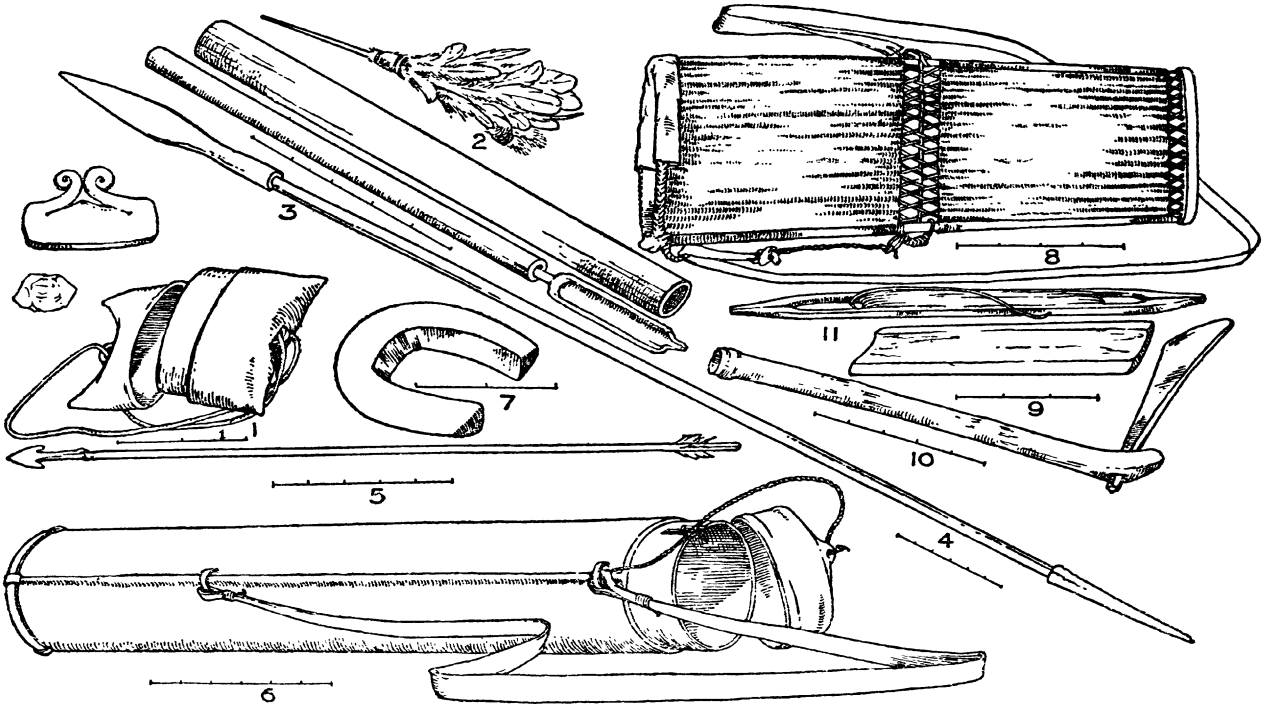
fire. The idea at the back of their minds obviously was, that as snakes, ants, centipedes, and wasps sting human beings, their rotted heads smeared on an arrow would poison the man shot, in the same way as the stings of the living insects poison those whom they bite. History does not relate whether any persons died from the effects of this poison. If deaths occurred, they must have been due either to a powerful imagination or to poisoning induced by traces of the putrid meat of the insects used.[1]

The cross-bow is unknown to the Lakhers. The *cheisia*, or pellet bow, is very common; every boy has one, but grown men are by no means above using them, and frequently boys shoot small birds with them. I have heard of pheasants and jungle-fowl being knocked out with a pellet bow, but have never witnessed such a lucky shot.

The bow consists of a stave *cheisiabaw* of either *rasang* bamboo (*Bambusa Tulda*) or of *rahniapa* bamboo (*Dendrocalamus Hookeri*, Munro), made in exactly the same way as the stave of a plain bow, but shorter, being only about 3 feet long. The string, which is made out of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.) or out of either of the above-mentioned bamboos, is called *cheisiari*, and is attached to a slot cut on the solid at each end by a special knot called *cheisiaripasi*. The string is split in the middle for some 10 or 11 inches, and each end of the split is bound tightly with *ari* cane to prevent it extending. In the centre of the split two small pieces of bamboo are inserted to hold the sides apart, and they and the two sides of the split forming with them the pellet-holder are bound round firmly with *ari* cane. The pellet-holder thus formed is about three-quarters of an inch square. Cane is always used for this binding, even though the string be of bamboo. The pellets are made of the red clay thrown up by termites, pounded up and mixed with

[1] The report in the *Statesman* of 19th February, 1930, of the death of four persons at Marmugao from drinking tea made from water boiled in a kettle containing a dead viper, makes one less certain of the harmlessness of this poison.—N. E. P.

But it has been suggested in one recent case (March, 1930) that poison was added to the soup and a cobra's body dropped in as a blind. The Lakher practice recalls the common Naga one of tempering a weapon with chili and nettle juice to make the enemy smart.—J. H. H.



1. Tinder Box with Flint and Steel (*Pachi Chilong*). 2. Blow Pipe and Dart (*Buchahmong*). 3. Pop Gun (*Phailaipa*). 4. Spear (*Asei*). 5. Arrow (*Chatai* 6. Quiver (*Lavaong*). 7. Archer's Bracer (*Hneuthli*). 8. Scabbard of Dao (*Takongpai*). 9. Netting Mesh Gauge (*Sosina*). 10. Hoe (*Atu*). 11. Netting Needle (*Sochiphang*).

water, rolled into shape with the hands and then laid out in the sun to dry.

Spears are still constantly used, and carried by any one going hunting, or on a journey, or on the way to the fields, in case of meeting wild animals. They were always carried to war, and Lakhers think them much more effective than a gun for killing an enemy at close quarters. Lakhers are expert at hurling spears, and often track their game down and kill it by hurling a spear at it. Hurling is the commonest mode of use, but at close quarters they are equally expert at thrusting. The spear is called *asei* (Fig. 4, p. 52). The shaft, *aseibi*, is made out of the wood of the *sasai* palm (*Caryota urens*), this wood being preferred as it is heavy and so flies straight to the mark. The spear-heads (*seiha*) are made in the village forge from steel bought in Lungleh or in Haka. They are lozenge-shaped, quite plain, and without barbs, but with a small mid-rib. The shaft fits into a socket in the head, shaped to receive it. The spear-head is heated in the fire, and as soon as it is hot enough, lac is put into the hole and is melted by the heat. The shaft is then placed in the socket and the head is rammed down on to the shaft. The lac as it cools coagulates and fixes the head firmly in position. The butt consists of an iron spike called *seichhi* affixed with lac in the same way as the head. This spike is for sticking into the ground on the side of the path or elsewhere when the spear is not in use. Lakher spears have no sheaths.

Spear-heads are kept scrupulously clean, sharpened regularly on a stone, and smeared with pig's fat to prevent rust. Lakhers have only this one kind of spear, unlike their cousins the Lusheis, who have several.

The most useful weapon both in war and in peace possessed by the Lakhers is the single-edged *dao* called *takong*, Right-handed people use the *chachatakong* or right-handed *dao*, and left-handed people the *chaveitakong* or left-handed *dao*. These *daos* are made in the village forge from steel purchased from the Haka Chins. The handles are made from the root of a bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*). To fix the blade to the handle a hole is made in the latter 4 or 5 inches

deep. This hole is filled with lac, the tang of the blade is heated and thrust into the lac, which as it cools hardens round the blade tang and holds it firmly in place. The *takong* was always carried when going to war, and was used for chopping off the heads of the slain. In peace it is used for every kind of work: cutting *jhums*, felling bamboos, building houses—in fact there is no sort of work for which a *takong* is not practically indispensable. The *takong* is generally carried stuck into the waistband at the back or in the bag, but special scabbards of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus* Roxb.), with a bone bottom, are sometimes used; these are worn on slings of dried hide or of cane, one in my possession having a sling made out of a monkey's tail. The top edge of the scabbard is bound round with lac to prevent the *dao* cutting through the cane when it is drawn or sheathed. Scabbards are about 1 foot long and 5 inches wide. (Fig. 8, p. 52.) *Takong* are 18 to 22 inches long from the end of the handle to the end of the blade. (Fig. 2, p. 47.)

The *vaina* is a special ceremonial *dao*. It was carried to war, and used for cutting off heads, but its chief use was in ceremonial when dancing the *Sawlakia* and the other dances performed after taking heads. The *vaina* has a small brass handle ornamented with a long tuft of scarlet goat's hair. At the point where the scarlet hair joins the handle, small tufts of black hair are also inserted. The blade is curved, and is 17 inches long. At the handle the blade is 2 inches wide, and it gradually widens out to a breadth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and then tapers down to the point. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the end of the blade is a small, sharp protuberance opposite the cutting edge. A drawing of a *vaina* will be found at page 47. The *vaina* is clearly the *dao* described by Lewin as held by the leader of the dance given in his honour in Teynwey's village.[1] Lakhers do not themselves manufacture *vaina*, but buy them from the Haka Chins.

The *zozi* is a handsome sword with a brass-ornamented handle and a brass scabbard lacquered in red or black or in alternate sections of red and black. This sword was carried to war, but it is more a ceremonial than a practical weapon.

[1] Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, pp. 313 and 314.—N. E. P.

A chief visiting a strange village always wears a *zozi* as a sign of his position. They are not made by the Lakhers, but are bought from Haka. The blade of a *zozi* is about 19 inches long, the length of the whole sword, including the handle, is about 30 inches. (Fig. 4, p. 47.)

The *chaizong* is a small double-edged knife with a handle made of *teicho* wood (*Boehmeria regulosa*, Wedd.) and a sheath of *pazo* (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.), both sheath and knife being made in the village. It is used in war for stabbing, in times of peace for skinning animals, cutting up meat, slicing bamboos, and for numerous other purposes. The handle is shaped as desired, a hole is made in it to admit the pointed base of the knife, this hole is filled with lac and the base of the knife is heated and forced into the hole, where it is held tightly by the lac. (Figs. 3 and 5, p. 47.)

There is yet another kind of *dao*, called *tabeupa*, which has a double edge. It is really a Haka *dao*, and before the Lakhers knew how to make right-handed and left-handed *daos*, *tabeupa* were brought from Haka, and, finding them useful, the Lakhers copied them. Nowadays the *tabeupa* is falling out of favour, as the people find it easier to use the right- and left-handed *takong*, according as they are right- or left-handed. The ordinary right- and left-handed *daos* have a plano-convex edge, only one surface of which is sharpened. Thus a right-handed man can cut downwards only from the right, and in cutting upwards must deliver his blow from the left, the reverse being the case with a left-handed man using a left-handed *dao*.

The *tabeupa* was not carried to war, but was kept for cutting *jhums*, house-building, cutting firewood, and such-like purposes.

The *ahrei* is an axe. It is used for felling trees, cutting up firewood, and on occasions as a weapon of defence against wounded animals. It is not, however, a weapon of war. Axes are made in the village forge. The blacksmith takes a piece of steel of the right size and places it between two pieces of ordinary iron; the sandwich is tied together with cane and the whole is coated thinly all over with potter's clay, or with the clay thrown up by termites,

and placed in the furnace. The blacksmith's attendant plies the bellows, and as soon as the iron is red hot the blacksmith removes it with his tongs and places it on a stone or another piece of iron, and with his hammer welds the iron and steel together and hammers the mass into shape, the broad blade tapering down into a spike which enters the haft. The blade is then sharpened on a hard stone, generally a stone brought up from the River Kolodyne, and after this the axe-head is again coated with clay and heated to a white heat in the furnace, after which it is placed in cold water to harden, and is then ready for use.

The handle is made out of the base of the bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*), cut at the point where the root starts. A hole is made through the wide end of the haft, and the spike at the base of the axe-head is fixed through this hole. If a good piece of bamboo root has been found for the handle, these axes last about two years.

The only remaining tool used by the Lakhers is the *atu*, a small and inefficient iron hoe. This much-overworked tool has to perform all the functions of spade, shovel and fork. It is used for sowing the seed, weeding the fields, digging of all sorts, making roads, and for every kind of earthwork. Like the axes, these hoes are home-made, but of iron only, without steel, and the handles are of bamboo root, the blade being fixed to the handle in the same way as the axe-head. (Fig. 10, p. 52.)

The Lakher axe is easily converted into an adze by knocking out the head and replacing it on the haft so that the edge is at right angles to the plane of the stroke. This is frequently done, and this adze is used for making paths, digging graves, excavating the wild yams whose roots are found at a great depth below the soil, and for chipping out planks from large logs. There is no separate word in the language for an adze, both axe and adze are known as *ahrei*.

Clubs and maces are unknown. For killing pigs that are being slain for food only, and not for a sacrifice, a wooden paddy pestle is sometimes used. The pig is hit hard behind the ear and dies at once.

The only purely defensive weapons used are shields, *seu*,

and stone shoots. A shield is called *veupho*. Shields are quadrangular, and are made of two or three layers of *mithun* hide. The upper half of the front of the shield is covered with rows of brass discs. In some shields a large brass disc is placed in the centre, and above it the rows of small brass discs. At the back of the shield is a cane handle. The shield shown in the coloured drawing of the warrior at page 205 was at Chapi ; the author has one in his possession exactly like that shown in the plate at page 207 of *J.A.S.B.*, No. III, of 1852. Tufts of goat's hair dyed scarlet hang from the two top corners of the shield, and also from each of the brass discs in the bottom row.

Seu are sharp bamboo stakes which were planted in the paths along which a raiding party was expected. These *seu* are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and sharpened at both ends. A trench was dug in the path 2 feet square and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, in which about twenty *seu* were planted in two lines and covered with debris and leaves. When the raiders came along, the leader's foot was often pierced through in one of these traps. Longer *seu* were sown in the trench surrounding the village fort, and made an attack very difficult. *Seu* therefore are a very effective weapon of defence. I have seen a man's calf pierced right through, and an end of the *seu* sticking out on each side.

Stones.

Lakhers have no traditions regarding the use of stone implements, and I have not come across celts anywhere in the Lushai Hills. There is a certain stone called *salong* (paddy stone) which is very rare, and which is believed to ensure to its possessors plentiful harvests. It is said to be a very smooth, round stone, and is found in the jungle. A sure indication of its presence is a heap of paddy husks in the shape of a mole-hill. Anyone finding such a heap of paddy husks at once digs down to the *salong's* house below, captures it, and takes it home. There, a hen is sacrificed and its blood is smeared on the *salong*, which is then enclosed in a small wicker covering and placed in the closed basket in

which a Lakher keeps his most precious possessions. It is believed that if a *salong* is displeased with its owner it can escape and disappear. I have never seen a *salong*, but the belief in it is current in Saiko, Savang and Chapi. Lusheis have the same belief and call the stone *falung*. *Fa* in Lushei means paddy, like *sa* in Lakher.[1]

There is another stone called *awhlong*, which means "the chicken stone," which is usually found on river-banks, though sometimes also on hill slopes. The *awhlong*, unlike the *salong*, live on the surface, and not underground. They are of different shapes, and always have a hole through them. Anyone finding an *awhlong* runs a string through the hole and ties it to the hen basket. So long as it remains in his possession his chickens will prosper and multiply. Deutha of Saiko has an *awhlong* which nothing will induce him to part with, as he says that if he did so his chickens would cease to be fertile and would decrease in numbers.

Tattooing.

Lakhers often tattoo their bodies, but as far as I can discover, this tattooing has no religious significance at all, and is simply regarded as an embellishment.

Both men and women are tattooed, and it does not matter whether the operation is performed by a man or a woman, anyone is allowed to do it.

Tattoo marks are placed on the arm, the leg, the shoulders, and the chest, and the most common marks are a circle (O), a cross (X) or signs (VV XXX M.). Young men are fond of having *mithuns'* heads tattooed on their chests.

The dye used is made by crushing up gunpowder or soot with the leaves of the climbing bean. The design is painted on the body with the dye, and after this it is worked into the skin with a needle. The blood drawn on the first pricking is rubbed off, more dye is applied and again pricked into the skin and then left to dry. The dye takes about three days to dry properly into the skin. The needle now used is an ordinary steel needle. Prior to the introduction

[1] All Nagas keep similar stone talismans, which some tribes are very unwilling to show. *Vide The Sema Nagas s.v. Anagha.*—J. H. H.

of needles the Lakhers used the thorns of a lemon tree called *Isa* (*Citrus medica*, Linn.) or porcupine's quills for pricking in the pattern.[1]

Lakhers say that away to the south of their country, near the junction of the Tisi river and the Kolodyne, there dwell a people called *Hmiachipaipa*, among whom both men and women tattoo their faces, leave the body untattooed, but tattoo themselves again from the thighs down to the feet. The tattooing is not complete until if they look at a dog it barks at them; unless a dog barks at the sight of them, more tattooing has to be done.

These people are also said to be keen archers, and before being regarded as an expert a man has to undergo a sort of William Tell test. A paddy-pounding pestle which is about 9 inches in circumference and 5 feet high is planted in the ground. Behind this stands the wife of the archer, who then fires at the target. If he succeeds in hitting the target without shooting his wife, he is considered to have passed with honour, and is allowed to go on raids. It requires very straight shooting to do this without hitting the woman, as the pestle by no means covers her. I cannot vouch for the truth of either of these two stories from personal experience, but they are current in all the Lakher villages.[2] Phayre,[3] writing in 1841, says: "The Khyeng women have their faces tattooed in a remarkable manner, and being the only tribe who follow this custom, they are easily recognised among other people," and Fryer in 1875 writes:[4] "Puberty takes place between the ages of twelve and fifteen, at which period the disfiguring operation of tattooing the girl's face is usually performed." From these two authorities it seems that the Khyeng must be the people known to the Lakhers as *Hmiachipaipa*, as the Khyeng country lies to the south of the Lakher.

[1] Fijians also used a lemon thorn for this purpose. *Cf.* A. H. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 185.—N. E. P.

[2] The story about the tattooed people is to be found in a note recorded by Mr. C. B. Drake-Brockman at Lungleh on 29th May, 1901. He does not, however, mention the archers.—N. E. P.

[3] Phayre, "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, No. 117.—N. E. P.

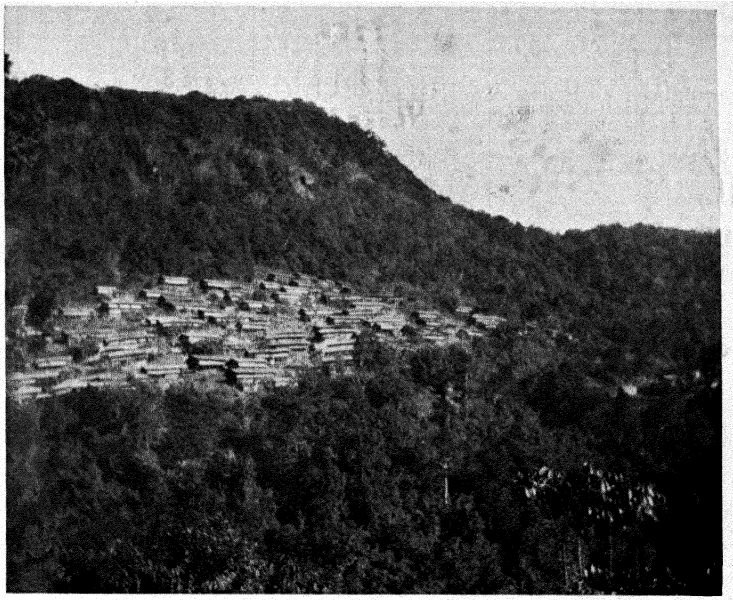
[4] G. E. Fryer, "On the Khyeng People of Sandoway Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, Part I.—N. E. P.

PART II

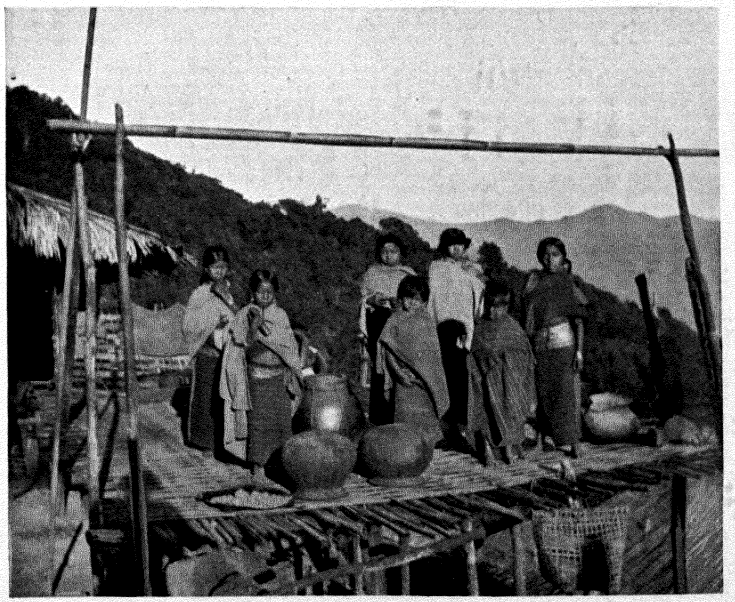
DOMESTIC LIFE

LAKHER villages are generally built on some high slope in an easily defended position, and not perched on the very hill-top, like Lushei villages. Savang is on a hillside which slopes up to an inaccessible cliff, on which is a cave whither the people retreated in times of trouble, and in which they kept their valuables. High sites are always preferred, owing to the unhealthiness of low-lying localities. The villages are permanent, and are rarely moved, as the Lakhers are attached to their village sites and dislike abandoning the graves of their ancestors. While the Lushei moves his village to a new site as soon as he has worked out the surrounding land, the Lakher prefers to keep a permanent village and to spend the greater part of the cultivating season in a hut built in his field, to which all the able-bodied members of the family remove, leaving the old and infirm to look after the village.

The villages are known by their place-names, and not, like the Lushei villages, by the name of the chief. The place-names generally refer to some natural feature. Thus Saiko means "pommelos," there having been many pommelo trees on the site when the village was founded. Longphia means "stone flat," and there is a large flat stone on the site. Longba means "salt hang," the name being due to the fact that when troops first came up from Arakan they left some of their salt hanging up there in trees to pick up on the way back. Vahia is the name of the small hornbill, and the village took that name because it is a favourite haunt of these birds. Laki means the winding path, and the village is so called because the path to it is very winding.



SAVANG VILLAGE



GROUP OF LAKHER GIRLS ON VERANDAH OF A HOUSE IN SAVANG

Savang means "the wild beast's skin." Longbong means the place where a memorial stone was erected. Nangawtla means "the hill where the sun was eclipsed"; long ago, when the Hawthais were living on this site, an eclipse of the sun took place, from which event came the present name of the village. Siaha means "elephants' teeth," and the name is due to elephants' teeth having been found on the site. Thiahra means "a fan palm" (*Borassus flabellifer*), and as the site was covered with them, the village took the name. In the same way, Thiahra Amongbeu got its name because the site was covered with fan palms and large bamboos (*Dendrocalamus sikkimensis*). Paitha means "migration famous." The village received this name because when Colonel Shakespear gave the lands now known as Paitha to Leisai, brother of Theulai, chief of Saiko, he ordered a number of Saiko houses to migrate and form a village for Leisai. Tisongpi means "water scarce." Lateutla is the name of a mountain; it means literally "cotton profit famous," the name being derived from the fact that when cotton is grown on this hill wonderful crops are obtained. Another mountain is called Sawhmong, literally "child got," and the name arose from the fact that long ago a woman gave birth to a child in the jungle near the top of this mountain. The highest hill in the Lakher country is called Pheupi, meaning "thatch ground large," the top of the hill being covered with thatch grass. It is possible therefore to glean a considerable amount of information as to the history and natural features of the country by a study of the meaning of the place-names.

Before a village can be moved to a new site the omens must be taken. To do this some of the elders proceed to the site which has been provisionally selected, taking with them two cocks. One of these cocks is penned above the site selected and the other below. The party make themselves a shelter between the two cocks and spend the night there. If the cock which has been penned above the site crows first and the lower cock replies, it is a good omen, and the site is lucky. If the lower cock crows and the upper cock makes no reply, the omen is not so good; but if the

lower cock crows and the upper cock replies, it is a bad omen, and another site must be found.[1]

In Chapi unless a bird called *Beupi* (*Graucalus Macei*) is heard to call while the new site for the village is being cleared another site must be selected. Before moving to a new site the Chapi people perform a sacrifice called *Rana*, which consists of offering a pig to the Kahria mountain. On the day of the sacrifice the whole village is *pana*, and the next day the move is made.

When a village moves to a new site fresh fire has to be kindled in the new village. Smouldering bits of wood are never carried to the new village to start the fire, which must be freshly kindled with flint and steel, or nowadays with matches. A fire is first kindled in the middle of the new village, and from this each household starts its own fire. It is believed that if fire is brought from the old village it will bring with it the diseases which were common there. Also the old fire, having been used for cooking the flesh of animals killed by tigers and funeral meats, is impure, and must not be brought to the new village site lest it defile it. All other movable possessions are taken from the old to the new village; it is only fire that must be made afresh. Unlike some primitive tribes, the Lakhers have no objection to using matches to kindle new fire when the old fire has become impure.

The villages are very filthy, being littered with the dung of *mithun*, pigs, and other domestic animals. No attempt is made to clean them, and it is only thanks to the voluntary scavenging done by the pigs and dogs that they are kept even moderately decent, and that the people are not a constant prey to serious epidemics. The villages are not laid out symmetrically, it is rare to find even one long street, and houses are dumped down anywhere according to the fancy of the individual builder. There are no rules as to the orientation of houses, and while a Lushei village is generally arranged in orderly streets, the Lakher village is merely an untidy collection of houses straggling over a considerable

[1] The Lusheis take only one cock, and if it crows an hour before daylight, all is well. *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 23.—N. E. P.

area, and at unequal distances from each other. The only site that is definitely set apart by the chief and elders is a flat spot in the centre of the village for the *tleulia* ground, on which the village communal sacrifices are performed. As soon as the houses have all been erected and the village established, a sacred tree called *bongchhi* (*Ficus geniculata*) is planted. The chief's house is generally more or less in the centre of the village and close to the *tleulia* ground. The reason for this location is that in case of a raid the centre of the village is the safest place, and raiders would be less likely to penetrate there and injure or kill the chief or cut down or mutilate the sacred *bongchhi*, either of which events would bring grave misfortunes upon the village. The villagers being left without a head would be like sheep without a shepherd, while the felling of the *bongchhi* means sickness and failure of the crops. Chiefs, however, were never wittingly killed by Lakhers in war; it was only if a chief was unfortunate enough not to be recognised that he ran any risk of death.

None of the villages are now fortified. In the old days every village had its fort or *ku*, to which the people retired on news of a raid. This fort was built in the middle of the village, and consisted of a strong stockade of tree-trunks and saplings about 10 feet in height. These saplings were planted in two or three rows, so as to make the fort bullet-proof, and the stockade was loopholed to enable the defenders to fire. All round the stockade a trench was dug and sown with bamboo stakes called *seu*, and was crossed by a drawbridge, which was raised and lowered by cane ropes. The women and children were placed in the centre, while the warriors manned the walls. No instance is known of a fort ever having been stormed, the Lakhers not being brave enough to attack a fortified position seriously. Some distance from the village the jungle was cut at all vulnerable points to render surprise more difficult, and sentry posts were established on all the paths to give timely warning. The sentry sat up on a high tree, in the branches of which a platform with a shelter was made for him to sit in, and his duty was to fire a gun as soon as he viewed the enemy

approaching, to warn all the villagers to go into the fort, after which he himself made his way there as best he could.[1] As a further defence stone traps, called by the Lakhers *longpa*, were built at suitable places on paths approaching the village. On the top of a precipitous cliff above the path large boulders and stones of all sizes were collected and rested against stout bamboo matting or boughs, the whole being kept in position by a cane rope, by cutting which the rocks could be precipitated on to the path below. Sentries were left in charge of the trap, and as soon as the enemy were at the right place on the path, the supports were cut and the stones rolled down the hillside at a great pace, often doing much execution among the attackers. These stone traps are used by most of the Assam hill tribes, and I have seen them used in the Manipur hills with considerable effect by the Kukis.

The houses are roomy and not uncomfortable. The size of a house varies according to the social position of its owner. In the verandah are the trophies of the chase—skulls of bison, bears, *sambhur*, barking deer, *serow*, *gural*, and wild boars—over which the *Ia* ceremony has been performed. The chiefs usually have finer collections of trophies than commoners, as all animals slain by their dependants are claimed by the chief as of right, and count as though the chief himself had shot them. In the Savang chief's house I found a magnificent *mithun* head, which when measured proved larger in some respects than any recorded in Rowland Ward's book. I persuaded the chief to sell it to me, and it is now in Aijal club. This *mithun* was shot below Laki some twenty-five years ago by one of the Savang chief's slaves. As the present chief is entirely neglecting his collection of heads, I was very fortunate to find this head before it was spoilt. In the old days bison were numerous, and fine heads were obtained; now, however, they are scarce, and may not be shot without permission. Elephants, too, used

[1] *Cf.* John Macrae, "Account of the Kookies or Lunctas," *Asiatic Researches*, VII, 1801, p. 187. Perhaps the statement "when day overtakes them, they halt and lie concealed in a kind of hammock, which they fasten among the branches of the loftiest trees" really refers to these sentry posts.—N. E. P.

to be hunted in the flat lands on the banks of the Sulla river, and old skulls and bones are carefully preserved by the family of any one fortunate enough to have bagged one. This, too, however, is a sport of the past, and can only be indulged in surreptitiously.

Along the main beam which runs right across the verandah are hung the gongs and powder-flasks owned by the family. The gongs, which are made in Burma, are of all sizes, and are greatly valued by the Lakhers; they are the favourite musical instruments for accompanying dancing and singing, and are also given in part payment of marriage prices. The powder-flasks are made of *mithun's* horn, and are ornamented with patterns in red and black lacquer and white metal. If the family owns a *vaina*, the ceremonial *dao* used when dancing the *Sawlakia*, or a *zozi*, the ceremonial sword, these, too, are hung up with the gongs. This array of gongs and swords constitutes the only attempt at adornment in a Lakher house, the best collection I have seen being in the house of the chief of Chapi.

Ceremonies Performed when Building a New House.

When a man is going to build a new house, the first thing he does is to take out the *anahmang*, the sacred vessels used for the *Khazangpina* sacrifice, and hang them up carefully in a tree in his garden or outside the village, so as to ensure that they shall not be defiled. As soon as the *anahmang* have been safely disposed of, the old house is pulled down, a hut is put up to shelter the family while building operations are in progress, and work on the new house is started. While this work is going on and the *anahmang* remain hung up in a tree, the house-builder must not go to a wake nor attend a funeral, must not eat of any animal killed by a wild animal nor any food that has rotted. If he does so the *anahmang* which are dedicated to *Khazangpa* are defiled, which brings ill luck, and fresh *anahmang* will have to be made. As soon as the new house is finished, the family make a ceremonial entry. The oldest member leads the way, and, having climbed up the ladder, he holds out a hoe, which each member

of the family in turn catches hold of, and is thus led into the house. The iron hoe is symbolical of strength, and the object of this ceremony is to ensure, on the principles of sympathetic magic, that the members of the family shall be strong and healthy in the new house and that the house itself shall endure. That day a fowl is sacrificed, or, if the householder is a rich man, he may kill pigs or *mithun* and give a feast. A man who builds a large house and gives a sufficiently magnificent feast to the villagers is entitled to wear the tail-feathers of a bird called *siasi* in his hair. The *siasi* bird lives on river banks, but is rare, and I have not been able to identify it. A *mithun* is killed for the feast. A ring is made outside the house and strewn thickly with bran, and in the evening the young men hold wrestling contests, and then go into the house and sing songs and drink. In Siaha, the day a man enters his new house he cuts shavings off all the posts and bamboos and places them together and sacrifices a fowl on them. This is to make the posts and bamboos last. The day after the formal entry into the house is *aoh*, and no work is done by the family. Next day the house-builder goes to the river and nets some small fish, which he takes home with him together with some pebbles from the river-bed. The fish are symbolical of cleanliness and health, and the pebbles of strength. The fish are cooked and eaten, and the pebbles are thrown about inside the house against the walls, and the house-builder says, "May the posts that I have erected and the walls that I have built be as strong as these stones, and may the wind not blow my house away." After this the *anahmang* are brought inside the house and the *Khazangpina* sacrifice is performed.

In Savang, on entering a new house, a pig is sacrificed when the moon is waning. The *anahmang* and the pig's head are taken inside the house, but no *Khazangpina* is performed. There is no *aoh*, but until a new moon has risen the house-builder must not eat the meat of an animal killed by a wild animal, nor rotten fish, and must not go to a wake.

When a man has built a new house and killed a pig or a

mithun for the house-warming ceremony he sometimes asks his *pupa* (mother's brother) to bless the foundations of the house, a ceremony which is called *angtongnai*, which means literally "house-post make firm." The *pupa* has to kill a pig of three or four fists and give it with some *sahma* beer to his sister's son, who, in return, must give his *pupa* a present. If the house-builder is a commoner, he gives ten rupees or a beerpot (*racha*); if a noble, thirty rupees or a gong of seven spans; if a chief, forty rupees or a gong of eight spans, or even a *mithun*. The partial *pana* or taboo which must be observed during and after the building of a new house applies to all the members of the house-builder's family who live in his house.

Details of House.

The details of a Lakher house are shown in the plan on page 70. An ordinary house is usually about 15 feet broad by 30 feet long, and consists of a front verandah, a main room, a back room, and a closet for relieving nature. The orientation of a house is of no great importance, but usually houses are built so as to face on to the street. The first thing done is to erect the outer posts, of which in an ordinary house there are fifteen. The posts, for which the woods preferred are *asi* (*Castanopsis tribuloides*) and *patongpa* (*Lagerstroemia flos reginae*), are planted at very short intervals, and are numerous, considering the size of the houses, as, owing to the frequent hurricanes which visit the Lakher country from the middle of April until July, unless the houses are strongly built they are liable to be blown away. As soon as the outer posts *angtong* have been erected, cross-beams of *pazo* wood (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.) or of some other straight wood are laid from post to post to support the floor, which is generally 4 or 5 feet from the ground. Notches are made in the posts for the cross-beams *khapia* to rest on, and they are also tied on tightly with cane. Long bamboos called *chahri*, either *rasang* (*Bambusa Tulda*, Roxb.) or *rahniapa* (*Dendrocalamus Hookeri*, Munro) are laid over the cross-beams the whole length of the house, with about

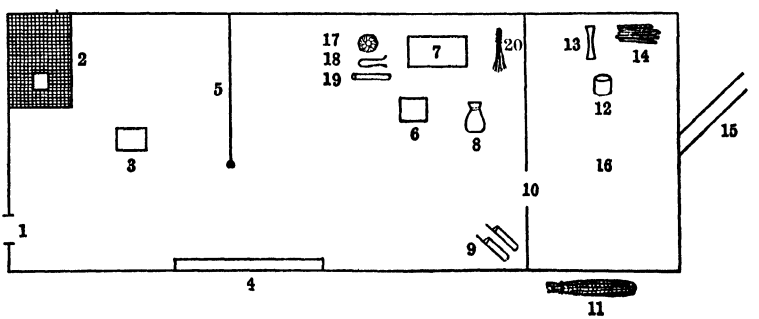
4 inches between each, and are tied on to the cross-beams with cane. A floor of bamboo matting is then placed over the beams. The walls, which are also made of bamboo matting, are then erected against the posts and tied on to them with cane. The bamboo used for both floor and walls is *ramaw* (*Melocanna bambusoides*). At the top of each wall a long sapling called *palai* runs the length of the house. It is tied on to the posts, and serves to strengthen the walls and also to hold down the roof. After this wooden beams (*pakong*) are run from the top of each post to the top of the post opposite and tied on firmly with cane. Three higher forked posts called *asu* are then erected in the middle of the house, one at each end and one at the centre. These are to support the ridge-pole (*pathlong*), which runs along the whole length of the house and rests on the forked poles, to which it is attached securely with cane rope. From the ridge-pole wooden rafters (*seiha*), run down to the top of the wall. One end of each rafter is tied with cane to the ridge-pole and the other end to the *palai* or wall plate. Above and across the rafters bamboos called *angveu* are run the whole length of the house and tied on to the rafters, then above and across these bamboos others called *keipai* are placed parallel to the rafters from the ridge-pole to the *palai* (wall plate) and tied on securely at each end. The roof, which is then constructed on the top of this framework, consists of several layers of a palm called *bahro* (*Calamus erectus*), failing which the leaves of the *thiahra* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) or bamboo leaves are used. The leaves are protected by a covering of stout bamboo matting, which is kept in place by long bamboos, called *angveu*, laid over it and fastened to the row of *angveu* bamboos inside the roof by cane ropes, which are passed inside through the roof. It is astonishing to find what secure and water-tight houses can be constructed with these simple materials. The outer shell of the house is now finished. The *kahmi*, a wooden ladder made of one log of wood with rough steps cut in it, is next set up. Three hearths have to be made in each house, one in the verandah for strangers and for use when a feast is being held, one in the main room where all the household cooking is done, and

one in the back room for heating purposes only. The young men and girls gather round this third hearth at night, sing songs, make love, and eventually sleep near it. The hearths are made of soil, which is enclosed in a square made from split logs and trampled down till it is quite hard. Three stones are arranged on the hearth to support the cooking-pots. Above the hearth is a rack of bamboo matting called *pachong*, on which meat and fish are smoked, and the paddy to be husked next morning is thoroughly dried before pounding. On the *pachong* are also kept fire-wood to dry, cooking-pots, spoons, etc. As there is only one cooking place, meat is cooked first, and kept warm by the fire while the rice is cooking. The use of only three stones on this hearth to hold the cooking-pots is an instance of the conservatism of the people ; the only reason that they give for not using more is that they do what their forefathers did before them. A narrow space is then shut off at the back of the house for sanitary purposes. Unlike the Lusheis, the Lakhers do not bother to go outside the village for relieving nature, but use this closet at the back of the house, which makes their villages far more insanitary than Lushei villages. A partition wall is run three-quarters of the way across the middle of the house to shut off the front room from the back room. In the back wall of the house a window is cut. This is the only window in the house, none being cut in the side walls ; Lakher houses are therefore dark, but as the mat walls and floor are very draughty, there is plenty of air. The bed, which consists of wooden planks in the Savang and Chapi groups and of bamboo matting in the other villages, is placed in the main room between the hearth and the wall, and against the left-hand wall of the main room as it is entered is a shelf for pots and pans. A sliding bamboo door is then erected. The house is now complete, and the family take up their abode. The average family consists of about five persons, though one may find as many as ten persons in one house when a son of the house has married and has not set up a house of his own. As a rule a man sets up a house of his own as soon as his first child is born.

Chief's House.

The chiefs have much larger houses than the common people, and their subjects have to build their houses for them. A chief's house is about 25 feet wide and 100 feet long, and is constructed on the same lines as a commoner's house. While the floors are of matting, the walls are made of wooden planks. Chiefs have special doors to their houses called *pako.* A round opening is cut in the planked wall and closed by heavy wooden doors, which are hung on wooden hinges. These doors can be effectively secured inside with wooden bolts. Commoners are not entitled to use these doors. The interior of a chief's house is the same as already described, except that there are three rooms. The first and second rooms are partitioned off into separate small chambers, each with its own hearth and each occupied by a family of the chief's retainers, who do all their own cooking and eat and sleep apart from the chief's family. The chief himself and his family live in the back room. A chief's house is further differentiated from a commoner's by having a large courtyard in front of it, which is fenced in with a wooden paling called *piali.* A wooden or bamboo platform called *aitla* runs the whole of one side of the courtyard. The *aitla* is used for sitting out and taking the air, and when the chief gives a feast the villagers all gather on the *aitla* to watch the dancing and to drink.

The diagram which follows shows the position of the various fittings of a house. The Lakher names of the fittings are also given.



1. *Angpeu* . Window.
2. *Chhongcha* Closet used for relieving nature.
3. *Valong* . Hearth. Lesser hearth near which daughters sleep, and also young men if any sleep in the house.
4. *Thlakai* . Shelf for pots, plates, etc.
5. *Chhongpadapa* Partition between the two rooms.
6. *Chakangpi* Main hearth used for cooking.
7. *Rakhong* . The bed used by the householder, his wife and children.
8. *Beipari* . Earthen pot for storing rice.
9. *Ti awng patongna* The place where the water tubes are kept.
10. *Angchhi* . The door on to the verandah.
11. *Awhchari* The hen basket.
12. *Songkho* . Paddy mortar.
13. *Songkhai*. Pestle.
14. *Thangia* . Firewood.
15. *Kahmi* . Ladder.
16. *Angka* . Verandah.
17. *Sakei* . A ring of cane about 5 inches in diameter used for resting cooking-pots on to prevent the soot on them from blackening the floor.
18. *Chaichi* . Bamboo tongs used for making up the fire. A split bamboo about 2 feet long is shaved very thin in the middle and bent over carefully into the shape of a pair of tongs, tied with cane and left for a day or two so that it may dry into shape. As soon as it is dry the cane is cut and the tongs are ready for use.
19. *Songphi* . A hollow bamboo tube used instead of bellows for blowing down to make the fire blaze.
20. *Angphi* . Broom made out of a bunch of the flowers of the tall pampas grass (*Thysanolaena agrostis*, Nees) tied together with cane and used for sweeping the house.

Articles of Household Use.

Lakhers are not troubled with many possessions—bamboo and cane-baskets, a few earthenware plates, gourd spoons, and the simplest of weaving and agricultural implements comprise the whole of their household goods, save for cloths, weapons and ornaments. The list below gives the Lakher names of the principal articles of daily use with a brief description of each.

Baitarupa . A large bamboo basket which is kept either inside the house or on the verandah, and is used for storing paddy or cotton.

Baikai . . A bamboo basket used for carrying paddy, and carried by the harvesters when gathering the paddy.

Kachu . . A bamboo basket in which paddy or rice is placed ready for use.

Saikhua . . A bamboo basket, shaped like a *kachu*, but smaller, and used as a spoon to take paddy or rice out of larger baskets.

Bara . . . A round bamboo tray used for cleaning and drying rice.

Sanghri . . A square bamboo tray used for cleaning rice. The rice is first winnowed on the *bara*, and the refuse falls on to the *sanghri*. It is also used for drying tobacco and spices.

Aphi . . . A bamboo or cane mat used for drying paddy and also used for sleeping on.

Viakuarina . A sieve used for cleaning rice. The fine bran is used as pig's food; the coarse bran is thrown away.

Tlabai . . A bamboo basket used as a paddy measure both when selling and when paying a chief's *sabai*. A *tlabai* is commonly known as a *bai*.

Pawkho . . A bamboo plate on a bamboo plinth used as a plate for rice.

Dawkia . . A bamboo basket used by women for carrying wood or water tubes.

Lawbu . . A bamboo basket used by men for carrying anything.

Hrabeu . . An open-work bamboo basket used for carrying large articles, the same as the Lushei *bawmrang*.

Cheupapa. . A basket like a *lawbu*, but smaller, used by men for carrying small articles.

Chanongseihna A cane rope used by women as a brow-band when carrying.

Chapawseihna A cane rope used by men as a combined shoulder- and brow-band when carrying.

Baiba . . A covered basket used for keeping cloths, money and valuables, made of either bamboo or cane. The *baiba* is much smaller than the Lushei *thûl*.

Mangkhawpa. A basket like a *dawkia*, but lighter, used for carrying things by women.

Bongtong . . A very small basket in which the women keep their thread while weaving.

Phavaw-pawkho This is a round, open basket about 2½ inches high. The edges of the basket are folded over backwards and continued down to the bottom. It is used for the rice to be eaten by a person performing the *Khazangpina* sacrifice, and for no other purpose.

Awhbeu . . A square bamboo basket about 1½ feet high used for a hen and her brood. The basket has a small wooden or bamboo sliding door, which is closed at night. In the morning paddy and rice are dropped outside the door, which is opened to let the hen out. In the evening the food is placed inside, and when the hen and her brood have all gone in, the door is closed. The basket is kept on the verandah.

Awhchari . This is another kind of fowl basket in which the hens that have no encumbrances are kept. It is made of bamboo, and is about 6 feet long and 1½ feet high. The basket is round, and rather resembles a bamboo fish-trap, being entirely closed at the far end, and having a wooden sliding door at the other. A long stick is run through the whole length of the basket, by which it is hung up under the eaves of the house. From the door a ladder runs to the ground for the fowls to walk up and down when they are shut up at dusk and let out in the morning.

Sakeu . . A wooden trough about 4 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1½ feet deep, which is kept beneath the eaves in the rainy season to collect the rain water and save the women from going to draw water from the spring.

Bei . . . An earthen cooking-pot.

Beikang . . An earthenware saucer used as a plate for cooked vegetables and also as a lid for the *bei*.

Thangkang . A wooden plate standing on a pedestal, the plate and pedestal being cut out of one block of wood.

Phiatla . . A gourd spoon used for pouring water. (Fig. 1, p. 91.)
Saitlei. . . A bamboo spoon used for stirring rice or anything else that is being cooked (*cf.* Fig. 7, p. 91).
Sathawng awng A gourd used for storing the pig's fat which Lakhers use as hair grease.
Beipari . . An earthenware pot about 18 inches high, used for storing rice. It holds about three days' food for a family.
Beusaro . . A small open-work basket in which the spoons are kept.
Dapi . . . A large bamboo tray on which paddy is spread out to dry in the sun.
Lakhu . . A woman's hat made from bamboos and palm leaves used as a protection from the rain.
Atu . . . A small hoe used for weeding fields, digging and making paths. Lakhers have no spades, picks or forks, and apart from *daos* and axes the *atu* is the only agricultural implement they possess. The amount of work they manage to do with this wretched little tool is surprising.
Rahathua . A spindle.
Kihlong . . A thread winder.
Lari . . . An instrument for cleaning cotton.

Daily Life.

While a Lakher cannot be said to suffer from overwork, his day is always full, and he has no opportunity of experiencing the boredom of having nothing to do. As is generally the case with the Assam hill tribes, the women are on the whole busier than the men. The entire tribe lives by agriculture, and the daily routine is governed by the seasons. They rise at dawn, being awakened by the noise of the domestic animals, *mithun*, fowls, and pigs, that sleep under the house. The women at once pound out the rice required for the day in a wooden mortar hollowed out of a block of wood, and known as a *songkho*, the wooden pestle being called *songkhai*. Having pounded and winnowed the rice, they put the breakfast on to cook, let out the fowls, and go off to the spring to draw water. The water is carried in bamboo tubes. These are smaller than those used by Lusheis, and, unlike the Lushei water-tubes, which are open at the top, the Lakher tubes are closed, an inlet for the water being cut in the side at the top of the tube. These water-tubes hold less water and are less easy to handle than the Lushei tubes ; they have the advantage, however, of keeping the water cleaner. The Lakhers call their own tubes "female water-tubes" and the other kind "male water-tubes." The genuine Lakher tube is made out of one section

of the large bamboo, and a piece of bamboo is left sticking up on the top for a handle. To clean a water-tube, they put in a handful of pebbles and shake them up and down with water until they have rubbed the inside of the tube quite clean. The water is always drawn from a stream or spring, wells being unknown. A rough basin is sometimes made with stones to allow the water to collect, as during the dry weather water is scarce in many villages ; and this is fenced with bamboos to prevent the cattle fouling the water. Some villages, notably Savang, which has an abundant water supply, run the water through the village in bamboo pipes, each house joining its own pipe system on to the main pipe. In this way a constant supply of running water is maintained which saves the women many weary journeys to the spring.

Breakfast over, the work of the day begins. The men go off to the *jhum* or to hunt or fish, according to the season of the year. The women collect the firewood and draw the water. If they have nothing else to do, they weave, but when the crops are growing they are fully employed in weeding and cleaning the fields, and later on with the harvest. The men cut the *jhums*, build and repair the houses, and help in all the work going on in the fields. They also make all the baskets, set traps for birds, beasts and fish, cut the paths and keep the surroundings of the village free from jungle. Men never weave, make matting, nor dye cloth. It is *ana* for men to weave, and it is believed that a man who weaves will contract consumption and will be unable to shoot game, and that no animals will fall into his traps. It is *ana* for men to dye cloths. It is not *ana* for them to make pottery, but actually they never do potter's work.

In the evening the women again draw water, feed the pigs on bran and broken rice, secure them and the fowls for the night, and then prepare the evening meal. After dusk the women spin ; they cannot see to weave, as the only light in a Lakher house is that of the fire. People who go visiting at night use bamboo torches. The young bloods go off to the houses of the girls they favour, and it is usual for a young man to sleep in the house of the girl he is

courting, the Lakhers having no bachelors' house, like the Lusheis. The men gather in any house in which beer is going, and sing songs and talk. On the whole both men and women have a pretty full day. One often hears it said that primitive people are lazy because they do not choose to work for money; such statements are generally quite erroneous, and, as a matter of fact, though the Lakhers are less industrious than the Lusheis, if they did not work hard they could not get enough food. *Jhuming* involves strenuous labour on the part of both men and women, and even when not engaged in agriculture neither men nor women are ever really idle. The women devote all their spare time to weaving, and the men hunt and fish; not simply for amusement, but in order to add to an otherwise meagre and unvaried diet. It would be hard to find busier people than an average village community in the hills.

Agriculture.

The Lakher methods of agriculture are most primitive. The only tools they possess are a small inefficient hoe, a *dao* and an axe. All crops are grown in *jhums*. The area to be used for *jhums* for the year having been selected, the jungle, whether it be bamboos or trees, is all cut down and left to dry. When thoroughly dry it is set on fire; the fiercer the blaze the better, as the fire kills all insects and destroys their eggs and renders sterile the seeds of weeds and jungle plants, while the wood or bamboo ashes form a valuable manure. The logs that have not burnt are then cleared to one side and used for fencing the field, which is then ready for sowing. Though this method of cultivation is very wasteful of timber and bamboos, it is the only form of cultivation that can be followed in this country. The hills are too steep and water is too scarce to allow of terraced cultivation. Colonel Lewin in one of his books writes about the Lakhers: [1] "I am told that they do not cultivate with the *dao* in *joom* fashion, but are acquainted with the method of terrace cultivation common among the Himalayan tribes; they use a large

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 282.—N. E. P.

heavy hoe in breaking up the land for seed." As far as I can ascertain, the Lakhers never had any knowledge of terraced cultivation and have no large hoes. Phayre [1] says: "They work with hoes or spades not ploughs," and makes no mention of terraced cultivation, though he says that much of their cultivation is in elevated plains and comparatively broad valleys which admit of continued cultivation. Both these writers must, I think, have been misinformed. The fields are only used for one year, as if they are cultivated for two years in succession, the bamboos and the trees die out and the land is rendered useless for cultivation. Whenever possible a *jhum* is left for eight or ten years before it is used again, but most villages have insufficient land to enable them to leave the fields fallow for so long, and have to return to the old *jhums* after five or six years. When land is scarce, and sufficiently long intervals of rest cannot be arranged, the jungle gradually deteriorates and crops follow suit.

In other parts of the Lushai Hills district, where the population is denser, the situation is only saved by the eupatorium, which grows very rapidly and can be *jhumed* without detrimental effect every two or three years. As yet the Lakher villages have plenty of *jhuming* land, and the eupatorium has not appeared. There is, indeed, no need for it at present; so long as the bamboos and trees remain it is far better that there should be no eupatorium, as it is useless for any other purpose save *jhuming*, and bamboos and trees meet innumerable needs. As an alternative to thatch grass, which generally appears when land has been over-*jhumed*, eupatorium deserves a hearty welcome, as land on which thatch grass has established itself is quite useless for cultivation. The cultivating season is split into well-defined parts, and as the Lakhers depend entirely on their crops for a livelihood, it is not surprising to find that each part of the season is marked by religious observances and sacrifices, intended to ensure the well-being of the crops. The Lakher's agricultural year begins in December, when the chief and elders of the village decide what place shall be

[1] Phayre, "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, No. 117.—N. E. P.

used for the *jhums* for the ensuing year. Having decided what slopes are to be cut, they inform the villagers, and each householder goes out to select his *jhum*. Any villager who had had *jhums* on the slopes selected last time they were cut takes his old *jhum*, villagers who have never *jhumed* these slopes before make their selection from the land left over. When they annex their *jhums*, those persons whose fields march together lay down a boundary between their respective *jhums* ; they then go together and cut the bamboos and trees along the boundary line as high as they can, generally about 5 feet above the ground. These bamboo and tree stumps are left standing when the rest of the jungle is felled, and, being still green, they do not get destroyed when the *jhum* is burnt. They serve as boundary posts for the rest of the year.

On the day he selects his *jhum* each man cuts a small patch. This is done in order that the spirit of the place may know which plot each man proposes to cut, and may inform him by means of good or bad dreams whether the patch selected is favourable.[1] If on the night after he has selected his *jhum* a man dreams of clear water, fish, paddy, cooked rice or a human corpse, his dreams have been good, and the place selected for a *jhum* is considered to be favourable ; if, on the other hand, a man dreams of an animal that has been killed by a tiger, a broken *dao* or axe, a dead domestic animal, dirty water, or of some one stealing his pigs or fowls, the dream is unfavourable, and another site must be chosen. The place for the *jhum* having been decided on, the *jhum* is cut in January or February, and while cutting his *jhum* the Lakher sleeps in the jungle, unless it is so close to the village that he can cut it from there. When the *jhums* have been half cut, the cultivators return to the village, and all those who have *jhums* on the same slope join together and perform the *Rialongchhi* sacrifice. The day after this sacrifice is *aoh*, and no work can be done. After the *aoh* they all go back and finish cutting the *jhums*. When the

[1] The Garos do the same. *Cf.* Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 93.—N. E. P. The Aos employ this method for selecting the site of their field house.—*Vide* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 110.—J. H. H.

jhums have all been cut, each household subscribes a pot of beer, and all those whose *jhums* are on one slope bring their beer to the house of one of their number for the feast. The man in whose house the feast is held supplies a pig; there is much drinking of beer and singing of songs; the young men and girls dance the *Pakupila* dance and generally make merry. This feast is called *Khutla*, and lasts for two days. Having cut their *jhums*, the villagers have nothing more to do till the middle of March or the beginning of April, when the *jhums* are burnt. The day after the *jhums* have been burnt there is one day's *pana*, called *Meisapana*, and no one does any work. The day after the *Meisapana*, the *Leuh-rangna* sacrifice is performed near the fields, the persons who have their fields on the same hill combining to perform this sacrifice, after which there is an *aoh* of one day if a fowl was sacrificed, and two days if the sacrifice was a pig. After the *aoh* a small house in which the workers will live during the cultivating season is built in each *jhum*, and they start sowing their maize, millet, cucumbers, pumpkins, and other vegetables, and then, after the full moon of the month of *Pachaw*, towards the end of April, they sow their paddy, the ground being scratched with a hoe and about ten seeds being dropped into each scratch. The seeds are left uncovered, as the heavy rain soon washes the earth over them. After the full moon of *Pachaw* is the most favourable time for sowing paddy, as at that time birds and rats do little damage to the seed, whereas if the seed is sown in the month of *Patong* a great deal of it is eaten by these pests. When the paddy is all sown, the *Sachipachhua* sacrifice is performed by the owner of each *jhum* near his *jhum* house. The day on which this sacrifice is performed is *pana*, and no work may be done. In some of the villages they pull up the weeds for the first time when sowing the seed, but the Zeuhnang and Sabeu have not adopted this practice. The crops have to be weeded two or three times during the rains. The number of weedings required depends on whether the *jhums* have burnt well or not. If the *jhums* have burnt fiercely, most of the seeds of the weeds will have been destroyed, and there will be only a poor crop of weeds. If,

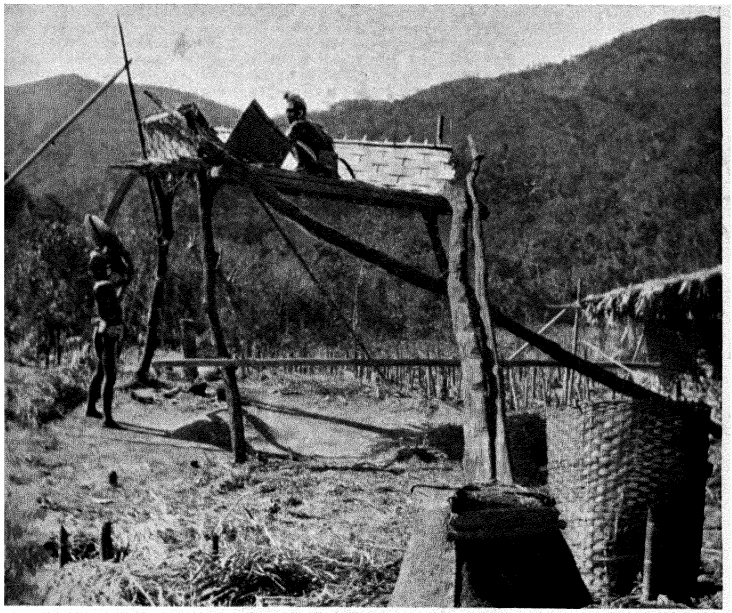
however, the *jhums* have burnt badly, owing to untimely rains, jungle growths spring up in myriads, and weeding will be a very strenuous job.

As soon as the paddy has all germinated, the first weeding is done, and from this time till the weeding is finished the people live in their *jhum* houses, leaving only the old and those who are unable to work in the village. The first weeding is called *Mawkeipa*, and as soon as this weeding is finished the *Chithla* sacrifice is performed, after which there is an *aoh* of two or three days. Then at the end of July or the beginning of August comes the second weeding, called *Leuchapa*. By this time the millet and the maize are getting ripe, and while the second weeding is in progress the millet and the maize have also to be harvested. This is probably the busiest time of the year. The third weeding of the *jhums* takes place in September, and is called *Hrohrapa*. During this weeding the *Sahrisa* sacrifice is performed.

In October the tobacco and spices are gathered and laid out in the sun to dry. From the end of October the villagers begin to harvest the paddy. The paddy is pulled up by the roots, not cut with a sickle, and is tied up in sheaves and left for two or three days to dry. Work goes on all day, and often at night also by torchlight, and they generally finish pulling up the paddy by about the middle of November. The pulling up of the paddy is called *saphia*. When this has been finished, they make a threshing-floor (*chapu*) near the *jhum* house, and as soon as it is ready, the cultivator personally goes round the field with a small basket and collects a little of each kind of paddy that is growing in the field; a little maize is added, and the grain is placed on a tray in a corner of the threshing-floor. The owner of the field then performs the *Leuhmathawna* sacrifice by killing a red or black hen over the tray which holds the paddy, the hen's blood being allowed to drop on the paddy. The sacrifice is to the spirits of the paddy and maize, to whom the sacrificer intones a chant.

After the sacrifice, the cultivator and his family return to the field, gather one or two large basketfuls of paddy, and deposit the grain on the threshing-floor. After this they stop work, and cook and eat the fowl. From the next

morning the harvest begins in earnest. The actual gathering of the paddy is called *sachakeu*, which means " the beating of the paddy." The harvesters go round with a basket, which they place at the foot of each sheaf. Each of them has a small stick in his hand ; he takes a bunch of ears in his left hand, and hits them with the stick till they have all fallen into the basket. One of the men carries round a large basket to each harvester in turn, collects what they have gathered and deposits it on the threshing-floor. Next morning they continue to collect the paddy, and if after they have been gathering the paddy for a day or two the crop does not come up to expectations, another fowl or a mole is sacrificed, after which there is one day's *aoh*, and then they continue gathering in the paddy till it has all been collected. When the paddy has all been gathered in, and placed on the threshing-floor, the ears of paddy are trampled on till the empty husks and straw refuse have been separated from the true grain. The grain is then cleaned again on bamboo trays before being placed in the granary. Another method of cleaning the paddy is called *sahrualua*, which means literally " paddy winnow high." A platform about 10 feet high, with a bamboo floor, is erected over the threshing-ground. The middle of the floor is cut out so as to leave a hole about 3 feet square, which is covered with a bamboo sieve. When a basket of paddy is ready to be winnowed it is handed up on to the platform and poured on to the sieve, where it is trampled on and worked with the hands till it falls through on to the threshing-floor below. The good grain, being heavy, falls straight down on to the heap below, and the empty husks are blown away by the wind. On a still day men stand below with bamboo trays and fan away the husks. When all the paddy has been collected, a granary (*sawva*) is built about half-way between the *jhum* and the village. The paddy is carried up and stored in the granary, and when all the paddy has been stored safely a sacrifice called *Sikisa* is performed. For this sacrifice a white cock is killed near the *jhum* house. All the villagers do this sacrifice on the same day, the object being to ensure that the cultivator's soul shall return with him to his house,



WINNOWING PADDY AT SAVANG

GIRLS IN FRONT OF GRANARY, SAVANG

and shall not remain near the *jhums*. On the day when the *Sikisa* sacrifice is performed they all go back to their houses in the village, and the next day is *aoh*, and no work of any sort must be done. About a month later the *Sawva Awthi* sacrifice is performed in the granary to the soul of the rice. The harvest is not finally gathered in till between the end of December and the middle of January, earlier if the weather is favourable, and later if it rains during the harvest. The Lakhers therefore are more or less busy the whole year round with agriculture. October and February are about the slackest times. On the whole, save for the Tlongsais, who are idle and make very small *jhums*, they are industrious cultivators, the villages in the newly administered area being especially so. The Savang people always seem to have excellent crops, and make larger fields than those villages which have been under British rule for years. The chiefs set an example to their people by making *jhums* and working themselves, unlike the Lushei chiefs, who never do any work, and live on the tribute paid them by their villagers. The Savang chief and his family are reputed to be the most hard-working people in the village. They spend the rains in their *jhum* house, like any ordinary villager, and their out-turn of paddy is always one of the highest in the village. The Lakher method of harvesting is clumsy and laborious ; the paddy stands late in the fields, a prey to birds and rats. It would save the Lakher a lot of time and trouble if he cut the paddy, as the Lusheis do, instead of first pulling up the plant by the roots, and then beating the grain off the plants ; but he is very conservative, and prefers his old ways to new-fangled methods. A few villages are adopting the Lushei method, but all the villages in the Savang and Chapi groups and several others follow the old way. The main crop is rice, of which there are many varieties ; both white and red are grown, but the former is preferred. The varieties known by the Lusheis as *buhpui* and *konglong* are the commonest. Cotton is grown with the rice for domestic use, but now that they are beginning to find that cotton has a ready sale, separate cotton-fields are sometimes planted. In among the rice they also grow millet, pumpkins, cucumbers and

other vegetables. Each house always has a patch of maize and also patches of tobacco and indigo, the latter being used for dyeing the cloths. Potatoes have been introduced, and one or two villages are growing them successfully. Sesamum is grown in patches for sale to the Arakanese. One of the greatest troubles the Lakher has, is in preventing wild animals from destroying his crops, the worst offenders being bears and wild pig, who do far more damage than the deer. To drive these raiders away from the fields the Lakher rigs up a contrivance called *raineu*. A long cane is run from the *jhum* house to the far end of the *jhum*, where a forked stick is planted in the ground. A bamboo is split three-quarters of the way down, but the halves are not separated. The lower half of the bamboo is attached to the forked stick, the upper half is tied to the cane rope, and its base is fixed into the ground with a bamboo peg. The cultivator sits in his *jhum* house comfortably and pulls the string, thereby clapping the two halves of bamboo together. This makes a horrible din, and frightens away the raiders.

Another contrivance for frightening away wild animals is called *tekaleu*, in imitation of the sounds emitted from it. A *tekaleu* is a wooden gong which is played on with two sticks. It is made out of a log of wood about 2 feet long, which is hollowed out in the shape of a trough. The sticks are also of wood, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. Every *jhum* house is provided with a *tekaleu*, which is played on day and night to frighten away marauders from the crops. When in use the *tekaleu* is laid on one side on the floor and the upper side is beaten with the wooden sticks, one held in each hand.[1]

Food.

The Lakhers usually have three meals a day—a breakfast first thing in the morning, a lunch at noon, and an evening meal about sundown. When working in the fields or on a journey they carry cooked rice wrapped up in plantain

[1] A similar instrument, a wooden gong, that is—it has no membrane—is used by the Kachha Nagas, who make it with a solid partition across the middle. It is to be associated with the " canoe drum " used by the Naga tribes of the north and east and elsewhere, *vide* my note at p. 77, of Mills, *The Ao Nagas*.—J. H. H.

leaves for their midday meal. The staple food is rice, served up with a relish of chilis and vegetables. Pumpkins, cucumbers, yams, arum roots and various kinds of vegetables are grown in the *jhums*, and these are supplemented by jungle vegetables, such as bamboo shoots, the young spikes of various kinds of palm, and fungi of different species. Many of these jungle vegetables are very palatable. The sap in the crown of the sago palm tastes very like globe artichoke; bamboo shoots served with bacon are delicious, some species of bamboo having a more delicate flavour than others; some of the most poisonous-looking fungi are excellent eating, but it is best to leave the choosing of them to a reliable person. Well do I remember the occasion when four of my servants, foreigners to these hills, lay vomiting on the ground from the effect of partaking of fungi without expert advice.

The rice is cooked in one pot and the vegetables are cooked separately. If the vegetables available are of kinds which are supposed to clash when cooked together, each kind of vegetable must be cooked in a separate pot. No fat or grease of any kind is used for cooking—nothing but water, and the Lakhers certainly feed less well than the Lusheis, who cook with oil or fat. Lakhers are very fond of meat, but unless the man of the house has been successful in hunting, or a sacrifice has given an excuse for killing a fowl or a pig, or there is some guest to be honoured, meat is not usually obtainable. They eat practically any kind of meat, from a rat to an elephant, and are not particular as to its freshness. Bear's meat is a favourite dish. Nothing is ever left uneaten of bear, everything is devoured, down to the last little bit of skin. All kinds of birds are eaten, and they are very fond of fish, which they trap and poison in all the streams, fresh-water crabs and mussels are eagerly sought, and there are very few creatures that walk, fly or swim that come amiss. Certain kinds of snake are also highly esteemed. Flying white ants called *phipahripa* are lightly roasted and eaten with zest. Women do not eat dog or goat. The dog they despise, regarding it as the lowest of all animals, and so refuse to eat it. The goat they do not eat, as it is never

used for the *Khazangpina* or *Zangda* sacrifices, and so the women regard it as of little account, and though it is not *ana*, it is very shameful for a woman to eat either of these animals. The men, however, have no scruples of this sort, and eat both dog and goat, the dog being a very favourite dish. Neither men nor women eat horses, tigers, leopards, or cats. Horse-flesh is never eaten, as the horse carries men on its back, and is consequently a valued and respected animal, which no one would like to eat. Tigers and leopards are not eaten because they live on prey, and are also believed to be distantly akin to men and to have a *saw*. Cats are not eaten, as they are also beasts of prey and their flesh smells bad.

As soon as the rice is cooked, the woman of the house throws it out on to a plate and one of the men takes the relish out of the pot in which it has been cooking with a gourd spoon and places it on another plate. A little salt is added, and then the family gathers round the plates and has its meal. When salt is not available the water in which the rice and vegetables are to be cooked is first strained through wood ashes, and thereby acquires a salty taste, which it imparts to the food. Cold water is never drunk at meals, but the food is washed down with the water in which the vegetables have been cooked.[1] When a family is having its meal the door is usually closed, and if a visitor comes while people are at a meal it is etiquette for him to go away and return later, even if pressed to stay, as it is bad manners to interrupt people at their food. If a child wanders into a house while a meal is in progress a little rice is put into his right hand and a little meat into his left and he is sent away. It is considered the height of stinginess and bad manners to send a child away from a meal without giving him something to eat. At the end of a meal anything left over is put back into the cooking-pot for use at the next meal.

When a feast is being held, the unmarried men and girls sit next to each other, a man to each girl. On these occasions neither men nor girls must feed themselves with their

[1] Lusheis also follow this practice, but many are giving it up.—N. E. P.

own hands. The girls must put the food into the men's mouths and the men into the girls'. It is considered disgraceful for unmarried persons to take their food themselves in public ; if they did so they say that they would feel shame.

Another curious custom is that before eating pork many Lakhers pinch off a little bit of meat and say a grace, "*Chanithaisa Chabawthaisa*," which means roughly, "I will eat as much of you as I can, I will swallow as much of you as I can." The bit of meat is then rubbed on the speaker's navel and thrown away, after which he does justice to the pork. It is said that no one who rubs his navel with a bit of meat before starting to eat ever suffers from the effects of over-eating.

Lakhers wash their hands after a meal, but do not bother to do so before sitting down to eat.

The Butcher's Art.

To prepare a pig for eating requires four men. The meat is always cut up in the same way. When a pig is killed, its stomach and intestines are removed, and its blood is baled up with the hands into a cooking-pot. The next thing is to enlarge the pig's anus so as to allow of the passage of a seven-foot pole, which is run through the anus and out at the mouth. A man takes hold of this pole at each end, and they singe the pig thoroughly over the fire. When the bristles have all been burnt off, the carcase is washed in water and scraped with a *dao*, after which it is placed on the verandah and cut up. As a start the head is chopped off, and then the four legs. The head is cooked whole, the legs are cut up into squares of meat the size of a match box. After this the stomach and intestines, which were removed first of all, are cleaned, one man holding them up while another pours water over them. The blood which was set aside in a cooking-pot is poured into the intestine, which is tied up at each end with bark rope from the *pazo* tree (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.) to prevent the blood escaping. The stomach, intestines, heart, lungs and the meat cut off the body are placed in large iron or earthenware pots and stewed for

about four hours. When it is all cooked, the squares of meat cut off the legs and body are taken out separately and put on to plates, the intestine is cut into strips about an inch long, and the heart, the lungs and stomach are cut into squares the size of a match box. These tasty bits are then mixed up with the other meat and eaten with salt.

With game the procedure is a little different, the animal being skinned and cut up on the spot where it was shot. The skinning does not take more than half an hour. The animal's head is next cut off and then its legs. The stomach and intestines are removed and cleaned. After this the neck, the loins, the spleen, the liver, and the chest are removed from the body. Next the spine is split down the middle and removed with the ribs attached. This is again divided into shares, consisting of three ribs and a piece of spine. Before anything else is done the shares that must be paid to the chief and certain of the shooter's relations are set aside. The rest of the meat is divided up among the people who were out hunting. The eldest man present receives a fore-leg or, if the man who shot the animal is a *kuei*, who has no game due to pay to the chief, a hind leg. Each man then goes off with his share of the meat, which is cooked as already described. Part of the meat is always dried, which takes three days or more, according to the size of the fire. When thoroughly dry it is taken off the skewers and placed in an open basket, which is kept above the hearth, so that the smoke may continue to reach it and keep it in good condition.

Birds are first singed in the fire and washed. The entrails are removed at one end and thrown away, except the gizzard, which is kept and eaten. At the other end the crop is removed and thrown away. The whole bird is then boiled with the gizzard. Three or four hours are taken to make an old rooster edible. When ready the bird is taken out and broken up with the hands. The meat is set out on a plate and salt is added. The water in which the bird was cooked is kept for drinking.

Fish are generally gutted before being cooked, but certain fish which are regarded as clean feeders are eaten guts and

all. Small fish are cooked whole. Large fish are cut up into four-inch slices and then cooked.

Drink.

The Lakher drink is a rice beer called *sahma*. It was first discovered by a girl who was unhappily married, and the story of its discovery is as follows. Once upon a time a girl had been married against her will to a man she loathed. She wanted to divorce her husband, but her parents would not let her do so, as they did not wish to have to refund the price they had received for her. In despair the girl decided to try to poison her husband. She collected some python's excrement, boiled up some rice, mixed the python's dung with it and left the mixture to stand. After three days, the girl, finding that the mixture had a very pungent smell, thought that it would do to poison her husband, and gave him some to eat. Having eaten of this mixture, the man got very drunk and fell unconscious, and his wife thought that she had accomplished her desire. Next morning, however, the man recovered, and, having found the effects of the mixture his wife had given him very pleasant, he made her go on making it, and introduced it to all his friends. This was the origin of *sahma*, which plays so large a part in all village feasts and merrymaking.

There are three kinds of rice beer :—

(1) *Sahmapi*.—To make this, rice is boiled and placed in a large earthenware pot, yeast made out of rice flour is added, and it is left till it ferments, which takes from one to four days, according to the time of year. When the rice is sweet to the taste, paddy husks are added and the mixture is kept in the beer pot, water not being added until the beer is wanted to drink.

(2) *Sahmahei*.—This is made in the same way as *sahmapi*, but no husks are added. The fermented rice is eaten, or, if preferred, water is added to make beer.

(3) *Zuri*.—This is spirit which is distilled either from *sahmapi* or from *sahmahei* to which water has been added. The *sahma* is first prepared and placed in an ordinary

cooking-pot. On the top of this pot is placed another pot with a hole in the bottom, inside which is a smaller pot or a saucer, and on the top of this again is placed an iron pot full of cold water. A fire is lit beneath the pot containing the *sahma*, and when the *sahma* boils its vapour goes up through the hole in the bottom of the second pot, strikes the iron pot containing water, liquifies, and falls into the saucer below in the form of spirit. In about two hours three beer bottles of spirit can be made out of six seers of *sahma*. Not a great deal of this spirit is made, its use being confined to marriages and big feasts. *Sahma* is never taken at meal-times. Partaking as it does of the nature of both food and drink, it is treated with respect, and not as a mere adjunct of a meal. The chief occasions for *sahma*-drinking are weddings, wakes, the *Ia* ceremony after a head has been taken or a wild animal has been shot, and the formal entry into a new house. It is impossible, however, to enumerate the events which call for *sahma*, as it is used for every kind of celebration, and if a man wants to entertain his friends quietly, he asks them round to drink beer. The *sahma* has to be prepared some time before it is drunk, and invitations are generally sent round the day before. On the morning of the feast young men are called in to add the water and prepare the *sahma*-pots and drinking-vessels, and when all is ready the people who were invited the day before are again summoned to come and drink, and the proceedings begin. Every one sits down and begins to talk. If the beer is to be drunk direct from the pot, one of the elders takes the first drink, and the chief takes the second drink from that pot, the reason for this being that the beer that comes out with the first sucking is less sweet than that which comes later. If beer is being handed round in cups, the chief and elders are served first. In either case, after the chief and elders, the old men and women are served next, the younger and less important people being served last. About noon the host calls in as many young men and girls as are available, gives them *sahma* and gets them to sing, and singing and story-telling go on till the *sahma* is finished. At least seven pots of *sahma* are required for a feast of this sort. *Sahma* is drunk through

reeds called *patho*, made out of thin shoots of *rangia* (*Cephalostachyum capitatum*) or of *ramaw* (*Melocanna bambusoides*), two common kinds of bamboo. The etiquette of drinking is curious. The beer pot is filled up to the brim, and a small stick is placed in the middle of the pot with its top about half an inch from the brim. The man who is going to drink sits down and sucks up beer through his reed, and when the top of the stick appears above the beer he must stop.[1] The pot is then again filled up with water, and another man has his turn. It is very shameful for a man to continue drinking when the top of the stick has appeared above the beer. Nowadays, instead of drinking direct out of the *sahma*-pot, Lakhers are taking to drawing the beer off into another vessel by means of a syphon with a joint called *pakong* made out of brass (*cf.* Fig. 3, p. 43) or wood. The longer leg of the syphon stands in the beer pot and the shorter leg protrudes over another vessel. A man sucks at this end until the beer begins to flow. When the second vessel is full, the beer is distributed round in cups. The syphon joints are made by Lusheis or Chins. The Lakhers themselves have not yet acquired the art. They are ornamented with figures of men, birds and animals, and are made by the cire perdue process.

Drinking-cups made out of the horns of the *mithun* (*Bos frontalis*) are owned by chiefs and nobles; ordinary people use bamboo cups. *Zuri* or spirit is handed round in tots, in small bamboo cups like liqueur glasses made for the purpose. No Lakher ever attends a *sahma* feast without a formal invitation. Gin-crawling by fellow-villagers is considered the worst of form, but if a stranger comes in he must be offered a drink. Any one failing in this duty of hospitality would be considered an absolute churl. Lakhers never buy *sahma* for each other in the way the Lushei do. If a Lushei arrives at a house when drinking is going on he sits down and takes part, and in his turn is expected to send out and buy a pot of *zu* for the company to consume. This treating is unknown to the Lakhers, whose drinking is all

[1] So also the Thado Kukis, *vide* my footnote on Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 93.—J. H. H.

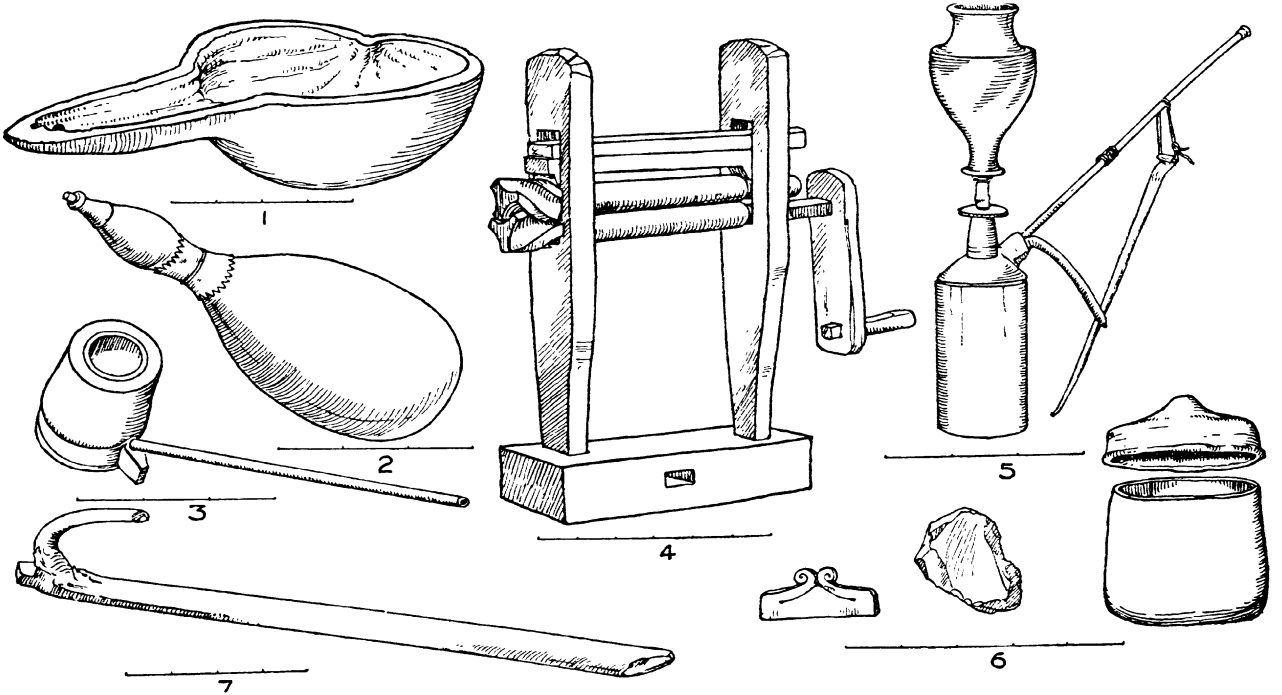
done on invitation only, and any one thrusting himself into a *sahma* party without an invitation is regarded with extreme disfavour.

Though people become very drunk at these feasts, not much damage is done. The Lakhers, it is true, are not such gentlemanly drinkers as the Lusheis, but it is seldom that the serious brawls, often resulting in one of the drinkers being injured or even killed, which are so common in Chin villages, occur at a Lakher drinking bout.

Tobacco.

All Lakhers are smokers, both men and women. The tobacco is grown in small patches in the *jhum* wherever the fire has been fiercest, as tobacco is said to prefer ground that has been well burnt. When the plants are knee high, the leaves are stripped and withered for a day on the verandah of the *jhum* house or in the village. After withering, the leaves are trampled with the feet on the verandah to crush out the juice. When thoroughly crushed the pulp is placed on a tray or a piece of matting and dried in the sun for two days. When the tobacco is sufficiently dry it is placed in a basket and stored on the shelf above the hearth, so that it may be kept perfectly dry. The tobacco is not unpleasant to smoke, but its smell is repulsive to any one not smoking. It is strong, and resembles the coarser kinds of South African tobacco.

A man's pipe is called *ongmabei* (*cf.* Fig. 3, p. 91). The bowl is made out of *rasang* bamboo (*Bambusa Tulda*) two years old. A section of bamboo is cut on each side of the joint so as to leave $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches of bamboo below and 1 inch above the joint. This small section is then turned upside down—that is, in the reverse way to that in which it is found in a growing bamboo. A small hole is made in the middle of the joint, and the 1-inch length is covered in with a piece of gourd cut so as to fit the aperture exactly. A hole to take the mouthpiece is then made exactly at the bud on the knot. The mouthpiece is made of a thin piece of *ramaw* bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*). The whole pipe is then $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The tobacco is placed in the upper part of the bowl,



1. Gourd Spoon (*Phiatla*). 2. Nicotine-water Flask (*Karōaung*). 3. Man's Pipe (*Ongmabei*).
4. Cotton Gin (*Lari*). 5. Woman's Pipe (*Karo*). 6. Tinder Box with Flint and Steel (*Pachi Chilong*).
7. A Stirrer (*Saitlei*).

the smoke passes through the hole in the knot into the chamber enclosed with the gourd and thence through the mouthpiece into the smoker's mouth.

A woman's pipe is called *karo* (Fig. 5. p. 91). It consists of three parts: a clay bowl called *karolu*, a nicotine-water receptacle called *karocho*, and a stopper called *karolia*, which closes the nicotine-water receptacle and connects it with the bowl and also connects the bowl to the mouthpiece. In making a pipe, the stopper (*karolia*) is always made first. It consists of a piece cut out of the base of the *ramaw* bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*), with a bent piece of the root still adhering to it. This is cut into shape so as to fit the water receptacle, which is a section of hollow bamboo. The stopper is then pierced through the centre so as to allow the passage of a thin bamboo tube to join the clay bowl above to the water chamber below. Another hole is made from a point near the junction of the protruding root and the main piece of bamboo which forms the stopper to lead into the water chamber through the top of the stopper. The mouthpiece, which is also a piece of narrow bamboo tubing, fits into this hole. Tied to the mouthpiece with string is a short piece of iron the size of a long nail, called *thlathlua*, used to stir the tobacco, to make the pipe draw better.

Metal mouthpieces made by the Lusheis (Fig. 12, p. 43) are sometimes used, but the genuine Lakher mouthpiece is of bamboo.

The water receptacle (*karocho*) is made of a section 3 inches long of the same bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*), which should be cut from a bamboo of two-years' growth. The outside of this chamber is ornamented with patterns scratched on it with a needle.

The last thing to be fitted on is the clay bowl to hold the tobacco. These bowls are made by women in the village. They are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

The water receptacle is filled with water. The stopper with mouthpiece attached is fitted into it, the clay bowl is fixed above the stopper, and the pipe is ready to smoke. The smoke passes from the clay bowl to the water chamber, through the water and thence up through the mouthpiece

into the smoker's mouth. The water thus becomes impregnated with nicotine, and when the pipe has been smoked for about an hour is poured out through the mouthpiece of the pipe into a nicotine-water flask for further use.

Cigarettes are only just beginning to come in, as the people have no money to buy them. A horrid habit acquired from the Lusheis of rolling home-grown tobacco in old pieces of newspaper or brown paper to make cigarettes is also spreading among the younger people.

Men and women alike sip nicotine water. A family generally owns three nicotine-water flasks (Fig. 2, p. 91), one carried by the husband, one by the wife, and a spare one kept in the house. No grown man or woman ever goes without a flask. Sips of nicotine water are taken at frequent intervals, the water being retained in the mouth for about ten minutes and then spat out. Nicotine water has an appalling smell, but Lakhers are very fond of it, and claim that it enables them to endure for a long time without food. If a man is going on a journey, his womenkind have to prepare enough nicotine water to last him till his return.[1] When I took a party of Lakher chiefs into Aijal I had to arrange for supplies of nicotine water for them from the villages along the road, as they were quite miserable without it. Boys generally start the habit when about nine years old, and when a young man is courting a girl he expects her to keep him supplied with nicotine water, and the girls must supply nicotine water to the young men who sleep in their house. Nicotine water must always be offered to visitors, and it is very rude to omit this attention. The habit, though unpleasant, does not seem to be harmful, and has none of the bad effects of addiction to opium or ganja, both of which are unknown to the Lakhers. Colonel Lewin states that nicotine water is believed to preserve the teeth and gums.[2]

Trade.

The trade done by the Lakhers is negligible; they have little to sell, and money is scarce. The chief means they

[1] Ao men make their own nicotine water. *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 152.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 284.—N. E. P.

have of making money is by the sale of rice to Government for the rations of the men at the Tuipang outpost and the sale of cotton and sesamum seed to Arakanese traders who come up the Kolodyne in boats. The young men earn a few rupees in the cold weather by carrying goods for Lungleh shopkeepers between Lungleh and Demagiri. When they have earned enough they buy salt and brass or copper cooking-pots and carry them back to their villages. The salt is for home consumption, but most of the cooking-pots are resold at a profit to the Chins across the Kolodyne. There are no shops, and the people manage very well without them, as their needs are so few. Marriage prices are paid in kind. They grow all their food and make all their own clothes, so they have very little need for money. In time, no doubt, trade will develop, as the Kolodyne offers an easy way of transport to Arakan, and if fruit-growing is encouraged the Lakhers should be able to carry on a really profitable trade in oranges, limes, coffee, tea, ground-nuts and potatoes, all of which can be grown easily. Apples and pears should also do well in the high country. The development of agriculture in this way can do nothing but good, as it in no way interferes with the traditional life of the people and, while raising their standard of living, does not have the baneful effects which so often follow on a development of education on the standard lines. If more money were spent on improving agriculture in the hills, and less on education, it would be greatly to the benefit of the hill peoples.

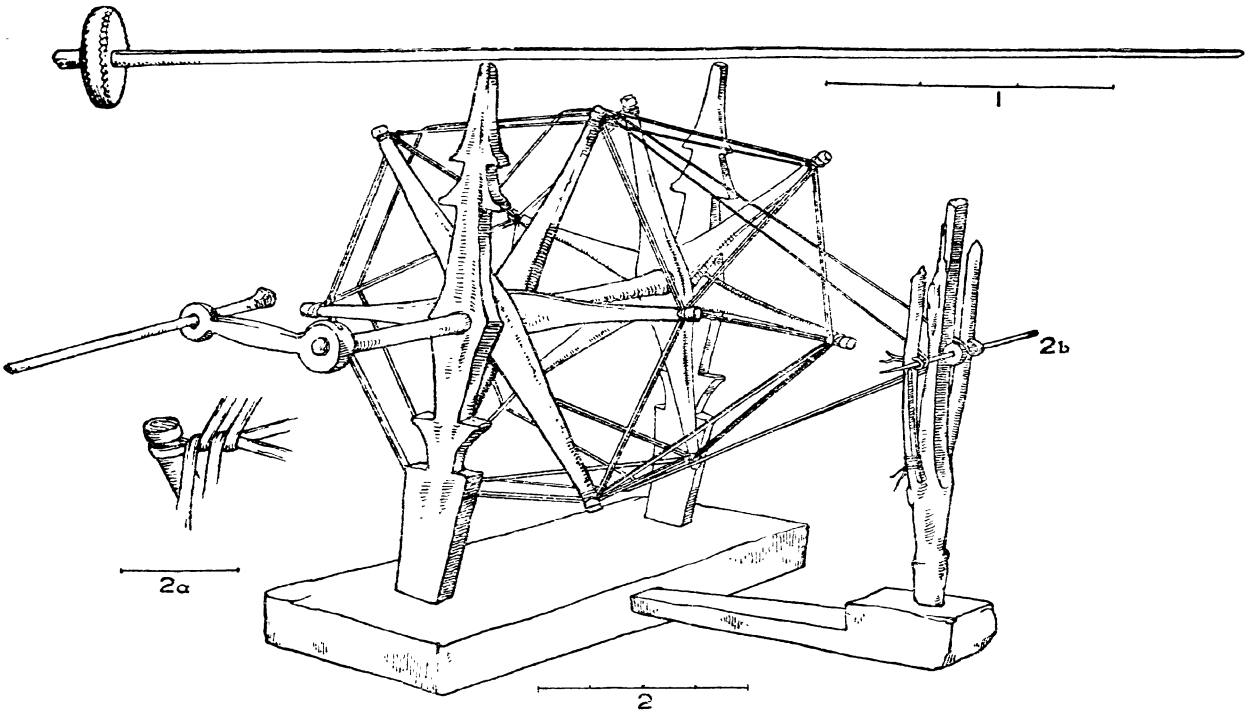
Cloth-making.

The Lakhers still make practically all their own clothes. The cotton is grown in the *jhums*, the seed being sown in May and the flowers plucked in December. As soon as it has been gathered the cotton is spread in the sun to dry for three or four days, as unless it is quite dry it is very difficult to separate the seeds from the flower. The cotton is next cleaned in a wooden gin called *lari*, rather like a small mangle, with two rollers geared to revolve in opposite directions. The cotton passes through the roller, and the

seed, being unable to pass through the roller, is left behind. These cotton gins are made by the Lakhers, the frame out of *aveu* wood (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.) and the geared rollers out of *asi* (*Castanopsis tribuloides*), a kind of chestnut with hard wood. The gin is similar to the Lushei gin, except that the base and frame of the Lushei gin are cut out of a solid piece of wood, while in the Lakher gin the base and the uprights are made separately and the latter are dove-tailed into the base (*cf.* Fig. 4, p. 91). Having been separated from the seed, the cotton is teased with a bamboo bow (*lakah*) to make it soft and fluffy. This bow consists of a stave of *rasang* bamboo (*Bambusa Tulda*) with a wide base and a narrow top. The string is made of cane (*ari*) (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.). The string is first tied to the base and then to the top of the stave, the space between the string and the stave being less at the bottom than at the top. The cotton is placed on the ground; the bow is held in the operator's right hand, and the string is flicked on to the cotton with a piece of bamboo held in her left hand. As it is teased the cotton becomes downy, and the heap increases in size till it is about five times the size of the original. The cotton is now clean, all dirt and debris adhering to it which had not been retained by the mangle being removed in the course of the teasing.

The next process is to roll the cotton, which is placed on a smooth plank and rolled with a piece of the stem of a tall grass called *angphi* (*Thysanolaena agrostis*, Nees), about 1 foot long and the breadth of a pencil. The cotton rolls itself round the stick, and when the stick is covered with cotton it is pulled out. The cotton rolls are about 8 inches long, and are ready for spinning into thread on the spinning-wheel (*raha*). (Fig. 2, p. 96.)

The spinning-wheel (*raha*) is made from wood and cane, the actual spindle (*rahathua*) being made of iron. The stand supporting the uprights through which the axle of the wheel revolves is made of *aveu* wood (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.), about 3 inches thick, to give it weight, and is formed in the shape of the letter T. The cross of the T is about 12 inches long, and is dovetailed into the stem, which is about 15



1. Spindle (*Lahmi*).

2. Spinning-Wheel (*Raha*).
2b. Iron spindle (*Rahathua*).

2a. Section of *Raha*, showing the Tie.

inches long. Holes are bored at both ends of the top of the cross-piece to take the uprights which hold the axle. These are strong pieces of *aveu* wood (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.) tapering at both ends and about 2 feet high. A little above the middle of each upright a hole is bored to hold the ends of the axle, to which a handle to turn the wheel is attached. The axle is made of *sasai* wood (*Caryota urens*). The arm of the handle is formed from a flat piece of wood, about 2 inches long by 1 inch wide, with a hole bored at both ends. One end of the axle protrudes through one hole, while in the other is placed a small bamboo handle. The complete length of the axle is about 18 inches. It is pointed at both ends so as to fit into the holes in the uprights, and it is thicker in the middle than at the ends, so as to keep the two sets of spokes apart. At the further end of the stand forming the base of the machine is placed a three-pronged support, which holds the spindle in position. This support is made out of a small piece of forked wood consisting of a stalk with three prongs growing out of it, generally from a tree called *laki* (*Callicarpa arborea*, Roxb.), which forks freely. Holes are pierced in the two outer prongs about 1 inch below the top. Through these holes thin cane loops are fixed within which the spindle revolves. The function of the middle prong is to keep the two circles of the thread belt apart. The spokes for each side of the wheel are made from four pieces of *aveu* wood (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.) about 10 inches long and 1 inch broad, tapering and grooved at both ends. The four spokes forming each side of the wheel are crossed exactly in the middle, and a hole is bored through them to admit the thin ends of the axle, the spokes being thus held in place between the upright and the thickened centre of the axle. The spokes on either side of the wheel are not opposite each other, but are placed alternately, and narrow slats of split cane are tied into grooves at the end of the spokes and stretched across diagonally to the spokes on the other side, thus forming a tyre. The outer edges of this tyre are made of split canes circled round each side just inside the spokes, and tied over the cross canes at each spoke. Over this

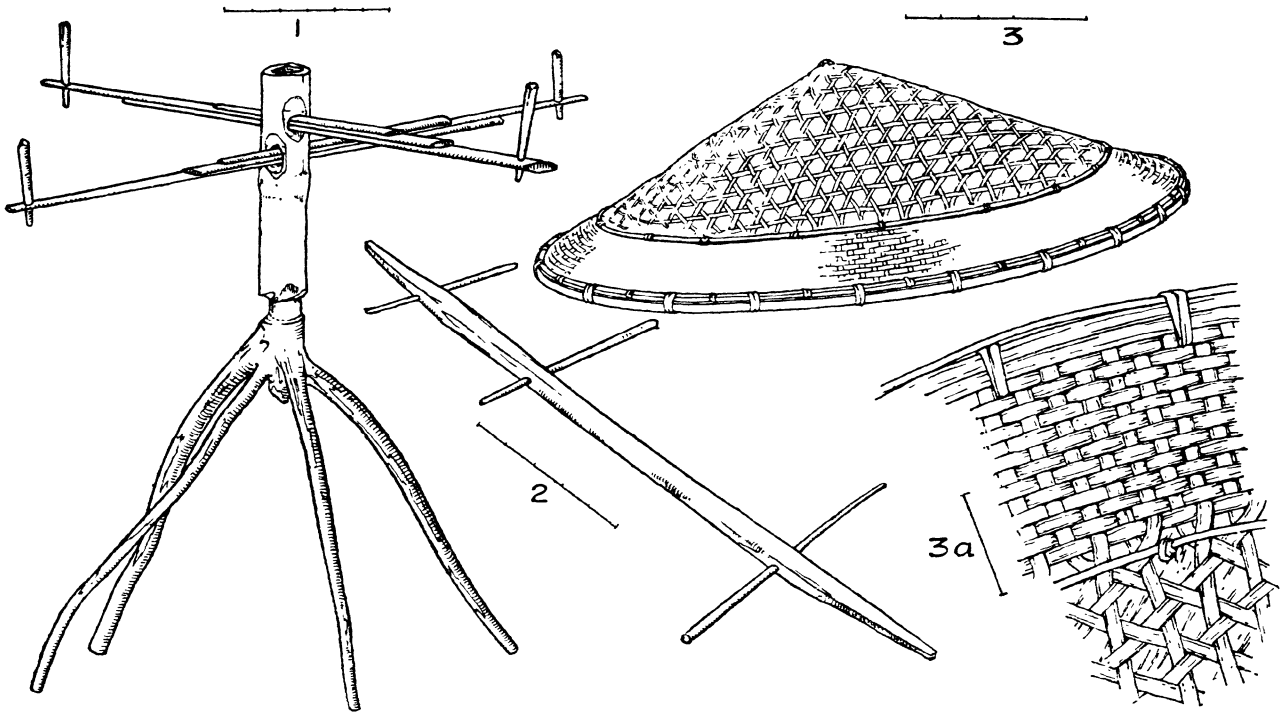
tyre the belt revolves. The belt is made of two bands of thick thread, which encircle both the wheel and the spindle, and run one on each side of the centre prong of the support. To keep the spinning-wheel firmly on the ground, a stone is generally placed on the stand when it is being worked; it can also be held down by the foot.

The cotton wool ready to be spun is about 8 inches long and 1 inch in diameter, and exactly resembles a thin roll of ordinary cotton wood. The spinner holds the handle of the wheel in her right hand and winds by turning the handle away from her. In her left hand she holds the roll of cotton wool. To engage the cotton on the spindle one end of the roll of cotton wool is loosened, wrapped round the spindle, and held firmly with the thumb and first finger until it is secure. The roll of cotton now lies across the palm of the left hand, and as the spinning-wheel is turned the cotton wool is gradually spun into thread. If the thread is not being spun quite evenly on to the spindle, it can be regulated by giving the handle half turns backwards and forwards, while the thread is held high above the spindle in the left hand. The thread can by this means be wound on to the spindle as evenly as it is wound on to the spool of a sewing-machine. A heap of small rolls of cotton wool is placed on the floor near the spinner's left hand. As soon as one roll is nearly exhausted a new roll is placed just overlapping the end of the preceding roll, and is held with the thumb and forefinger until it also begins to pass into thread on the spindle, and the spinning continues. When the spindle is full, the thread is removed and wound on to a thread-holder called *laba* (Fig. 2, p. 100).

The *laba* consists of a piece of wood about 2 to 3 feet long and about 1 inch thick, and is sharpened at both ends like a pencil. About 3 inches below each of the sharpened points of this stick a hole is bored, and through this is inserted a thin cross-piece of bamboo about 10 inches long, pared down to the thickness of a knitting-needle.

To wind the thread into a skein, the end of the thread is laid horizontally along the middle stick, starting from the centre and held in place by the left hand. The thread is

then wound upwards and over the cross-piece on the right, then down under the lower cross-piece on the same side and up over the left hand holding the end of the thread and up over the cross-piece on the left side ; then down under the cross-piece below on the left side, and up over the hand again, and over the cross-piece on the right side and down under the cross-piece on the same side, and so on. When a few threads have been wound in this way the end of the thread is tied over two or three of the horizontal threads to hold it securely. This thread is tied in exactly the same way as the end of the thread of a hank of wool. The thread is wound on to the *laba* in this way until it is full. When the *laba* is full, if the thread is wanted for immediate use it is taken off in a hank, placed in an earthenware pot in which rice is being cooked, and allowed to boil with the rice for about three hours. When the rice is ready, the hank of thread is taken out and hung up to dry on a bamboo pole supported by two uprights, which is called *batla*. Between the hanks hanging from the *batla* a heavy stick is placed to stretch the thread, which in this position is well brushed while still wet with a brush made out of the fruit of the pandanus tree to remove ragged ends. When the hanks of thread are dry they are placed on a thread winder called *kihlong* (Fig. 1, p. 100), and thence wound into balls round a small stone. This thread-winder is so ingeniously constructed as to merit description. Its base is a pedestal formed from four spreading branchlets growing out of one stem, which, turned upside down, form the four feet of the pedestal, while on the upright stem a bamboo joint revolves. This pedestal stands about 2 feet high. The stem is pared down to about 2 inches in diameter, so that it can be covered by a joint of bamboo. This joint of bamboo is about 8 inches long and 3 or 4 inches in diameter. The stem of the pedestal inside only reaches up to about half the length of the bamboo joint. Two sets of holes are made right through the bamboo joint one above the other, and about an inch apart. Four arms made of split bamboo about 2 feet long and 1 inch wide with an upright peg at the end of each are inserted through these holes overlapping each other, so that they can be lengthened



1. Thread Winder (*Kihlong*).

2. Thread Holder (*Laba*).
3a. Detail of Plait of Rain Hat.

3. Rain Hat (*Lukhu*).

or shortened to suit the length of the skein to be wound. A small bamboo wedge is slipped through the side of the joint to keep the arms in place. The hank of thread is stretched outside the four pegs at the ends of the arms, so that the bamboo joint on the centre revolves as the thread is pulled to be wound into a ball. The thread having been wound off the *kihlong* into balls, it is ready for weaving.

As a rule, however, thread merely spun on the spinning-wheel is not used for cloth-making until it has been spun out again on a spindle, as cloths made of threads which have undergone only one spinning last about half as long as those which have been re-spun on a spindle. When thread is to be re-spun, therefore, it is placed straight from the *laba* on to the *kihlong* without being boiled, wound into balls, and spun out again on a spindle called *lahmi* shown in Fig. 1, at p. 96. Ordinarily only one-ply thread is spun, but two-ply threads can be spun if coarser thread is desired for any special purpose. The spindle consists of a bamboo rod about 18 inches long and the thickness of a large knitting-needle, tapering from the base to a point at the top. The base of the rod is passed through the whorl, which is made preferably out of the bone of an elephant's foot, or, if that is not available, out of the root of the *ramaw* bamboo (*Melocanna bambusoides*). When spinning, the woman holds the ball of thread in her left hand. The thread is tied about the middle of the spindle rod, twisted round it a few times and looped over the right thumb on to the top of the rod. The thumb being withdrawn, the thread is tightened round the top of the rod. The spindle is spun by a sharp twist of the right hand at its point, and when it has finished spinning the thread is untied at the top and wound round the spindle, the process being repeated till the spindle is full. When the spindle is full, if the thread is wanted for white cloth the spindle is placed on the ground and the thread wound off it into balls round a small stone. If the thread is to be dyed dark blue it is wound on to the *laba* again, whence it is removed in skeins to be dyed. The process of dyeing will be described later on, and it will be convenient now to deal with the actual weaving of the cloth. The loom used is a

simple tension loom, but unless the process is described in detail it is impossible to understand how the cloth is made, while the description itself is no easy task. To make it as clear as possible I will first explain how the loom is set up, and will then endeavour to describe the weaving of a cloth.

A strong bamboo beam (*batla*) is tied between two of the house-posts, and from each end of this is suspended a loop of rope about 8 inches long, called *khawhri*, made out of the bark of the *pazo* tree. A thinner bamboo rod about 36 inches long is hung through these two loops of cane to form the bar of the loom (*lawbu*). The weaver (*thaisapa*) sits on the ground below at a suitable distance from the bar of the loom, according to the length of the cloth required. The weaver then passes behind her back a hide belt (*thaipho*). This belt is attached by cane tied into the grooves at each end of a round stick, called the breast-rod (*tiana*), which rests across the weaver's knees. The thread which is to form the warp (*palatong*) is tied to the left end of the breast-rod. Another woman (*thairapa*) assists the weaver to set up the loom (*thai*). The assistant takes the warp and passes it over the bar of the loom, then down underneath it again, and under and over the breast-rod, and then up over and under the bar of the loom. This process of winding the warp on to the loom is continued until the necessary number of threads is secured. The weaver settles herself comfortably on the loom, leaning against the belt, and stretches the threads of the warp to the required tautness. As the assistant places the warp on the loom, the weaver, after five warp threads have been so placed, inserts about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the breast-rod a bamboo rod about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter for the lease-rod (*lawbu*), the first warp being placed over this lease-rod. Two narrow pieces of split bamboo (*thaiteina*) the same length as the breast-rod are placed between the warp just above the breast-rod, one below and one above each external thread of the warp, to keep the first line of the weft (*palaphei*) straight. These two split bamboos are retained in this position until the whole cloth is woven. Another smaller bamboo rod (*chiri*) is then inserted between the warp threads

above the lease-rod, the first warp being placed above the lease-rod and under the *chiri*. By placing the warp alternately under the lease-rod and over the small rod called *chiri*, the lease-rod is kept straight. The next and third round stick to be put into position is the heddle (*lawhna*). This is placed about 1 foot above the breast-rod and just below the lease-rod. To the left end of the heddle is attached a thick cotton thread, and with this thread, which is also called *lawhna*, the weaver picks up every alternate warp thread, beginning from the second. The heddle thread is passed under the second warp thread and then up over the heddle. The third warp thread is not picked up by the heddle, but is placed on to the loom. The heddle then picks up the fourth thread, and so on until every alternate thread is held up by the heddle. The function of the heddle is to hold up every alternate thread of the warp, so that the sword (*thaiphia*) may pass between the warp threads to hold them in place for the shuttle (*chakhaw*) to pass through. The shuttle is a piece of thin bamboo stick about 2 inches long, upon which the cotton to form the weft threads has been wound. The shuttle is refilled from the ball by spinning it up and down against the hip with the palm of the hand. The sword is a flat piece of the *sasai* palm (*Caryota urens*, Linn.) about 3 inches wide. When the sword is turned up on its edge it leaves ample room between the warp threads for the shuttle with the weft thread to be passed through, as the alternate threads of the warp are held up by the heddle ; the weft is thereby enabled to pass over the one warp thread and under the next, as in darning.

The sword must be moved down to below the point where the warp threads cross each other before the shuttle is again passed through. By this means the warp threads which were above the weft threads on one line are placed below the weft threads on the next line, and vice versa. Each time the shuttle is shot through the warp the edge of the sword is brought down smartly against the pick of the weft to make each of the threads even. Should part of the weft become uneven, it can be loosened or placed in position

with the aid of a porcupine quill (*sawkuhlang*) by slackening the warp, lifting the heddle, and pulling the weft thread through more tightly, thereby readjusting the whole line. When all the warp has been placed on the loom, an evenly notched stick called *thaitei* is placed above the *chiri* to hold the warp threads at the right distance from each other, and a warp thread is placed in each notch. The weaving is then commenced.

To keep the tension of the warp threads even as they stretch on the loom, a second bar of the loom, also called *lawbu*, the same size as the original bar, is placed alongside of it and below the warp threads. The two bars of the loom are then given one half-turn upwards, and the ends of the second bar are placed behind the two cane loops. The warp is thereby tightened up. The two bars require to be readjusted frequently in the course of weaving. The work of the assistant is completed when the loom is fully wound and the two bars of the loom have been placed in position. The weaver continues to ply the shuttle until about a foot of material has been woven. The woven piece is then passed back under the breast-rod, and the loom readjusted until another foot has been woven, and so on.

An efficient weaver produces perfectly woven material from this primitive loom.

The pattern is worked in between the threads with a porcupine quill, small pieces of coloured cotton or silk being used. The single heddle loom can only be used for plain weaving ; for an elaborate pattern a number of heddles are necessary to hold up the alternate quantities of warp required to form the pattern. Ordinarily three heddles are used, but for elaborate patterns as many as seven may be required. It needs quite four years for a weaver to learn how to make a fully patterned cloth. A full-sized cloth takes the weaver seven to eight months to complete ; but this is not surprising considering the number of other calls that the mother of a family in a Lakher village has on her time.

Two pieces of cloth the size of a loom are sewn together to make a full-sized cloth. Nowadays needles are bought in

Lungleh bazaar, formerly they were imported from Arakan, and I found no one who could tell me what they used before steel needles were available. The Lusheis used small pieces of sharpened bamboo, and still use them for making the thick cloth of raw cotton called *puanpui*, and I am almost sure that Lakhers must have used the same ; it is impossible that they should have been able to obtain steel needles for much more than fifty to sixty years.

Dyeing.

All dyeing is done by women, and it is *ana*, or forbidden, for men to take any part in the operation, as it is believed that any man who touches dye or a cloth that is being dyed will be unable to shoot any game, and will be especially liable to suffer from consumption. The reason why participation in dyeing results in bad luck in the chase is rather complicated. Animals are terrified of blood, and consequently are very afraid of women because of their menstrual flow. The hands of a man who takes part in dyeing are stained with the blue dye, and the smell of the dye also hangs about him. The souls of the wild animals scent this at once, and when such a man approaches they associate him in their minds with women, become very frightened, and refuse to allow him to approach them. Hence a man who helps his wife to dye cloth is always unlucky in the chase.

For dyeing cloth the Lakhers know only of blue and yellow dyes. There are three methods of dyeing cotton blue. The first is with the leaves of wild indigo (*Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*). The leaves are boiled in water, and when they have been on the boil some time are taken out of the pot, squeezed into a wooden trough and placed on one side ; the water from the pot is also poured into the trough. To this indigo water ashes are added and the thread to be dyed is placed in the trough and thoroughly kneaded in the dye. After this the thread is taken out of the dye, wrung out and replaced in the trough, and the boiled-up indigo leaves which were squeezed into the trough are placed on the top of it.

The thread is left to soak for three days. After this it is wrung out and hung up in the sun to dry. After a month the process is repeated, and again a month later, as unless the cloth is dipped three times the dye will not be fast.

The second method is to crush the bark of the *azeu* tree (*Duabanga soneratioides*) in a mortar. The crushed bark is then boiled and the liquid is strained off. The thread to be dyed is steeped in the liquid, and as soon as it is thoroughly wet is taken out and buried in mud, where it is left for three days, after which it is taken out and washed. This process has to be gone through twice to make the colour fast.[1]

The third process is carried out in the same way as the second, except that the leaves of the *awhmangbeupa* tree (*Pithecolobium angulatum*, Benth.) are used instead of *azeu* bark. To dye thread yellow the Lakhers crush the roots of the turmeric plant *iasamaipa* and boil them with the thread to be dyed. Two boilings are necessary. The Lakhers have no red dye. The plumes of scarlet hair for the headdress of a manslayer and the tails used for ornamenting *daos* and shields are bought ready made from the Chins. Red dyes bought in Lungleh bazaar are now being used in all the villages.

Metal Work.

The Lakhers do very little metal work. In the Savang and Chapi groups there were no regular blacksmiths till a year or two ago. The Savang people buy their *daos* and tools from Arakan and the Chapi people from Haka. In the old administered area most of the villages have village blacksmiths, who receive certain dues from the villagers, in consideration of which they are expected to keep the villagers' tools in order and to make such new tools as may be required. Practically the only articles made are *daos*, knives, hoes and axes. Ornamental metal work, except for

[1] The Angami Nagas use the same process with the wood or bark of *Macaranga denticulata*, which yields a tan or mordant which contains gallic acid. The mud contains iron salts which combine with the gallic acid and turn the material black.—J. H. H.

the bracelets called *rahongpachhi* and the earrings called *hawmiraheu*, does not exist. The forge is of a most primitive type. The bellows are made of two hollowed-out logs 4 feet long. Each has a hole pierced at one side at the bottom, large enough to hold a hollow bamboo to carry the blast. These logs are planted side by side in the floor of the forge, a bamboo is run into the hole at the bottom of each; the other end of this bamboo is close to the fire and enclosed in a round stone, which has been pierced to hold it so as to prevent it from being burnt. Each hollow log contains a piston composed of a stick bound round with old cloth or feathers to make it air-tight. The assistant works the bellows, pulling the pistons up and down; the blacksmith holds the iron with the tongs in his left hand and a hammer in his right hand. The iron or steel is hammered into shape on another piece of iron, or sometimes on a large stone. The tools used by a blacksmith are a hammer (*seulong*), a pair of tongs (*thuachaichhi*), a file (*serai*) and a kind of chisel called a *siakhai*. If a Lakher wants a *dao* or a hoe, he has to buy the iron and take it to the blacksmith with enough charcoal for the fire, and the blacksmith fashions such tools as his customer requires to the best of his ability. The tools turned out are small and of very inferior workmanship, as the blacksmiths are quite unskilled, and the scarcity of cash makes it impossible for Lakhers to buy enough iron for decent-sized tools.

Fire-making.

Lakhers generally use flint and steel for making fire. The story goes that originally men had no fire and did not know how to make it, the only person who had fire being the god *Khazangpa*. Men decided to send to *Khazangpa* to ask him to give them fire, but as any one sent to *Khazangpa* had to cover his eyes with his cloth, no one could find the way. At last a fly said, "I shall be able to fetch fire from *Khazangpa*." The men said, "Very well, you go to *Khazangpa* and bring us back fire." Accordingly they tied a cloth over the fly's head as usual and sent him off. Now the fly

has eyes in his body under his wings, and not on his head, as the men thought, so that when the fly reached the presence of *Khazangpa* it was able to see all that he did, and watched *Khazangpa* strike the flint and make fire. *Khazangpa* then said to the fly, "Now tell me how fire is made." The fly in his turn made fire from the flint, so *Khazangpa* said, "Now you know how to make fire," and gave the fly the flint, which he took back to the earth, and so was the first to bring fire to men.

Steel and flint are known as *pachi chilong*, and for tinder the Lakhers use the dried sap of the *sasai* palm (*Caryota urens*). The steels are made in the village forge; the flints are bought from the Chins. The tinder and flint are held in the left hand and the steel in the right, the stone being struck with the steel till the sparks light the tinder. Until recent years fire was invariably made by flint and steel. Nowadays matches are becoming common, but most Lakhers still carry a tinder box in their bag, as they have to be very sparing of matches owing to their cost. (Fig. 6, p. 91.)

Another method of making fire is by rubbing a cane rope against a dry bamboo. A dry bamboo is split, and on the outside of one half a notch is cut for the cane to run along, and in the centre of the notch a small hole is made which is filled in with the dried sap of the *sasai* palm. The bamboo is then placed on the ground with one end resting on a bit of stick or a stone, a rope of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.) is placed beneath it in the notch through which the hole has been made. The fire-maker places one foot on each end of the bamboo, and holding one end of the thong in each hand, pulls it rapidly backwards and forwards till the bamboo becomes so hot that the dry palm sap ignites. As soon as the tinder is alight it is placed on the tobacco in a pipe, from which fire is then obtained as required.

This is the oldest method of fire making known to the Lakhers. It is said to be by no means certain and is only used nowadays by people benighted in the jungle without fire and without other means of making it. Garos make fire in exactly the same way, save that they use a bamboo instead of a cane thong. The method is called *Walbita* in

LAKHER WEARING RAINCOAT AND HAT

BACK VIEW OF LAKHER WEARING POWDER FLASK AND BAG

Atong and *Walsala* in Achik. The tinder used is the same.[1]

Basket Work.

All basket work is done by the men. Many different kinds of baskets are made, each with its special use, some of bamboo and others of cane. Very neat work is done, the prettiest basket being the *baiba*, a covered basket on the same lines as the Lushei *thûl*, but squarer, lower, and without a tapered base. Mats, trays, and sieves are made of cane or bamboo, but most commonly of the latter. Pedestal plates called *pawkho*, made of bamboo, are used for eating rice. These are of beautiful workmanship. Scabbards for *daos* are made of finely woven cane with slings made of the dried tails of monkeys. A very effective waterproof cape called *chahnang* is made out of the leaflets of a grass called *chahnang*. The leaflets are stripped from the midrib, and each leaflet is divided down the centre. The garment is composed of rows of bunches of these leaflets overlapping each other, and reaching from the shoulder to the knee. The foundation upon which the bunches of leaflets hang is made of strips of leaflets plaited in two-ply twists. These are placed less than a quarter of an inch apart, and are laced together crosswise at intervals of about 3 inches by a fibre thread. The top of the garment is shaped to fit closely over the shoulders, and is tied in front by a thick fibre string. A row of three fibrous threads neatly woven through the ends of the leaflets which are turned over to make a hem forms a finely woven edging on the shoulders.

The strips of leaflets are tied together in bunches with ten strips in each bunch, and the bunches are then tied tightly together in rows, the apex of the leaflets hanging downwards. Four rows of these bunches go to make a complete garment. The foundation to which the bunches of leaves are attached is not continued after the third row of leaflets. The last row hangs free.

A Lakher's rainy-weather kit is completed by a rain hat

[1] So, too, all Nagas. For distribution outside Assam, see Balfour, "Frictional Fire-making with Flexible Sawing-Thong," *J.R.A.I.*, XLIV. (June 1914).—J. H. H.

something like an Assamese *japi*. This hat is formed of two circular pieces of bamboo lattice work, dome-shaped and rising to a flattish peak, between which are placed the waterproof leaves of *chaihna* (*Phrynium capitatum*, Willd.). A coronet of split bamboo 1 inch broad is fixed below the peak to fit on to the head, and fibre strings to go round the chin are attached to this coronet. For the under side of the hat, a broad pattern of latticed bamboo is used, which is strengthened at the edge of the brim by three circles of strips of bamboo, while another circle of bamboo is placed 3 inches inside the brim and tied in place by a fine cane. The outer lattice-work covering is of a much finer pattern, and is ornamented and strengthened at the edge of the brim by a strip of fine basket work 3 inches wide, the edge of the brim being further strengthened by a circle of finely plaited bamboo. Hats vary in size, but an ordinary size is $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter (*cf.* Figs. 3 and 3a, at p. 100).

Baskets are woven in certain definite plaits, as shown in the table below. The heading of each column gives the name of the plait, and the names of the baskets worked in each plait are given underneath.

Baikaichei.	*Saikhuachei.*	*Abopa.*	*Apipa.*	*Hrabeuchei.*
Baikai.	*Saikhua.*	*Baitarupa.*	*Dawkia.*	*Hrabeu.*
	Kachu.	*Dapi.*	*Lawbu.*	*Mangkhawpa.*
	Tlabai.	*Bara.*	*Sanghri.*	*Lukhu.*
	Phavaw-pawkho.	*Viakuarina.*	*Awhbeu.*	*Beusaro.*
	Pawkho.	*Baiba.*	*Awhchari.*	
		Bongtong.		
		Cheupapa.		

The *baikai* is the basket used for collecting the grain at harvest and for carrying grain. It is about 2 feet high and 2 feet in diameter across the top, tapering down to about 8 inches square at the base. The method of plaiting the basket with stiff and flexible split bamboos is as follows.

Two split bamboo strips cut into lengths about a quarter of an inch wide, and retaining their green outside covering on one side, are placed on the ground at right angles, crossing

each other exactly in the middle, with the outer side underneath. Split bamboos about a quarter of an inch wide (but without the green outer covering) are then placed one on each side of both of the green crossed strips of bamboo. As the newly added strips are plaited in, they must pass over one and under two, and under one and over two, alternately both ways to form the twilled pattern. The encircling slat is continuous, and every time it passes over two it forms one plait of the pattern. Sufficient must be plaited first to form the bottom of the basket, *i.e.* about 8 inches square, to strengthen which two bamboo sticks about the thickness of a pencil and sharpened at both ends are placed obliquely across it from corner to corner and the sharpened ends are pushed an inch through the plait, so that the ends of these small rods are visible inside the basket. The split bamboos to form the ribs of the basket are then carefully bent upwards. At this stage a hoop of bamboo of the required size is inserted inside the ribs at the point where the basket begins to expand—that is, a little below its middle. The rib slats are tied together in a bunch at a point above that which the top of the finished basket will reach, and a long split bamboo, which is discarded later, is passed under the basket and tied up over the top as though tying a parcel. The ribs are only tied in a bunch above the top of the basket until the plaiting of the circular slats reaches the point where the basket begins to expand, as from there onwards the ribs must be free, to allow the basket to expand.

In plaiting up to the point where the basket expands, the encircling bamboo slat passes over two ribs and under two ribs, but at the corners it must pass over or under three or four ribs. This forms the point in the twilled pattern. When three circles have been plaited, the four corners are formed and strengthened by placing at each corner, with its end inserted through the circle already plaited, an upright split bamboo retaining its outer covering. Another hoop for the top of the basket is now placed inside the ribs at the desired height.

Ribs are added at regular intervals, beginning with one at each side of the four bamboos forming the corners. These

extra ribs are inserted from the top after every second or third turn of the encircling slat, which is plaited round as before over two and under two upright ribs and vice versa, except at the corners and at the green centre bamboo on each side of the basket, where it is necessary for the encircling strip to pass either under or over from one to four ribs, as by this means the pattern for the point is formed. If the lower of the encircling slats forming the point should pass over four ribs, then the next above must pass over three, and the third over one, to form the point of the pattern.

When the encircling slat has reached the top of the basket, the hoop which was placed inside at the point where the basket begins to expand is discarded, and the hoop at the top and another cane hoop to encircle the outer side are placed side by side at the top of the basket where the ends of the ribs have been cut off. These two hoops are tied tightly together by a split cane looped over the two hoops and knotted at intervals of about 1 inch. A flat piece of split cane is laid over the tops of the ribs so that no rough edges are visible and so that the hoops and the cane form a firm edging to the basket (*cf.* Fig. 2, p. 119).

Saikhua.

A small basket used for measuring rice and grain ; when heaped full it contains two pounds.

This basket is made from fine split bamboos about one-eighth of an inch wide. To plait it three bamboo strips are placed obliquely, crossing over another three strips, so that the strips cross each other exactly in the centre. More strips are then placed at each side of these first six. The first must be plaited over two and under one, the next under two and over two, and so on until sufficient has been plaited for the bottom of the basket—that is, about 5 inches square. The bottom of the basket is then strengthened by placing two crossed sticks with sharpened points under five plaits at each corner. The bamboo strips to form the sides of the basket are carefully bent upwards, slanting across each other, the bamboo strips coming up from one side of a

corner being plaited into the strips coming up on the other side, under two and over two, and vice versa, as before, until the necessary height is reached—that is, about 3 inches. The ends of the bamboo strips at the top of the basket are then twisted together to form a rim. The strip on the outside is twisted across over two and the end tucked underneath, while that from the inside is twisted over two in the opposite direction. This makes a strong twisted edge to the basket (*cf.* Figs. 6 and 6a, p. 115).

Kachu.

A basket used in the house in which to keep grain.

It is made from strips of split bamboo about half an inch wide. The basket is about 15 inches square, the height being the same as the size of the square. The *kachu* is plaited in exactly the same way as the *saikhua* already described. When the *kachu* has been plaited and strengthened below by the two crossed sticks reaching from corner to corner, two other supports are added. The rim is encircled by two bamboo hoops, which make the top of the basket quite round. The bamboo hoops are covered by hoops of cane tied down at intervals of about 1 inch, which makes a firm and neat edging. The corners are strengthened by four split bamboos from which the outer green covering on one side has not been removed. These bamboos, which are twice the height of the basket, are placed one at each corner and bent in half at the rim of the basket, so that one piece strengthens the outside and the other the inside of the basket. The end of the piece on the outside forms a foot. Loops of knotted cane are passed through the plaiting about 1 inch apart and tied round these corner bamboos to hold them firmly in position.

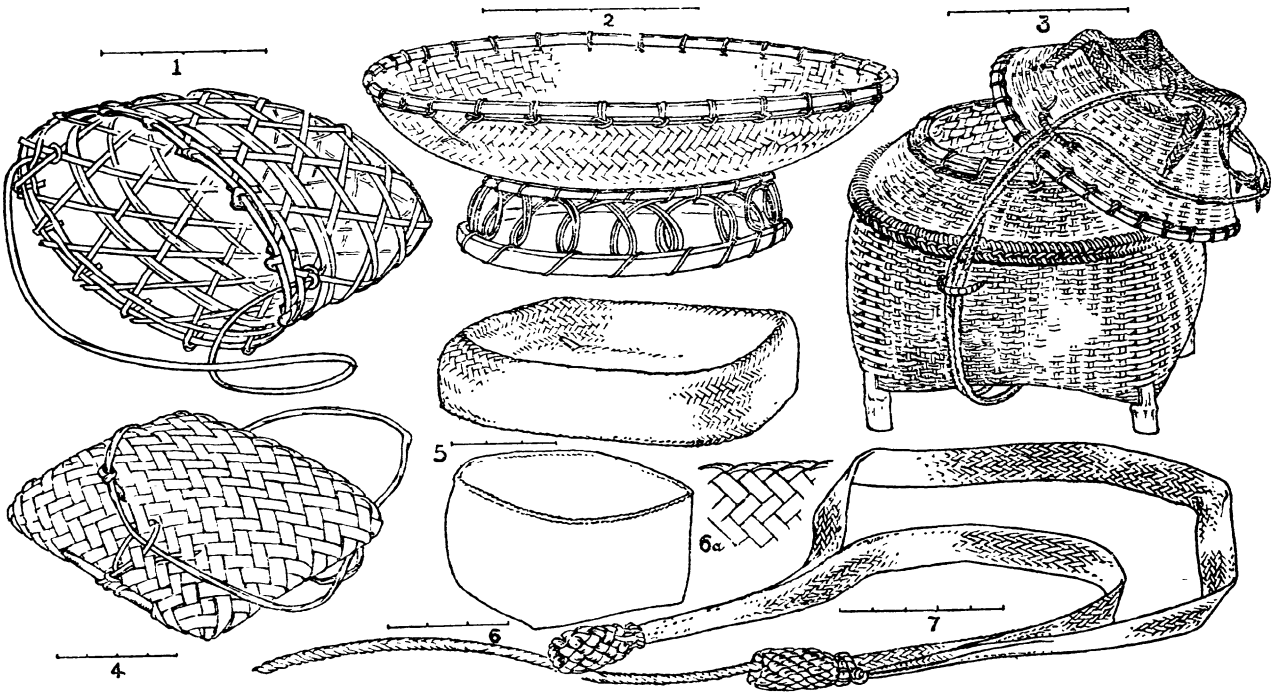
Tlabai.

The basket called *tlabai* is a large round measure used in paying the rice due to the chief, and when rice or any other grain is sold to another village. Three *tlabai* full of grain are valued at one rupee. The basket is lined, and is about

a cubit high and a cubit in diameter. The lining is plaited in exactly the same way as the *kachu*, and is made of split bamboo strips about half an inch wide. When the inner lining is complete it is turned upside down and the outer covering is plaited on to it. Half-inch wide split bamboo strips are slipped under the crossed sticks, strengthening the bottom of the basket. These strips are placed half an inch apart, and the transverse strips are also placed half an inch apart and plaited across each other, over one and under one and vice versa, with the half-inch space between, until the bottom of the basket is complete. The strips of split bamboo are then gently bent upwards and are plaited under one and over one as before ; then for the next three rounds they are plaited close together. The upright strips of split bamboo are tied above the top of the basket and the encircling strip is plaited in as before, under one and over one and vice versa. When the basket is of the desired height, two split bamboo hoops, with the outer green covering retained, are placed round the rim and tied together with cane, knotted about 1 inch apart. The corners of the *tlabai* are strengthened with four split bamboos in exactly the same way as in the *kachu*.

Phavaw-pawkho.

The *phavaw-pawkho* is a small shallow basket used for the food eaten by a man who is making a sacrifice. The plait is the same as that used for the *saikhua*. Three split bamboos one-eighth of an inch wide are placed across each other at a slant, and then passed over three and under three and vice versa, followed by a plait over one and under two, then over two and under one, and then a continuation over two and under two and vice versa. The bottom of the basket is strengthened with two crossed bamboos. When a depth of about 2 inches has been plaited to form the sides, a further two rows are plaited in and turned over on to the outside of the basket and two more rows are added. The edge of this basket is finished off by having the ends neatly turned back into the plait. The sides of the basket are therefore double (*cf.* Fig. 5, p. 115).



1. Open-work Basket (*Beusaro*). 2. Bamboo Plate (*Pawkho*). 3. Basket for holding Thread (*Bongtong*). 4. Seed Basket (*Cheupapa*). 5. Plate for Sacrificial Food (*Phavaw-pawkho*). 6. Basket for Measuring Grain (*Saikhua*). 6a. To show plait of No. 6. 7. Man's Carrying-Band (*Chapawseihna*).

Pawkho.

The *pawkho* is an ornamental basket-work plate resting on a plinth of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.) in double cycloid pattern. It stands 4 to 6 inches high, including the plinth, and the plate is about 10 inches in diameter. The plate is made of fine split bamboos one-eighth of an inch wide. Different-coloured slats are often plaited in at different angles, half the slats being smoked dark brown while the others are kept in their natural colour.

The plaiting is started with three split bamboos on each side, into which slats are plaited under two and over two and vice versa, in exactly the same way as in the basket called *kachu*. When sufficient has been plaited to form the plate, the split bamboos are cut off to form a complete round, and two hoops of split bamboo showing the rounded side outermost are tied firmly to form a neat edging. These are slightly smaller than the outer circle of the plate, and force the plate into a concave shape, so that it is suitable for holding food.

To form the plinth, two pieces of split cane carefully rounded are twisted in and out, forming a double cycloid coil as follows : the two pieces of cane for the coil are held in the left hand and made into a loop about 2 inches in diameter. The ends of the cane are passed through this loop from above to form another loop of exactly the same size. This is continued until sufficient loops have been coiled into each other to form the plinth. Two strips of split bamboo about 1 inch wide are then placed in two circles, one above and one below the cycloid loops, the upper circle being slightly smaller than the lower. The cycloid loops are tied tightly to these two circles with narrow bamboo strips, which pass through small holes in the flat strips joining the circles. The plate is then tied on to the upper split bamboo circle in four places exactly opposite each other (*cf.* Fig. 2, p. 115).

Baitarupa.

The *baitarupa* is a large basket for storing rice in the house. The base of this basket is 3 feet square and the

height is 4 feet. The lining is plaited in a twilled pattern over two and under two alternately. Six or eight split bamboos half an inch wide are placed in front of the basket-maker. Every second two are lifted and a transverse piece of split bamboo is inserted. To form a twilled pattern the first transverse strip is plaited under two and over two. The second strip is placed over one and under two. After this the plaiting is continued over two and under two. When the basket is completed all the strips appear to have been placed under two and over two and vice versa. The basket is strengthened by two crossed sticks run from corner to corner at the bottom. When sufficient has been plaited for the bottom of the basket, the slats are tied up over the top and the encircling strip is carried on over two and under two and vice versa until the top of the basket is reached. The encircling strip must be continuous.

The outer covering of this double basket is made of strips of bamboo half an inch wide. For the bottom of the basket the strips are placed about half an inch apart. They are slipped between the lining of the basket and the two crossed sticks which strengthen it below. The strips are plaited half an inch apart, over one and under one and vice versa. When the sides of the basket are reached, the encircling strip is plaited tightly, leaving no gap between the successive coils, and this is continued until the top of the basket is reached. Here the ends of the ribs are cut off straight and covered with two bamboo hoops, one inside and the other outside, and tied tightly together with loops of cane.

Dapi.

The *dapi* is a flat tray for drying the rice in the sun, and is about 3½ feet long by 3 feet wide. It is plaited in exactly the same way as the *viakuarina*, but the strips of bamboo are placed close together so that the grain cannot fall through. The rim of the *dapi* is strengthened by two split bamboo hoops tied tightly together with loops of cane.

Bara.

The *bara* is a tray used for sifting rice, and is about the same size as the *viakuarina,* the measurements being 2 feet by 1½ feet. The sides are about 2½ inches high.

This basket is plaited with strips of split bamboo exactly like the *dapi,* and its rim is also strengthened with bamboo hoops tied with cane.

Viakuarina.

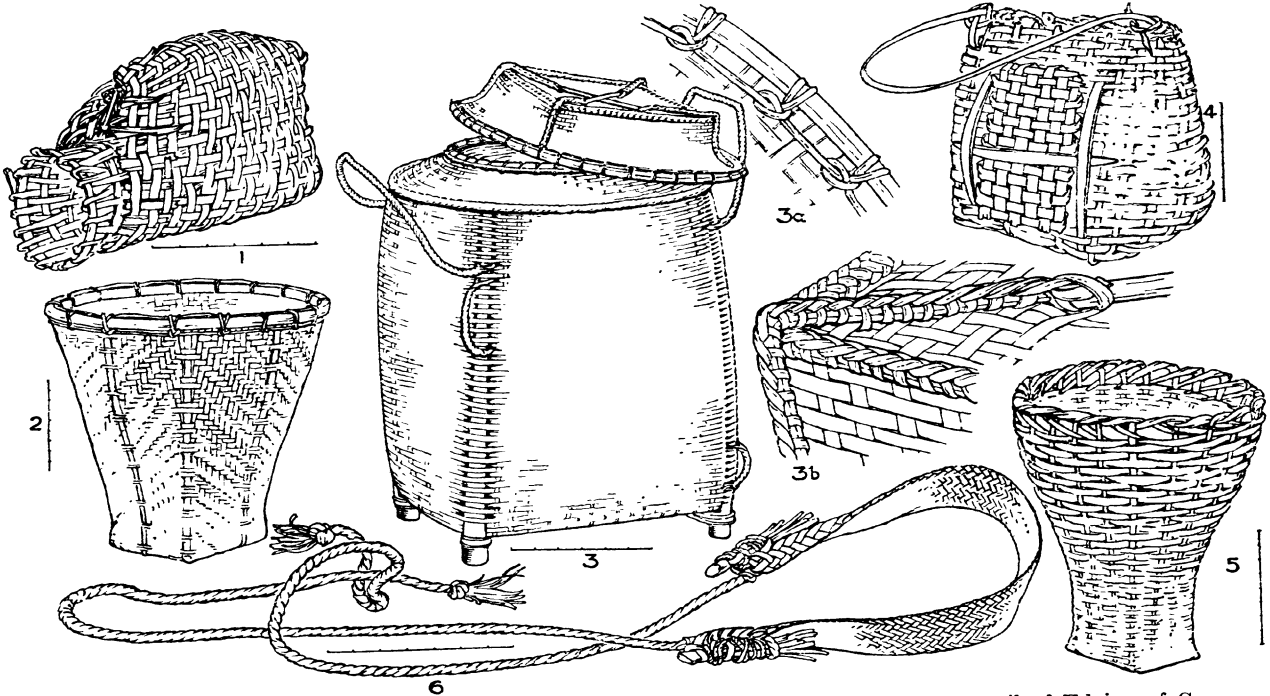
The *viakuarina* is a sieve for cleaning rice, about 2 feet long by 1½ feet wide, the sides being 2 inches high.

The split bamboo strips for plaiting this basket are a little less than one-eighth of an inch wide, and are placed about the same distance apart. Six strips are laid on the ground, with the desired space between, and five transverse strips plaited in, the first over two and under two, the second over one, and then under two and over two continuously, the third over two and under two. The fourth is under one and then continuously over two and under two, like the second. By this means a twilled pattern is formed. The strips are plaited in in this way until the desired size is attained. Two crossed sticks are added below for strength.

To form the sides two of the upright strips are placed together, and the encircling strip passes under and over these alternately. When about 3 inches have been plaited the ends of the upright strips are cut off, turned back and tucked into the plaiting to make a firm edging.

Baiba.

The *baiba* is a lined barrel-shaped basket used for storing clothes and valuables. It is a possession which will last for years, and takes the place of the cabin trunk of civilisation. It is 1 foot square at the bottom, and rests on four strong bamboo feet. Its height from the foot to the top of the cover is about 2 feet and its circumference about 50 inches. The lining is made first of split bamboo strips half an inch wide, the bottom being plaited in exactly the same way as



1. Fish Trap (*Chhao*). 2. Grain Basket (*Baikai*). 3. Clothes Basket (*Baiba*). 3a. Detail of Edging of Cover of *Baiba*. 3b. Detail of Outside of Cover of *Baiba*. 4. Hen Basket (*Awhbeu*). 5. Carrying Basket (*Dawkia*). 6. Woman's Carrying-Band (*Chanongseihna*).

the bottoms of the *dapi* and *bara*, and strengthened below by the two crossed bamboos. When about a square foot has been plaited for the bottom of the lining the ribs are bent upwards and tied in a bunch above the top of the basket. The sides are plaited in the same way as the bottom up to the point where the shoulder which carries the cover begins. Here, to give the necessary curve inwards, the ribs are placed two together, in the same way as for the sides of the *viakuarina*, and the encircling strip passes over one and under one for about 4 inches. The ends of the ribs are then shortened and tucked back into the plait. This leaves a circular opening about 9 inches across at the top of the basket. The narrow strips of split bamboo used for plaiting the outside of the basket retain their green outer covering.

To plait the outer basket, the lining is turned upside down and the slats for the bottom are slipped between the two crossed sticks about a quarter of an inch apart and plaited in under one and over one and vice versa. These slats are placed a quarter of an inch apart until the edges of the bottom of the basket are reached, when they are plaited close together for about four rows. The ribs are then bent upwards and tied above. The four bamboos which form the feet and strengthen the corners of the basket are then put into position. These bamboos are cut into shape, so that the solid ends forming the feet come quite underneath the body of the basket. The plaiting then continues, over one and under one, leaving no space between the slats until the turn or shoulder of the basket is reached. The 4 inches for the shoulder are plaited over one and under one and vice versa until the last line round the opening. Here the ribs are placed two together to draw them in so as to reduce the size of the opening, and the slats pass over each two and under each two. The ribs are then cut off round the mouth of the opening and split cane hoops are tied over these ends and held in place by loops of cane tied about 1 inch apart. This makes the edge of the opening quite neat and firm.

The cover of the *baiba* is plaited in exactly the same way as the basket. The lining is made first and strengthened with two crossed sticks. The strips for the outside of the

cover are then slipped through these two crossed sticks and are plaited about a quarter of an inch apart, over one and under one and vice versa until the edge of the top, which is about 8 inches square, is reached. For the sides of the cover the strips are plaited close together. This cover is modelled to fit tightly on to the shoulder of the basket, so for the sides the ribs are placed two together, and the slat passes over each two and under each two and vice versa. For the edge of the cover it is necessary to expand, so the ribs are spread out again gradually until they are half an inch apart, the slat passing under one and over one and vice versa. The edge of the cover is then strengthened with the three hoops of cane tied together with loops of cane. The top of the cover, and also the shoulder of the basket, are ornamented with a strip of cane loops formed from one single narrow cane looped in the following manner over a narrow round cane. The end of the split cane is passed under the round cane, brought up over it and looped over its end. This is repeated to whatever length is required, and has the effect of a plait in three. To keep the cover firmly in position, two pieces of cane just long enough to meet above the cover are tied on to the corner posts 1 inch below the shoulder of the basket. Just below these loops at the front of the basket two cane slots are made to hold the carrying band, which is also run through two smaller slots at the bottom of the basket behind. The pattern of the inside of this basket is called *abopa* in Lakher and *bawta* in Lushei, while the pattern of the outside is called *apipa* in Lakher and *malkalh* in Lushei (*cf.* Figs. 3, 3a, 3b, p. 119).

Bongtong.

The *bongtong* is a tiny replica of the *baiba*, and is plaited in exactly the same way. It can justly be described as a work of art. It is 6 inches high, including the four small bamboo feet, 1 inch high, upon which it stands, and is a little more than twice its height in diameter. The *bongtong* is used by the women for keeping the small pieces of different-coloured cotton or silk used for the patterns on cloths and bags. The cover is permanently attached to the basket by

two fibres, which are kept in position by being passed through six small loops; one underneath the basket in the centre, one on each side about half an inch below the shoulder, one on each side of the cover and one in the centre on the top. By this means the cover can be raised and opened although still attached to the basket. The strips of bamboo used are only one-eighth of an inch wide, and the ornamentation is formed by very narrow strips of cane (*cf.* Fig. 3, p. 115).

The following are also plaited in *abopa* pattern :—

Cheupapa.

A small basket tied round the waist for holding the seeds of grain for planting in the fields. It is plaited from narrow strips of bamboo and tied with strips of cane (*cf.* Fig. 4, p. 115).

Chapawseihna.

A man's plaited carrying-band. The brow and shoulder bands are made of plaited *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.), and the ends, which are tied round the load, of rope made out of the bark of the *pazo* tree (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.) (*cf.* Fig. 7, p. 115).

Chanongseihna.

A woman's carrying-band. The browband is made of *ari* cane, and the ends are attached to the load by *pazo* ropes (*cf.* Fig. 6, p. 119).

Dawkia.

The *dawkia* is a large basket more or less roughly made. Its base is about 7 or 8 inches across, and its height about 1½ feet. It is made as light as possible, as it is used by the women for carrying home anything required for household use, such as a load of vegetables from the *jhum*, wood, or water-tubes. The basket is loosely plaited with quarter inch wide split bamboos. The base of the basket is plaited over one and under one, with a space of half an inch between each strip, and is strengthened with two crossed sticks from corner to corner. When sufficient has been plaited for the

base, the ribs are all tied together at the top of the basket, and the continuous strip encircles them under one and over one and vice versa for 4 to 6 inches. Then the ribs, which were tied above, are loosened to allow the basket to expand, and the encircling strip continues over one and under one and vice versa, which makes the basket wider at the top than at the base. To finish off the ribs at the top, each rib is twisted and turned back inside the plait. The following baskets are made in exactly the same plait : *lawbu*, *sanghri*, *awhbeu* and *awhchari* (*cf.* Fig. 5, p. 119).

Lawbu.

The *lawbu* is a basket used by the men for bringing home anything required from the *jhum* or the jungle. This basket is made in exactly the same way as the *dawkia*, but is of a different shape.

It is about 10 inches by 5 inches across the top, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The bamboo slats are plaited with spaces between at the base to give lightness, and are continued up the sides over one and under one with the slats closer together. The basket is strengthened round the edge by two hoops of split bamboo, one inside and one outside, tied tightly together with cane looped over both hoops and knotted at every inch.

This basket has four handles to hold the carrying-band, one at each side near the top, one in the middle near the top, and one in the middle near the bottom.

Sanghri.

A *sanghri* is a large flat piece of basket-work upon which tobacco leaves are placed for drying in the sun. It is about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide and about 3 inches in height at the sides. It resembles the *viakuarina*, but is more roughly made. The crossed bamboo slats pass over one and under one, with a space between to form the base. It is strengthened underneath by crossed sticks. The slats for the sides are bent upwards as in the *viakuarina*, and the encircling slat passes over one and under one.

Awhbeu.

The *awhbeu* is a square basket used for carrying chickens, and is about 14 inches square and 20 inches high. The floor is of latticed open-work to allow the droppings to fall through, and is strengthened by two crossed bamboos. The sides are plaited with thin bamboo slats close together, the encircling slat passing over one and under one until the necessary height is reached. The upright bamboo slats are split down the centre, so that they retain their green outer covering. An opening is made in one side of the basket big enough for one chicken to enter by removing some of the upright slats and turning the encircling slats back over each other so that there are no sharp edges to hurt the chickens. At each side of this opening two split bamboos extending from a little below the opening to a little above it are placed, so as to support a small plaited door, which slides to and fro between them. The door is a square piece of plaiting over one and under one, just large enough to fill in the opening. A piece of bamboo is passed between the two upright bamboos and the door to keep it shut, and is tied on to the basket by a piece of cane, so that it hangs beside the door ready for use. The top of the basket is squeezed together and the two ends are oversewn with a bamboo slat. A looped cane forms the handle. The *awhbeu* is generally used for shutting up hens and their broods (*cf.* Fig. 4, p. 119).

Awhchari.

This long round basket is slung up under the eaves and used as a roosting place for chickens. It is about 4½ feet in diameter and about 6 feet long, with a small door at one end, which is shut at night to protect the chickens from prowling jungle-cats.

The bamboo slats for the *awhchari* are about half an inch wide and have to be 1 foot longer than the basket, as they are twisted in to form a rounded end. The encircling slat passes over one and under one and vice versa. When about six rounds have been plaited, the rounded back of the basket is formed by the ends of the horizontal slats being bent right

over and tucked into the plaiting on the opposite side of the basket. The second slat to be bent over crosses over the first slat and is placed between the next two horizontal slats opposite. The slats are held in place by the hand until half are bent over, the remainder are then passed under those already in place and are brought out again and over two crossed encircling slats to the opposite side. By this means a small hole with a neatly twisted edging is formed in the middle of the end of the basket. The slats which have been passed through to the opposite side are cut off to the desired length and tucked back into the encircling slat, which is then continued until the front of the basket is reached. The front is finished off in the same way as the back, but the hole formed has to be large enough to allow a chicken to enter, and the protruding ribs which have been bent across are not cut off, but stick out like a frill all round; an encircling slat is then passed over one and under one of the protruding ribs, and the ribs are passed back through the encircling slat. By this means the entrance to the basket is made secure, so that the chickens cannot push their way out again.

A door made of a flat piece of wood is slipped between two bamboo uprights tied with cane, one on each side of the entrance. These are kept firmly in position by two pieces of bamboo broader than the thickness of the wooden door placed one above and one below the opening so that the door slips down through the uprights. A long piece of wood 1 foot longer than the basket is then attached to the top of the basket to prevent it swaying, and is tied at both ends and in the middle with strips of cane, by which it is hung up in position. The chickens climb up the ladder to roost as soon as it is dark, and the owner shuts the door, and opens it again in the early morning (*cf.* Fig. 11, in diagram, p. 70).

Hrabeu.

An open-work basket about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and about 1 foot square at the base, used as a carrying-basket for any load required on a journey, so it is made as light as possible, and

is not expected to last very long, as it can be plaited quickly when necessary and can be made of any suitable size. According to the size required, the split bamboos are 1 or 1½ inches wide and the slats are placed 1 inch or further apart.

To plait this basket the strips of bamboo are placed as follows :—

Two strips are held in position about 1 inch or more apart ; two other strips are then placed under and over the first two in a slanting position, two more strips 1 inch or more apart are twisted under and over the two first strips slanting in the opposite direction. Strips are plaited in, alternately slanting in opposite directions, until the basket is complete. The ribs are then held in position by encircling slats passing over one and under one, as far apart as required, until the rim of the basket is reached. The rim is made of three strips of bamboo placed tightly together over one and under one. The tops of the ribs are turned back and tucked into the rim.

Mangkhawpa.

A light basket used by the women for the same purposes as the Dawkia.

It is about 2 feet high, and is plaited from strips of split bamboo about a quarter of an inch wide. The strips are placed in pairs, with a corresponding space between, and the encircling strip is passed under one pair and over the other pair alternately, leaving the same space between, until about 8 inches square has been plaited. The bottom of the basket is then strengthened by two crossed bamboos. The ribs are bent upwards and tied over the basket. Three encircling strips of a particularly strong bamboo *rahniapa* (*Dendrocalamus Hookeri,* Munro) are plaited through over two ribs and under two ribs and vice versa for three rounds. After this the ribs are entwined, each rib being placed across the one next to it, and a long strip of bamboo is passed thrice through the ribs over one and under one. This encircling strip above the entwined ribs is repeated twice, the strips being about 3 inches apart.

The rim is made of three strips of bamboo, and the ends of the ribs are turned back, twisted and slipped into the rim. The plait of this basket is known as *hrabeuchei*, but the plait of the bottom of the basket is *apipa*.

Beusaro.

A small open-work basket, made of quarter-inch wide split bamboo, which is hung up near the hearth and used for storing spoons. This basket is a smaller edition of the *hrabeu*, and is plaited in exactly the same way (*cf.* Fig. 1, p. 115).

Matting.

Lakhers make only one kind of bamboo matting, called *aphi*. These mats are made in all sizes up to about 10 feet long by 8 feet wide. They are made in the *abopa* or twilled pattern. Bamboos are cut into slats about half an inch wide. In making the slats the outer covering of the bamboo is removed, only the inner skin being used. The slats are plaited together in the *abopa* pattern. When the mat has been made as large as desired, the ends of the slats are bent back and folded between the plaiting. These mats are used for sleeping on, sitting on and for drying paddy in the sun.

Bridges.

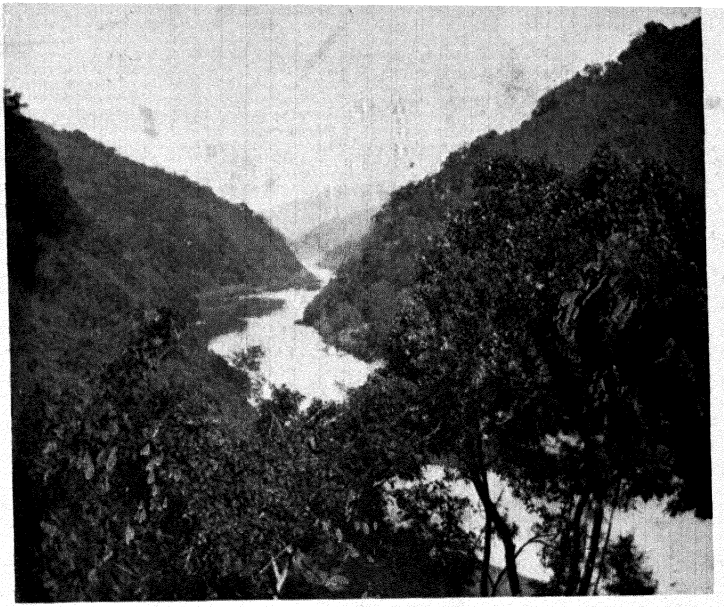
While on the subject of cane and bamboo work, mention must be made of the cane bridges called *hleiri*, with which the larger rivers are spanned during the rains. A spot is selected, preferably with suitable trees on each bank, as otherwise tall wooden posts have to be erected, and cane ropes are strung across the river from bank to bank and attached to the trees. These cane ropes, tied together, are used for each side of the bridge. From these ropes cane hoops 5 feet high and 4 feet broad are hung at intervals of 47 inches, and tied on to the suspending ropes above. The floor, which consists of six long cane ropes, rests on the bottom of the hoops, and is tied on to them with cane, each end of the canes forming the floor being attached to a log of wood

fixed between the trees or posts, as the case may be, which form the uprights. To prevent the bridge from swaying excessively, cane ropes are taken from the suspending canes and tied on to trees; generally about four of these guy-ropes are run up from each side of the bridge. These cane bridges are used for crossing unfordable rivers like the Kolodyne and the Tisi. The cane used is *ari* (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.).

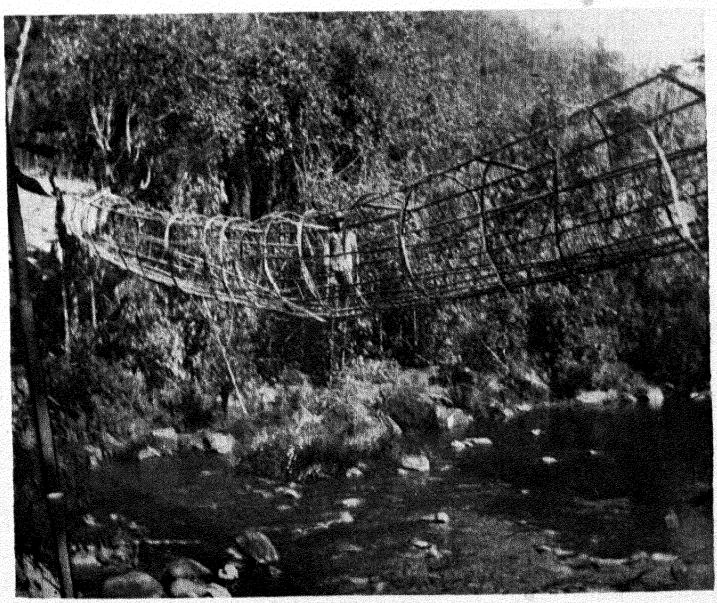
For small rivers rough bridges called *hleideu* are built, consisting of two crossed posts at each end, over which four bamboos are run to make a pathway.

Pottery.

All pottery work is done by old women who have never been married and by widows. It is *ana* for unmarried girls and for married women whose husbands are alive to make pots. The reason for this prohibition is the belief that when a woman is tapping the potter's clay over a stone to shape the pot, she might by mistake hit her husband's soul on the head and so kill him. A husband's soul is believed to hover about his wife, and the soul of a man to hover round his future wife, so it might easily be in the way when a woman is making pots and get hurt. It is not definitely *ana* for men to make pots, but they never do so. When a woman proposes to make pots, she first goes off to the jungle and collects some clay thrown up by termites. The outer clay is not used; she digs down a foot or two and takes the lower clay, which is darker in colour and is said to be of a better consistency. Having deposited this in her house, the potter collects a quantity of very small pebbles about the size of S.G. shot, such as are found on river-banks. The potter's clay is mixed with these fine pebbles and kneaded in a wooden trough or on a flat stone. When it has attained the desired consistency, it is rolled into a ball, wrapped up in leaves and left for three nights to set. When she starts work the potter takes sufficient clay to make the pot required, and places it on a mat on the floor. In her left hand she has a stone which she pushes into the lump of



THE KOLODYNE RIVER



BAMBOO SUSPENSION BRIDGE OVER THE TISI RIVER

clay ; in her right she holds a mallet called *beiphia*, with which she slowly taps the clay into shape against the stone. When the pot has been knocked into shape, it is dried in the sun. When the pots are dry they are placed close together on branches of dry chestnut wood, and small dry sticks are piled up over them in a high heap. This heap is set alight on the top, and when the fire has died down the pots are taken out, and while still hot are filled with rice water, which is believed to strengthen them and make them less brittle. They are now ready for use. Any one wanting some pots made collects the clay and the pebbles, takes them to the potter, and tells her what pots he requires. The potter must be given enough rice and meat for one meal when the contract is made, payment being made when the pots are finished.

For making the clay bowls of women's pipes, a special method is followed. The clay is prepared in the same way as described, except that no pebbles are added to it. The top of a paddy pestle is tied to one of the verandah posts, so that the post, the pestle and the floor make a triangle. Then, small holes are bored in the post and the pestle, about the height of a man's knee from the floor, so as to admit a small wooden stick pointed at each end, called *karolusong*. A lump of clay the size of a fist is taken, the *karolusong* is run through the middle of it, and is then placed in position on the triangle. The potter's assistant takes a cubit of cotton string, ties a small stick to each end of it to afford a hand grip, and then twists it twice round the *karolusong*. The assistant, by pulling the string first with one hand and then with the other, causes the *karolusong* which carries the clay to revolve. The potter sits on the other side of the triangle. In her right hand she holds a sharp-edged piece of split bamboo about 8 inches long and half an inch wide, called *thaipahniapa*, and in her left hand a stout piece of split bamboo about a cubit long. As the *karolusong* revolves, she works the clay into shape with the *thaipahniapa*, which she wets from time to time in her mouth, and steadies her hand by resting it on the bamboo stick held in her left hand. When the pipe-bowl has acquired the right shape and smooth-

ness, it is removed from the *karolusong*, and the bowl is hollowed out with the *thaipahniapa*. The bowl is then dried in the sun and fired as already described. Not by any means every old woman can make pipe-bowls in this way, as the process requires more skill than making cooking-pots. A skilled worker makes about twenty pipe-bowls in a day. Any woman, married or single, can make pipe-bowls ; no *ana* attaches to this work, the reason given being that as the pipe-bowls are not tapped with a stick, like earthenware cooking-pots, there is no danger for the soul of the potter's husband. (See p. 38 for photograph.)

The women never ornament their pots. Sometimes the potter's daughter or another girl will ornament the lids with a circle like the face of the sun, which is scratched on to the soft clay with a hairpin before it is fired. I am told that this pattern has no particular significance and is merely to adorn the lid.

The Lakher women only make cooking-pots and the bowls of the women's pipes. The large beer-pots are all purchased. The largest of all, called *racha*, are brought from Arakan, the next in size, *longrai*, come from Demagiri, while the *raipi*, *beirai* and *raitapa* are all bought from the Chins.

String.

The string and rope most commonly used by the Lakhers are made out of the bark of a tree called *pazo* (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.). A *pazo* sapling is cut, the skin is peeled off, the outer skin is thrown away, the lower skin is kept and the juice squeezed out of it by holding it against the sole of the foot and running a *dao* along it. After this it is dried in the sun, and is then ready for use. The string is used in single strands and also twisted, the twist being made by rolling the strips of raw bark against the thigh. A two-ply twist is made by taking two strips of raw bark, tying them together at one end, and rolling first each strip separately and then the two together against the thigh. To make a three-ply twist, a single strip of bark is rolled against the thigh as described, and is then knotted on to the end of

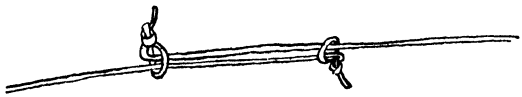
the two-ply cord and twisted on to it with the fingers to make a three-ply twist. Each end of the rope is secured with a half-hitch (*richakhi*). Twisted threads and cords, whether of bark or of cotton thread, are all known as *chari*. Cane ropes are never twisted, but are used in unworked strands. Bark string is used for every imaginable purpose. Cotton string is also used. For tying brass belts a large number of single cotton threads are run through the belt. The threads are not twisted, but are just knotted together at each end. For an edging to fishing-nets twisted cotton thread is used. To make this thread two people are required. They sit down, the distance between them varying with the length of string required, and roll the two threads down their right thighs till they are thoroughly twisted, when they roll them up their thighs, and thus produce a two-ply twisted thread.

Knots.

Lakhers have a number of different kinds of knots, each with its own special use.

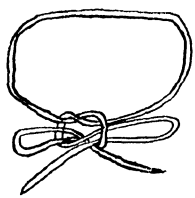
Seichori chakhi	The fisherman's knot, also sometimes called an Englishman's knot. Used for joining short bits of cane or bark rope together to make a long rope for tying up *mithun*.
Pato . . .	The double-sheet bend. Another knot used for joining up cane or bark ropes.
Chakhi lapi .	The Tom-Fool knot. Used for tying things up so that they may be untied easily.
Raireurichakhi	The reef knot. Used for joining cane or bark ropes together and also for tying up bamboos and wood.
Richakhi . .	The half-hitch. Used for tying things up temporarily.
Chakhi . .	A loop. Used for tying a bowstring on to the stave, for tying cane on to posts, for hanging cloths out to dry, for setting the rat trap called *viakhang*, and for many other purposes.
Heibaw . .	A noose. Used chiefly in setting snares for birds and beasts. If a man wants to catch one of his pigs, he slips a *heibaw* under the pig's foot as it is eating its food and pulls it tight. It is also used for tying round the horns of a *mithun* or round its neck when it is desired to lead it anywhere.
Cheisiaripasi .	The knot used for tying on the cane string of a pellet bow and of the bow used for flicking raw cotton.
Angsaripasi .	The catspaw. The knot used for tying down the bamboos on the top of the roof of a house.

Chahreu . . A method of tying together bamboos or other things so that they may be carried conveniently. Bamboo slats are wound twice or thrice round the objects to be tied together, the ends of the slats are held together and twisted round and round until they form a twisted knot, and are then tucked in under the folds going round the objects tied together, so as to prevent the knot from coming undone.



SEICHORI CHAKHI

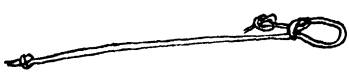
PATO



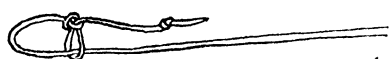
CHAKHI IAPI

RAIREURICHAKHI

RICHAKHI



CHAKHI



HEIBAW

CHEISIARIPASI

ANGSARIPASI

Woodwork.

Lakhers are poor carpenters ; the only tools they have are *daos* and a combined axe and adze. The principal articles made are planks for beds and the walls and floors of some of the chief's houses, paddy mortars and pestles, pillows, drums, house-posts, pig-troughs, the handles and sheaths of *daos*, various parts of the loom and other articles connected with weaving, and the wooden bellows used in the forge.

A paddy mortar is called *songkho*. To make it, a *khaimei* tree (*Schima Wallichii*) is felled and cut in 2-feet lengths with an axe, and one side of the 2-feet log is hollowed out with an axe. When the hole is sufficiently deep, wood shavings are set alight inside it in order to make the surface smooth and polished. The pestle is called *songkhai*, and is made out of any fairly lasting wood, being 5 feet or $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 9 inches in circumference. Pestles are always thicker at the ends than in the centre, which is made thinner to give a good grip.

Planks are called *chhuahri*, and their manufacture is a very tedious process. A large tree with fairly soft wood is felled ; the bark is all taken off, and, after deciding how many planks can be cut out of it, the edges of the planks are marked on the wood with charcoal or earth. Supposing that the tree is large enough to supply five planks when sawn, by the Lakher method only two planks will be obtained. When the planks have been marked on the surface of the log, every other plank is chipped away with an adze, leaving only one plank for every two that are wasted by being chipped out. It thus takes a very long time and wastes a great deal of wood to make a few planks. When a plank has been cut out in this way, its surface is smoothed off by chipping away excrescences with an adze.

House-posts are called *angtong*. The trees most commonly used are *asi* (*Castanopsis tribuloides*) and *patong* (*Lagerstroemia flos reginae*). The best posts are made out of the heart of these two trees after the outer wood has been eaten away by white ants, but green posts are also used. The heart of the *aveu* (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.) is also used, but

never its green wood, as it is too soft. Having felled the tree, one end is split with an axe to admit of the insertion of wooden wedges called *sikhai*, which are driven into the tree with a wooden club until it is split down its whole length. Six or eight posts can be obtained out of a good-sized tree, each post being split off in the same way. The posts are smoothed off with an adze or a *dao*. Timber is not generally seasoned, but is used as soon as it has been cut. Lakhers say that it lasts better if put in position in the soil while the sap is still exuding, and that it is less liable to the attacks of white ants.

Woodwork is joined together by lashings of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.). When joining two beams together, 1 or 2 feet at the end of each is cut away to half its thickness. The two cut ends are fitted together and lashed round with cane.

Hide-work.

Leather is non-existent. Hide, however, is occasionally used. The skins of wild animals and of any *mithun* that may have been slaughtered are stretched on a wooden or bamboo frame and dried in the sun. No attempt is made to cure the skins or to clean them with wood ash. When thoroughly dry the skins are used for sleeping and sitting upon. The skins of barking deer and *serow* are used for the membrane of drums.

Gunpowder.

The Lakhers appear to have known how to make gunpowder for many years. Colonel Lewin mentions the fact that they made their own powder when he visited the Shendu country in 1865.[1] Lusheis, Kukis and Chins are all familiar with the art. I have not been able to discover whence they learnt it, but presumably it was from the Chinese. Hodson [2] says that the Kukis learnt the art from the Meitheis, who had been taught it by Chinese merchants who visited the State during the reign of Khagenba about 1630. It is

[1] T. H. Lewin, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 113.—N. E. P.

[2] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 38.—N. E. P.

probable therefore that the Lakhers acquired their knowledge, whether directly or indirectly, from the same source. The method of manufacture is simple. Lakhers keep all their animals, pigs, goats and *mithun* under their houses. These defecate under the houses, and as the Lakhers themselves also let their own urine and ordure fall beneath the house, the soil becomes saturated with urine and dung. This mixture of soil and filth is carefully preserved, and not allowed to be washed away by the rains and lost. When a sufficient amount of fouled soil has been collected, a large openwork basket is made, lined with leaves, and filled with the soil. This basket is hung between two posts, a large pot is placed underneath it, and water is then poured on to the soil and, passing through it, is collected in the receptacle beneath the basket. The water that comes through is of a red colour, and they continue to pour water on to the soil till it comes through quite clear. The liquid so collected is boiled for two or three hours, and is then poured off into a wooden trough to cool and is left till it crystallises. The nitrate crystals are dried in the sun and mixed with charcoal made from the *thohmaw* tree (*Rhus semi alata*) or from the wood of the lemon *Isa* (*Citrus medica*, Linn.) in the proportion of one seer of crystals to two seers of charcoal. This mixture is thoroughly pounded in a mortar, and a little water and spirit are added. When it has been sufficiently pounded, it is dried in the sun, and can then be used as gunpowder. The powder made by this process is quite powerful, but gives out a lot of smoke. The manufacture, however, is tedious, and from about twenty seers of nitrate water only about a quarter of a seer of gunpowder can be obtained.

The Lakhers originally used no sulphur in making gunpowder, and in Savang and Chapi it is still made without that element.[1] The addition of a little spirit when the nitrate and charcoal are being pounded is said to strengthen the powder.

[1] The sulphur necessary to make gunpowder is perhaps contained in the forces from which the nitre is made, and in the charcoal. *Cf.* Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, Vol. I, p. 225.—J. H. H.

Bullets are made of iron in the blacksmith's forge. Some of this iron is bought in Lungleh bazaar; a goodly proportion, however, is stolen from Government bridges, as Lakhers have no scruples about removing screws, bolts, pieces of telegraph wire, and any odd scrap of iron that can be broken off without too great difficulty. All this goes into the melting pot and emerges in the shape of bullets.

Caps are purchased in Lungleh. Till quite recently the Lakhers possessed nothing but flintlocks, for which caps are not required.

Hunting.

Like all hill tribes, Lakhers are devoted to hunting, both for the sport it affords and for the meat that it produces. There are two Lakher names for hunting. *Sachadi* is tracking and stalking. *Rakhi* is the term used when a party of men goes out to look for game. The weapon used is always a gun. Spears are sometimes carried for self-protection, but no one nowadays would deliberately go out hunting armed only with a spear. Bows and arrows are never used nowadays, and no use is made of dogs. Any one is entitled to shoot or trap animals where he likes, whether in the lands belonging to his own chief or in another chief's lands, and the meat due, *sahaw*, is payable to the chief in whose village the hunter resides, and not to the chief in whose lands the animal was killed. Lakhers generally go out and wander through the jungle after game in the hope that they will be lucky and run into something. They also both track the game and stalk it when they have viewed it. They often sit up at salt licks and lie in wait in paddy and maize fields for the animals that come to devour the crops. It is customary for the villagers to appoint a man known as the *Sapahlaisapa* to sacrifice a cock to ensure good hunting. He must be ceremonially pure, and cannot perform the sacrifice if any of the women of his family are pregnant or menstruous. The cock for the sacrifice is provided by another villager. The *Sapahlaisapa* performs the sacrifice outside the village fence, and he and his family eat the cock that was sacrificed. The man who provides the cock gets

a foreleg without the shoulder of every wild animal killed by a villager during the year. The *Sapahlaisapa* is appointed yearly, but if the last year's sacrifice has been efficacious, the same man is usually reappointed. If any one fails to pay his dues to the provider of the cock, he has to pay him a fowl as compensation.

The cock sacrificed for *Sapahlaisa* must be a red cock, as the souls of wild animals are supposed to prefer red cocks, because they are more beautiful than others. The day of the sacrifice the whole village is *pana*, and no work of any sort—not even spinning and weaving—may be done. The next day is *aoh*, and again no work is done, and the women must neither spin nor weave, as the animals' souls fear cotton, and if weaving goes on will not dare to enter the village. The reason why the souls of animals fear cotton is because, all work with cotton being done by women, they always connect it with women, whom they fear greatly, as, owing to their periods, women are always associated in the minds of animals with blood. On this second day any one who owns a gun goes out to shoot, and if anything is bagged it is considered that the sacrifice has had effect. The following day is also *aoh* for the women, in order to please the souls of the animals.

There are quite definite rules as to which of several people who have been pursuing an animal can claim it as his, and as to the persons entitled to a share in the meat. When an animal has been wounded and is followed up and retrieved by a man other than the shooter, the eldest of the persons who followed and retrieved it is entitled to a hind leg, apart from the dues payable to village officials. According to custom, a man who shoots an animal is expected to give his *kei macha* or principal friend the neck, and his *kei hawti* or second friend three ribs, while his maternal uncle (*pupa*) is given the chest. This gift to the *pupa* is known as *sapalong*. A man's wife's sister is given the loins and meat round the tail, and her husband must return the gift whenever he shoots a wild animal. This meat due payable to a sister-in-law is called *narongsakeu*. When there are three sisters it is the husbands of the elder and middle sisters who pay each other

narongsakeu ; the youngest sister generally arranges with one of her female cousins that their respective husbands shall exchange *narongsakeu.* A man's sister is supposed to receive a hind leg, and it is usual to give some meat occasionally to any woman whose marriage price or *puma* is payable to the shooter. The custom of giving meat to these women is called *ngazuasaphei.* When a man has numerous relations it is impossible for him to give each of them a share of every animal he shoots, so he has to satisfy their claims in turn. The person who receives a share of meat must reciprocate the gift with a pot of *sahma* or a fowl. If a man who shoots much game never gives a share to the women entitled to it, they can claim *hmiatla* or atonement price from him.

Lakhers hunt practically any bird or beast, and it is only by having killed a certain number of the larger beasts and by performing the *Ia* sacrifice over them that a man can get to *Peira*, the Lakher Paradise, after death.

It is *ana*, however, to shoot the cock bird of any of the four kinds of hornbill found in the hills during the nesting season, which lasts from March to July. While the hen hornbill hatches out her eggs and brings up her young inside a hollow tree, she never moves out until her nestlings can fly, when the cock removes the clay which encloses her in the nest and lets her out. Meanwhile she is entirely dependent on the cock for all her food. For this reason Lakhers believe that if they shoot the cock *Khazangpa* will be angry and will punish them, as the hen and her young will inevitably die ; hence it is *ana* to kill a cock hornbill at this season. Lakhers, however, have no scruple whatever about killing and eating a hen and her young. As soon as a man has marked down a hornbill's nest, he reserves it for himself by driving a bamboo or wooden stake into the trunk of the tree. This is called *pahaw.* When the young have grown large enough to be worth eating, the finder of the nest robs it and kills and eats the hen and her young. When any one robs a hornbill's nest, he must place a short piece of bamboo or stick in the nest before he leaves it. This is called *masongpa.* The belief is that when the cock comes home and finds his family gone, he picks up the piece of stick in his

beak, carries it off to the King of the Hornbills, and tells him that his family have been killed with this stick. The King of the Hornbills, seeing that the hen and her brood have not died because the cock had neglected to feed them, gives the widower another wife. Next year the cock brings his new wife to make a nest in the same hollow tree, and thus affords another feed to the man who has reserved the nest. Once a man has reserved a nest it is his for ever, and he believes that so long as he puts a piece of stick in the nest after robbing it, he can take the nest every year with impunity, as the hornbill will always find another mate.

The Mihlong clan, which claims descent from the Great Indian Hornbill, may not kill hornbills at any time. The Hnaihlcu clan may not kill tigers, and the Bonghia clan may not kill pythons.

If any one shoots an animal with a borrowed gun he has to give the owner of the gun a hind leg of the animal shot. When a man borrows another's gun, a definite agreement is made either that he shall incur no liabilities if the gun bursts, or that if the gun bursts he will pay the owner its value. If it has been agreed that the borrower shall not be held responsible if the gun bursts and a burst actually occurs, the owner of the gun can claim no compensation, but the borrower must give him a hind leg and the loins of the animal shot. When two or three people are out shooting together the man who draws first blood is entitled to the animal. If two men fire at an animal simultaneously and kill it, the animal belongs to the elder of the two men who fired. If both fire and one misses, the bullet is examined to decide who killed the animal. If two or three people are out shooting together, the eldest man takes the first shot; if he misses and they follow the game up and get another shot, any one can take the first shot unless the eldest verbally insists on his right, when it must be conceded. When an elephant is killed, it is the property of the man who drew first blood. This man takes one tusk for himself, while the other tusk is the joint property of the rest of the people participating in the hunt.

When a hunter has killed any of the larger animals, on his return home he performs a sacrifice called *Salupakia*, the

object of which is to give him power in the next world over the spirit of the animal he has killed, to please the dead animal's soul, and so also to help him kill many more animals in future. Either a fowl or a pig may be sacrificed. If a fowl is used, the sacrifice is performed immediately the hunter returns home ; if a pig, the sacrifice is postponed till next morning. When a fowl is killed, the women may not eat any of it, but if the sacrifice is a pig, women may eat any part of it except the head, which may be eaten only by men.

The sacrifice is performed inside the house near a *sahma* pot, close to which the head of the wild animal for which the sacrifice is being performed is placed. Before performing the sacrifice the hunter sucks a little *sahma* out of each *sahma* pot and spits it out into a gourd ; he rubs flour all over the trophy, takes into his mouth again the *sahma* he has spat into the gourd, and blows it over the trophy six times. The hunter next intones a hunting song (*hladeu*), and kills the fowl or pig, as the case may be. If a fowl is sacrificed, its tongue is pulled out and placed on the trophy, and some feathers are placed in the trophy's nostrils. If a pig, the trophy is anointed with the blood, and after the pig has been cooked and eaten its head is placed on the trophy. The trophy is then hung up in the verandah, and all the old trophies already hanging up there are anointed with flour and beer, in order to make them look beautiful and as though they had been freshly shot. This attention is thought to be pleasing to the souls of the dead animals, who will praise the sacrificer to living animals and so induce them to approach him next time he goes out hunting. For the day and night of the sacrifice the sacrificer and his family are *pana*, and the women of the house may not weave. That night it is *ana* for the sacrificer to sleep with his wife or any other woman ; he must sleep on the place where the sacrifice was made. The Lakhers believe that on the night of this sacrifice the spirit of the animal shot comes and watches the man who has killed it, and if it saw him sleeping with his wife, would say, " Ah, this man prefers women to me," and would go and inform all the other animals that the

man who had shot him was unworthy to be allowed to shoot any more animals, as he was fonder of women than of the chase. A man who broke the prohibition on sexual intercourse on *Salupakia* night would therefore be unable to kill any more animals. The next morning the sacrificer takes his gun and goes outside the village and shoots a bird; if he cannot shoot a bird he must in any case fire his gun off. Having done this, he returns to the village, the *pana* ends, and it is permissible for him to have intercourse with women again. If a bird is shot it means that the sacrifice has taken effect and that the sacrificer will soon shoot more game.

If a man has wounded an animal and returned home without bagging it and intends to follow it up next day, he must sleep alone that night. It is *ana* for a man in these circumstances to sleep either with his wife or with any other woman, as it is believed that if he did so the wounded animal would escape him. Hunters must remain chaste in these circumstances.

Lakhers have a superstitious fear of tigers, as tigers are believed to have a *saw*; so when a tiger has been shot a special ceremony called *Chakei Ia* has to be performed. This ceremony is similar in some respects to that performed over the head of an enemy slain in war. If any one shoots a tiger and leaves it in the jungle, no sacrifice is necessary, but if he brings the head into the village he must perform the *Ia* ceremony, because a dead tiger is *saw*—that is to say, has the capacity of causing sickness and harm to any one touching it, and the *Ia* ceremony both makes the tiger's *saw* innocuous and enables the hunter to retain the tiger for his own use in the next world. Most Lakhers dislike tigers, because they fear the *saw* and are not at all keen on shooting them, and if a man who has shot a tiger says he is going to perform the *Ia* ceremony, and asks his friends to come and help him skin the carcase, and then fails to perform the ceremony, he must give each of the skinners a dog and a fowl to sacrifice, to save themselves from the evil effects of the *saw*. The dog and fowl are killed and then thrown away outside the village, and none of their meat is eaten. The belief is that the *saw* is thrown out of the village in the same

way as the bodies of the dogs and the fowls. Not only the skinners, but any one touching the skin of a dead tiger over which *Ia* has not been performed must offer this sacrifice.

After the tiger has been skinned, the head is brought up and kept outside the village. Two pigs must be killed for the *Ia*. In the morning a pig is killed outside the village. The meat of this pig may be eaten only by men. After this pig has been sacrificed, the tiger's head is brought into the village and put down in front of the house of the man who shot it. A tiger's head, like a man's, is never taken inside a house. The second pig is killed near the tiger's head and the *Ia* ceremony is performed. The man who shot the tiger dresses up in woman's clothes, lets down his hair like a woman, and smokes a woman's pipe. He carries a spindle and thread in his hand, and while winding the thread dances round the tiger's head, finally running the spindle through the tiger's nostrils. One of the assistants then picks up the tiger's head and runs through the village with it, pursued by the man who shot it jabbing at the tiger's nostrils with the spindle. The head is thrown away outside the village.[1] Tigers' heads are never hung up in the verandah like other trophies. In Chapi and Savang tigers' heads are hung outside the village in the same way as human heads, and the head of the animal sacrificed as *Ia* is hung up near by. During the ceremony it is *ana* to laugh.

The origin of this ceremony is that once upon a time a woman went to the *jhums*, and a tiger came to eat her. The tiger knocked her down, but as he did so the spindle she was carrying entered his nostrils and killed him, and so the woman escaped. Ever since then it has been the custom to wear woman's clothes when performing the *Ia* ceremony for a tiger. During the *Ia* the dead tiger's brother is said to watch the proceedings from a high hill, and when he sees a woman dancing round the tiger he does not get angry, as

[1] Among the Lusheis, too, the performer dresses up as a woman, but the details of the ceremony are somewhat different. Lusheis have no fear of tigers, and hang their heads up in the verandah like any other trophy. *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 80. The Haka Chins have a similar ceremony. *Cf.* W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 35.—N. E. P.

he thinks that it is only a woman who killed his brother, and that if the latter was stupid enough to get killed by a woman he had only himself to blame. So, as it is not worth while punishing a woman, he goes away without taking any revenge.

Saw.

In the preceding pages frequent use has been made of the term *saw*.[1] This term requires some explanation. A *saw* is the power of causing sickness or ill luck, and attaches to certain animals and also to men in certain circumstances. Tigers and leopards have a *saw*, and the *Ia* ceremony performed over a dead tiger or leopard is intended mainly to render the *saw* harmless. Men or women killed in war are *saw*, as also is any one dying an unnatural death or whose death is due to certain loathsome diseases. Captives taken in war, so long as they remain tied up, have a *saw*; if they remain quietly in their captor's house they have no *saw*, but if they escape soon after capture, on reaching home they are regarded by their relatives and friends as having a *saw*. Nowadays prisoners in jail and persons handcuffed or tied up while under arrest have a *saw*. It is *ana* to give food or nicotine water to any persons in these circumstances. I remember tying up two people, Leima of Savang and Thlulai of Chehlu, and keeping them in the quarter guard at Savang for some misbehaviour. Even this short period of confinement caused each of them to become *saw*, and each had to sacrifice a pig before he was readmitted into society. About ten years ago, before Chapi had come under British rule, Deutha, a Lakher interpreter, had to arrest Rachi, Chief of Chapi. Deutha arrested Rachi, and on the way into Lungleh put him up in his house at Saiko. Deutha was very much afraid that he would catch Rachi's *saw*, and asked Rachi to give him a fowl and a dog to sacrifice to avert the danger. Rachi refused to do so, as he said he was not in Deutha's

[1] *Saw* is perhaps identical with the Chang Naga *Sou*, the word used for the separable and, ultimately, perishable ghost which attaches to men and at any rate some animals. It is particularly malignant and revengeful. It seems to be identical with the soul that leaves the body in sleep, as the Chang word for yawning is *sou saita*=the ghost (soul) is dancing (*i.e.* in the mouth ?).—J. H. H.

house of his own free will, so Deutha must run the risk. Very shortly after, Deutha's wife lost the sight of one of her eyes, which Deutha ascribes to Rachi's *saw*. It would have been useless for Deutha to sacrifice a dog and fowl of his own—the animals to be sacrificed must be given by the person from whom the *saw* emanates. Rachi himself on returning to Chapi had to perform the *Thlahawh* sacrifice, which is described later, to rid himself of the *saw* that he acquired by being arrested and taken into Lungleh. Even a very short period of confinement is a much more serious matter to a Lakher than would be imagined by any one not knowing their customs. The idea seems to be that any one touching a person who has died an unnatural death, or having intercourse with a person who is suffering from certain special misfortunes, is liable to die in the same way, or, in the second case, to be afflicted with blindness or lameness unless the requisite taboos are observed. If a man who has been taken captive in war manages to escape from his captors and return home, he is regarded as having a *saw*, and, as a *saw*, is infectious ; until certain sacrifices are performed no one likes to associate with him. Persons who become infected with a *saw* from a runaway slave or any other person afflicted in the same way are liable to suffer from bad eyes or to become lame. An escaped captive on reaching his home has to get the *Thlahawh* sacrifice performed by either his father or one of his brothers, or, if he has no near relations, he must perform the sacrifice himself. A hen or a pig is killed at the foot of the main post at the back of the house at night. If the sacrifice is a hen, its tongue and some blood are placed at the foot of the post with some rice as *phavaw*. The fowl is then cooked, some liver and cooked rice are added to the *phavaw*, and the rest of the fowl is eaten by the runaway, the sacrificer, and their family. The *phavaw* are intended for the soul of the escaped captive, to induce it to stay at home and cease from wandering. In this sacrifice a hen is the victim, as hens generally remain in or near the house, while cocks wander all over the place, and it is hoped that the soul of the man who has escaped from captivity will remain at home like a hen.

If the victim is a pig, it is also killed at night, and in the same place. Three pots of beer are prepared, and guests are invited to share in the feast. Some flour is placed on the floor at the foot of the main post, and the pig's tongue and the tips of its ears are placed on the flour as *phavaw*. A hen is then killed in the same place, and its tongue is placed with the other *phavaw*. The pig and the hen are cooked separately, and the pig's liver, the hen's liver, rice, and salt are added to the *phavaw*. The hen is eaten only by the escaped captive, the sacrificer, and their family ; the pig is divided up among the guests. All the meat must be finished that night, anything left over being thrown into the street to be devoured by pigs and dogs. It is believed that the *saw* will not leave until all the meat has been eaten. The escaped captive, the sacrificer, and his family must observe an *aoh* next day, and remain inside their house. After this the man who escaped from captivity is free from his *saw* and is readmitted into society. If on his way home the runaway was given food by a relation in another village, he must send this man a dog and a fowl to sacrifice, to ensure that he is not infected with the *saw*. The same sacrifice must be performed on behalf of any one released from jail or freed from arrest.

If a man is very lucky at hunting and manages to shoot many wild animals, he is known as a *lasisapa*. His good luck is believed to be due to the fact that he is a favourite of the *Lasi*,[1] the spirit that looks after wild animals. The Lakhers, however, unlike the Lusheis, perform no sacrifices to the *Lasi*.[2] A *lasisapa* is said to see in his dreams the places where wild animals will be found the next day, and consequently always finds game. It is believed that shortly before a *lasisapa* dies he sees his own *Lasi*, generally riding on a huge animal. Vakia, late Chief of Tisi, who is said

[1] The Russians and Lapps believe in a spirit like the *lasi* who rules over all wild animals and on whose good-will depends success in the chase. The Russian name of this spirit is *leschiy*. Is the similarity between the words *leschiy* and *lasi* a mere coincidence, or are the words connected? *Vide* Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part I, Vol. II, pp. 124, 125.—N. E. P.

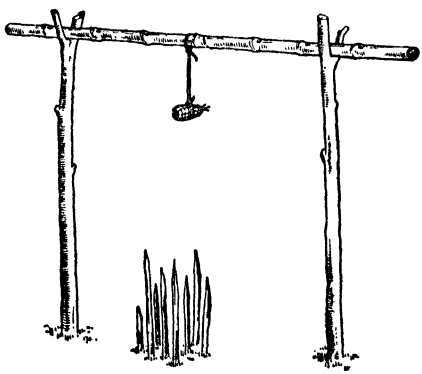
[2] For the Lushei *lashi cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 68 ; Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 14. The *lashi* among the Aimol and the Vaiphei is a more powerful spirit, and almost the equal of Pathian. Among the Thado the *lashi* is known as *pheizam*. *Cf.* Shakespear, *op cit.*, pp. 158 and 201.—N. E. P.

to have shot more than 700 animals, shortly before his death went out hunting, and came on to an enormous wild boar. He aimed his gun at the boar, but as he did so he saw a boy with long hair sitting on the boar's neck. He therefore laid his gun down, and the boy disappeared; so he again prepared to fire, but as soon as he did so the boy reappeared on the boar's neck. On this Vakia realised that it was his *Lasi*, and he refrained from firing and went home. He told his friends what had happened, and said that he was sure he would never shoot any more animals and would soon die, which after a short interval he actually did.

Another *lasisapa* who saw a similar apparition shortly before he died was Sangkham, late Chief of Vombuk.

Traps, etc.

In addition to hunting with the gun, the Lakhers have numerous ingenious ways of snaring and trapping birds and animals. There are two kinds of traps for catching monkeys; both are called *azeubatla*. The first consists of two forked uprights, across which a bamboo is placed, with a bunch of

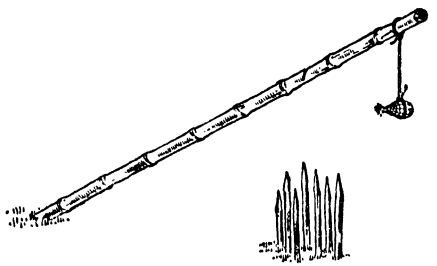


MONKEY TRAP AZEUBATLA

bananas or some maize tied in the middle. The bamboo cross-piece is sawn half through at the place where the bait is attached. The monkey swarms up one of the uprights and runs along the cross-piece to seize the bait. When he reaches

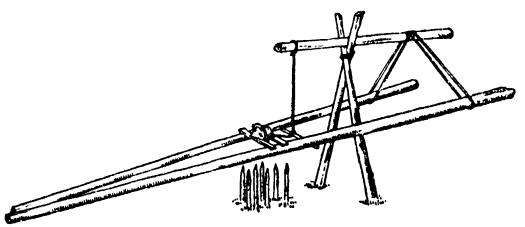
the middle the cross-piece breaks and the monkey is precipitated on to bamboo stakes which have been planted below.

The other kind of *azeubatla* is made out of a single bamboo planted slantwise with a bait dangling from its end. The bamboo is sawn half through in the middle, the monkey runs up it to take the bait, and when he reaches the top the bamboo breaks under his weight and he falls on to the bamboo spikes below.[1]



MONKEY TRAP AZEUBATLA

To catch bears and tigers a trap called *veutla* is used. A forked rest consisting of two poles tied together at the top is erected, and over the fork a log is placed, from which two beams are suspended, one end of each beam resting on the ground, while the other ends are slung by ropes made of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.) from the



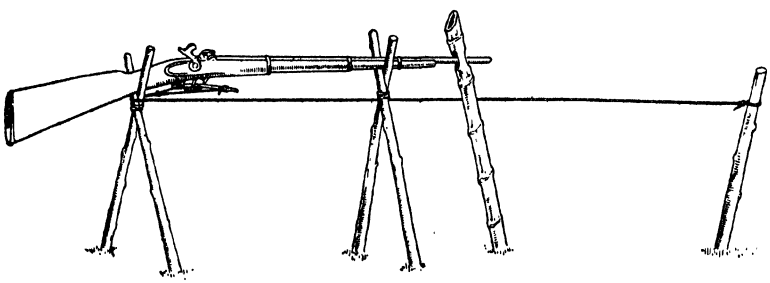
TIGER, BEAR AND MONKEY TRAP VEUTLA

further end of the log balanced on the fork. Across these two beams a platform is laid and the ground below is thickly sown with sharp bamboo stakes (*seu*). The bait is laid on the platform. A rope attached to the end of the log balanced on the fork is tied round a piece of stick or bamboo,

[1] *Cf.* Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 68.—J. H. H.

which is slipped below the two beams so as just to hold the trap in position, and the end of this same piece of rope is tied round the bait. The animal mounts the platform to devour the bait and in seizing it pulls out the peg which holds the trap in position. The log holding up the beams flies upwards, the platform collapses and the animal is deposited on to the stakes below.

Another trap used for tigers is called *meithei kapu*. A gun is set up on bamboo rests and pointed along a path habitually used by a tiger. A fine cord made out of the hair-like fibres which grow on the stem of the *sasai* palm

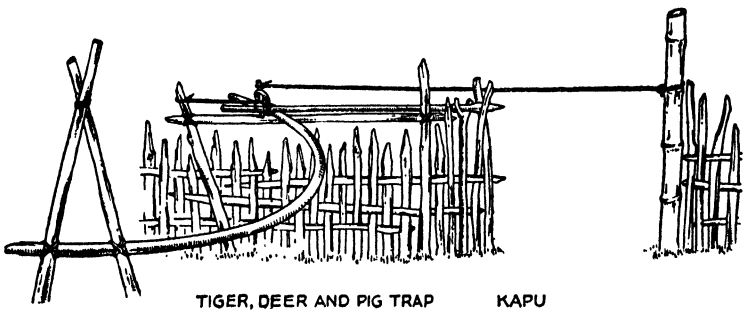


TIGER TRAP MEITHEI KAPU

(*Caryota urens*, Linn.) is attached to a post planted on the opposite side of the path. The cord is then run across the path so that any animal coming along the path must strike it. The other end of the cord is taken round the back of the frame and tied to the two ends of a small piece of stick which is placed against the trigger. As soon as an animal knocks against the cord, the stick presses against the trigger and explodes the gun.

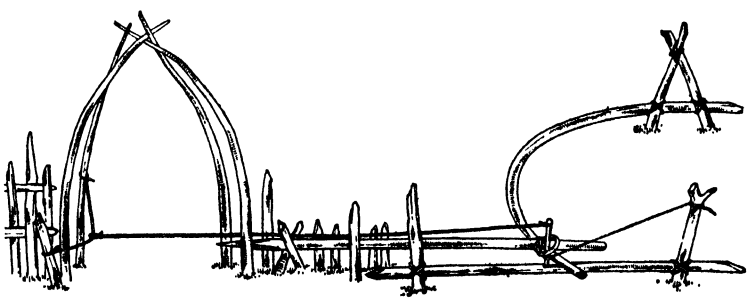
A favourite trap used for the larger kinds of game is the *kapu*. A small fence is erected along the spur of a hill or anywhere in the jungle where animals are frequently on the move. Passages are left at intervals in the fence, and at each of these a spear is placed horizontally along the fence at a height sufficient to pierce at a vital spot any animal that passes. This spear is held back behind the fence by a strong bamboo spring, held in position by a peg in a cane ring, and across the gap in the fence a creeper called

pairi (*Piper nigrum*, Linn.) is run, so that if an animal trips over it the spring is released and forces the spear forward so as to pierce the animal which is trying to pass



TIGER, DEER AND PIG TRAP KAPU

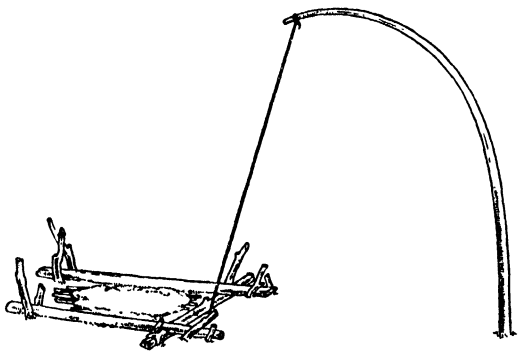
through the gap. A smaller trap of exactly the same sort is used for porcupine.



PORCUPINE TRAP KAPU

The trap generally used for catching barking deer is called *sari*. A low fence is made through the jungle to guide the deer along the desired path, and gaps are left for them to pass through. In each gap a hole about 1½ feet deep is made in the ground and covered over with bamboo sticks, on the top of which a noose made of palm fibre is placed and attached to a creeper called *zongveupa*, which is tied on to a springy sapling. This trap is covered with soil and leaves, and a piece of wood is placed along each side of the hole to ensure that the animal will place its foot in the desired spot. No animal will ever step on a piece of

wood, and if there are two pieces of wood on the path, will always place its foot between them. The cane rope is then tightened sufficiently to bend the sapling and is held down by a bamboo peg, which is kept in place by the bamboo sticks covering the hole. The barking deer comes along



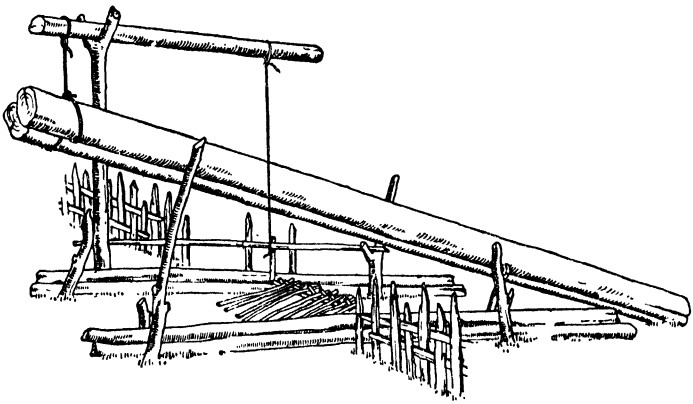
DEER TRAP SARI

and steps on the bamboo sticks covering the hole. These collapse and release the bamboo peg which is holding down the cane rope. The sapling flies backwards, and the noose is tight round the barker's leg.

Another trap formerly used for animals is the *seuphong*, but as it is very dangerous to men, its use has been practically abandoned. A pit about 6 feet deep was dug on a track used by wild animals, sharp stakes were planted at the bottom of it, the mouth of the pit was covered in with rotten bamboo leaves and dust, and any animal that came along fell through and was impaled on the stakes. This trap was also used as defence against an enemy when two villages were at war.

There are several kinds of rat-traps. The most commonly used is the *makheu*. A low bamboo fence which may stretch as far as a mile is put up in the jungle. At intervals in this gaps are left for the rats to run through. Over each gap a log of wood is erected and is held in position by a smaller log above it, one end of which rests on a forked pole and is attached to the log below by a strand of *zong-veupa*, while from the other end a similar rope runs down

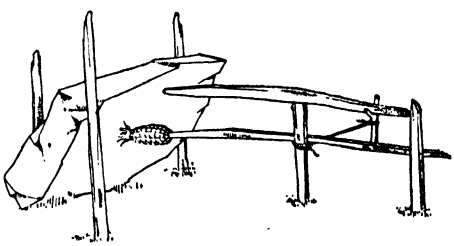
and is attached to a small piece of stick, which is held in place by a bar running along one side of the trap and by the pressure of a stick laid across the gap and held in place by other sticks beneath which the bait is placed. The rats



TRAP FOR PORCUPINES, RATS, BIRDS, MONKEYS MAKHEU

enter the gap to get through and push aside the sticks holding the rope which keeps the trap in equilibrium. The top log flies up, and the heavy log below falls and crushes the rats. Porcupines, monkeys and birds also get caught in this trap.

Another kind of rat-trap is called *chalong*. A large stone is placed between three small bamboo posts and kept in an upright position by a bamboo stick, the centre

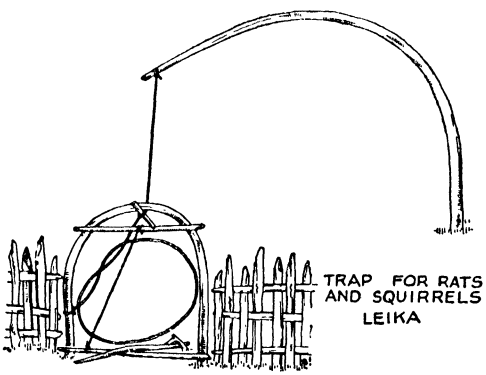


RAT TRAP CHALONG

of which is supported on a bamboo upright; one end of this stick holds up the stone, while the other pushes against another bamboo upright. The bait, generally a maize cob tied on to the end of a bamboo stick, is put under the stone.

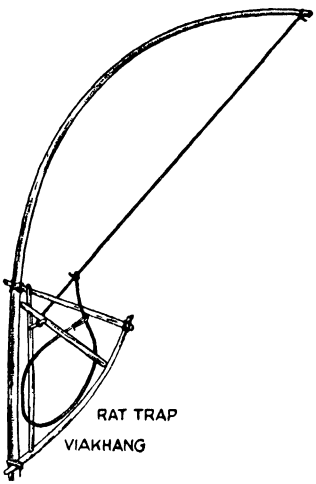
The bamboo holding the bait runs below and parallel to the stick which holds the stone in place. A small piece of bamboo with a little fork on it is placed so that one end rests on the stick which holds the bait, and the stick holding up the stone rests on the fork. A string made out of the bark of the *pazo* tree is tied to the small piece of forked bamboo and is run under the stick holding the bait so as to support it, and then tied on to the centre upright. When the rat nibbles at the bait the stick on which the bait is fixed is moved to one side; this jerks away the small piece of forked bamboo from under the stick which is holding up the stone, this stick falls and releases the stone, which falls on the rat and crushes it. This trap involves the most careful adjustment and balancing of the sticks used.

A trap called a *leika* is also used for rats and squirrels. A small bamboo fence is erected in the jungle, and gaps



are left in it, which are fitted with loop snares. These are tied on to whippy sticks which are bent over and held in place by the pressure of a small peg, whose ends rest one against the top of the hoop and the other against a cross stick, which rests against the sides of the arch of the hoop. This cross stick is tied to another small stick laid on the ground in the gap, and itself held in place by another stick laid over it and held lightly by a peg in the ground. The rat running through moves the sticks, the peg resting against the hoop is released, the bent stick flies back and the noose is pulled round the rat.

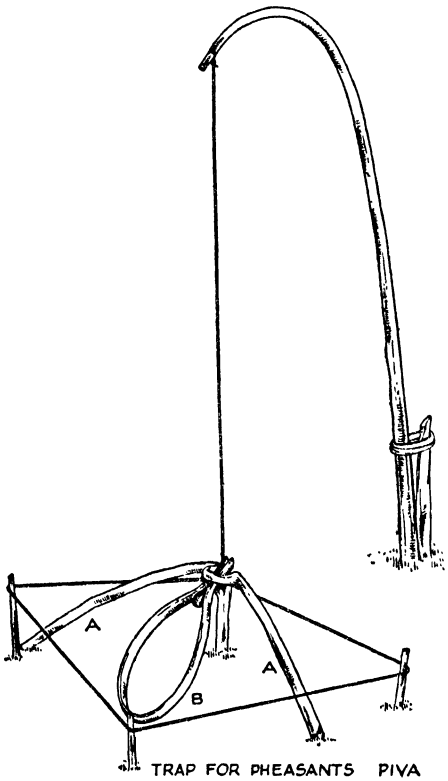
Yet another rat-trap is the *viakhang*. A bent sapling, to which a rope, made of the bark of the *pazo* tree, with a noose at the end is attached, is planted in the rat's run. Two pieces of split bamboo are tied to the sapling and to each other so as to form a triangle with the base of the sapling. Within this triangle the noose is set. To keep the sapling bent, a small peg of bamboo is attached to the end of the rope carrying the noose and held in place by two pieces of bamboo, which are themselves kept in position by pressing against the sides of the triangle formed by the base of the sapling and the bamboo sticks tied to it. When a rat tries to push through the gap formed by the noose he pushes the pieces of bamboo which secure the peg at the end of the rope out of position, thereby releasing the cane rope which holds the sapling in its bent position. The sapling flies back and as it does so the noose is tightened round the rat, which is caught and suspended in mid air.



Numerous snares are used for catching birds. The *khangpala* is a trap placed in the branches of a fruiting tree to which birds are resorting and is set so that the feet of a bird alighting to eat the fruit become entangled in a noose which tightens round them. As soon as a bird is caught it is removed and the trap is reset. I have seen five or six birds caught in a very short time.

The *piva* is a trap used for catching pheasants and partridges on the ground. A sapling is planted firmly in the ground, and a cane string with a noose at the end is tied to the top of the sapling. Below the tip of the sapling four bamboo pegs are placed in the ground just far enough apart to allow of their being encircled by the noose. The

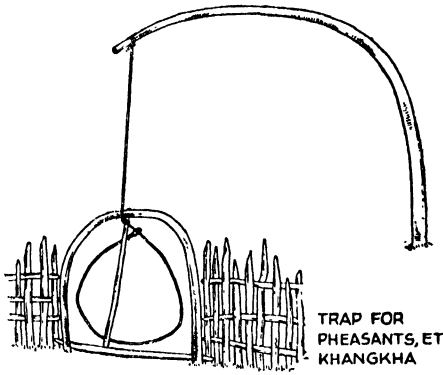
peg immediately below the cane string has a small projection on it which supports a large piece of split bamboo ("A" in the Fig.), which is bent in the middle and has both ends touching the ground. The slip knot for the noose is made just under the centre of this bent bamboo, and is secured by a small piece of bent cane ("B" in the Fig.), in which is placed a red seed. When the pheasant pecks at the seed the bent-cane seed receptacle falls to the ground, the slip knot holding down the sapling is released, the sapling flies back and the noose is tightened round the neck of the bird. The red seed used is either the seed of a shrub called *piva* or of a tree called *ratleu*.



TRAP FOR PHEASANTS PIVA

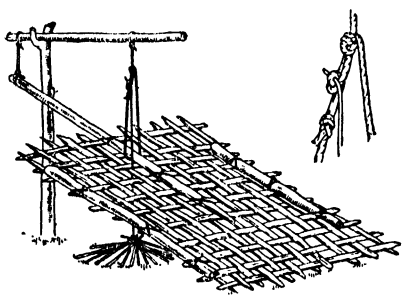
The *khangkha* is used for catching pheasants and partridges. A small bamboo fence is run for some distance through a part of the jungle frequented by pheasants and partridges. Gaps are left at intervals in this fence, and within these gaps the nooses are placed. Each gap is made by a hoop of split bamboo. At each gap is a bent sapling having a *pazo* bark string with a noose tied to its tip. The noose hangs round the gap and is kept in place within the hoop by a small cross-piece of stick, which is tied on to the noose string and kept in position by pressing against the hoop. As the pheasant enters the gap it pushes this cross-

piece out of position, thereby releasing the sapling, which flies up and tightens the noose round the bird's neck.



TRAP FOR PHEASANTS, ETC. KHANGKHA

A bird-trap which operates on a different principle is the *apheu*. This consists of a platform about 1 foot square, made of bamboo matting and wood, which is raised up so as to fall upon the birds and crush them. A forked post is planted in the ground, and a stick is placed in the fork with one end projecting a short way over the fork. This end is tied with cane to the stick projecting from the end of the mat platform. From the other end of the top



BIRD TRAP APHEU

stick a bark rope is looped round the stick attached to the mat platform, and from this loop another length of rope, at the end of which a stick is tied, is let down to within a few inches of the soil; on this pieces of split bamboo are arranged in the shape of a wheel, one end of each split bamboo resting

on the stick attached to the cane rope and the other end resting on the ground, the weight of the split bamboos keeping the stick at the end of the cane rope in position. Grain is scattered as bait under the spokes of split bamboo. The birds alight on the bamboo spokes to pick up the grain and in doing so displace them, thereby upsetting the balance of the trap. The stick tied to the end of the cane rope is released, the cross stick running over the forked post flies upwards, and the mat platform, which is weighted with stones, falls on to the birds and crushes them.

Small birds called *rita* [1] which eat the paddy are often trapped in granaries. All cracks and openings in the granary are carefully stopped, and a door is left open to allow the birds to enter. The owner of the granary lies hid close by, and watches till a large number of birds have entered, when he rushes into the granary, closes the door and slays the little birds with a stick. Another method is to close the opening by which the birds entered with a net called *sodi*, and then to frighten the birds into the net by beating on the walls of the granary till they are all caught.

In addition to these traps, the Lakhers make use of bird-lime, which is made out of the juice of the *ahmeu* (*Ficus elastica*) and is called *vawdia*. The tree is tapped by making cuts on the trunk with a *dao* ; the juice is caught in a section of bamboo placed in an earthenware pot and boiled until it has become extremely glutinous, when it is ready for use. Bird-lime is sometimes used for catching birds in trees, but it is more commonly used to snare birds when they come down to drink. The place where the birds usually come to drink is enclosed with a fence of foliage or stones, and a passage is left in this fence, across which a thin bamboo perch is placed for the birds to alight on. The perch is smeared with lime. Birds coming to drink alight on the perch, their feathers adhere to the lime and they are pounced on and caught by the owner of the trap, who is lying in wait for them.

Traps are always set by men. It is *ana* for a woman to help a man set traps. If this is done no animal will be caught. It is *ana* for a man to sleep with his wife or any

[1] Hodgson's Munia (*Uroloncha striata acuticauda*).—N. E. P.

other woman on the night he has set traps. If he does so the animals and the birds will know about it and refuse to be caught. When a man dies, all the traps he has used are destroyed, as it is unlucky to use a dead man's traps, and no game would be caught in them, as the soul of the dead man prevents the animals from entering the traps.

Fishing.

The Lakher is very partial to fish, and as the Kolodyne and several of its tributaries flow through his country, he has plenty of opportunities of catching them. The most usual way of catching fish is with the casting net in shallow water, and large numbers of small fish are caught by this means.

Casting nets called *sokaw* are made in all the villages, there generally being two or three men in each village who are skilled net-makers. Women do not make nets, though it is not *ana* for them to do so. To start with, thick thread has to be made. Four long threads of ordinary cotton are wound into one ball and then spun right-handedly into one thread on a spindle ; another ball of four threads is treated in the same way ; these two threads are then wound into one ball and spun left-handedly into one thread on the spindle. This produces a very strong thread, which is wound on to a thread-holder, whence the skein of thread is placed in hot water and dried on a bamboo frame, a heavy stick being run between the skeins to weight them down and remove all kinks from the thread.

The twine for making fishing-nets, after being doubly spun, is placed in the netting spool (*sochiphang*)[1], which is of exactly the same shape as the spool for netting a hammock. The netter sits on the ground. To begin with, the end of the twine is firmly held in the left hand, about 4 inches or more—according to the size of the net required—from the big toe, and with the right hand the twine is wound eight times over the big toe, which is used to hold it. It is then removed, doubled over in the middle and tied twice exactly over the middle, so as to form sixteen loops. The loops are then held

[1] *Cf.* Fig. 11, p. 52.—N. E. P.

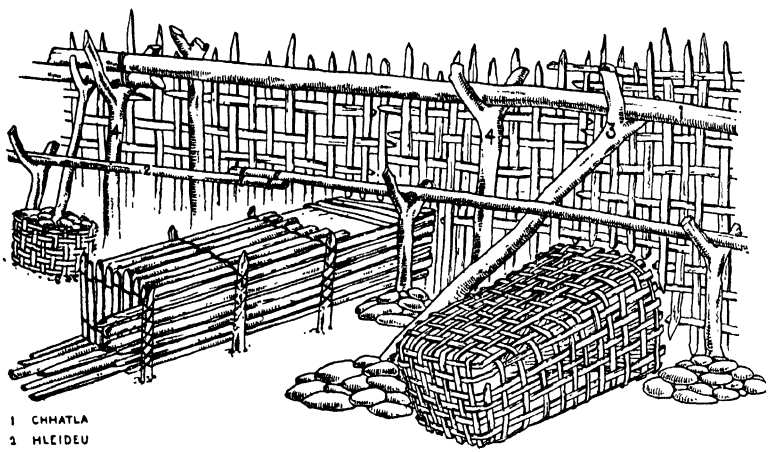
at the place where they are tied, so that they hang downwards all round, and the top is tied round as one would tie a tassel. The twine on the netting spool is then tied to one loop in a reef knot, and the netting begins. A flat bamboo called *sosina* (Fig. 9, p. 52), about 2 inches wide, is held just below the loop, and the twine is placed across and under and up over the loop again. Here the netting spool is passed through the loop, which is knotted on the edge of the *sosina*. This is continued until all the sixteen loops are knotted. The *sosina* is then removed and the loops hang free. The *sosina* is placed below them again, and the netting proceeds in the same way. As the nets are perfectly round, it is necessary to increase the loops, so an extra loop is inserted at every third loop. This is achieved by passing the *sosina* through the loop above, just over the knot. It is then brought down again and placed across the flat bamboo and knotted as before. This increasing is done at every third loop on each line until the net reaches the desired size. Nowadays the casting-nets are weighted with lead. Formerly, when lead was not available, they were weighted with baked clay. Red clay thrown up by termites was pounded up with water, and when it was thoroughly sticky was cut in lengths of 2 inches, and 1 inch in diameter. Each of these lengths was pierced with a small bamboo spike and dried in the sun for three days, and then placed in the fire until the clay was deep red in colour. As soon as these clay weights had cooled they were threaded on a long string, which was tied all round the edge of the net. Clay weights are not satisfactory, as they are too light, and as soon as lead and iron became easily available their use was abandoned.

For catching small fish a bamboo trap called *chhao* is used. This trap consists of an open-work basket with a check plait (*apipa*) 3 feet deep and 1½ feet in diameter. The top of the basket is closed half-way across, and the gap left is filled in with a funnel made of bamboo slats which are kept wide enough apart by the flow of the water to allow small fish to enter. Once inside, they cannot escape. The funnel is detachable, and is removed to allow the fish to be taken out. These traps are used in small rivers when the

fry are swarming. As soon as the fry start going up the little streams, the traps are set in the middle, and small leafy branches are placed on each side of them. When the fry find they cannot get further up the small stream they turn to come back to the main river, and many are caught. A *chhao* is shown in Fig. 1, p. 119.

To get big fish more complicated methods are resorted to, all the villagers joining in and getting their share of the booty. The most popular method, as it produces a fairly constant supply of big fish at the end of the rains, is the *chha*. This weir is built as follows: All the able-bodied men of the village go down to the river, and as they have to spend five or six nights at the work, the first thing done is to build a hut to sleep in, called *chhabeurei*. Women never go down to the river on this occasion, and it is *ana* for them to go into the *chhabeurei*. The reason for this is that the spirit of the river dislikes women because of their menstrual flow, and if a woman entered the *chhabeurei* it would prevent the fish from entering the traps. A woman entering a *chhabeurei* is fined a fowl, which is sacrificed to the spirit of the river to appease him. Last year the wife of a man called Lianruma entered the *chhabeurei* built by the men of Saiko and was fined a fowl. The widows of the village, as no man from their houses goes to help in the work, each subscribe an earthen cooking-pot for the fishermen to cook their food in, and by this gift obtain the right to share in the catch. The next job is the collection of bamboos and timber to build the weir. When sufficient materials have been obtained, four large bamboo open-work baskets, called *pakhu*, are made and placed in position across the river and filled with stones; in these stones are planted forked branches called *chhabi*, to hold up a long wooden beam called *chhatla*, which runs the whole way across the river. If one tree is not long enough, another is joined on to it to complete the *chhatla*. Next, between each of the baskets filled with stones, two stout poles called *chhasongkhaipa* are planted in the river-bed, with their feet a little downstream of the *chhatla*, Their heads pass over the *chhatla* and rest on a forked pole called *chhareu*, which is planted in the river-bed just above the *chhatla* at

the foot of a large stone, which will prevent the post being washed away. The *chhatla*, *chhasongkhaipa*, and *chhareu* are then all lashed together with strands of *zongveupa*. Next two lines of *rasang* bamboos (*Bambusa Tulda*, Roxb.) are tied below water on to the *chhasongkhaipa* and taken right across the river. Over and at right angles to these bamboos, *ramaw* bamboos (*Melocanna bambusoides*) 10 feet in length are tied, half their length being under water and the other half standing up over the *chhatla*. A space of a span is left between each upright bamboo. Over these bamboos again a lattice wall called *saira*, made out of split



FISH WEIR CHHA

ramaw bamboos, is tied level with the *chhatla*, the space between the bottom of the lattice wall and the bed of the river being filled in with bundles of bamboo leaves to prevent any fish passing through. When the weir is finished, the actual traps, called *chhabeu*, are constructed, two or three being made, according to the size of the weir. For the floor of each trap twenty to twenty-five long bamboos are used. The ends of these are tied to the lower of the two lines of bamboos which go the whole width of the river, and the bamboos are lashed together and supported at short intervals on posts planted in the river-bed. The walls of

the traps, also made of whole bamboos, are built up from the floor, and the traps are closed in with a roof. The traps are usually 4 feet wide by 4 feet high by 15 to 20 feet long. A hole is made in the roof to admit of a man entering to catch the fish, and closed with a door. An opening is left in the latticed wall of the weir at the mouth of the *chhabeu* to allow the fish to enter, and a stone is placed at the entrance so as to allow the fish to slide easily over it into the trap. Above this doorway a flat stone or a shelter of bamboo matting is fixed so as to darken the entrance to the trap and make it more attractive to the fish. This shelter is called *chhalakhu*, and is held up by two poles, one end of which is pushed through the lattice, the other end being tied on to a forked post. On the lower side of the weir just below the *chhatla* a bamboo bridge called *hleideu* is carried right across the river, to enable men to reach the traps, which are visited at intervals and the fish removed.

The right to erect these fish weirs is a not infrequent cause of dispute among the villages, when a good place for erecting a weir exists on a river forming a boundary between two chiefs. Unless one of the parties can prove that they have built a weir at the place in dispute for many years past and that their rights have never been questioned before, the only way to end the trouble is to order that each village shall exercise the right in alternate years.

Another communal method of fishing which is used when a river has two branches divided by an island is called *parasa*. At the lower end of the island, on the smaller branch of the river, a barrier of stones, the gaps between which are filled in with leaves, is erected, so as to let the water flow through freely while stopping any fish from proceeding downstream. At the top end of the island on the same branch of the river a regular dam is built up. Stones are then piled up right across the river. On the top of these cloths are laid and covered with soil, so as to make the dam quite water-tight, and thus divert all the water into the other channel. As soon as this second dam is completed, the river-bed between the upper and lower dam is left dry, and the fish, having been unable to pass through the lower

lattice-work barrier, are left stranded, and are easily caught and despatched. Having collected the fish, the upper dam is breached and the water allowed to flow freely again for a week or two, after which the process is repeated.

Some of the villages, among them Chapi, Ngiaphia, and Khihlong, use a large net about 30 yards long by 2 yards in width. All the villagers contribute cotton for making the net, and the work is entrusted to the most skilful net-maker in the village, who receives a present of paddy from the rest of the villagers for his trouble. This net is called *sopi*. It is intended for catching the larger fish, and can only be used in the hot weather, when the rivers are at their lowest. Two nets are required. One is fixed on bamboos at the end of the shallow water above a rapid, the other below the rapid, before the water deepens into the pool. The bottom of the net is kept down on the river-bed with stones. If the nets are not long enough to stretch right across the river a palisade of bamboos and leaves is erected between the end of each net and the bank. When the nets are in position, a number of men are posted behind each net to catch any fish trying to pass through. The rest of the men stand in the rapid between the nets and drive the fish towards the nets, where they become entangled and are caught. The fish caught are distributed among all the villagers. The two men who carry the nets down to the river and back are given a large fish each before the shares for the rest of the villagers are divided up, as the wet net is a very heavy load to carry up the hill back to the village. These net-carriers get their ordinary share of the spoil in addition to the extra fish given to each for carrying the net.

Lines are set along the banks of rivers with a hook baited with a small fish. The line is attached to a bamboo rod planted on the bank. A shorter bamboo with a fork cut in the end is fixed in the bank so as to project just above and parallel to the water. A small bamboo stick is tied on to the line about half-way down and placed under the forked bamboo, thereby bending down the bamboo rod. When a fish takes the bait it pulls the bamboo stick away from between the forked bamboo and is itself pulled half out of

the water, and is then seized and despatched. This trap is called *keipachong*.[1]

Sometimes a rod and line are fixed over the river without any spring attachment, and if a fish is caught, it remains swimming about at the end of the line until some one comes along to take it off.

Fish-hooks are not made by the Lakhers, they buy them from Arakan and from Lungleh. Before fish-hooks were available from these sources the Lakhers made no use of lines. Even now they only make use of these fixed rods, and do not use a rod and line in European fashion.

The fishing-lines are all of string made out of the bark of the *pazo* tree (*Hibiscus macrophyllus*, Roxb.).

One of the commonest ways of catching fish is by poisoning the pools. A number of different kinds of poison are known. The most commonly used is a creeper called *maza* (*Acacia pennata*, Willd.). The stalk is cut into 2-foot lengths. These lengths are beaten out on a stone with a stick till the bark is loosened and easily separated from the wood. The wood is thrown away, and the bark is tied up in bundles, which are taken down to the river. The juice is beaten out on planks or stones at the edge of the water and allowed to float away down the stream, which it turns a brown colour. The fish first rush about as though they were drunk, and finally die and are picked up.

Another creeper called *rukhaw* (*Acacia oxyphylla*, Craib) is also used in exactly the same way as *maza*.

Rucho (*Milletia pachycarpa*, Benth.) is also a creeper. Its roots are used, and not its stalk. The roots are cut in 2-foot lengths and carried to the river without removing the bark. They are then placed on stones or planks at the water's edge and beaten with sticks to press out the juice. The juice is milky in colour, and kills the fish more rapidly than either *maza* or *rukhaw*.

Piavi (*Gardenia campanulata*, Roxb.). The fruit of this tree is used. Round spaces along the edge of the water are enclosed with bamboo matting in shape like a paddy mortar. These mortars are filled with the fruit, which is pounded

[1] *Cf.* Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 90, and footnote.—J. H. H.

with pestles like paddy until all the juice has been crushed out and carried down the stream. The juice is red in colour, and is said to be the most powerful of the fish poisons.

Viaru (*Albizzia procera*, Benth). This is also a tree, and the bark is used for the poison, the juice of the bark being pounded out in the same way as the juice of the *piavi* fruit. The poison is not very powerful, and it is only used in the hot weather, when the water is low.

Pava (*Albizzia stipulata*, Boiv.). A tree the bark of which is used in the same way as the *viaru* bark.

Napichatana (*Buddleia asiatica*, Lour.). A shrub growing to 6 or 7 feet in height. The leaves are crushed with pestles on stones in the river. The poison is not strong, so it is only used in small rivers.

The Lusheis know sixteen different ways of poisoning fish against seven known to the Lakhers.

Livestock.

The domestic animals kept by the Lakhers are *mithun* (*Bos frontalis*), cows, pigs, dogs, cats, pigeons and chickens. *Mithun* and cows were formerly scarce, but now that there is freer communication with other villages in the Lushai Hills they are increasing in numbers. The most highly valued animal is the *mithun*, though for practical purposes it seems to Western eyes a singularly useless beast. Among the Lakhers, however, it is used as currency, a bull *mithun* being valued at between 60 to 80 rupees and a cow *mithun* at 60 rupees. *Mithun* are freely used in payment of marriage prices. Apart from their value as currency, *mithun* are of no use except for sacrifices or as the *pièce de résistance* at a feast. Lakhers never milk their *mithun*, and though I have seen *mithun* milked in Christian Lushei village, even among the Lusheis it is rare to find the *mithun* used as a milch animal.

Mithun are independent animals, and are left to look after themselves. They spend the day grazing in the jungle, wandering quite long distances ; in the evening they usually appear at their owner's house for a lick of salt,

and are then fenced in for the night under their owner's house. In the hot weather in April and May they are very troubled by flies in the jungle, and then they come into the village in the middle of the day and shelter under houses. The Lakhers hang wooden bells and clappers round the necks of their *mithun* so as to be able to find them in the jungle.

Mithun bells (*seikaleu*) are made out of *aveu* wood, as it resounds more loudly than other kinds. A piece of wood about 10 inches high and 7 inches broad is hollowed out with an adze or a *dao* more or less in the shape of a Swiss cow-bell. Three small holes are made in the bell, and through these string is passed to hold up the clappers. The bell is tied round the animal's neck with string, and sounds as it moves ; the faster the animal moves the louder the sound made. *Mithun* are never given names, though definite calls are used when shutting them up at night. In Chapi and Savang the natives call out "*Leu, leu, leu,*" in Siaha "*Chi, chi, chi,*" in Saiko "*Hui, hui, hui.*"

Mithun do not like leaving the village where they were born, and when sold or given as part of a marriage price to a man in another village they often return to their old homes, which is apt to give rise to trouble. If when a *mithun* is being taken to another village it refuses to go, it is believed that the spirit of the village is preventing it from going. To appease the spirit, eggs are placed in the *mithun's* footprints, and it is believed that the spirit seizes these eggs and allows the *mithun* to go.

Until the British appeared in the hills both buffaloes and cows were unknown. There are still no buffaloes in the Lakher villages, but nowadays cows are kept for their meat and, very rarely, for their milk. Even now few Lakhers drink milk, but I am told that this is merely because they are ignorant of its use, and not because of any superstitious prohibition. The vast majority of the population, however, will not touch milk. They regard it as dirty, and have the strongest aversion to it. The Lakhers have no particular cry for calling cows home, it not being one of their regular domestic animals.

The commonest of all animals is the pig, without which the Lakhers could scarcely exist. Not only does the pig perform all the duties of a sanitary inspector and his staff, but it is in constant demand for sacrifices and feasts. Lakhers eat more pork than any other meat, simply because pork is easy to get. All boars are castrated at the age of about one month, and full-grown boars simply do not exist. As a result of this practice the Lakher pig, like the Lushei pig, and, as far as I know, the pigs owned by most of the Assam Hill tribes, has developed most precocious reproductive powers. The sows are covered by their own male piglets, which are all capable of performing the act by the time they are three weeks or a month old.[1] This leads to the most appalling inbreeding, with the result that the Lakher pig and his Lushei brother are the most degraded-looking animals. Strange to relate, however, the race continues to exist. When I was first told of the facts related above I refused to credit them, but careful inquiry in many villages has convinced me of their complete accuracy.[2] Owing to this custom of early castration, it sometimes happens that a village finds itself without a boar to impregnate its sows. When this occurs the villagers make an agreement with one of their number that if he buys a young boar from another village and lets it run loose to cross the village sows they will give him a piglet from the litters of each sow crossed by his little boar. An agreement of this kind is known as *Vopawpathli*. A young boar is bought, and, having fulfilled its purpose, is castrated, its owner in due course receiving a piglet from each litter fathered by this boar. I am told that unless little boars are castrated at a very early age they never grow sufficiently to make them of any use for food, but remain small and stunted. Pictures of English boars taken out of *The Field* were always a source of great astonishment. When calling their pigs Lakhers cry out "*Arrrrr, arrrrr, arrrrr.*"

Dogs, too, are numerous; they assist the pig to perform

[1] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 134. The Ao pig seems to resemble his Lakher brother.—N. E. P.

[2] My own observations confirm Mr. Parry's, *vide* my notes at pp. 86 and 135 of Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*.—J. H. H.

his sanitary duties and are also used for food and sacrifices. Lakhers never train their dogs to hunt, as the Lusheis do, and the dog is less highly regarded and less kindly treated by the Lakhers. Lusheis, though they too relish baked puppy, are fond of dogs as companions, and train them to hunt. It is quite common to find on the roadside at the entrance to a Lushei village a large stone memorial erected to some man's favourite dog, giving its name and the number of different animals it was instrumental in bringing to the bag. The Lakher exhibits no such kindly feelings towards dogs, regarding them as the basest of animals. Dogs are sometimes given names, such as *Beiteu*, indicating that the dog was bought with an earthen pot, *Iro* or Whitey, *Iveu* (black dog), *Igai* (red dog), but it cannot be said that they answer to their names at all readily. On the whole a Lakher dog really leads a dog's life. To call grown dogs the Lakhers say, "*Cheu, cheu, cheu,*" in calling puppies, "*Ruru, ruru, ruru.*"

Cats are valued as slayers of mice and rats. They are not eaten—like tigers, they have a *saw*. A cat must never be bought, it can only be transferred as a gift.[1] It is believed that if a cat is bought it either dies or goes wild and runs off into the jungle.

Every house keeps a few fowls. Fowls are essential for sacrifices, and the eggs are appreciated, whether fresh or stale. The fowls are of the small nondescript breed found all over the Lushai Hills. In the Lakher villages they are even smaller than in the Lushei villages, and are considerably less numerous. The chicken call is "*Ti, ti, ti, ti, ti.*"

Goats are fairly common, but they are not milked, and are only kept for their meat. The call for goats is "*Paw, paw, paw.*"

Bees are never kept, the Lakhers being entirely ignorant of the art of bee-keeping. Beeswax is in great demand for trade, however, and wild bees' nests are eagerly sought out and taken.

The taking of the wild rock bees' nests requires good nerves, as the nests are always placed in most inaccessible

[1] So, too, most if not all Nagas.—J. H. H.

precipices. Four very long canes are cut, out of which a cross between a ladder and a lift is constructed. A number of cane hoops are made, about 44 inches in diameter. These hoops are tied to the ropes at equal distances from each other, and the ropes are run through the hoops, the space between each hoop being 3 feet. On the lowest hoop a cane and bamboo platform is built for the man to stand on. Between each thick cane rope thinner canes are run from hoop to hoop to prevent the man inside from falling out. The end of each rope is tied on to a tree above the precipice and the ladder is let out over the side. The man who is going to take the nests enters at the top, climbs down from hoop to hoop till he reaches the platform, which has been lowered to a point opposite to the bees' nests. The operator then proceeds to knock off the nests with a stick on to the ground—no easy task with the ladder swinging violently from side to side and a drop of many hundred feet beneath. Nests are never taken till the bees have abandoned them, as it would be impossible for any one to cope with the bees while swinging in mid air. Men below collect the nests as they fall and boil them down in large brass pots brought for the purpose. When the wax has melted, a shallow trough is dug in the earth, a basket called *lawbu* is placed in this trough, and the melted wax and débris are poured into the basket, the wax flowing through into the earthen trough and the rubbish remaining in the basket. The wax is left a night to coagulate, and next morning is removed and cleaned. This wax is taken home to the chief, whose property it is. He gives a share worth about two rupees to each of the men who took it, and sells the rest. Lakhers never bother about collecting the honey, all that they want is the wax. The day after the first wax of the year has been brought into the village is *pana ;* no work may be done in the fields, and the women may not weave. The reason for this *pana* is that as the wax melts, so may the paddy melt away also and die unless the *pana* is observed. The Lakhers despise honey, and regard it as shameful for any grown man to eat sweetstuff like honey, which is only fit for children.

Medicines.

Lakhers have very few medicines, and prefer to have recourse to sacrifices when they are ill. They have, however, no great objection to European remedies, are beginning to appreciate quinine, and submit readily to vaccination. Such medicines, however, are only regarded as supplementary to the sacrifices, which are still performed regularly as soon as a person becomes ill. There are certain native remedies which are also believed to be effective, the Lakher name for medicine being *thanghna*. For boils the prescription is to take earth from an ant's nest, mix it in equal proportions with rat's excrement and pound it up with a little water to make it into a plaster. This plaster is applied to the boils, and is said to make them burst. An alternative remedy is the crushed bark of the *apahniapa* bush, which is pounded up with water and applied to the boil.

For sore eyes due to conjunctivitis, a little of the patient's fresh urine is applied three times to each eye. The urine must be still warm when applied, as it loses its efficacy once it has got cold.[1] For cataract, the juice squeezed out of the leaves of a wood sorrel called *ra-ah-pa* (*Oxalis corniculata*, Linn.) is applied to the eye, and if the patient is lucky it is said to effect a cure. Another remedy is the juice of the young shoots of the *angphi* (*Thysanolaena agrostis*, Nees) rubbed into the affected eye. If these two remedies fail, some fresh milk from a woman who is suckling a child is applied to the eye, and is believed to do good. For snake-bite two remedies are used. The person bitten drinks as much beer as possible so as to make himself drunk quickly, and a red-hot iron is then plunged into the bite. If any one is bitten in the jungle where hot iron cannot be obtained, the bite is burnt with tinder out of the tinder-box. Both these remedies show an attempt to cauterise the affected part. A third remedy is to rub the bite with the liquid which exudes from the stem of the wild plantain, the patient being at the same time made as drunk as possible.

[1] *Cf. The Sema Nagas*, p. 103.—J. H. H.

For cuts the leaves of the *Eupatorium* are crushed in a mortar and the juice is applied to the cut. This juice is said to have great healing properties. I have seen a wound made on a man's leg by a bear which had been treated in this way, and it was healing up beautifully.

Another remedy often resorted to is a poultice of crushed chilis, the chilis used being small and exceedingly hot. The chili paste is covered with a clean leaf, which is tied on with a piece of creeper.

Another paste applied to cuts is made from the bark and juice of the *laki* tree (*Callicarpa arborea*, DC.). The bark is powdered and mixed into a paste with its own juice. This paste sticks on to the wound by itself, and does not have to be tied. All these remedies for cuts are said to be reliable and to effect many cures.

As a remedy for scabies the juice of the *thlava* tree is used. A branch of this tree is cut and the bark and outer wood are removed. One end is placed in a fire, which causes a black juice to exude from the other end. This black juice is collected in a bamboo cup. The patient is bathed in hot water and the scabs are anointed with the juice. If this is done daily, a cure is said to be effected within a week; whether the cure is due more to the hot bath than to the remedy applied I cannot say.

A cure for fever that is now no longer in fashion was to break off a branch of the *hriseupakong* tree (*Clausena heptaphylla* W. & A.), dip it in water and beat the patient with it. It is said that those who were lucky recovered as a result.

If after a woman has given birth to a child she cannot rid herself of the after-birth, the remedy is to make her drink water in which the root of a creeper *leurapaseikitong* (*Anodendron paniculata*) has been crushed. This is drunk three or four times a day at intervals of two or three hours, and is said sometimes to have the desired effect.

One of the diseases most dreaded by the Lakhers is syphilis, and there is a good deal of it in certain villages. Till about forty years ago the disease was unknown in the Lakher villages, being first introduced by a man who migrated from Veuko village in Haka to Iana, whence it

spread rapidly to other villages. As the disease was introduced from Veuko, the Lakhers call it *veukohri*, or the Veuko sickness. Syphilitics are given a separate part of the house to live in, and must sleep on the floor; they are given separate plates and spoons and are not allowed to feed with the other members of the family. From these precautions it appears that the Lakhers have certain elementary ideas of the contagiousness of diseases. The following is a prescription for a remedy for syphilis. "Take ten or twenty crabs, place them in a hollow bamboo, fill the bamboo up with hot water, close it and keep it on the shelf above the hearth for three or four days until the crabs are well rotted. Cook the rotten crabs with rice and administer to the patient." It is believed that the juice of the rotten crabs enters the blood and kills the syphilis germ. If the patient is lucky, this medicine is said to be efficacious.

A shot or spear wound is treated by placing the flesh of a fowl on the wound and tying it round with leaves, with the idea that the raw chicken's flesh would help fresh flesh to grow over the wound.

For sore throats charcoal soaked in water is eaten by the patient, with, it is said, good results.

For toothache the remedy is to crush up the leaves of a creeper called *veihna* (*Paederia foetida*, Linn.) and to suck them. This creeper is extremely evil smelling and also unpleasant to the taste. It is said to ease the pain. Another cure used for toothache caused by eating bitter fruit is the leaves of a dock called *phiapahapa* (*Polygonum Chinense*, L.) which they chew and then spit out.

Lakhers have no knowledge of any but the very simplest surgery. If a man sprains his wrist or ankle or puts out a knee or elbow the assistance of an old and wise man is invoked. The later pulls at the injured limb to get it to slip into place again. After this the limb is tied up in bamboo splints called *lapadeuna* and left until it has healed.

A broken limb is treated similarly, being placed in splints made of split bamboo and tied round with bark string. If the arm becomes painful a hen is sacrificed. The sacrifice is called *Achhangpho*.

Poisons.

The only poison known to the Lakhers is a plant called *chamai* (*Gelsemium elegans*, Benth.). This plant is a creeper with a yellow flower, and the most poisonous parts are the roots and leaves, a decoction of either being said to cause certain death. The Lakhers say that the flower also is poisonous, and that bees never go near it, as if they sip from it they die. Lakhers are very afraid of *chamai*, and never go near if they can possibly help it.

Amusements.

There is much less feasting and jollity among the Lakhers than among the Lusheis. While the Lusheis have the great series of feasts known collectively as *Khuangchawi*, or the *Thangchhuah* feasts, which are given by a rich man to acquire merit and help him on the way to Paradise, and which incidentally are an occasion for merry-making by the whole village, and also the *Kut* or annual feasts held in connection with the crops *Chapcharkut*, *Mimkut*, *Pawlkut* and *Buhai*, the Lakhers have but few festivals. It is true that the Siaha chief's family performs the Chin *Khuangchawi*, but that is only because this family is of Chin origin, and no other Lakhers, whether chiefs or commoners, ever perform this series of feasts. The nearest equivalent to the annual Lushei *Kut* is *Pakhupila*, the knee dance, which is not an annual affair, but is only performed very occasionally, when the village crops happen to have been exceptionally good. The numerous sacrifices performed are not occasions for rejoicing, and the two chief occasions for feasts are weddings and funerals. A marriage feast is always a big affair; many pigs are slain and gallons of rice beer are consumed, while a wake also affords occasion for feasting and drinking. Occasionally a rich man who has built a new house gives a house-warming feast to the villagers, or a man asks his friends round to a drinking bout, but there is not the same succession of yearly feasts that there is in a Lushei village. Wine, woman and song may be said to be the chief pleasures of the Lakher. Wine has been dealt with, woman will be

dealt with further on, but it remains here to say something about song. Lakhers are very fond of singing, and their songs have a good rhythm, and some of the tunes are quite melodious. When a large chorus of men and girls sing their songs in the evening round the camp fire they are very pleasant to hear.

Songs.

Songs are sung at all beer-parties and wakes; the young men and girls sing songs as they go to the fields and while at work. Lovers habitually serenade their lady loves with songs, accompanied with a melody on the *tangta*. Practically the only time when songs are not sung is during a *pana* or an *aoh*, as on these occasions all music and singing are *ana*.

The songs may be divided into three classes: (1) The everyday songs, which include the *Tlongsaihla*, the *Zeuhnanghla*, the *Chapihla* and the *Awhkheupahla*; (2) the *Hladeu*, the songs sung while the *Ia* ceremony is being performed over a wild animal or the head of an enemy; (3) the *Pakhupihla*, which is only sung at the *Pakhupila* or knee dance, and which it is *ana* to sing at any other time.

(1) The *Tlongsaihla*, the *Zeuhnanghla*, the *Chapihla* and the *Awhhlononghla* are the oldest songs in use among the Lakhers. These songs all have the same tune, and the topics are similar, but they are sung in different languages, the Tlongsai, Zeuhnang and Chapi dialects being very different. The verses of these songs are long, and the tune is in a low key. The younger generation have found that the *Awhkheupahla*, which was started in Hnarang some fifteen years ago, is much easier both to compose and to sing, as the verses are short and the tune is in a higher key than the *Tlongsaihla*. In consequence the *Awhkheupahla* has now practically swept away the older form of songs in all the Lakher villages. The older songs are still sung by the older men, but the young men and girls sing nothing but the *Awhkheupahla*, which means the song of Chanticleer. Verses are constantly being added to it, so that it grows yearly. These verses may be of a topical nature and refer to any matter of local or political interest; they may deal

with love or with anything that has struck one of the young men as amusing or curious and as worth making a verse about.[1] When there is a large gathering of people, as at a beer feast, a marriage or after a successful hunt, some one starts the song by repeating a verse, the whole company then sing that verse twice over in chorus ; after that some one else repeats another verse, which is sung twice in chorus in the same way, and this goes on all night. If it is the *Awhkheupahla* that is being sung, the chorus is sung three times in succession.

The following are some examples of the *Awhkheupahla* as sung in Savang :

"*Kala thang thong napadaita, hratlai chu na Salu ti cha danglei ra pa nawhleu saipina.*"

"Government has now hemmed us in, on the north, on the south, on the east, on the west. Henceforth none of our young warriors will drink of the waters of the Salu river, where we always used to raid."

"*A ngong taka e chei tah ta, a pa nawng chhua chei la e na ti, tle kua pe la che khai aw vei e.*"

"We have to pay two rupees house tax, and, not content with that, they now tell us to send fowls in for sale, would that we were not part of the Lushai Hills."

"*A raw vepi pe na chhua tlei, da ei khua li theu ra pa cha la, hre zong e teu pe me aw vei e.*"

"Government has taken over all our country, we shall always have to work for Government, it were better had we never been born."

The above three verses show the feelings of the people when the unadministered territory was first brought under some sort of control. Though their country is not yet fully administered, they know the system in the other parts of the district and realise that they will eventually come under the same rules.

The next verse is a hit by the Savang people at the Haka village of Ratu, who are a headstrong, unruly crowd and given to vain boasts. The Pois across the Beinong rather

[1] The Ao Nagas, too, make topical songs. *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 328.—N. E. P. So also the Lhotas and Semas, and much more tunefully. —J. H. H.

look down on the Lakhers, who are glad of a chance to get a hit back.

"*A ngong taka peu aw va na, nata ma mah Ratu zapa, kala la cha kha ma na chhia.*"

"You people of Ratu used to boast that you would never pay taxes to Government. Now you not only pay taxes, but have to build roads also. What about your boasts now?"

The next verse was composed by Hniachai, son of the Savang chief, when he went on a visit to Aijal.

"*Asitleuna, Ezaw ra lia, ka la ngong ai e ke na le za rei thei leipa, Papu e ta ne.*"

"I went on a journey to Aijal, in the land where the stars set. I knew no Lushei, I could only say '*Kapu, Kapu.*'"

The following is a verse directed at their chief Taiveu:

"*Hniachai pala, le bia rei la, vepa meithei sawng che nong cha ia, ngong chadi chhe na chhong paka ma.*"

"Oh, father of Hniachai, if you really try, you can induce the Saheb to give me a fine foreign gun and licence."

The songs show a distinct sense of humour, with a capacity for laughing at themselves surprising in such a primitive people.

The specimens of love-songs which follow will be found in the same or similar shape in all the Lakher villages.

The men sing:

"*Chavei chacha i cha teula longdu deupa na cha saikha la ta ra pa ta sikhong chine.*"

"On each side of me you two lovely sisters are sitting. I love you both, but if I tell you not to get married, but to wait for me, I shall be laughed at."

The girls sing:

"*Deu cha vana kei ma nai ta, sei ta ki pa mai haw he ta ne chhong kong reu lia i lai zo lo aw.*"

"We will not get married, but will remain together in our home as firmly as a *mithun's* horns remain on his head."

The Song of Two Cousins.

The young men sing:

"*I si i cha dai thei kheu vei, i thla hrei cha ta aw sala lia ri a zeu ah vei chala.*"

"My cousin, I cannot bear to leave you, but we are so closely related that we cannot get married."

The girls sing :

"*Nama nata kei mah vasa, lia ri a zeu ah lei pacha la, naw hleu pa ti lai la vapi e.*"

"We are indeed very unhappy, but we cannot get married. When we have got children we will marry your daughter to my son."

Another love song follows, which shows that Lakher girls can keep their heads and are prudent enough to rebuff a lover whose intentions are not serious.

The young men sing :

"*Na me me cha na pi leu la, cheu rapa ta song ro eu vei e.*"

"Oh, my love, let me fondle your breasts. I am burning to marry you, but have no money to pay your price."

The girls sing :

"*A sai pata pa sai vana, khang khang paw cha isang pa aw na.*"

"You cannot fondle me just for fun. I am keeping myself for the man I shall love and marry."

The young men sing :

"*Cha ta ta kha kei ma long duh, vasa i cha ngia na lai aw pa ei kha hria cha, a vaw hnang aw ma.*"

"Do not refuse me thus, I love you so. Who is to know if I fondle you just once for remembrance ? "

The girls sing :

"*Na song ro cha, cha lua tua la keima i cha khang khang kawh hra na veu hai li hua la hnai va pi e.*"

"I also love you very much, but you must first pay my price to my parents and marry me, and then we will sleep on one pillow."

There are innumerable verses like these. New verses are constantly being composed, but they do not displace the old favourites, the new verses being discarded after a trial if they do not meet with popular favour.

The following verses from the *Tlongsaihla* are examples of the older form of song :

The Tlongsaihla.

1. "*Siata hrai no chong lia chang lai nang ta daw ei tlipa i khia hlong di dua ra ma a thei khai i nata.*"

"I am a young man. I have shot a bull elephant and a wild boar. I am beside myself for joy, I have actually shot what till now I had only seen in dreams."

2. "*Nong pi la ma thla hraw na pho cheu e chho ta a to pala daw ei nang chhong rai ti ni hla ta*"

"We all pass ten months in our mother's womb, but a man who is blessed by God can shoot a bison between sunrise and noon."

This next verse was composed in honour of Theulai, chief of Saiko.

"*Siata nata khimai seu pakheu ne thaleumasa vazong ngong vapaw paku ta ra nong chho ta.*"

"He went to war and slew an enemy, he also shot an elephant and a bull *mithun*. No one else has ever killed a man, an elephant and a *mithun* on one expedition. Let his name be famous for ever."

The next verse is in honour of agriculture.

"*Sa leu thleu hua lua la lai la ta, a tha leu ma va sang dai tlei viasi a chong nong chai na.*"

"My friend, keep your thoughts on cultivating your field. Paddy is the most famous and most valuable thing in the world."

Before the *Awhkheupahla* swept the field the most popular form of song in the Lakher villages was the *Awhhlononghla* or the Pullet's song. It is now regarded as old-fashioned, and is seldom heard.

1. *Viapi meithei apeu hreu zualua ta, chho kha ula Sangeu chiavala khazia siasi na ka vei.*

When you fire off your gun, its report resounds. Why did you not cut off the game and shoot it on the Sangeu [1] mountain, oh hunter ?

2. *Areu siata kiong mai phapa, pachhong tangbi zah lai sacheupa viapi Saipahra daita.*

We have always shot the white-tusked elephants and clean-horned bison in the hills to the west and taken their heads to adorn our verandahs. Nowadays the foreign armies have reached Saipahra." [2]

3. *Thli hua vawsi tla khongla e longdu rangta naw pho hno mawla raisa eisa chong liata.*

Let a soft breeze blow and waft across the hill to me the scent of my loved one, to lighten my work.

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[1] The Sangeu mountain, like Mawma, is supposed to be inhabited by a spirit which is kindly disposed towards hunters.—N. E. P.

[2] Saipahra is the Lakher name for Mandalay, and this reference to the arrival of the British at Mandalay dates the song.—N. E. P.

4. *Razanongta cha vaw rangmawsa Lailua nata Theulai mang-chhang vara tei chhah na taita.*

Let Queen Victoria [1] write a letter extolling the fame of Lailua and Theulai to the ends of the world.

5. *Lapong maitong chhongla zonghrai rieu Mara khangang atu khang leipa, tliapa sihnang kual mawla.*[2]

Pluck the orchid from the roadside and bind it in your hair. You will not be merry and beat our Lakher drums. Go home and leave me.

6. *Kirong aki bahla mai awn nata daw ei nghiahna ahrei nangta sara nama tlei bama.*

Have you ever seen a bison with bright horns shining like ripe plantains when you have been pursuing game in the jungles?

The song which follows is known as the *Pakhupihla*, or the song of the knee dance. It can only be sung when the *Pakhupihla* is danced; it is *ana* to sing it at any other time, and it is believed that were it sung at any other time the singers would all suffer from boils. I tried hard to persuade them to sing it to me, but the belief in the prohibition was too strong, and as I was never lucky enough to strike a *Pakhupihla* day, I have never heard it sung. As in the other songs, the verses are sung alternately by the men and the women.

Pakhupihla.

I chong khi sua tiria za chong cheu la, keu lei vasa nong si nang ta.

Oh, rain be kind and do not fall or the girl I love will get wet.

Daw ei rei la e ti song pi rei chala tla la ra ho e khai tlong lo e.

The young men's song is very beautiful, it is like the soft running of a stream.

Long mo sai ta la tla i tla, rai sa va la zang naw khang vei.

It is very pleasant all dancing together in a ring. We do not want to go to work.

Daw ei tlia pa la ho mang bo ula, pa hmong li tang ta na a tang.

Watch the way the young man is dancing. It is like the flight of an eagle.

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[1] The Lakhers call Queen Victoria *Razanong*, the Mother of Kings, or *Kongpanangnong*, the Mother of the Company. The Lusheis call her *Kumpinu*, also meaning the Mother of the Company. This verse is an attempt on the part of the writer to make out that Lailua, the Chief of Thlatla, and Theulai, Chief of Saiko, the two leading chiefs of the time, were known to Queen Victoria.—N. E. P.

[2] This verse shows a girl apostrophising a young man she is fond of, who has disappointed her by not coming to sing and drink with her.—N. E. P.

Lia nong saita la tla vaw tla e chi, chia chi karo rai tua la.

Oh, girls, do not think of nothing but dancing, you must also hand round nicotine water.

Hna zong chhi tang kei ma nai ta, lia nong la tla la khei lei ta.

I am so ugly that I cannot get any one to dance with me.

The *hladeu* are war or hunting songs sung on the spot after taking an enemy's head or killing big game, and also when performing the *Ia* ceremony over the heads of men or big game. As soon as he has picked up an animal he has shot, a Lakher intones one of these *hladeu* over it, and the sound coming up through the jungle is weirdly impressive. On reaching his village he repeats it, and sings it again at the *Ia* ceremony. All *hladeu* are sung in a sort of bastard Chin—no *hladeu* have ever been composed in the Lakher language. All the *hladeu* sung by the Lakhers were composed very many years ago, and new ones are not introduced. It is a curious thing that the Lusheis also have no *hladeu* of their own, but use Chin *hladeus* in the same way as the Lakhers, and indicates that Lusheis and Lakhers alike are branches of the tribe known in Burma as Chins.

The following is a Savang *hladeu* used both after heads have been taken in a raid and after a successful hunt. It was given me by Khangcheh of Savang, who sang it on the occasion of the last Zeuhnang raid.

" *Vong khing a ka e, uan tluange pasa a tha khe,*
Za tha a hlei la maw lia nu a lia ka thlaw hna e.

It is said that any one who has shot a bear is a brave man. I have shot a huge elephant, so my name is famous far and wide.

Ka si te khua ve, te kaw ravana ke zo khua e lamaw tluang zo e he long ka tha ke.

I have raided our enemy village, I have killed a man with my *dao*. My name will indeed be famous when we approach the village.

Ka nu e zei maw na phu na ka ti chu,
Tisi e nga hri nga daw law ka ti kho hla.

My mother, I have shot nothing—I have not even caught a few small fish in the Tisi river. Do not come to meet me at the entrance to the village.

Sai lia ha chia cho e, dara zei dara maw,
Chhei lawi ki mai uasa hla e.

I shall never be able to shoot a bull elephant with white tusks, nor a wild *mithun* with widespread horns.

Na safu tu e na hming hia via vo law a hnawng e zo tua la maw ma chha hma na sa le law.

Oh, bull *mithun*, go along slowly in front of me, and I will shoot you to make my name famous.

Another *hladeu* used after shooting big game has a pleasant rhythm in the vernacular and runs as follows :—

Sum hnaw ka nu khe na i te,
Zei man na man maw
Kan tum lu tlum ai-e ti le
Hai leng in la law.

Oh, mother, what have you seen in your dreams ?
I have shot the animal I went out to shoot, so come and meet me with a gourd full of *sahma.*

Again the following would be classed as a *hladeu,* though it does not seem a very appropriate song for a successful hunter to sing :—

Sum hnaw ka thai nu aw,
Fangfa zan thum ria ka rawn law,
Tu hlum khawih vawm sale
Ha tha ka ruai a si lo e.

Oh, wife, prepare enough rice for me for three nights' stay in the jungle, and put it in my bag.
Even though I cannot shoot a bear or a wild boar, I am going out hunting with the others.

The following is a rather fine example of a Lushei *hlado,* given to show how very similar the Lushei *hlado* is to the Lakher *hladeu,* both being written in the same bad Chin. The song is very old, and is said to have been written by one Thanglung. I have heard it sung by Lusheis returning down a river in boats after shooting game, and it was very impressive.

Rai rah e, unau neilo ma lawng sathang
va kai chue. Thingsire par hnuaia khan Thanglunge
nau ang ka tah hai e,
nau ang ka tah hai e,
thingsire par hnuaia khan,
Thanglunge, nau ang ka tah hai e.

I, a poor brotherless man, all by myself have slain a wild beast. Beneath the flowers of the chestnut tree I am weeping for joy. Oh, Thanglunga.

Tlang a e, an vawng tlire, runa naubang a chim chue
Leng hnene, awm vial e maw kawl rawne,
An lung la herse law, An lung la herse law.
Leng hnene, awm viale, an lung la herse law.

A gun has been fired on the hill. The boys all rush out of the houses to meet the hunter.

Let all the young men who are love-making follow my example, and seek a better pastime, and come and meet the hunter also.

As the above examples show, the *hladeu* are not necessarily self-glorificatory.

The following verses from each of the songs, with the tune written in tonic sol-fa, will enable any one interested to see what the tunes are like for themselves :—

Pakhupihla.

s :- :-.l	s :- :-.t	s :- :-.l	s :- :-	s .s :- :-	r' :r' :-.t	s :- :-.l	s :- :-
Daw ei rei	la	e		ti song	pi rei -	e.	

s .s :- :-.l	l :- :-	s :- :-.l	s :- :-	s .s :- :-	s .s :- :- ‖
tla la ra ho		e		khai tlong	lo e.

Awkheupahla.

d :- :-.m	s :s.f :m.r	d :s :-	-.s :m :-	-.m :d :-	- :- :-
Ka	la thang thong	na	pa dai	ta.	

d :- :-.m	s :- :-.s	m :- :-.d	m :- :-.m	d :- :-	- :- :-
Hra	tlai chu na	Sa -	lu ti cha	la.	

d :- :-.m	s :- :-.s	m :- :-.d	m :- :-.m	d :- :-	- :- :-
Dang	lei ra pa	naw	hleu sai pi	na,	

d :- :-.m	s :- :-.s	m :- :-	s :- :-.s	m :- :-.m	d :- :- ‖
naw	hleu sai pi	na,	naw hleu	sai pi	na.

Hladeu.

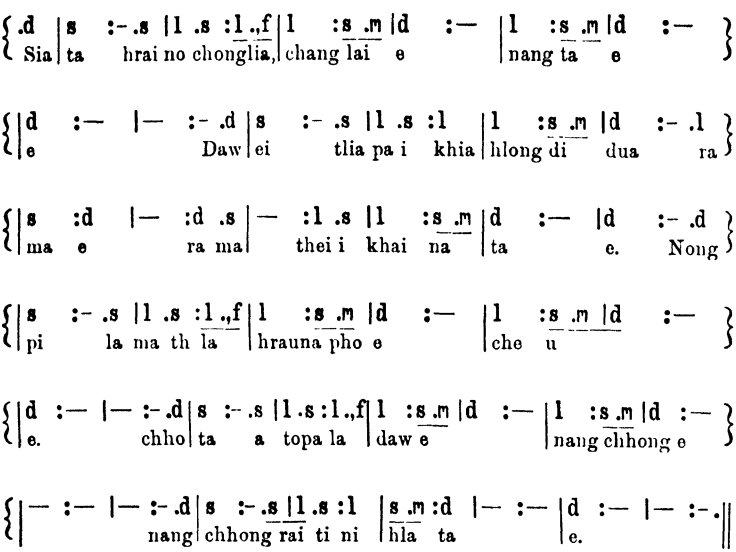
:s	s :- :s	s :- :s	s :- :-	fe :- :-
Sum	hnaw - mka	nu	k	he

s :- :s	s :- :fe	s :s :-	s :s :-	fe :m :-	- :- :-
na	i te	Zei man	na man	mawe.	

s :- :s	s :- :s	s :- :s	s :- :-.fe	fe :- :m	- :- :s
Ka	tum e Lu	tlum	ai e - -	ti le.	Ha

s :- :-.s	s :- :-.fe	fe :- :-	m :- :- ‖
i	leng e	in	la law e.

Tlongsaihla.



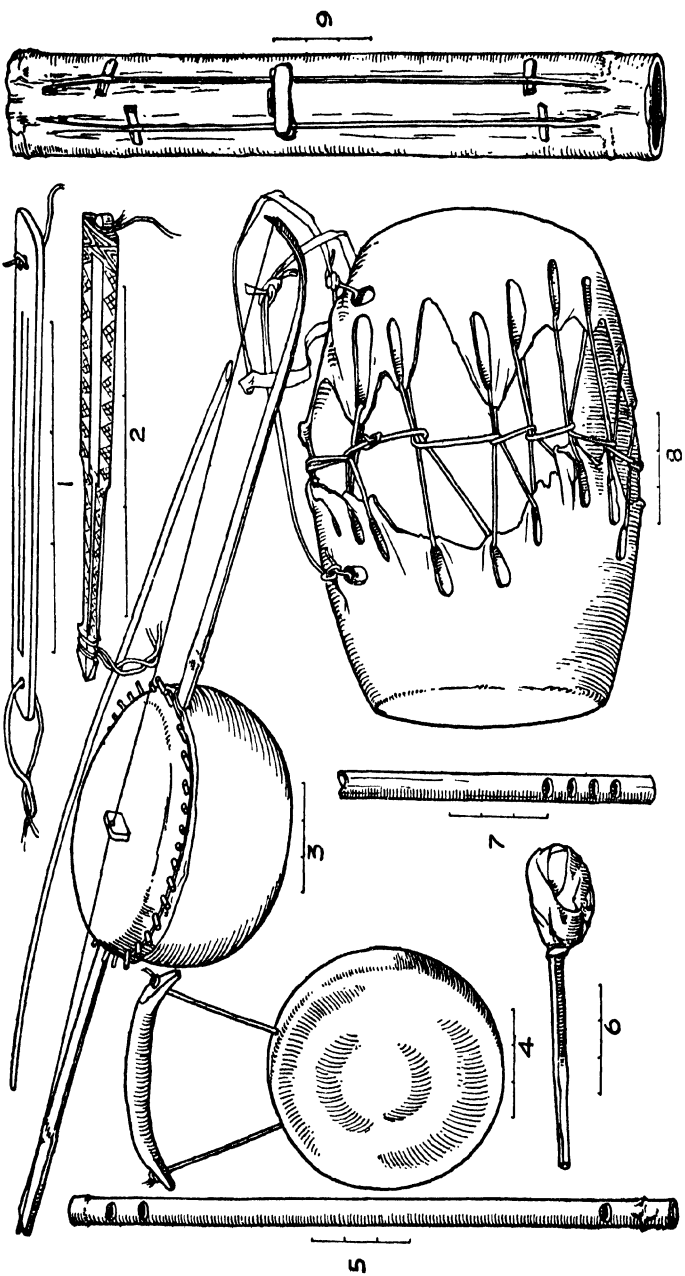
Musical Instruments.

Lakher songs are generally accompanied by an obligato on a drum. Gongs are of all sizes, and vary greatly in sweetness and depth of tone. The larger gongs, known as *dawkhang*, vary in size from six to ten spans in circumference. The smaller gongs, known as *viadaw*, vary from two to five spans in circumference. The Lakhers also use pairs of small bell-metal gongs known as *dawchheu* and pairs of small brass gongs known as *ladaw*. At a dance there is a regular band beating on gongs and drums and blowing on bugles, and managing to evolve, if not a very definite tune, at any rate a very strongly marked rhythm. Gongs, bugles and cymbals are imported from Burma; the drums are made in the village. The bugles are called *chiami*, and the cymbals *photla*.

The name for a drum is *khang*. Drums are barrel-shaped. They are made out of *aveu* wood (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.).

A log about 2 feet long is cut, and hollowed out with an axe-head, which is removed from the haft and tied to a 3-foot stick and used like a cheese scoop, the process continuing till the wooden walls of the drum are quite thin. Drums are usually about 1 foot in diameter. For the membrane, barking-deers' skins or *serows*' skins are always used, as they are thinner than the skins of the other animals available. The skin to be used for the thongs, to hold in place the membranes, is first soaked in water till it is quite soft, then cut into two long strips to form the thongs, dried in the sun and laid aside till the membranes are ready. The skin to be used for the membranes is then soaked in water, and when quite soft is stretched over each end of the hollow cylinder and lashed in place by the leather thongs, which have been prepared beforehand. Once a drum has been made it cannot be tuned, and the tension of the membranes cannot be varied at will. The performer beats on each end of the drum with his hands. It is played at all feasts and wakes, and can be played by either men or women. Besides the *khang*, there are five indigenous Lakher musical instruments—the *tangta*, the *siaramang*, the *siaramang chanongpa*, the *chaei* and the *tlaipi*.

The *tangta* is a one-stringed violin. Its resonator is made out of a hollow gourd, the top of which has been cut off and replaced by leaves of *chaihna* (*Phrynium capitatum*, Willd.) tightly stretched over it and fastened to the sides with bamboo pegs. A hole is made through each side of the gourd to admit of the passage of a split bamboo, which forms the neck of the instrument, and between whose ends the single string is stretched, being looped at each end to the bamboo neck. The string consists of a thin piece of fibre from the *sasai* palm (*Caryota urens*). The bridge is made of a small bit of gourd. The instrument is held at the neck with the left hand, the fingers of which are used to make the notes by pressing on the string, the bow (*tangtatongna*), which is held in the right hand, consists of a thin piece of split bamboo, which the player wets in his mouth before applying it to the string. The *tangta* is the most popular Lakher instrument. It is said to express longing, and is



1. Jew's Harp, old style (*Chaei*).
2. Jew's Harp, new style (*Chaei*).
3. Violin and Bow (*Tangta and Tangtatongna*).
4. Gong (*Viadaw*).
5. Side Flute (*Siaramang Chapawpa*).
6. Gong Striker (*Viadaw Tongna*).
7. Flute (*Siaramang Chanongpa*).
8. Drum (*Khang*).
9. Zither (*Tlaipi*).

chiefly used by the young men when sitting about in the house of the girl they are courting, and also by men who have lost their wives and who often seek consolation in music.

The *siaramang chapawpa* is a bamboo flute. It is closed at each end. At one end a hole is made in the side of the bamboo to blow down; at the other end two holes are made, and by placing the fingers on these, notes are produced. The young men blow on this instrument when going to the fields and sitting about in the *jhum*-house.

The *siaramang chanongpa* is another kind of bamboo flute. It is open at both ends. One end is notched for the lip to fit the mouthpiece; at the other end four holes are made in the side for producing notes. The performer blows down the mouth-piece and makes the notes with his fingers. It is generally played on the way to the fields.

The *tlaipi* is a bamboo zither.[1] It consists of a joint of hollow bamboo closed at each end by a node. One side of the bamboo is shaved away so as to leave two strings of thin bamboo; small wedges of bamboo which can be slid up and down are placed under these strings so as to tighten or loosen them, and the instrument is held in the two hands, the strings being twanged with the thumb. It is played by young men out courting and also when camping in the *jhum*-house.

The only other instrument used by the Lakhers is the Jew's harp, which they call *chaei*. There are two forms of bamboo *chaei*, and an iron *chaei* has recently been introduced from Arakan. The oldest form of *chaei* is a small straight piece of bamboo hollowed out so as to leave a tongue in the middle. At the end towards which the tongue points is a loop of string, which goes round the little finger of the left hand. At the end by the base of the tongue is a rather longer piece of string. The instrument is held so that the tip of the tongue of the harp is opposite to the player's mouth, and the string at the base of the tongue is jerked continuously to cause the tongue to vibrate. Unless the string is pulled, merely blowing on the tongue of the harp

[1] I noticed similar zithers from the Moluccas in the Dutch exhibit at the French Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931.—N. E. P.

produces no sound. The newer form of bamboo *chaei* is on the same principal, but is shaped like a small cricket bat. The iron *chaei*, known as *thuachaei*, consists of a piece of umbrella rib bent in the shape of a key handle, with a thin steel tongue running through the middle. This tongue is soldered on to the middle of the key handle, in which a small niche has been made to hold it. These are not yet made by the Lakhers, but doubtless they will copy them.

Dancing is a common form of amusement, and while songs are being sung a man generally dances as well, and acts as a sort of leader of the chorus. Dancing takes place at all feasts and at weddings and wakes, married persons taking part as well as the young men and girls. Lakher dancing purports to be an imitation of the fly. The fly when it walks is said to rub first its hind feet together once, then its front feet together once, after which it moves to the right, rubs its feet together again, and then moves to the left and rubs its feet together again, and so on, and the Lakhers say that their dancing steps are based on these movements of the fly.

Games.

Lakher children have few games. Swings (*zizapuapa*) are popular with both boys and girls, the swing being made of a long coil of *ari* cane (*Calamus erectus*, Roxb.), with a loop in the end in which to sit, slung from a bough of some tall tree just outside the village. The little girls are very fond of dolls, which they call *maitanong*. The dolls are made of clay. Their hair consists of black thread. They are dressed up as men and women, and their hair is arranged accordingly. The mode of play is similar to that of their little sisters in other parts of the world. There are regular families of dolls with their children. Marriages are arranged, and the price is paid in gongs and bell-metal basins made of clay. Mothers and fathers put their doll children to sleep and watch over them when sick, and generally make believe that the dolls are real people.

Boys do not play with dolls; they build little houses, make model traps for birds and beasts, pretend to cook

meals, go out shooting small birds with the pellet bow, stalking flies with their blow-pipes or potting unsuspecting strangers or people they dislike with their pop-guns. There is very little difference between Lakher and English boys; both are adept at getting into mischief.

The blowpipe is called *buchahmong*, and consists of a section of young bamboo about 1½ feet long and 1 inch in diameter. The dart is a small sharpened bamboo stick about 5 inches long and feathered at the butt. This dart is blown out of the pipe, and flies about 10 yards. There is great competition to see who can blow the dart furthest or who can slay most flies (*cf.* Fig. 2, p. 52).

The pop-gun is called *phailaipa*.[1] The barrel consists of a narrow section of young bamboo about 1 foot long, fitted with a bamboo plunger. For bullets the round fruit of a creeper called *sabipa* is used. A berry is placed at the muzzle of the barrel and another in the middle. The plunger is knocked down hard on to the berry in the middle, and the berry at the muzzle is fired off, and stings people smartly up to a range of 20 yards. After firing, the berry that was in the middle of the barrel will be found at the muzzle, and the gun must be loaded with another berry in the middle before being fired again (*cf.* Fig. 3, p. 52).

There are a few set games which are worth mentioning. *Bachhawpa* is a children's game which requires from five to fifteen players. The players hold hands and form a ring. One child stands in the middle and breaks the ring with a blow of his hand. As soon as the ring is broken, the children all run off, pursued by the child who was standing in the middle. Each player who reaches a tree is safe, but if the pursuer catches any one before he reaches a tree the child caught is considered to have been killed, and is out. The children who are left in have to go on running from tree to tree, and the pursuer chases them until he has caught them all, and then another child goes into the middle. The game is said to be an imitation of war. It is practically the same

[1] Garos have an exactly similar pop-gun, which they call *sintalok* or *khasi watok*, and use the same kind of ammunition.—N. E. P. So have the southern Sangtams of the Naga Hills.—J. H. H.

as the game played by English children called "Tiggy Tiggy Touch-Wood."

Masia-a-cha, or Elephant Hunting,[1] is the name of another game played by boys only. Five boys dress up as elephants, each wearing a long cloth, which is wound round so as to hang down in front like an elephant's trunk. Five other boys take the part of elephant-hunters and set off to catch the elephants. A boundary line is drawn on the ground between the two parties. The hunters cross this line and try to catch the elephants. The elephants beat those who come to catch them with their trunks, and any boy who falls over as a result of the beating is considered to have been killed by the elephants. If the hunters can drag the elephants over the boundary line, they have caught them and won the game, and if the elephants manage to knock over all their opponents they are victorious.

Seuleucha [2] is a game played with the seeds of the large creeper bean (*Entada scandens*), both by children and by adults of both sexes. There is no limit to the number of players. First of all they toss to decide who is to start playing. The tossing is done by rubbing one side of two beans with dirt, holding the beans together and dropping them on the ground, the player whose bean falls with the clean side uppermost winning the toss and starting to play. A base and a goal-line are drawn on the ground. The thrower must not go beyond the base to throw, and if he lets his bean roll beyond the goal-line he loses his turn. On the goal-line a bean is stood up on end, and the aim of the players is to hit this bean with their own bean. The first move is called *Tita*. The bean is bowled along as near as possible to the goal bean without crossing the back line, and from the point where the bean comes to rest the player can advance one span towards the goal-line. He then flicks his bean at the goal bean, and if the goal bean is knocked over the player continues, but if not one of the other players gets a turn. The bean has to be flicked successively with

[1] Ao children play a somewhat similar game. *Cf.* J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 155.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, and Dr. Hutton's note, p. 156.—N. E. P

each finger of the hand and then with the thumb, the moves being called *Kadang, Liapeu, Pazong, Kupi.* When this has been completed the player hops on his right leg and kicks the bean along with his big toe, aiming at the goal bean when he is near enough. This is called *Charo.* After this the bean is placed between the big and first toes and the player hops towards the goal. This is called *Laki.* Next the bean is placed on various parts of the body and dropped off from them towards the goal, pursued and caught before it crosses the boundary, and thrown at the goal bean from the point at which it was caught. The first drop is from the right shoulder, and is called *Ngiatla.* Next the bean is held between the chin and the neck. This is called *Roha.* Next between the lips, the bean being spat towards the goal. This is called *Phuhlu.* The bean is then placed on the bridge of the nose. This is called *Hnabu.* Next on the right eye, and called *Mangkho*; next on the right ear, called *Baibai*; then on the top of the forehead, called *Khipa;* then finally twice on the nape of the neck, the first time being called *Hnangla,* the second *Pakhei.* This makes a full game. When a player misses his shot, his opponent gets a turn, and starts from the beginning. When the second player misses, the first has a second turn, and starts from the point he had reached when he missed, and so on. The winner is the man who has completed most full games when the game is broken off. A full game is called *Dokha.*

Longbeu-a-cha. A game played by men only. The name of this game means "Stone, hole, game." A board is scratched on the ground consisting of five small holes on each side.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Five small pebbles are dropped into each hole. There are two players, who squat one on each side of the board. The player who starts picks up the five stones from any of the spaces on his side of the board and drops one of these into each hole on his right going round the board; then he picks

up the stones out of the hole next in front of that into which he dropped his last stone ; he continues to do this until he finds that the hole next in front of that into which he has dropped his last stone is empty, when the stones in the hole in front of the empty hole are his, and he takes them and sets them aside. The other player then has his turn, and, starting with any hole on his side of the board, he goes round to the left, and distributes his stones as already described until he ends up at an empty hole, when he takes the stones in the hole in front of it. The game goes on till all the stones have been annexed by the players, and the player who has acquired most stones wins. If after removing the stones from one hole the player finds there is an empty space in front of that hole, he can take the stones in the hole in front of that empty hole also. Considerable skill and observation are involved in working out the distribution of stones so as to end up with an empty hole in front of a hole with a large number of pebbles.

The favourite games for men are wrestling and putting the weight, though the Lakhers are not nearly so keen on either of these amusements as the Lusheis. In a Lushei village the young men wrestle every night in the *zawlbuk* as a matter of course, and it is rare to pass through a Lushei village in the evening, or in fact at any time of day, without finding two or three young fellows putting the weight. Possibly the fact that there are no *zawlbuks* among the Lakhers leads to a lack of rivalry among the young men, and hence to a lesser interest in games. Whatever the cause may be, wrestling is not an everyday amusement in Lakher villages. The Lakher name for wrestling is *apiapa*. The rules of the game are different from those of Lushei wrestling, the aim of the wrestler being to throw his opponent, and not merely to lift him off the ground, as in Lushei wrestling. Once a man has been thrown, he has lost the bout. Sometimes a hefty young fellow will throw his adversary right over his head. Wrestling competitions are generally held at weddings, or when young men from other villages are on a visit and inter-village competitions take place.

Chholawngtheupa. Putting the weight. A large round stone is used and the furthest throw wins. This is the most popular game, and competitions are held with visitors from other villages.

Measurements of Time.

The Lakher year is divided into the following seasons :—

Nangpinang. Spring and hot weather.
Sopinang. The rains.
Chavanang. Autumn.
Chasipaw. Winter.
Peitla. The fall of the straw, meaning the end of the harvest.

The year starts with the month of *Naw*, which corresponds roughly to January. Each month, according to Lakher counting, has thirty days. The Lakher year therefore does not exactly correspond with our year, and it is seldom that two Lakhers will agree at once as to what month it is, and a question as to what the month is generally leads to heated discussion. The fixed point on which most Lakhers base their reckoning is Peitla, the end of the harvest, which itself varies according as the harvest is early or late. For practical purposes the Lakher months correspond roughly with our months as given below :

Naw . .	Meaning the young month	January.
Hmeupi .	The month when the *ahmeu* tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) is budding.	February.
Pami . .	The month when the *pami* creeper (*Congea tomentosa*) is in flower	March.
Pachaw .	The dry month	April.
Patong . .	The month when the *patong* (*Lagerstroemia flos reginae*) is in flower	May.
Chhipa .	The bad month. So called because it rains heavily and vegetables cannot be planted .	June.
Khipa . .	The month in which there is plenty to eat, as the vegetables are all ripening . . .	July.
Thlazang .	The dark month. So called because it is always wet and misty	August.
Thlara . .	The bright month. So called as the rains begin to clear	September.
Phiata . .	The month when the paddy is first pulled up .	October.
Phiapi . .	The harvest month when the paddy is being pulled up as fast as possible . . .	November.
Di . . .	The month when the harvest is complete .	December.

Each Lakher month has thirty days, and the month is a lunar month. The Lakhers believe that the moon is a man, and has a home. When the moon begins to come out of his home and a new moon is visible, they call it *Thlapa a di* (the moon is coming out). For the next fifteen days the moon continues to come out of his home little by little, till the whole of his body has appeared and it is full moon, which the Lakhers call *Thlapa a polo* (the moon is round). For the next fifteen days the moon gradually goes into his home again, and when he has completely re-entered his home and is no longer visible, it is known as *Thlapa a lei* (the moon has disappeared). The moon rests one night in his home, and then starts on his travels again and opens another month. The Lakhers have no measure of time corresponding to our week, and the days have no names. Mr. Lorrain, the missionary at Saiko, has invented names for the days of the week, but they are not in general use. The Lakher day is not measured by hours, but there are fifteen divisions in the day, each of which has a name.

1. *Chanongsadaiti,*	meaning the time for women to start pounding rice (about 4 a.m.).
2. *Meupatiniti* .	Breakfast time (between 6 and 7 a.m.).
3. *Leulasiti* . .	The time for going to work (about 7 a.m.).
4. *Chanongthang-phopatloti.*	The time when women return from carrying firewood (about 9 a.m.).
5. *Nangchhongpati-niti.*	The time for the midday meal (12 noon).
6. *Nang a kia* .	The sun has turned (about 2 p.m.).
7. *Deupipa beich-hangti.*	The time for cooking the food for a large family (about 3 p.m.).
8. *Nalawpa beich-hangti.*	The time for cooking the food for a small family (about 4 p.m.).
9. *Zapatiniti* . .	The time for the evening meal (between 5 and 6 p.m.).
10. *Nangatla* . .	Sunset.
11. *Laiphongchongti*	The time for the young men to go off to the house in which they spend the night (between 6 and 7 p.m.).
12. *Hawtimongro* .	The time that children go to sleep (about 8 p.m.).
13. *Zachangchhong*	The dark hours of the night.
14. *Awhkhangrasa* .	Cock-crow (about 4 a.m.).
15. *Nangchhi* . .	Sunrise.

There are several ways of expressing short intervals of time. For a very short period the term is *mangvihlata*, meaning within the closing and opening of an eye. If any one wanted to say that he would return in a short time, the

term he would use is *songkhata*. For a period of about a quarter of an hour the term *karopadakhua* is used, signifying the time that elapses between two sips of nicotine-water. For an hour the term used is *lobeihmangkhua*, the time it takes to cook a pot of rice, and for about two hours they say *lobeihmang sabeihmang khua*, the time required to cook a pot of rice and then a pot of meat. The timing may not be accurate, but it serves for all practical purposes. Periods of past time greater than one or two years are often worked out by counting the different slopes which were cultivated since the occurrence the date of which it is desired to fix. Lakhers always remember the order in which they cultivated the different slopes of the village land, and if a Lakher wants to fix the date of a certain occurrence, the only way he can do so is by saying that it was in the year in which the *jhums* were cut on a certain hill. By then finding out what slopes were cut in each succeeding year, it is possible to ascertain how many years have elapsed since a given occurrence took place.

If it is desired to fix the date of an occurrence more accurately, the ordinary way to do so is to refer it to some definite stage in the growth of the crop, and they would say that it took place " at the second weeding," or " when the rice was knee high," " when the maize had just germinated," or " at the beginning of the harvest."

Another but less accurate way of measuring the lapse of time is by the periodic rat famines which always occur after the seeding of bamboos. Bamboos flower, seed, die down, and spring up again at fairly regular intervals, different species of bamboos seeding at different times. When the bamboos seed, rats appear in millions, whether it is that they swarm together from all over the country to eat the seed, or whether eating the seed makes them phenomenally prolific—which I am inclined to think is the case—is not, I believe, known for certain. The Lakher will tell you that the seed makes the rats prolific and gigantic, and not only that, but creatures half rat and half caterpillar are produced during a rat famine. They will also tell you that the rats are born out of the soil, and will give as a reason that at the

last *mawta* some perfectly good rats were cleaned, cooked and eaten in Saiko, and that when they were pouring the gravy out of the pot, a deposit of mud was found at the bottom. Far from suspecting the cleanliness of the cook, they at once deduced that the mud at the bottom of the pot was the essential material of the rats, who had been born by earth being turned into rats instead of by the natural methods of reproduction, which could never have been responsible for the phenomenal numbers that appeared. Whatever the cause may be, the fact remains that a plague of rats always follows hard on the heels of the seeding of the bamboo. Having eaten all the seed they can find, the rats swarm over the country, devour all the crops, and when there is no more left to eat eventually die of starvation.[1] After a plague of rats, therefore, there is always a famine, and before British rule led to the establishment of relief measures, hundreds died from famine and disease, cholera and dysentery following hot-foot on the track of famine, and levying heavy toll from a people weakened by lack of food. These famines remain indelibly impressed on the minds of the people, and if a man is asked when an event occurred in the more or less distant past, a common answer is " Before or after such and such a famine." The Lakhers know only one kind of famine, the *mawta*, which follows on the seeding of the *ramaw* bamboos (*Melocanna bambusoides*). The Lusheis recognise two, one the *maotam*, which corresponds to the *mawta*, the second the *thingtam*, which latter follows on the flowering of *Bambusa Tulda*, Roxb., and *Dendrocalamus Hookeri*. The Lakhers, however, have never suffered from a *thingtam*, and only count by *mawtas*. They say that the period between two seedings of *Melocanna bambusoides* is fifty years, and that between each seeding another kind of bamboo called *rangia* (*Cephalostachyum capitatum*) always seeds, but its seeding does not attract rats, and the period at which it seeds is generally one in which exceptionally good crops are obtained. The

[1] In the Naga Hills they migrate in large bodies, and the Dikhu river has been known to run thick with rats drowned as they tried to cross.—J. H. H.

seeding of the *rangia* is called *lanongateu*. Dates are fixed approximately, therefore, by referring to events as having occurred before or after such and such a *mawta* or *lanongateu*. Lakhers say that any one who as a boy has passed through a *mawta* is almost sure to see a *lanongateu*, but that few people see two *mawtas*, as people who are ageing generally die from short commons at the beginning of a *mawta*. It is only long-lived people who see two *mawtas*, and any one who has seen two *mawtas* and two *lanongateus* is quite exceptionally old. Theulai, the old chief of Saiko, who was said to be over 100 when he died, was about twenty when he passed through his first *mawta*, and after this he saw two *mawtas* and two *lanongateus*. This would make Theulai 120 when he died. He was exceedingly old when I saw him in 1925, and I do not think that the calculation is very far wrong.

Measures of Length.

The Lakher practically always estimates length with reference to certain portions of his body.

Patangcha .	The length of a finger nail.
Kuchakha .	The length of a top finger joint.
Kuchanang .	The length of the top two finger joints.
Pazongsa .	The length of the index finger.
Sokha . .	The height of a fist.
Sotong . .	The height of a fist with thumb stretched out upright.
Pazongkha .	The distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the forefinger, the lesser span.
Khakha .	The distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the middle finger; the greater span.
Deukha . .	A cubit. The distance from the elbow point to the tip of the middle finger.
Bacha . .	The length of the arm from shoulder to finger tips.
Chachhei .	The distance from the centre of the chest to the tip of the fingers of the outstretched arm.
Kukhi . .	The distance from the left elbow across the chest to the tip of the fingers of the outstretched right arm.
Lakha . .	A fathom, the distance from finger tip to finger tip of the outstretched arms.

The distance between places is measured in terms of fields or of days' journeys, the shortest distance described being *along theukhua*, the distance of a good throw at putting the weight.

To hi ti ahla The length of a maize and vegetable field.
Leu kha ahla The length of an ordinary *jhum*.
Pi kha ahla . The length of five *jhums*.
Nangchhong kara kha si ahla . . A distance that can be covered between early morning breakfast and the midday meal.
Nangkha si . A day's journey.

Longer journeys are described by the number of days taken to perform them. It is impossible to translate these measures into terms of miles. Fields vary in length, and a day's journey depends on the position of a suitable village or stream by which to spend the night.

Measures of Height.

Height is always measured with reference to the human body.

Langbeutai . From the ground to the ankle.
Ngiaratai . From the ground to the middle of the shin bone.
Pakhutai . From the ground to the knee.
Beuhmiatai . From the ground to the middle of the thigh.
Chaitai . . From the ground to the top of the hip.
Paliatai . From the ground to the navel.
Pathinatai . From the ground to the end of the sternum.
Bakalitai . From the ground to the armpit.
Ngiatlatai . From the ground to the top of the shoulder.
Rotai . . From the ground to the neck.
Pakatai . From the ground to the lip.
Mangkhotai From the ground to the eyes.
Dangkhi. . From the ground to the top of the skull.
Pazongcha . The length of an index finger.
Titacha . . The length of a little finger.

Measures of Width.

Zongkha . The width of one finger.
Zongnang . The width of two fingers.
Zongtho . The width of three fingers.
Zongpali . The width of four fingers.
Pazati . . The width of the hand laid flat with fingers and thumb close together, from the outside of the thumb to the outside of the little finger.
Pazaphia . The width of the two hands placed flat side by side and measured as above for the *pazati*.

After this the spans and cubits already described under measures of length are used. The measurements by finger-breadths are used very often to supplement the other measures, thus they might say one span and two finger-breadths *khakha nata zong nang*, or a cubit and a hand's width, *deukha nata pazati*.

Measures of Thickness.

In measuring the thickness of trees, branches, bamboos, and fish the following terms are commonly used :—

Pheipaiti . As thick as the calf of a man's leg.
Bapaiti . . Of the size of a man's arm at its thickest point between the elbow and the wrist.
Beupiti . . The thickness of a man's thigh.
Kupiti . . The thickness of a man's thumb.
Pazongti . The thickness of the index finger.
Titati . . The thickness of a little finger.

Measures of Area.

The size of a field or of any given area of land is usually expressed in terms of the number of baskets (*bai*) of paddy seed that would be required to plant it. The basket used for measuring seed is called a *tlabai* or a *bai*. The size of the *bai* used in one village is always the same, but it varies slightly in different villages.

Baikhatu . An area requiring one basket (*bai*) of seed.
Bainangtu . An area requiring two baskets of seed.
Phokhatu . An area requiring a man's load of seed. (One man's load is four *bais*.)
Phothongtu . An area requiring three loads of seed.

Larger areas are expressed in terms of the number of fields they would contain.

Pikha . . A ten-field area.
Pinang . . A twenty-field area.
Pithong . . A thirty-field area.
etc.

Measures of Capacity.

Capacity is measured by handfuls and by basketfuls.

Pazakha . One handful.
Pazapikha . Two handfuls.
Saikhuakha . A very small basketful.
Kachukha . A rather larger basketful.
Baikha . . A *tlabai* full.
Baikaikha . A large basketful.

Each measure represents the amount that can be held in the basket whose name it bears—up to a man's load, *phokha*, which is the contents of four *bais*. The full load is not carried in a basket, but in a cotton bag. These bags are

woven by the women, of a size sufficient to hold the contents of four *bais*. The mouths of the bags are closed with bark string or split bamboo ropes. In each village, the chief and elders decide the size of each basket to be used for purposes of measurement, and in measuring paddy or rice the approved size of basket must be used, though the baskets in every-day use may be of slightly different sizes, according to the preferences of the household. The size of the formal measuring baskets varies in the different villages.

The Lakhers have no weights, and no means of weighing anything. Paddy and rice are sold by baskets. Pigs are measured by running a string right round the animal under the shoulders, the string is then folded double and the length of the doubled string in fists is taken to be the size of the animal in fists (*so*).[1] For measuring salt a section of bamboo, the size of which is fixed by the chief and the elders, is used. Salt used to be subscribed by the villagers to present to a foreign chief visiting the village, and in time of war to give to the sentries on outpost duty round the village, and it was only on these occasions that the salt measure came into use.

Gongs of all sorts, brass pots and beer-pots are all measured by spans. Gongs, including *dawkhang*, *viadaw*, *dawchheu*, *ladaw*, are measured in spans round the outer circumference. Brass basins called *rahong*, brass dishes called *kiali*, and iron cauldrons called *uka* are measured in spans round the brim. *Racha*, *longrai*, *raipi*, *beirai*, *raitapa*, all different kinds of earthenware beer-pots, and the *kha-beirai*, a brass water-pot, are all measured round the middle at the widest point. A string is tied round the middle of the pot, taken off, and the size of the pot is the length of the string in fists. The *dawbei*, a large brass water- or cooking-pot, is measured in spans round its circumference at the widest point.

Counting.

Mathematics are not a strong point with the Lakher; he is very bad at counting, and when Lakher boys go to school

[1] The Thado use precisely the same standard.—J. H. H.

arithmetic proves a great stumbling-block to them. In this the Lakher resembles the Lushei, who is also a poor mathematician. The commonest way of counting is by tying a knot in a piece of thread. If a Lakher wants to remember how many days he has worked, he makes a knot each day in a piece of string that he keeps in his bag, so as to be able to claim the correct wages at the end of his job. Some people prefer to count by breaking off little pieces of stick, but sticks are apt to be lost. Another method of counting is by placing maize seeds in rows of ten. When grain is being delivered to a chief's granary in payment of dues, the man who is taking over the grain counts up the number of baskets delivered by inserting a small stick the size of a match in the interstices of the bamboo wall for each basket delivered. The highest number spoken of is *theukha* (ten thousand). This term is really merely used to indicate a great number, and is indefinite, no Lakher in practice being able to count above a hundred, and very few as far as that. The term *sha*, meaning a thousand, is used indefinitely in the same way as *theukha*. In counting up to a hundred they place the articles to be counted in tens. In counting bamboos the bamboos are laid out in pairs. One pair is called *bokha*, ten pairs are called *bohraw*, fifteen pairs *bohraw hlei pangaw*, twenty pairs *boki*. They only count by pairs up to forty—that is to say, up to twenty pairs.

Points of the Compass.

Lakhers have names for the points of the compass. The North is *Mawla*, which probably means the old direction, because it is dark and misty. The South is *Chhangla*. The word *Chhang* means to boil, and so conveys the idea of warmth, and so *Chhangla* means the warm direction. The East is *Nangchhila*, the direction of the sunrise; the West is *Nangtlala*, the direction of the sunset. Lakhers call the Lusheis *Maw*, because they live to the north of them. Another name for the Lusheis is *Tlaikopa*, or the naked people, because they wear no loin-cloths. Lakhers can always tell you at once the direction of a given place

correctly, but most of them cannot explain how they know; they say, "We have always known that the south was over there or the west over there, the elders have always told us so." Although they cannot explain that they rely on the position of the sun for telling direction, they do so instinctively and without realising the fact, as becomes clear when one talks to a Lakher on the subject.

Currency.

The Lakhers have no currency of their own. All transactions were carried out by barter, and all goods were paid for in kind. Even now there is very little money in the country, but as they came to realise the value of money, the objects generally given in payment of marriage prices gradually acquired a formal value in rupees. This formal value does not necessarily correspond with the market value of the article outside the Lakher country, but holds good for all transactions among Lakhers. The main transactions are the payment of marriage prices and fines for petty offences, the fine always being paid to the person offended against.

The following list shows the formal prices attached to the articles most commonly used in payment of marriage prices, fines and other dues :—

Name of Article.	Size of Article.	Amount.
		Rs. *a.* *p.*
Cow *mithun*. *Seipanong* . . .	—	60 0 0
Mithun calf. *Seitaw* . . .	—	40 0 0
Bull *mithun* with entirely clean horns, *Seitongpa* . . .	—	80 0 0
„ „ with only three fingers'-breadth of its horns clean. *Seitongpa*	—	60 0 0
Cow. *Viachopanong* . . .	—	30 0 0
Bull. *Viachotongpa*. . . .	—	30 0 0
She goat. *Mipanong* . . .	—	7 0 0
He goat. *Mitongpa*. . . .	—	7 0 0
Castrated pig. *Vothawpa* . .	Width of body six fists	20 0 0
„ „ „ . . .	„ five „	15 0 0
„ „ „ . . .	„ „ four „	10 0 0
Sow. *Vopanong*	„ „ five fists or more	10 0 0
„ „	„ „ less than five fists	7 0 0

Name of Article.	Size of Article.	Amount.
		Rs. *a.* *p.*
Virgin Sow. *Vozeinong* . . .	—	6 0 0
Piglet. *Votaw*.	—	1 0 0
Bitch. *Ipanong*	—	1 0 0
Dog. *Itongpa*	—	1 0 0
Puppy. *Itaw*	—	0 8 0
Hen. *Awhpanong*	—	1 0 0
Cock. *Awhkheupa*	—	1 0 0
Fowl, the size of a crow. *Awhraawhlipa*	—	0 8 0
Pullet. *Awhhlonong* . . .	—	0 12 0
Gong. *Dawkhang*	Circumference ten spans	70 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, nine ,,	60 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, eight ,,	40 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, seven ,,	30 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, six ,,	20 0 0
Brass basin. *Rahong* . . .	,, ten ,,	100 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, nine ,,	70 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, eight ,,	50 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, seven ,,	30 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, six ,,	15 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, five ,,	10 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, four ,,	5 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, three ,,	3 0 0
Gong. *Viadaw*	,, five ,,	10 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, four ,,	7 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, three ,,	4 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, two ,,	2 0 0
Brass pot, *Dawbei*	,, ten ,,	40 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, nine ,,	30 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, eight ,,	20 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, seven ,,	15 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, six ,,	10 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, five ,,	7 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, four ,,	4 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, three ,,	2 0 0
,, ,, ...	,, two ,,	1 0 0
Pair of small gongs. *Dawchheu* .	—	10 0 0
Pair of brass gongs. *Ladaw* .	—	15 0 0
Earthen *sahma* pot. *Racha* .	Height nine fists	10 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, .	,, seven ,,	7 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, .	,, five ,,	5 0 0
,, ,, ,, *Longrai* .	,, nine ,,	10 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, .	,, seven ,,	5 0 0
Earthen *sahma* pot. *Raipi* .	—	10 0 0
Small earthen *sahma* pot. *Raitapa* .	—	5 0 0
Large bugle. *Chiami* . .	—	30 0 0
Middle-sized bugle. *Chiami* .	—	20 0 0
Small bugle. *Chiami* . .	—	10 0 0
Iron pot. *Uka*	Circumference seven spans	5 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, six ,,	4 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, five ,,	3 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, four ,,	2 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, three ,,	1 0 0
Brass basin. *Kiali*	,, eight ,,	15 0 0
,, ,, ,, ...	,, five ,,	5 0 0
Brass *sahma* pot. *Khabeirai* . .	Height seven fists	10 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, . .	,, six ,,	7 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, . .	,, five ,,	5 0 0

Name of Article.	Size of Article.	Amount.
		Rs. a. p.
Sisa	No price can be given for these different kinds of *pumtek* beads, the value of which depends on their age and quality.	
Kiamei		
Laikhai		
Paripilu		
Thikhongphiapa		
Cheihleikia		
Manghli		
Zaiphei		
Khangtha		
Sisai. Old red beads . . .	R. 1 per string.	
,, New red beads . . .	R. 10 per thirty strings.	
Saka. Woman's metal belt, if old .	R. 1 per belt.	
,, ,, ,, ,, if new .	R. 1 per two belts.	
Chaiphiapha. Another kind of woman's belt, the price of which varies according to its quality.		
Woman's large brass comb. *Hrokei* .	—	2 0 0
Woman's small brass comb. *Hrokei* .	—	1 0 0
Woman's brass chain-belt. *Hrakhaw*	—	10 0 0
Woman's brass belt. *Chongchi* .	—	3 0 0
Haka spear. *Hiaka sei* . . .	—	2 0 0
Ordinary spear. *Asei* . . .	—	1 0 0
Dao. Takong	—	2 0 0
Axe. *Ahrei*	—	1 0 0
,, *Thasong* (foreign made) .	—	2 0 0
Chin knife. *Chaizong* . . .	—	1 0 0
Hoe. *Atu*	—	0 4 0
Pair of brass cymbals. *Photla* . .	Five spans	10 0 0
,, ,, ,, ,, . .	Three spans	5 0 0
Brass pot with spout. *Tikarong chapawpa.*	—	5 0 0
Brass pot without spout. *Tikarong chanongpa*	—	3 0 0
Brass triangular gong. *Dawkhang* .	—	5 0 0

The price fixed for gongs is the price for gongs with a true sound. Gongs with an inferior ring would be priced lower.

War. Chariachang.

Before the British appeared in the hills, the Lakher villages were constantly fighting with each other and with their neighbours. The Tlongsais used to fight with the Khumis, Lialais, Fanais, with the Thlatla and Mangthu chiefs in Haka and with the three brothers Dokula, Hausata, and Vantura, Chins who ruled over the villages on the Bualpui range and whose headquarters were at Lungtien. On the whole the Tlongsais managed to hold their own. Dokula and his brothers tried to make them pay tribute,

and Hausata came to Saiko demanding it, the Tlongsai refused to pay, but gave him enough cotton to make a coat and a cloth. Hausata went off home, and sent his brother Vantura to see if he could do any better. The Tlongsai, however, refused to give Vantura anything, and Vantura, in a rage, on his way home seized two Saiko men, Phangngia and Laila, who were in their *jhum*, and tried to carry them off as slaves. News of this raid having been taken to Saiko, the chief Theulai sent seven young men with guns in pursuit. They caught up Vantura and his captives at the junction of the Sabri river with the Kolodyne, in the lands of Longtlai village. The Saiko braves opened fire, and Vantura was shot by Vatlai, the other Saiko braves all missing. Vantura's followers abandoned their captives and fled to their village, taking with them the wounded Vantura, who died after reaching his village. Phangngia and Laila were rescued and taken back to Saiko in triumph.[1] To this day no love is lost between the Tlongsai and Dokula's descendants, though in 1924 Chonghmong, son of Theulai, Chief of Saiko, married Dokula's grand-daughter. Mr. Sneyd Hutchinson, in *An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, describes how he was present at Vantura's death, having been called in to see if he could do anything for the wounded man. He says, "The dying chief was stretched on the floor in front of a blazing fire, his head resting on his wife's lap, while I knelt by his side and held his hand in sympathy; the room was crowded with relations and villagers, all gazing with wild intentness on their dying chief. Suddenly, with a convulsive effort, he raised himself up. I quickly slipped my arm as a support behind his back, but it was the final struggle with death. The blood spurted forth from the wound in his chest, a horrible choking gasp followed, and Vantura, the dreaded leader of bloodthirsty raids, fell back lifeless in my arms. Immediately the cry went forth, 'Vantura is dead, Vantura is dead!' and was taken up throughout the village. The loud wails of women lamenting were mixed with hoarse cries for revenge from the men, while anon guns were fired into the air to scare away the

[1] Information given me personally by the Saiko elders.—N. E. P.

evil spirits who gathered together to capture the soul of the departed chief." Sneyd Hutchinson describes Vantura as a Lakher, but he was not, he was a Chin belonging to the clan of the Thlatla chief in Haka.

Thlatla, the village from which Dokula and his brothers had migrated to Bualpui, was the most powerful of the Chin villages against which the Lakher villages conducted fairly constant hostilities. Tlongsais, Hawthais, Sabeus and Zeuhnangs all appear at one time or another to have been at war with Thlatla. After many fights peace was made between the Tlongsais and Thlatla by the marriage of Theulai, Chief of Saiko, to the sister of the Thlatla Chief.

The most famous raid executed by the Saiko Tlongsais was on the Fanai village of Muallianpui, the raiders being led by Theulai, then still a young man. The ruler of Muallianpui was a chieftainess called Darbili, who had just brought her people from her old site across the Kolodyne at Cherhlun to their present site at Muallianpui. The Fanais had not built proper houses, and were living in temporary huts, and most of the men had gone to their old village of Thingsai for the *Chapchar Kut*, the feast held as soon as the *jhums* have all been cut; so actually in Muallianpui there were only old men, women and weaklings. Theulai sent a party round to cut the cane suspension bridge over the Kolodyne, so as to prevent the men from getting back and then attacked the village. Many Fanais were killed, and the chieftainess Darbili was captured, but released on the road between Muallianpui and Pangkhua because she was a chief. The Lakhers never knowingly killed a chief in war. When Theulai killed Thaka, the Lialai chief, he did not know he was a chief, as he found him while he was setting traps for deer.

The chief enemies of the Chapi villages besides Thlatla were the villages of Tlari and Ripi, which are also in Haka. The Chapi people seem to have fared badly in most of their little wars, as after their last war with Tlari they sued for peace and paid Tlari a *mithun*, and on the last occasion that they fought with Thlatla and Ripi they had to pay over a male slave to Thlatla, and Rachi, Chief of Chapi, had to

DOCHHA OF CHAPI IN WAR DRESS.

marry Chiapeu, daughter of the Ripi Chief, for whom he had to pay a very high price. The last Chapi men to take heads were Dochha and Bihar, who about thirty years ago managed to secure two Khumi heads, one of a young man, the other of a boy just over the age of puberty. Both Dochha and Bihar are still flourishing.

The hereditary enemies of the Zeuhnang were the Sabeu across the Kolodyne. Savang, however, was always a very powerful village, and more than held its own. Savang braves were also constantly raiding the Khumi villages in the Arakan Hill Tracts.

The prime motive for war among the Lakhers, as among more civilised nations, was gain. It was not a question of annexing territory, but of obtaining booty in the shape of guns, cash, gongs or any other portable articles which could be found, and making off with it as fast as possible. Slaves, too, were saleable commodities, so captives were highly valued, and all the women and boys who were caught were carried off as slaves. Though the Lakhers are called head-hunters, heads came second to plunder, and, indeed, they were never head-hunters, like the Was or other tribes who had to take heads to ensure the prosperity of the crops or for other semi-religious purposes. The causes of war were desire for gain on the part of the elders and hope of glory on the part of the young warriors, who longed for a chance of showing their prowess. When a warrior slew an enemy in battle he would shout out his name, the names of his father and his grandfather, and the name of his clan, and would boast of his courage and the success of his arms. Another cause, possibly a more potent motive than either of the foregoing, but of less frequent occurrence, was the death of a chief or member of a royal family, as then heads had to be obtained for *Machhipaina*. *Machhipaina* means literally the preventing of bad dreams.[1]

[1] May it not be inferred that the bad dreams were due to the fact that the deceased was troubling his relatives on account of their neglect in not providing him with attendants? If so the Garo, Dyak and Lakher customs would appear ultimately the same. On this subject generally reference may be made to my notes on pp. 78–81 of Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*.—J. H. H.

When a death occurs in the chief's family the whole village goes into mourning. No drums or gongs can be beaten, and every one has to remain quietly in his house.

To restore happiness to the chief's family and the villagers in general, the warriors have to sally forth and collect some heads. If they are successful, the heads are brought back and placed on the memorial posts of the deceased chief. When this duty has been accomplished, the mourning ceases and the village resumes its normal life. The last time this was done in the Lakher country was by the Zeuhnang in 1918, when their chief Hmonglai died. The object of taking heads on these occasions is purely to restore happiness to the living. The people killed are not killed as a sacrifice to the soul of the dead chief, their heads are hung up on the chief's memorial posts simply to show that *Machhipaina* has been performed.

The Lusheis also used to take heads when a chief died. In 1844 Lalchokla, a Lushei Chief, made a similar raid, and took twenty heads, which he placed on the tomb of his father, Lassu.[1] Garos, too, used to indulge in the practice.[2] I questioned an old Garo *laskar* called Gobang on the subject. He told me that when a *nokma* died a man's head was taken, in order that the spirit of the man slain might accompany the deceased *nokma's* spirit to Chitmang, the abode of the dead. The name of this sacrifice of a man or a bull on the death of a *nokma* is *Mangrechapa*, which means literally "spirit go with." Usually a lazy thieving slave was selected as the victim. Failing a suitable slave, heads were collected from the nearest Bengali village in the plains. The Garos therefore did not take heads like the Lakhers, to end the mourning for a chief, but in order to send some one to accompany the chief to the next world. This is like the Lakher *riha* sacrifice of an animal. The Lakhers, however, never, at any rate within recent times, sacrificed a man for *riha*.

The practice of taking heads to end the period of mourning

[1] *Cf.* Reid, *Chin Lushai Land*, p. 7, and Woodthorpe, *The Lushai Expedition*, pp. 11–12.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Playfair, *The Garos*, pp. 76–79.—N. E. P.

after a death is also found among the Dyaks. With them, however, it is not confined to chiefs, but any Dyak who has lost a close relation must remain in mourning till he has taken a head. When a Dyak is mourning, he wears only clothing made out of bark, all ordinary cloths being tied up in a bundle, which is not opened till a head has been taken.[1] A similar custom is reported from among the Tinguians.[2]

Now that the Lakhers are no longer allowed to take human heads, they have to kill a wild animal instead. A bear, a wild boar, a tiger or, better still, if it is available, a wild *mithun*, can be shot, and its head takes the place of the human head formerly used.

Until an animal has been killed for *Machhipaina* the mourning for the dead chief continues. The Chief of Saiko died in August 1927, and the village was still in mourning in March 1928, when the present Chief asked me for permission to shoot a *mithun*, and must remain so until an animal has been killed for *Machhipaina*. The mourning is strictly observed, any breach of it is regarded as very insulting to the late chief and any one breaking the mourning by playing on a drum or a gong would be beaten by the rest of the villagers. The mourning may even last for four years if the villagers are unsuccessful in shooting an animal, but after four years the chief's family usually decrees that the mourning shall cease. When the wife of the late chief of Saiko died, the mourning lasted for two years.

Although occasionally women's heads were taken, this was only done if a woman happened to have been killed in the heat of the fray. If a woman was killed her head was taken, and the *Ia* ceremony was performed over it in the same way as over a man's, but as women are unable to defend themselves, it was considered much less honourable to kill a woman than a man, and women's heads were not deliberately sought for in the same way as men's. Also the women, being valuable as slaves, were generally preserved and taken back to the village as the slaves of their

[1] *Cf. In Borneo Jungles*, by W. O. Krohn.—N. E. P.
[2] *Cf.* M. C. Cole, *Savage Gentlemen*, p. 56.—N. E. P.

captor. Women probably owed their comparative immunity less to the chivalry than to the sound business instincts of the people. I have never heard that young Lakher warriors were made to taste the blood of an enemy killed in war. The example of this quoted by Lewin refers to a Lushei of Rottonpuia's village.[1]

It was not obligatory for a village to perform a communal sacrifice before going to war, though usually a sacrifice was offered to the *Khisong* nearest to the village. Individuals offered sacrifice or not, as they pleased; some performed *Khazangpina*, some *Zangda*, while the more impious saved their pigs and made no sacrifice. The warriors were not obliged to prepare themselves for battle by fasting or abstinence from women. On the contrary, I am told that the warriors, feeling that their lives might be very short, made the most of their opportunities in the short time left them before going to war, the young bloods laying vigorous siege to the girls and the married men making the most of their wives. The Lakher attitude in these matters bears a striking resemblance to the attitude of many persons in European countries during the Great War.[2]

The following is an account of the last raid made by the Zeuhnang, the story of which was told me by Khangcheh, one of the leaders of the raid. As the Savang Chief Hmonglai had died, the whole village was in mourning, all music and singing were forbidden, and the people had to remain quietly in their houses. The new chief and the elders therefore decided that a raid must be made for *Machhi-paina*, and this decision being joyfully acclaimed by the young men, all preparations were set in train. The women pounded rice and baked flat rice cakes for the warriors to take with them, they also smoked numberless pipes, so that the men should have an ample supply of nicotine-water. Gunpowder was made, and as but little gunpowder can be made in Savang, as the sheer rock on which the village is built does not allow the ingredients to collect, further

[1] *Cf.* Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 269.—N. E. P.

[2] Even plants share it! If you expose the roots of an orange tree threatening it with death, it fruits the more vigorously.—J. H. H.

supplies were brought from Khawbung and Buangthu in Haka.

Before the raiders could start, the omens had to be taken. There are two ways of taking the omens. The usual method followed is to bring a pot of beer to the place where the *Tleulia* sacrifice is performed. Beer is then sucked through the syphon, and if it flows out in a straight stream the omen is good ; if, however, it gurgles out slowly, the omen is bad, and the raid would be postponed. Another method of consulting the fates is to take an egg, make a small hole at one end of it, and then place it on a fire. The heat causes the white of the egg to come out through the hole. If the white of the egg stands straight up when it comes out, the omen is good. Again, if as the raiders leave the village a bird called *beupi* (*Graucalus Macei*) flies the way they are going, it is a good omen ; if, however, it turns back and flies towards the village again, the omen is bad, and though the raid will not necessarily be postponed, the raiders feel that they will most likely be unlucky.

The Savang people had recourse to the first method, and the omens being favourable, a pig was sacrificed to the *Khisong*, the high cliff above Savang ; final preparations were made for the raid and in due course the party set off. Usually in Lakher warfare the chief and warriors went ahead, and were followed by a crowd of other villagers carrying gongs and drums, with which they made an awful din as soon as the warriors assaulted the enemy village, in order to strike fear into the hearts of their opponents. On this occasion, however, the unarmed crowd returned to the village after seeing the raiders off, and the warriors went on their way alone. The raiders carried sufficient rice with them to last out the journey, and also flour cakes, in case they had to run away and abandon their loads of rice. On the occasion of the last Zeuhnang raid the village attacked was Teubu, in the Arakan Hill Tracts, about four or five days' journey from Savang. The day before the raiders started, the village was *aoh*, and the women were not allowed to weave, as the belief is that if the women touch thread on the day a party sets out on a raid and the raiders were

defeated and had to run away, they would be tripped up by the creepers and entangled in the thorned canes that grow all over the jungle.[1] When they arrived within a day's journey of their objective a special meal of rice was cooked and eaten, what was left being rolled in plantain leaves to carry with them. This meal is called *rialooih*, and is rather like the special breakfast given to a man before he is hanged, as the Lakhers say that even if they are destined to be killed in the fight, there is no reason why they should not have a good meal beforehand. Next morning at dawn the leaders called for volunteers to head the attack and each man who volunteered had to go out and cut a stick. The cutting of these sticks is really a form of oath,[2] and signifies that the man who cuts the stick solemnly promises to go in the van if there is any fighting, and not to run away and leave the old men in the lurch in case of danger.

This oath by stick-cutting has to be taken in regular form. The leaders call out, "Now, oh warriors, let all of you who are brave and will not run away come forward and cut sticks, and swear not to flee and leave us older men in the lurch. If you do not cut sticks according to custom we will abandon the raid and return home." On this the young warriors all shout out, "So be it. If the battle is fiercest in the van we will be in the van, if it is fiercest in the rear we will be in the rear." After this each warrior comes forward in turn and shouts out his name, the name of his father, his grandfather, and of the founder of his family, and also the name of his clan. Thus, "I am Chhali, son of Vatlai, grandson of Hnaitha, descendant of the great Katha of the Mathipi clan." So saying, each in turn cuts a stick, and so takes the oath. While advancing towards the hostile village these young warriors march in the van. On the return journey homeward half of them are in the van, while the other half form a rearguard. If one of the young

[1] For similar belief among the Sema Nagas, *cf.* J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 51. *Cf.* also Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 131. The women of Leti Moa and Laker are forbidden to twine thread or weave when their husbands are at war.—N. E. P.

[2] This form of oath is common in some parts of the Naga Hills, the signiñcance being that if the oath be broken the perjurer will die as the cut shoot dies.—J. H. H

men after cutting a stick shows the white feather and fails to take his place either in the van or the rearguard, he is not formally punished, but is eternally disgraced and treated with scorn by his fellow-villagers for the rest of his life.

To return to the raid on Teubu. The young men having all taken the oath, the Zeuhnang proceeded quietly through the jungle and approached Teubu at nightfall. Teubu was a fortified village, the Khumis, from fear of Lakher raids, being in the habit of surrounding their villages with wooden stockades and closing the gates at night; but on this night the gates were open, as there had been a death in the village and the villagers were carrying water to make rice beer for the wake. The Zeuhnang then held a council of war. The more impetuous wanted to take their chance at once and to assault the village while the gates were open. Others urged that they should wait till dawn, and while they were arguing the gates were shut, so another way of entering the village had to be found, and after going all round the stockade they eventually came upon a small gap on a path used by the village *mithun*, by which they entered the village. Most of the villagers had collected in the house where the wake was being held, and were dancing, drinking and singing songs. The Zeuhnang surrounded this house and lay hidden all round it, while the Khumis inside were becoming more and more drunk as the night wore on. Gradually the dawn began to break, and as soon as the cocks crew the Zeuhnang fired a volley through the walls of the house with all their ten guns. Many people fell down killed or wounded, and the rest rushed out of the house, and many were caught. Altogether eighteen people were killed and thirteen captives were taken, of whom ten were women and three were men. Two guns were also captured. Before the sun was up the Zeuhnang started off on their way home, taking with them the guns, all their captives, and four heads only, as they could not carry more. They were not pursued, and arrived safely back at Savang. As it is *ana* to enter the village at night on returning from a raid, they timed themselves so as to arrive at Savang in the morning. As they approached the village all the villagers turned out to meet them, beating

gongs and drums and plying the victorious warriors with beer. The heads were taken into the village and placed on the ground where the *Tleulia* sacrifice is performed.[1] It is *ana* to take men's heads inside a house, the reason being that as men and tigers have a *saw*, it is unlucky to take their heads inside a house, lest the *saw* should do harm to the inmates.

The whole day was then spent drinking beer, singing war-songs, and dancing the *Sawlakia* dance round the heads taken. At sunset the heads were removed from the *Tleulia* ground and hung on the memorial posts over the late chief Hmonglai's grave, and the mourning for Hmonglai came to an end. The night was spent in feasting and dancing, and each man who had taken a head or made a captive killed a pig and performed the *Ia* sacrifice, in order to prevent the deceased's ghost from troubling him. The whole of the next day was spent in feasting. On the third day the whole village was *aoh*, for fear of the *saw* of the men killed. On the fourth day the young men went down to the Tisi river to catch fish, which are symbolical of purity, and also to bathe so as to cleanse themselves of the *saw* of the people killed. The older men also bathed for the same purpose in the stream near the village. This ended the proceedings. The Zeuhnang were made to disgorge the captives they had taken and to return the heads and the guns by the Deputy-Commissioner Arakan Hill Tracts. No other punishment appears to have been inflicted, however. During the seven months that the heads remained in possession of the Zeuhnang they were left on Hmonglai's grave.

The *aoh* held for one day after the *Ia* ceremony has been performed over the heads taken in war is called *sawpana*. The belief is that the spirits of the persons killed hover about the neighbourhood of the village where the *Ia* ceremony is held, and are very angry, both at having been killed and at having been made to dance at *Sawlakia*. The day after

[1] *Cf.* John Rawlins, "On the Manners, Religion and Laws of the Cucis or Mountaineers of Tipra," *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, XII. The description given of Cuci warfare bears many similarities to the story of the Zeuhnang raid on Teubu as told me by Khangcheh and related above.—N. E. P.

the *Ia* ceremony is therefore *aoh*, and no one is allowed to go out, lest the spirits of the men killed should seize them and do them harm. After this *sawpana* the spirits of the men killed are believed to go away.

The Ia Ceremony.

As soon as the warriors have returned from a successful raid, all those who have been lucky enough to take an enemy's head must perform the *Ia* ceremony over it. The object of this ceremony is twofold: first to render the spirit of the slain, which is called *saw*, harmless to his slayer, and secondly to ensure that the spirit of the slain shall be the slave of his slayer in the next world. It is believed that unless the *Ia* ceremony is performed over the heads of men killed in war, their *saw* will render their slayers blind, lame, or paralysed, and that if by any lucky chance a man who has omitted to perform the *Ia* ceremony escapes these evils, they will surely fall upon his children or his grandchildren. Again, unless the *Ia* ceremony is performed, the spirits of those slain in war go to a special abode called *Sawvawkhi*, where dwell the spirits of all those who have suffered violent deaths, so it is only by performing the *Ia* ceremony that a man can ensure that the spirit of his dead enemy shall accompany him to *Athikhi* as his slave.

The ceremonies performed at *Ia* vary somewhat. Among the Sabeu and the Hawthai heads are never taken into the village, and so each man who has taken a head erects a bamboo pole in front of his house, and on it places an imitation head made out of a gourd. He then sacrifices a pig, the flesh being used for a feast for his family and friends, and dances round this imitation head. In the other villages the head of the man slain is taken to the place where the *Ia* ceremony is being performed, and the manslayer and his friends dance the *Sawlakia* round and round the head. When the real head is used at the ceremony, rice and meat are placed in its mouth, in order that the dead man's spirit may not wander about on the night of the ceremony, the idea being that it will eat its fill of the food and will remain near the

head. Some people say also that the food is placed in the dead man's mouth as a sign of contempt for a fallen foe.

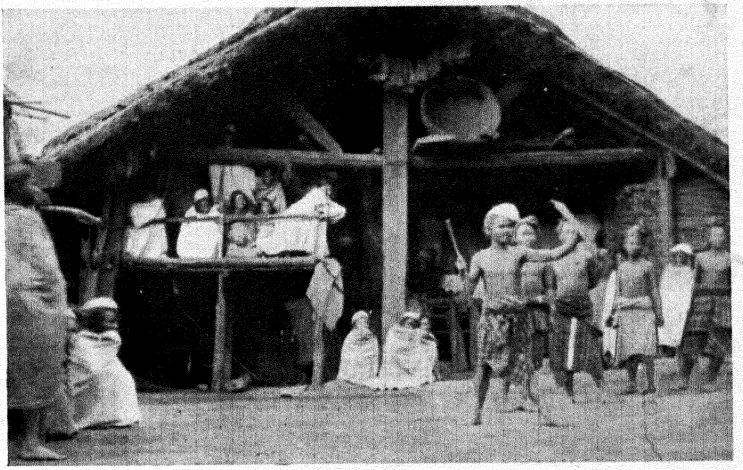
Three dances are performed at the *Ia* ceremony—the *Sawlakia*, the *Chochhipa* and the *Dawlakia*. The meaning of *Sawlakia* is "the dance of the Spirits of the slain," and Lakhers believe that the Spirits of the slain willy nilly have to dance round with their slayers. The *Sawlakia* is led by the warrior who has taken a head, wearing his best cloths and in his hair a plume of red horsehair called *rabong*, or in some villages *chheutlia*.[1] In his right hand he holds either a gun or a ceremonial *dao* called *vaina*, and in his left a *mithun*-hide shield. Behind him follow his friends, also dressed in their finest clothes, some carrying weapons and others cymbals and gongs. The boys stand in a group, beating on drums and blowing bugles. The dancers move slowly round, advancing a little, turning first to the right and then to the left; they retreat a step and then advance a few steps, and turn to the right and left again, and then, retreating and advancing, dance in this way round and round the head. As they dance they cut at the air with their *takong* and wave their shields in time with the dance. All the while they are dancing they are being plied with beer by the women, and when they have danced round the head three times they rest.

The *Chochhipa* also is danced round and round the head, but the step is different. The dancers start by extending their arms and swing to the right and then to the left, their bodies following round the swing of the arms. They then advance at a quicker step than in the *Sawlakia*, at intervals swinging one leg backwards and then advancing again rapidly.

The *Dawlakia* is performed in a squatting position. The performers, in the same costumes as in the other dances, and carrying *vaina*, *takong*, and shields, get down into an almost sitting posture and hop round and round the head like frogs. After each hop forward a slight turn is made to the left and then to the right. This is a very tiring dance,

[1] This is similar to the Lushei *chhawndawl*. *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 11. A *rabong* is shown in the illustration at p. 205.—N. E. P.

THE SAWLAKIA DANCE AT SAVANG



THE CHOCHHIPA BEING DANCED IN FRONT OF THE CHIEF'S HOUSE AT CHAPI

THE DAWLAKIA BEING DANCED IN THE COURTYARD OF THE CHIEF'S HOUSE AT CHAPI

and the performers soon get exhausted. During the dances the band keeps up a continuous din on gongs, drums, cymbals and bugles. Gallons of beer are consumed, and the performers get worked up into a state of great excitement. Each dance has a separate tune, and the rhythm of the gongs and drums, which are played louder and faster as the dance goes on, undoubtedly has an exciting effect. The *Sawlakia* is common to all the villages. The *Chochhipa* and *Dawlakia* are performed only in the Chapi group. In Chapi, once they have begun dancing the *Sawlakia* they must continue, and dance the *Chochhipa* and *Dawlakia* also in succession, as they believe that unless the whole series is performed the *saw* of the dead enemy will be able to do them harm ; it is essential for all three dances to be performed to render the *saw* innocuous.

On the night of the *Ia* ceremony and all the next day dancing, feasting and singing continue. The day after this the whole village is *aoh*, no work is done and no one leaves the village. The next day each man who has taken a head kills a pig, washes his hands in its blood, and then goes and bathes and thoroughly cleanses himself of all bloodstains, so that the spirits of the dead shall not be able to recognise their slayers. While the *Ia* ceremony is in progress the man performing it must not sleep with his wife. It is not till he has cleansed himself that he can resume conjugal relations.[1] The belief is that during the *Ia* ceremony the spirit of the deceased is hovering round, and if it saw the man who had slain him sleeping with his wife, it would say, "Ah, you prefer women to me," and would inform all the spirits, and the man who had done what is forbidden would not be allowed to take any more heads. It is also believed that as when a man sleeps with his wife he is covered with a woman's cloth, the next time he went to war he would get tripped up by the spirit of a woman's cloth.

Among the Tlongsai and the Zeuhnang there is no objection

[1] This was also the case among the Garos, who had to remain chaste from the time they set out on the war-path till the end of the ceremonies performed after taking a head, as I have been informed by old Garos.—N. E. P.

to bringing heads into the village for the *Ia* ceremony, but in the Sabeu and Hawthai villages it is *ana* to do so, and heads were always hung up outside.[1] In Tisi the heads were hung up on a *pakhai* tree (*Schima Wallichii*) or on a *pazi* tree (*Steriospermum chelonoides*, D.C.) in the jungle outside the village, and were left there till they fell off and got lost. These two trees were selected for hanging the heads on for special reasons. The word *pazi* in Lakher means to follow, so it was believed that if the head was hung on a *pazi* tree the spirit of the slain would undoubtedly follow the spirit of his slayer as his slave, when the slayer in his turn went to the abode of the dead. Another explanation given me was that the spirit of the slain would follow the tree on which its former head was hanging and would remain near the tree and cease to worry its slayer. The name *pakhai* in Lakher means heirloom, hence the tree would be an heirloom for the slayer's children, and would never be cut. Another explanation for the use of the *pakhai* tree for this purpose was given me in Saiko. If the bark of this tree is peeled off it causes an irritating rash on any part of the body it touches, so Lakhers believe that the ghost of the dead man hovering around the *pakhai* tree will suffer from this rash and go away. This practice is also followed in Chapi, in which village the precautions to be observed in order to escape being seized by the *saw* of the men killed are somewhat different from those followed in the other villages. Immediately on reaching their village after a raid, the heads taken by the Sabeu are hung up on a tree, a dog is sacrificed by each man who has taken a head, and its skull is hung up over the head of the man slain. This is a preliminary precaution to prevent the deceased's *saw* from harming the person who killed him, and is part of the *Ia* ceremony, the idea being that the dog's ghost will bark at the deceased's *saw*, which will then be afraid to do any harm.[2] After that the warriors enter the village and perform the rest of the *Ia* ceremony by sacrificing

[1] So also at Mao. *Cf.* Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 175.—N. E. P.

[2] So, too, the Aos, *vide* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 205.—J. H. H.

a pig and dancing the *Sawlakia*, *Chochhipa* and *Dawlakia* dances round an imitation head. Then in the evening each man who has taken a head goes into his house with the cook, the *sahma*-maker, the drummers and the persons who played the gongs at the *Ia* feast, and they must all remain inside the house for five days. During these five days the men are allowed to shoot any of the village fowls they like with pellet bows, and may eat them.[1] On the morning of the sixth day the man who has taken a head rises at cockcrow and goes and bathes in the nearest stream. He then returns to his house and in front of it plants two chestnut poles. The people who have kept him company inside the house during these five days hold on to the chestnut poles, and the head-taker says, "The spirit of the man I have killed has now departed." A pig is then sacrificed and eaten, and the ceremony is finished. The reason why the cook, the *sahma*-maker, the drummer and the gong-player are shut up for five days with the head-taker is that it is believed that if they go home before the whole ceremony is finished they will take the deceased's *saw* with them and will become ill. During these five days it is *ana* for the head-taker to sleep with his wife. If he did so he would take no more heads, for the reasons already related.

A man who has taken a head in war, although by so doing he has acquired great renown, is none the less regarded as unclean. On his return to the village a head-taker is *pana* until the *Ia* ceremony has been performed to lay the dangerous ghost of the man killed, and it is not until a formal purification, at which the hands and feet are washed in the blood of the pig sacrificed and the whole body is washed in water, has been accomplished, that a head-taker resumes his ordinary family and social relations. The temporary separation of a head-taker from the rest of the community is especially marked among the Sabeu, the tribe inhabiting the Chapi group of villages. Among this tribe the *saw* of the deceased is regarded as so powerful that it is believed

[1] The villagers allow their fowls to be killed as a reward to the head-taker. Among the Lusheis when the body of a dead chief is being desiccated by roasting it in a box in front of the fire, the men who perform this unpleasant duty have a similar privilege.—N. E. P.

that it will do harm to all who helped the head-taker to perform the *Ia* ceremony and to their family unless they remain with him apart until the *saw* has been finally laid and the head-taker cleansed. All Lakhers, however, share the same belief, as witness the *aoh* held at Savang on the fourth day after the return of the head-takers, but the ceremonies in other villages are less elaborate than among the Sabeu. It is not only men who have taken heads in war who are bound to cleanse and purify themselves, murderers also are under the same obligation. Although head-taking on a raid is meritorious, while murder is regarded as a social sin, it makes no difference to the fact that after taking human life a man must purify himself. As will be seen further on, however, even after purification a murderer labours under certain social disadvantages, but a head-taker does not.

Peace-making.

When a village wanted to sue for peace an ambassador (*leuchapa*) was sent to ask for peace and to arrange terms. A man from a friendly neutral village was usually employed as ambassador, if possible the chief or a leading noble. The village employing a *leuchapa* always promised to pay him a certain sum as soon as he had arranged matters. The *leuchapa* having settled the terms of peace and the amount to be paid by the defeated to the victorious village, some elders from the defeated village accompanied the *leuchapa* to the victorious village and paid over part of the fine. A *mithun* or a pig was then killed, its blood was smeared on the foreheads of representatives of the two villages, and they took a solemn oath of peace, each saying, "If we start hostilities afresh first, may the blood flow from our foreheads in the same way as the blood of the animal sacrificed has flowed to-day." [1]

When Ngongthaw was chief of Savang, the Zeuhnang were defeated by the Sabeu, and had to pay the Sabeu chief a gong and a *mithun* when peace was made. Sometimes

[1] For the oath taken by Chins when making peace, *cf.* A. S. Reid, *Chin-Lushai Land*, pp. 135, 136, 156, 157, and for the Lushei form of oath. *Cf. ibidem*, p. 214.—N. E. P.

instead of paying an indemnity the chief of the defeated village offered to marry the sister or daughter of his conqueror, and as chiefs found it by no means easy to settle their female relatives in life, owing to the heavy marriage prices demanded, such a proposal was generally readily accepted. Thus, when Theulai was chief of Saiko, the Tlongsai were constantly at war with Thlatla, and not infrequently were worsted. On one occasion they had to pay a gong to Thlatla; on another occasion they had to pay a bull *mithun* to Dokula, a dependant of Thlatla. Eventually Theulai married Hleuchi, sister of Lalluaia, chief of Thlatla, and after this there were no more wars between the Tlongsai and Thlatla. When Vabi was chief of Chapi, he carried on an unsuccessful war with Haka, and after paying a large brass basin (*rahong*) to Haka on one occasion when he was defeated, the next time he was defeated he married the daughter of the Haka chief and made a lasting peace. The present chief, Rachi, had to marry his wife, the daughter of the Ripi chief, as the result of a defeat in war. These matrimonial alliances between royal houses contracted to cement a peace between two warring tribes have quite a mediæval flavour. The peace ceremony between Savang and Teubu in 1918, after the Zeuhnang had raided the latter village and killed and taken into captivity a number of the villagers, was actually witnessed by Mr. Thom, who was then Deputy-Commissioner Northern Arakan, from whose account the following description is drawn.[1]

"Shortly after my arrival, at about midday, an unusually interesting although somewhat gruesome and cruel cleaning ceremony was performed in my presence. It was explained to me that as blood had been shed by one of the parties present, viz. the Shandus of Zongling, it was necessary for the chief of that village and the successor of the late Taungbo chief to meet face to face and stab together fatally and simultaneously a pig held between them, and finally wipe

[1] Letter No. 147/2 V-2 from the Deputy-Commissioner Northern Arakan to the Commissioner, Arakan Division, Akyab, dated Paletwa, the 15th May, 1918.—N. E. P.

their respective bloodstained knives on each other's naked bodies.

"I permitted the ceremony to take place, standing close by with a revolver, in case the matter should go further than the pig. It must have been a great trial for Taungbo whilst it lasted, but he went through the ordeal manfully enough, wearing a dignified disdainful scowl the while. Immediately after the pig had been killed and thrown on to the ground, there was a general rush by the people to the spot to stamp their feet in the blood of the animal, thus in their imaginations freeing themselves of any possibility of being overtaken by any form of sickness or death or evil subsequently. The stamping went on for quite half an hour, both sexes joining in vehemently."

Mr. Thom was very fortunate in having the chance to see what was probably the last formal peace-making between two Lakher villages. I do not think that Mr. Thom is right in ascribing the rush of the people to stamp their feet in the pig's blood to their desire to avoid any danger of sickness. I think that the stamping of the feet in the blood of the sacrifice was really a form of oath taken by the villagers on both sides, and equivalent to the action of the chiefs in wiping their bloodstained *daos* on each other's body. As they bathed their feet in the blood they said, "If we break this oath of friendship may our blood flow in the same way as the blood of the pig sacrificed." This is the explanation given me in Savang and the other Lakher villages, and is, I think, without doubt correct. Apart from anything else, there would be no reason for the people to lave their feet in the pig's blood to escape sickness, as the pig was not sacrificed to prevent people from becoming ill, but as a token of reconciliation, and the Lakhers have other special sacrifices for the prevention of sickness, which in no way resemble the ceremony described.

Though a *leuchapa* wore no distinguishing insignia, his person was sacred, and he could go unmolested wherever he liked. If a *leuchapa* were molested, the village on behalf of which he was acting and his own village would join together and attack the village that had interfered with

him. It was probably in order to ensure that *leuchapas* should not be molested that they were always chosen from a neutral village.

Cannibalism.

There is practically nothing to show that the Lakhers were ever addicted to cannibalism. It is believed that if a consumptive goes on a raid and manages to take a head and eat a small portion of the ear of the man he has killed he will be cured. One Hrichai of Saiko who was suffering from consumption went on a raid, took a head and ate a bit of his dead enemy's ear.[1] Hrichai is said to have been cured by this unpleasant medicine, which he was the first to discover. Prior to this, Hrichai had been very ill, and had despaired of his life. He went off to the jungle towards Arakan, thinking to die there, but shot two *sambhur* and survived. He then went on a raid against the Lialai, and took the head which led to his cure.

There is a legend that many years ago the Lakher village of Heima was raided by the Lusheis of Lalthuama's village. The Heima people fled to the jungle, leaving their village in the hands of the Lusheis. The Lusheis took a large cooking-pot, placed at the bottom of it the hand of one of the Heima people who had been slain, and then mixed up in it pork and human flesh taken from the bodies of the dead Lakhers. Having put this pot on the fire to cook, the Lusheis left the village. The Heima people, returning very hungry from the jungle, where they had been hiding, found this cauldron of what appeared to be pork sizzling on the fire. With one accord they set to and made short work of the pork, and it was not till they reached the bottom and found the human hand that they realised that they had been eating the flesh of their own friends, who had been killed by the Lusheis. As soon as the hand was discovered they stopped eating the meat, and as they had only partaken of

[1] *Cf.* Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 9 *n*, and Vol. I, p. 175, *n.*[2], and my note on the eating of Dead Relatives in *Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 245, and on p. 80 of Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*.—J. H. H.

human flesh by accident they were not thought any the worse of on that account. This is the only tradition about cannibalism that I have found.

Captives.

Raids were made almost as much to get captives for slaves as to take heads. The first captive made by each warrior became the property of the chief and village, and was known as *seuchhai*. These captives were used to present as slaves to the chiefs of more powerful villages, in order to induce them not to raid. If a man made more than one captive, all, except the first which went to the village, became his slaves, but any one who had made no captives could take one for himself, provided that he did so before their captor had been able to secure them. Once they had been tied up the prisoners belonged definitely to the man who had first captured them. A captive thus seized from his captor was called *chahlai*. Captives were regarded in much the same way as men slain in battle, and the *Ia* ceremony was performed over them also. The object was to render the captive's *saw*, which was called *hrangsaw*, harmless, and also to advertise the mighty deeds of his captor. Unless the *Ia* ceremony was performed it was believed that the captive's *hrangsaw* would render his captor blind or lame, or it might even paralyse him. None of the food or drink prepared for the *Ia* ceremony might be given to the captives in any of the Tlongsai, Hawthai or Sabeu villages, as it was believed that the captives would die prematurely if given any of the food prepared for the *Ia* feast. The Zeuhnang do not share this belief, and have no objection to the captive over whom the ceremony is being performed having a share of the food. On the eve of performing the *Ia* ceremony over a captive, the captor must remain chaste; it is believed that if he sleeps with his wife that night he will neither take any more heads nor any more captives.

When a captive first arrived at his captor's village one of his legs was placed in a sort of stock called *keihrai*, made out of a heavy log of wood. A hole was made at one end of

the log large enough to admit a man's foot; the prisoner's foot was passed through this hole and enclosed by a large iron nail, which prevented it being taken out again. A cane was attached to the back of the log to enable the captive to hold it up when he wanted to move about, which he could do slowly only, it being quite impossible for any one to escape with a large log at the end of his foot. A prisoner was confined in this way for a week or ten days, to give him time to settle down, and was then released. Nowadays *keihrai* are used to confine violent lunatics. It is certainly a more humane method of confinement than any other that would be possible in a Lakher village, as the lunatic can move about and get the air, but cannot harm any one.

Slavery.

In the old days slavery was common among the Lakhers. There were many ways in which the chief and nobles acquired slaves. The most ordinary way of acquiring them was by capture in war, and even common people were allowed to keep as slaves any captives they made after the first man they had captured had been handed over to the villagers. The chief and nobles could also acquire slaves by other means. Supposing the chief of Savang were owed money by a man living in Saiko and came to claim it, the debtor could claim sanctuary from the Saiko chief by taking refuge in his house. When a man took sanctuary in this way in his chief's house, his chief would pay the debt to the foreign chief, and the debtor became his slave. Sanctuary was not infrequently taken, as a man would generally rather be the slave of his own chief than be carried off as a slave to another village.

If a chief or noble brought up an orphan belonging to another clan from childhood, the orphan became the slave of the man who brought him up. It was not possible for a man to enslave an orphan belonging to his own clan in this way, as fellow-clansmen were regarded as having duties to each other, and any one who supported an orphan belonging to his own clan was only considered to be fulfilling an obligation.

Slaves could be acquired as part of a marriage price and also by purchase. When a famine occurred people often had to go to the chief for help. The chief would give them paddy, and when this was exhausted they had no option but to enter the chief's house and become his slaves. Any one stealing from the chief became his slave. If any one killed one of the chief's slaves, he and his family *ipso facto* became slaves. If a man committed a murder and the chief paid the *luteu*, he became the chief's slave. There were two kinds of slaves—the *sei*, a slave who lived in the chief's house, and the *saiza*, or slave who lived in his own house. The *saiza* were usually favourite slaves of a chief, who, after having worked faithfully for years, had been rewarded by being allowed to live in a separate house. Both *sei* and *saiza* were absolutely at the disposal of the chief, but the *saiza* had a better position and rather more independence than the *sei*; a *saiza*, for instance, was allowed to keep all his own paddy, but was expected to help the chief should the latter need it.

On the whole slaves were not treated badly. They were regarded as part of the chief's family, and as such had considerable privileges, as the chief would always take the part of his slaves against any one else. To a modified extent slaves could own property. The slave's crop was divided between him and his chief. Sometimes the chief and his slaves kept all their paddy together in one granary and drew on it according to their requirements, sometimes the slave kept half his crop separately for his own use, and gave the other half to the chief. Slaves could own pigs, goats and fowls, but not *mithun*, but the chief was at liberty to take any of their animals if he wanted to, and paid them back later on or not as he liked. When the chief's sister or daughter married, his favourite slave was given a part of her price, which was called *Seipawcheu*, and for this the slave had to kill a pig to give to the payer of the price, in the same way as any one else claiming part of the marriage price.

As the slaves were part of the chief's family, the chief had to buy wives for his male slaves, or, if he preferred,

would marry them to his female slaves, in which case no money passed for the price, as both belonged to the chief. When a chief bought a wife for one of his male slaves the woman did not herself become a slave, but her children were all slaves. If any of his slaves committed an offence and was fined, the chief had to pay the fine.

Female slaves were not as a rule allowed to marry any one except a male slave, as if a female slave married a freeman who paid her full price to the chief her offspring were free, and the chief had no claim on them. Such marriages were only allowed if the suitor gave the owner of the woman he wanted to marry another female slave of equal value as ransom (*sokhaipari*). Slave girls were, however, encouraged to have as many love affairs as possible with the lads of the village, as the offspring of such unions became slaves, and so were a clear gain to the chief; the more bastards a girl had the better pleased the chief, as his stock of slaves was most easily kept up in this way. If a freeman became the father of a bastard by a girl slave he could ransom it while it was still a child with two gongs of seven and eight spans, plus a pig for *awrua* and ten rupees for *awruabawna*. If, however, a man did not ransom his bastard till it had grown up, he had to pay three gongs of six, seven and eight spans respectively, plus a pig for *awrua* and ten rupees *awruabawna*. More often than not the fathers did not ransom their bastards, but left them to grow up as slaves, and as a rule, indeed, chiefs would not allow bastards to be ransomed.

When a bastard was the result of a love affair between a male slave and a free girl, if the chief paid the *riathama* or bastard's price the child became a slave, if not it belonged to its mother's people. Although slaves could be bought and sold, as a rule chiefs only sold slaves newly acquired by capture or those who were disobedient and lazy. Old family retainers were never sold or given away. Slaves with families, too, were not as a rule disposed of, so as to avoid splitting up a family.

Before the Lakher villages were taken over, it was a case of once a slave always a slave. The children of slaves were

also slaves, and it was only on rare occasions that an owner would give a slave freedom. Fathers never sold their children into slavery, and any one attempting to sell his child would have committed a grave breach of custom.

Female slaves were more valuable than male slaves, as, in addition to being able to do all ordinary work, they were of great value for breeding purposes, and were more docile and less prone to run away than the men, who not only required more looking after, but also had to be provided with wives. The price of a good male slave was 170 to 180 rupees, while healthy young female slaves easily fetched 200 rupees, or if sold to the Khumis, who gave high prices for slaves, even as much as 300 rupees. If given as part of a marriage price the value of a slave, whether male or female, was assessed at 100 rupees. When a slave shot a wild animal, it went to his owner, who also took the head, and treated it as though he had shot it himself. Slaves did all the work of their owner's household, and also a great deal of work for him in the fields. It is curious to find, however, that although they had many slaves, most of the Lakher chiefs worked in their own fields, and did not leave everything to the slaves, as the Lushei chiefs did. If a slave ran away and was recaptured, he was sold or given away as part of a marriage price at the earliest opportunity. Though the Lakhers assert that they never sacrificed slaves as *riha* on the death of their master, there is a more or less legendary story that on the death of a man called Dawma of the Hleuchhang clan a slave was used for his *riha*, being buried alive in the same grave as his master. The story goes that the slave was buried alive with a certain amount of food and drink and a gong, and was told to beat on the gong as long as he was alive. Dawma's relations ran a bamboo down into the grave, and could hear the slave beating on the gong for nine days, after which there was silence. Though it must be a long time since slaves were sacrificed as *riha*, the Chapi people have a similar legend of a slave having been buried alive many years ago with a chief called Bero, of the Phiapi clan, which at that time lived at Chakhang. Legends are often based on fact, and I think it is quite probable that

at one time the sacrifice of slaves as *riha* to accompany their masters to the next world was common among Lakhers. The chiefs and other slave-owners had power of life and death over their slaves. The last occasion on which a slave was murdered was somewhere about twenty years ago, when a slave called Raiong, who had run away from Savang, was caught in Paitha village by a party of Savang people and taken away and murdered by Bawpu and Ngiachhong on the road back to Savang. Ngiachhong was Raiong's owner, and he hanged him with a cane rope. Though the murder of slaves was comparatively rare, they were frequently severely beaten.

If a chief's slave was killed by a free man, the murderer had either to pay the chief 200 rupees as *luteu*, or became a slave himself.

It not infrequently happens that people who have been slaves for some generations do not know to what clan they belong. Such people when freed generally adopt the chief's clan as their own and the chief's *Khazangpina* ceremonial. The chiefs do not object to this, and address their former slaves as " my brother." Liberated slaves who adopt their chief's clan in this way are known as *phanghleupa* ; they use the name and are regarded as associates of their adopted clan, but not as full members, and cannot touch the *anah-mang* or *phavaw* when a full member of the clan performs a sacrifice.

Slavery among the Lakhers undoubtedly approximated more closely to what is generally connoted by the word slavery than did the Lushei *bawi* system.[1] The Lushei *bawi* was never a slave, he was only a chief's dependent ; he was never sold and the relationship between him and his chief was one of mutual help. Among the Lusheis, only chiefs could have *bawis ;* among the Lakhers, chiefs, nobles and any one who made captives in war could own slaves. The Lakher slave was the counterpart of the Lushei *sal*,[2] a captive made in war who was the personal property of his captor ; but even these *sal* seem to have been much better treated

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 46 *et seq.* and p. 216.
[2] *Cf.* Shakespear, *op cit.*, p. 50.—N. E. P.

than the *sei* (slaves) were treated by the Lakhers, whose behaviour to their slaves resembled that of the Chins rather than that of the Lusheis. Now that there are no longer any independent Lakher villages left, the position of the few *sei* who have chosen to remain with their chiefs is the same as that of the Lushei *bawi*, and slavery has ceased to exist among the Lakhers.

PART III

LAWS AND CUSTOMS

Tribal and Clan Organisation.

THE Lakhers consist of six groups : the Tlongsai, Hawthai, Zeuhnang, Sabeu, Lialai and Heima. The groups are further subdivided into clans. The highest clans are the royal clans ; after them come the noble or *phangsang* clans, and at the bottom the *machhi* or common people's clans. The Saiko branch of the Tlongsais are ruled by chiefs of the Hleuchhang clan, the Siaha Tlongsais by chiefs of the Khichha Hleuchhang clan. The Zeuhnang royal clan is the Bonghia, the Hawthai royal clan is the Nonghrang ; the Sabeu royal clan is the Changza, which clan also gives chiefs to the Lialai and the Heima groups.

Each group speaks a dialect of its own, but they can all understand each other. The dialects are less dissimilar than those of Aberdeen and Somerset, and all the groups recognise that they are Mărās or Lakhers.

When, with the growth of population, the land within reasonable reach of a village proves insufficient for its needs, the custom is for a chief to send off one of his sons or a brother to form a new village in some distant part of his lands. Owing to the security which exists under British rule, this process has gone much further in the old administered area than in the area which has only recently been taken over, as under British rule it is not necessary to concentrate in large villages for purposes of defence. Thus the Hleuchhang chiefs now rule over Amongbeu, Theiva, Longba, Tongkolong, Longmasu, Paitha, Longphia and Saizawh, as well as over the parent village Saiko ; the Khichha—Hleuchhang chiefs rule over Thiahra-Amongbeu, Tisongpi, Thiahra and Thangsai, as well as over Siaha the

parent village. All these Tlongsai villages use the same dialect, but the customs of the Siaha Tlongsais differ in certain small details from those followed by the Saiko Tlongsais. The Zeuhnangs, who till recently were unadministered, have not spread out in the same way. Formerly all the Zeuhnang villages were ruled over by the Savang chief, and the bulk of the people were concentrated in Savang, as they still are, as a matter of fact; but the Savang chief Taiveu has now given two villages, Laki and Laikei, to his second son, Hniachai, keeping for himself Savang, Khongpai and Chheihlu. All the Zeuhnang villages speak the Zeuhnang language and are governed by Zeuhnang custom, as is the small village of Vahia, ruled over by an old *chaprassi* called Deutha, of non-royal clan. The Sabeu villages in the Lushai Hills are Chapi, Chakhang and Mawhreu, and are ruled by Changza chiefs. There are several Sabeu villages in Haka, also ruled by Changzas, the most important Changza chiefs in Haka being Vasai of Khihlong, Sabeukhi, and Hlongma and Vahu of Ngiaphia. The Changzas are a very powerful clan. Their rule, although decidedly more despotic than that of the other ruling clans, seems to be on the whole just, as well as firm, with the result that their villages are the least litigious of all. The Sabeu villages all speak the Sabeu dialect and are governed by Sabeu custom.

The smallest of the Lakher groups in the Lushai Hills is the Hawthai, whose chief belongs to the Nonghrang clan. Only Tisi village is ruled by a Nonghrang chief; there are many Hawthais in Chholong, Nangotla and Longbong who talk the Hawthai dialect and follow Hawthai custom, but the chief is a Poi. Theiri is a Hawthai village under a Tlongsai chief. Muabu is also a Hawthai village, and the chief, Chiatheu, is a Hawthai of the Nongthlia clan, which is not a royal clan. In Haka there are two Hawthai villages, both called Longchei, ruled over by a Chhachhai chief. The Chhachhai is a royal clan. The Heima and Lialai groups, which are closely akin to the Sabeu, are found in the Chin Hills and Arakan, and are ruled by Changza chiefs.

Mistakes have been made in the past in the alienation of tribal lands. A large slice of Tlongsai land in the heart

LAKHER CHIEFS

THE CHAPI BAND

of the Lakher country at Tuipang was given to a Chin, a descendant through a concubine of Dokula, the greatest enemy of the Lakhers. This caused considerable resentment among the Lakhers, which still rankles. Another stretch of Tlongsai land was given to a nephew of Dokula's. Part of this has now been restored to its rightful owner, but a considerable area is still in alien hands. Other Tlongsai lands and some Zeuhnang lands were alienated to establish two villages called Kiasi and Vahia. The population of Kiasi, and also the chief, belong to the Siaha branch of the Tlongsais. The people of Vahia are all Zeuhnangs except the chief, who is a Siaha Tlongsai. Neither of these commoner chiefs commands the same respect as a chief of royal blood, and as a result neither village is well run. It is a mistake to appoint such men as chiefs, it is contrary to custom, and these mushroom chiefs, lacking the traditions of the chief by birth, and unaccustomed to rule, are unable to keep their subjects in order. I have noticed the same thing among the Lusheis, whose legitimate chiefs all belong to the Sailo clan. Sailo villages are infinitely better governed than those in which the chief is a commoner appointed by Government as a reward for services rendered. The gift of a village is an easy means of rewarding the deserving, but the appointment of commoner chiefs has never proved to be for the benefit of the people or conducive to good administration.

Clans.

A list of the principal Lakher clans is given in Appendix I. The clans have been arranged according to precedence: first, royal clans; secondly, patrician clans; thirdly, plebeian clans. Each clan is said to have taken the name of its earliest ancestor, though they originated so long ago that it is impossible to trace back to the founder. Most of the clans are found among all the different groups, though a few of the numerically weaker clans exist only in certain villages.

The story goes, that when first men came out of the hole

in the earth, all were equal, but in a short time the cleverer men became chiefs and nobles and ruled over the less intelligent and energetic, who became the lower orders, and are now known as *machhi*.

For all public purposes, whether of a civil or a religious nature, the tribal unit is the village rather than the clan. It is in connection with marriages, births, deaths and certain sacrifices of a private nature that the clan assumes importance. It is *ana* for any person belonging to another clan to take part in the *Khazangpina* and *Zangda* sacrifices ; if such an event occurred the sacrifice would be valueless. It is *ana* for any one of another clan to take part in *Parihrisang*, a sacrifice offered in cases of sickness, as, if such a person took part, he would be liable to become ill. It is not definitely *ana* for other clansmen to take part in any of the other sacrifices, but actually they never do so. A clansman in distress can count on help from his fellows, and in cases of unnatural death, which are greatly feared by the Lakhers, it is the dead man's clansmen who handle the corpse.

Before the Lakhers came under British rule, when a man was captured in war his clansmen all subscribed to ransom him. Nowadays one of the chief ways in which clansmen help each other is by contributing towards the payment of a marriage price. Presents of meat are often given after a successful shoot, and in case of illness help is readily extended. All such help between clansmen is voluntary, and if two persons are on bad terms they would not be expected to help each other.

There is no bar to marrying within the clan, and it is not *ana* to do so ; actually, however, marriages within the clan seem the less frequent, so that though Lakhers tell one that they can marry within or without the clan as they please, it seems probable that formerly an exogamous system was in vogue.

Chiefs and wealthy nobles prefer to take their wives from villages other than their own, as thereby they acquire influence in another village, and so indirectly improve their position in their own.

There is a sharp division in Lakher villages between the

nobles and the lower classes. Clans descended from men who were friends of chiefs in the old days are *phangsang* or patrician, and families belonging to these clans are more highly thought of, and are usually better off materially, than *machhi* or plebeian families. Noble birth is very highly esteemed, and the amount of a girl's marriage price theoretically depends on her clan, the rate for girls of noble birth being considerably higher than that for girls of baser lineage. Here a difficulty arises, as, although a man can never change his clan, his daughter's marriage price may be of a higher rate than his ordinary clan rate, if his wife, his mother, and grandmother have belonged to higher clans than his own. While all Lakhers know quite well whether their clan is *phangsang* or *machhi*, as the marriage price of a girl may be higher than her clan rate if her maternal ancestors for three generations have belonged to higher clans, the rate can only be decided after most careful confabulation by the village elders, and, as Lakhers are snobbishly inclined, this is not a matter that can be lightly disposed of. The great aim of every Lakher is to raise his status in society by marrying a girl from a higher clan than his own, as thereby he gains the protection of his wife's more powerful and influential relations. It is doubtless this competition for high-born brides that has led to the very high marriage prices in vogue.

There are only four clans which appear to have any sort of totemistic origin: the Bonghia, the Thleutha, the Hnaihleu and the Mihlong.[1]

The origin of the Bonghia and Thleutha clans of Savang is the same, both claiming descent from a python. The story is that many years ago there was a girl called Pithlong, who was employed as a priestess for performing sacrifices to the *Khisong*, the abode of evil spirits. As she held a priestly office, this girl had to remain a virgin. One night, however, a python came to the place where Pithlong was sleeping, and, assuming human form, had connection with her. In due course Pithlong gave birth to a son, Bonghia,

[1] With regard to the tiger, python and hornbill, *cf. The Sema Nagas*, pp. 128 *et seq.*—J. H. H.

who founded the Savang chief's family. After Bonghia's birth, Pithlong again had connection with the snake, and a second son, named Thleutha, was born. Thleutha also founded a clan. The Thleutha clan, though of noble birth, has never been a ruling house. Both the Bonghia and the Thleutha clans are snake clans. It is *ana* or forbidden for them to kill or even to touch a python, and they believe that if any member of their clans killed or even touched a python he would die. They regard the python, or Paripi, as they call it, as a good spirit, and as the special protector of all members of the Bonghia and Thleutha clans.[1]

The Hnaihleu clan of Saiko is a tiger clan ; all members of it show special reverence to tigers, and it is *ana* for them to do any injury to a tiger. The story of the origin of the clan is as follows.

The founder of the tiger clan was a man called Hnaihleu, whose name the clan still bears. This Hnaihleu was a great friend of a tiger called Nangtha. Nangtha used to warn his friend whenever tigers were going to kill the village cattle, and consequently Hnaihleu always managed to save his animals. In gratitude for the benefits conferred on him by the tiger Nangtha, Hnaihleu laid down that none of his descendants must ever kill a tiger, ever look at a tiger that had been killed, or ever take part in the *Ia* feast, which is performed when a man has killed a tiger. These prohibitions are observed to this day by all members of the Hnaihleu clan, and it is *ana* for them to break them. In addition to this, the Hnaihleu clan periodically perform a sacrifice to the tiger, which is called *Nangtha Hawkhei*.[2]

This sacrifice is curious, as the sacred *anahmang* vessels which are reserved for *Khazangpina* are brought out and used for it. As these vessels are regarded as extremely sacred, their use in this sacrifice indicates the degree of veneration felt by the Hnaihleu clan for the tiger, whom they treat as being practically on a level with *Khazangpa*.

[1] The Manipuri Royal House is said to be descended from a snake. *Cf. The Meitheis*, by T. C. Hodson, pp. 5, 100 and 101 ; also William Shaw, *The Thadou Kukis*, pp. 47, 48.—N. E. P.

[2] Annamites also sacrifice to the tiger. *Cf.* E. Langlet, *Le Peuple Annamite*, p. 76.—N. E. P.

The sacrifice is performed on the road outside the village. A space is fenced in on the road, and the *anahmang* belonging to the man selected to perform the sacrifice are placed between this fence and the village. The clan select one of their number who is ceremonially pure to perform the sacrifice, and he kills the pig near the *anahmang*. Each household provides two cakes of flour, which are brought to the place of sacrifice in baskets. One cake is to be given to the tiger, and one is to be eaten by the people who made it. The pig is cooked, its *phavaw* and head being cooked separately, and the *phavaw* are placed on the *anahmang*, as at *Khazangpina*. The pork is eaten on the spot, and one or two pots of *sahma* are drunk. The pig's head can be eaten only by members of the Hnaihleu clan; the rest of the meat may be eaten by any one. In the evening the cakes and a little meat are placed on plaintain leaves outside the fence for the tiger to eat. Next morning the cakes are examined, and if the tiger has accepted the offering and eaten any of the cakes and meat, it is thought to be very lucky. If, however, there are tiger tracks round the spot and the cakes and meat have been left untouched, it portends ill luck. The clan are *pana* from the time of the sacrifice till dawn next day. Sometimes when tigers have been making a serious nuisance of themselves, and damaging the cattle, the whole village agrees to assist the Hnaihleu clan in performing the sacrifice. Even then the actual sacrifice must be performed by a Hnaihleu, no one belonging to another clan being qualified to act as sacrificer.

As the Hnaihleus have a great reverence for the tiger, any one taking a tiger's head into a Hnaihleu's house is fined a pig of five fists.[1] Some six years ago the *Nangtha Hawkei* sacrifice was performed by Hlitha on behalf of the Hnaihleu clan; when they examined the flour cakes and meat next morning they found that some of them had been eaten by a tiger. Having inspected the sacrifice, Hlitha had to observe the rest of the day as an *aoh* and to remain in his house. About 3 p.m. on that day Vanhnuna, the son of a Lushei *chaprassi*, saw a tiger on the slope below Hlitha's house; he

[1] See explanation of measurements by fists at p. 198.—N. E. P.

called his father Bawktea, who came with his gun and fired at the tiger, but missed. Bawktea was certain he had fired at a tiger, but neither tiger's tracks nor any blood could be found. Hlitha, on being told what had happened, said that the tiger must have been Nangtha, who was watching him to see if he was observing the *aoh* properly. The Fanais also do not kill tigers, as an ancestor of that tribe was once helped by a tiger, who showed him the way home when he had lost his way.[1]

The Mihlong clan claim to be descended from the great Indian hornbill. No member of this clan may kill a hornbill, and they say that if they ate hornbill's meat it would be equivalent to eating their father and mother. The Mihlong do not, however, offer any sacrifice to the hornbill. The Wozukamr clan of the Ao Nagas is another hornbill clan, and hornbill meat is forbidden to members of this clan in the same way as it is to the Mihlong.[2]

I give below the pedigrees of the chiefs. These are of interest as illustrating the process by which new villages have been split off from the parent stock. None of the pedigrees goes back beyond nine generations. To show how highly the Lakhers esteem legitimate birth, I may mention that on my first visit to Savang after it had been taken over, Itong, a descendant of Bonghia in the junior branch, laid claim to the chiefship on the ground that Taiveu, the *de facto* chief, who also claimed to be *de jure* chief, was Keinang's son by a concubine. Possibly a legitimist would have accepted Itong's claim, but as Taiveu had been accepted as chief and had established himself firmly while the village was still independent, nothing could be done. The pedigree of the Saiko chiefs illustrates very clearly how rapidly the large villages split up into smaller communities under British rule. None of the villages to-day is very small, but they are much smaller than they used to be. The Saiko branch of the Tlongsais all remained under one chief for a long time. The British first appeared in the hills when Theulai was chief of Saiko. Theulai was between

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 139.—N. E. P.
[2] *Cf.* J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 145.—N. E. P.

100 and 120 years old when he died, and must have been about seventy when some of the Lakher villages were first taken over. Since that time five villages have been split off from Saiko, and are now ruled over by the nephew and the sons of Theulai. The Changza pedigree shows the close connection between the chiefs of Chapi and Chakhang and their relations, the Haka chiefs of Khihlong and Ngiaphia. Daughters have been omitted from all the pedigrees for reasons of space.

Captain Tickell,[1] writing in 1852, gives a list of chiefs and villages out of which only Savang, which is shown as Yanglyng, and its chief as Khenoung, can be identified with certainty.

Relationship.

The Lakher system of relationship is classificatory. The language is not rich in terms of relationship, the same terms being made to do duty for many different relationships. In the table below I have followed *mutatis mutandis* the list given by Mr. Mills, at p. 164 of *The Ao Nagas*. Strict etiquette is observed in the mode of address. Neither men nor women of the same generation as the speaker's parents are ever addressed by name—such persons, if relations, are addressed by the term given in the table below ; if they are not related to the speaker, and are of the same generation as the speaker's grandparents, they would be addressed by courtesy as *Imapaw* (my grandfather) or *Imanong* (my grandmother). Persons of the same generation as the speaker's parents who are unrelated to the speaker are addressed in a very roundabout fashion as " My father the father of So-and-so," *e.g. Ipa Zahia paw* (My father the father of Zahia) or *Ina Zahia nong* (My mother the mother of Zahia). It would be impolite to address persons of the same standing as the speaker's father or mother by name or merely by the name of their eldest child, it would be too intimate when they are not related to the speaker to give the simple titles, *Ipa*, *Ina* (my father, my mother), so a combination

[1] S. R. Tickell, " Notes on the Heuma or Shendoos," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. III, 1852.—N. E. P.

of the two forms of address is used. All relations on the father's side, in fact all clansmen of the same generation as the speaker's father, are addressed as *Ipa*, or, if women, as *Ina*. On the mother's side, only the speaker's mother's sisters and their husbands are addressed as *Ina* and *Ipa*, all other persons of the mother's generation being addressed as, "My father the father of So-and-so," and "My mother the mother of So-and-so." It is not *ana* to call persons of an older generation by name, but it is not respectful, and it is never done. Young men generally call each other by name; or, if they are on specially friendly terms, they call each other *Inaw* (my brother) or *viasa* or *kadua* (my friend). Unmarried girls call each other by their names, or, if they are on friendly terms, they address each other as *viasa* (my friend) or, *Inaw* (my sister). Teknonymy is commonly practised by the Lakhers, as also by the Lusheis. Married men and women address each other by the name of their eldest child, whether boy or girl, *e.g. Zahia paw* (Zahia's father), *Zahia nong* (Zahia's mother). Elderly people without children, if their sisters have children, are called after their eldest nephew or niece, *e.g. Zahia pupa* (Zahia's maternal uncle).

Unmarried people and people who have no children are often called by short names by persons related to them or with whom they are on affectionate terms. Thus Sarang might be called Irang, which means "my Rang," or Rang Rang. Rachi might be called Ira or Ichi or Chichi; actually I have known Chichi used. Ngongkong might be called Ingong or Ikong or Kong Kong. Hnichang could be Ihni or Ichang or Changchang; the Laki chief with that name is called Changchang. Iakhai, chief of Longba, is generally called Khaikhai; he might be called Ikhai. Konglang of Savang is usually called Langlang, but Ikong or Ilang might also be used. Siatu of Amongbeu, before he had children, was called either Itu or Tutu. Zahia of Paitha is usually called Ihia. These abbreviations denoting affection can be used to people older than the speaker, as well as to people of the same age as or younger than the speaker. The only exception to this is that a commoner younger than a chief

would always address him as *papu*, and never by his short name, even though they were intimate. Commoners of the same standing as the chief or older than him, if on intimate terms, would use the short name.

Formal friends, the *kei macha* and *kei hawti*, call each other either *kadua* (my friend) or *Inaw* (my brother), or, if they have children, as "So-and-so's father." Relations, if of the same generation, can always address each other as "So-and-so's father, or So-and-so's mother," or by the term of relationship as they like.

In addressing a chief, the term *papu*, meaning maternal uncle, is used, this being the most honourable form of address in the language.

In addressing a stranger whose name he does not know, a Lakher says "*Khichhaipa*" (O stranger).

Again, if two or three people are in the jungle or near a *Khisong* or abode of evil spirits, they do not call each other by their names, lest the evil spirits, realising that a man is in the neighbourhood, should seize the spirit of the man whose name has been mentioned. To avoid this danger, therefore, if they have to call one of the members of their party, they merely say, *Eu heinaw*, which means "my friend."

It is not considered good form to ask a person his name, and a man's name should be ascertained by asking some one else. If it is necessary to ask a person what his name is, you should also ask the name of his clan. Lakhers do not like to tell their names to any one younger than themselves or belonging to a lower clan, but they have no objection to telling them to older people or to any one belonging to a higher clan. It is not correct to ask a man the name of his wife, and Lakhers are always reluctant to reply to this question.

Lakhers avoid mentioning the names of dead persons as far as possible, but if it is necessary to refer to a dead person by name there is no definite prohibition on doing so. The idea is that the mention of a dead person's name causes pain to the deceased's relatives, and so should be avoided if possible.

Terms of Relationship used in address.

M.S. = Man speaking.
W.S. = Woman speaking.

Father's father	*Imapaw* or *Papa*. Never by name.
Mother's father	*Imapaw* or *Papa*. Never by name.
Father's mother	*Imanong* or *Mami*. Never by name.
Mother's mother	*Imanong* or *Mami*. Never by name.
Father	*Ipa*. Never by name.
Mother	*Ina*. Never by name.
Father's elder brother	*Ipa*. Never by name.
Father's younger brother	*Ipa*. Never by name.
Father's brother's wife	*Ina*. Never by name.
Father's sister	*Nanang* or *Inangnong* or *Nangnang*. Never by name.
Father's sister's husband	*Iparapa*. Never by name.
Mother's brother	*Papu*. Never by name.
Mother's brother's wife	*Papi* or *Ipinong*. Never by name.
Mother's elder sister	*Ina*. Never by name.
Mother's younger sister	*Ina*. Never by name.
Mother's sister's husband	*Ipa*. Never by name.
Wife's father	*Papu* or *Ipupa*. Never by name.
Wife's mother	*Papi* or *Ipinong*. Never by name.
Wife's father's father	*Imapaw*. Never by name.
Wife's mother's mother	*Imanong*. Never by name.
Husband's father	*Iparapa*. Never by name.
Husband's mother	*Nanang* or *Inangnong* or *Nangnang*. Never by name.
Husband's father's father	*Imapaw*. Never by name.
Husband's mother's mother	*Imanong*. Never by name.
Elder brother (M.S.)	*Au*. Occasionally by name.
Younger brother (M.S.)	*Idi*, or by name.
Elder brother (W.S.)	*Au*. Rarely by name.
Younger brother (W.S.)	*Idi*. Occasionally by name.
Elder sister (M.S.)	*Au*. Rarely by name.
Younger sister (M.S.)	*Idi*, or by name.
Elder sister (W.S.)	*Au*, or *Ifi* among the Sabeus. Rarely by name.
Younger sister (W.S.)	*Idi*, or *Ifi* among the Sabeus, or by name.
Father's brother's son	*Au* if older, and *Idi* if younger than speaker, or by name.
Father's brother's daughter	,, ,, ,, ,,
Father's sister's son	,, ,, ,, ,,
Father's sister's daughter	,, ,, ,, ,,
Mother's sister's son	*Au* if older, and *Idi* if younger than speaker.
Mother's brother's son	*Papu* or, very rarely, *Au* if older than the speaker, or *Idi* if younger than the speaker.
Mother's brother's daughter	*Au* if older, and *Idi* if younger than speaker.
Husband	By name always.
Wife	,, ,,
Wife's brother	*Papu*, if younger than speaker by name.
Wife's elder sister	If of same age as speaker, by name; if older than speaker, *Au*.
Wife's younger sister	*Idi*, or by name.
Husband's elder brother	*Au*. Never by name.
Husband's younger brother	*Idi*, or by name.

Husband's elder sister . .	*Au.* Never by name unless of same age as speaker.
Husband's younger sister .	*Au.* If older than speaker. *Idi*, if younger than speaker, or by name.
Wife's elder sister's husband	*Au*, or by name, or, if he has a child, as "So-and-so's father."
Wife's younger sister's husband	By name, or as "So-and-so's father."
Husband's elder brother's wife	*Au.* Never by name; but child's name may be used.
Husband's younger brother's wife	*Au*; if older than speaker. *Idi*, if younger, or by name.
Wife's brother's wife. . .	*Papi* if her husband is older than speaker; if her husband is younger than speaker, by name.
Husband's sister's husband .	*Au* if older than speaker; if younger than speaker, by name; or as "father of So-and-so" if he has a child.
Elder sister's husband (M.S.)	*Au* if older than speaker; if younger than speaker, by name.
Younger sister's husband (M.S.).	By name.
Elder sister's husband (W.S.)	*Au.* Never by name.
Younger sister's husband (W.S.)	By name.
Elder brother's wife (M.S.) .	*Au*, or, if she has a child by eldest child's name, as "mother of So-and-so."
Younger brother's wife (M.S.)	*Idi*, or, if she has a child, by eldest child's name, as "mother of So-and-so."
Elder brother's wife (W.S.) .	*Au*, or, if she has a child, by eldest child's name, as "mother of So-and-so." Never by name.
Younger brother's wife (W.S.)	*Au*; if older than speaker, if of same age, by name; if younger, *Idi* or by name.
Son's wife's parents (M.S.) (W.S.).	By their eldest child's name, or by name.
Daughter's husband's parents (M.S.) (W.S.).	By their eldest child's name, or by name.
Son	*Isaw*, or by name.
Daughter	*Isaw*, or by name, or, among the Sabeus, *Ifi*.
Elder brother's son (M.S.) .	*Isaw*, or by name.
Elder brother's daughter (M.S.)	,, ,,
Younger brother's son (M.S.)	,, ,,
Younger brother's daughter (M.S.)	,, ,,
Elder sister's son (M.S.) . .	*Itupa*, or by name.
Elder sister's daughter (M.S.)	*Itunong*, or by name.
Younger sister's son (M.S.)	*Itupa*, or by name.
Younger sister's daughter (M.S.).	*Itunong*, or by name.
Elder brother's son (W.S.) .	*Iri*, or very occasionally by name.
Elder brother's daughter (W.S.)	By name.
Younger brother's son (W.S.)	*Iri*, or by name.
Younger brother's daughter (W.S.).	By name.
Elder sister's son (W.S.) .	*Isaw*, or by name.
Elder sister's daughter (W.S.)	,, ,,
Younger sister's son (W.S.)	,, ,,

Younger sister's daughter (W.S.).	*Isaw*, or by name.
Wife's brother's son	By name.
Wife's brother's daughter	,,
Wife's sister's son	,,
Wife's sister's daughter	,,
Husband's brother's son	*Isaw*, or by name.
Husband's brother's daughter	,, ,,
Husband's sister's son	By name.
Husband's sister's daughter	,,
Daughter's husband	,,
Son's wife	*Isaw*, or by name.
Son's son	,, ,,
Son's daughter	,, ,,
Daughter's son	,, ,,
Daughter's daughter	,, ,,

Descriptive terms for Relationship.

Grandfather (paternal and maternal)	*Mapaw.*
Grandmother (paternal and maternal)	*Manong.*
Father	*Paw.*
Mother	*Nong.*
Father's elder brother	No term; they would say, "*Ipa Zahia paw*"—that is, "My father, the father of Zahia," referring to him by his eldest child's name.
Father's younger brother	Same way as father's elder brother.
Mother's elder sister	Same way as father's elder brother —*i.e. Ina Zahianong.*
Mother's younger sister	,, ,, ,,
Elder brother (M.S.)	*Uta.*
Elder brother (W.S.)	,,
Younger brother (M.S.)	*Nawta.*
Younger brother (W.S.)	,,
Brother (W.S.)	*Rilapa.*
Elder sister (M.S.)	*Uta.*
Younger sister (M.S.)	*Nawta.*
Elder sister (W.S.)	*Uta.*
Younger sister (W.S.)	*Nawta.*
Sister (M.S.)	*Sitanong.*
Sister (W.S.)	*Naronong.*
Mother's sister's son	By name (no relation).
Mother's sister's daughter	,, ,,
Husband	*Vapa.*
Wife	*Lapinong.*
Husband's elder brother	Usually by child's name, sometimes as *Uta.*
Husband's younger brother	Usually by child's name, sometimes as *Nawta.*
Husband's elder sister	By child's name.
Husband's younger sister	By child's name, or, if no child, by name.
Wife's brother	By child's name.
Wife's sister's husband	By name.
Elder or younger sister's husband (M.S.)	*Piapa.*

Elder or younger sister's husband (W.S.)	By child's name, or by name.
Elder brother's wife (M.S.)	*Uta.*
Younger brother's wife (M.S.)	*Nawta.*
Elder brother's wife (W.S.)	*Meunong*, or *Uta*, combined with her child's name.
Younger brother's wife (W.S.)	*Meunong*, or *Nawta*, combined with her child's name.
Son's wife's parents	By their child's name.
Daughter's husband's parents	,, ,, ,,
Daughter's husband	By name.
Son	,,
Son's wife	*Meunong*, or by name.
Child	*Saw*, or by name.
Grandson	*Samangpa.*
Granddaughter	*Samangnong.*
Father's sister's husband	*Parapa.*
Great grandson	*Salapa.*
Great granddaughter	*Salanong.*
Great great grandson	*Sachipa.*
Great great granddaughter	*Sachinong.*
Brethren	*Unaw.*
Elder or younger sister's son (M.S.)	*Tupapa* or *Chhongchhipa.*
Elder or younger sister's daughter (M.S.)	*Tunongnong* or *Chhongchhipa.*
Sister's children	*Ngazua.*
Maternal uncles or cousins	*Patong.*

While descriptive terms exist for grandchildren and great grandchildren, in the elder generation there are no terms for ancestors further back than grandfathers and grandmothers, great grandfathers and their ancestors being all referred to as grandfathers. The grandfather and grandmother are treated with the highest respect, whether on the father's or on the mother's side, and with greater deference than any other relations.

It is very difficult to say whether *papu* and *papi*, the maternal uncle and his wife, or a person's parents come next in order of respect; some people give preference to the maternal uncle and some to the parents. Looked at from certain points of view, the maternal uncle has a position of superiority; looked at from others, the parents are more important. On the whole I think that pride of place must be conceded to the parents.

After the maternal uncle and his wife come the wife's father and mother, also called *papu* and *papi*, and then *nanang* and *parapa*, the father's sister and her husband. A man must always be polite to these elder relations, and

failure to behave properly to *papu* and *papi*, the maternal uncle and his wife, would certainly involve the person who forgot his manners in the payment of a *hmiatla* (atonement price).

The most striking feature of Lakher relationship is the very close connection between the maternal uncle (*pupa*) and his nieces (*tunongnong*) and nephews (*tupapa*). The maternal uncle is regarded as very nearly as closely related to a person as his parents, and is treated with deep respect and veneration, and has definite rights and privileges. When a girl marries, her *puma* is payable to her maternal uncle, and the *puma* is often larger than a father's share in his daughter's price, as he has to divide up his share with his sons, the bride's brothers. When a man dies his death due (*ru*) is payable to his maternal uncle, who is also entitled to a share in any wild animals shot by his nephews. The maternal uncle in his turn has to give shares of any animals he shoots to his nieces, and if he has no nieces, he is expected to give shares of meat occasionally to his nephews. This is called *ngazuasaphei*. He is also bound to help his nephews and nieces if they are in distress, and it is to him that they turn for help even more than to their parents, and vice versa. At a funeral it is the *pupa*, the maternal uncle, or his son who plays the leading part, calls out the names of deceased's ancestors, makes cuts on the beams to frighten the *Chhongchhongpipa*, leads the dance at the wake, and finally sees that the grave is properly dug and lays the body in it, having first sacrificed a pig as *riha* to go with his deceased nephew to the land of the dead. As further illustrating the close relationship between a maternal uncle and his nephew, it is *ana* for a maternal uncle to curse or insult his nephew, in the same way as it is *ana* for a father to curse or insult his son. Insults and quarrels between a *pupa* and his *tupapa* must be atoned for by sacrifice, or terrible misfortunes would occur. It is absolutely prohibited for a nephew to marry his deceased *pupa's* widow, and it is believed that if such a marriage took place there would either be no children or, if there were children, they would be cretinous, halt, blind, or mad.

The highest term of respect in use among Lakhers is *papu* (my maternal uncle), not *ipa* (my father); a villager addressing the chief always calls him *papu*. Among Lusheis the same deep respect for the maternal uncle is also found. The Lushei term of respect applied to the chief is *kapu*, the equivalent of the Lakher *papu*. A Lushei failing to pay the requisite dues to his maternal uncle or *pu* is liable to a fine, called *pubanman*. Lakhers cannot claim a fine on this account, but a chief would always enforce a maternal uncle's claims to his dues. Lusheis have frequently told me that a *pu* is often of much greater assistance to his nephews and nieces than their parents. Among the Lakhers, therefore, and also among the Lusheis, the maternal uncle is nearly on a level with the parents.

The Village.

The village community consists of three estates: the chief (*abei*), the patricians (*phangsang*), the plebeians (*machhi*). The people as a whole are known as *tlapi*, which includes the chief, the patricians, the plebeians, the village elders and other village officials—in fact the whole people. Within the *phangsang* is yet another class, which forms a sort of upper aristocracy, the members of which are known as *kuei*, These *kuei* consist of the descendants of people whom some former chief excused from the payment of the rice due, known as *sabai*, and the meat due (*sahaw*), in consideration of their having subscribed to pay an indemnity on the occasion of a defeat in war by another village or of their having helped the chief to entertain visiting chiefs. When a chief from another village pays a visit to a brother chief he has to be received with great ceremony, and is always given handsome presents by his host. If the host is unable to provide these presents from his own resources, he calls on his leading villagers to help him, and they subscribe gongs, necklaces, or other articles for presentation. In consideration of the help given to the chief in this way, those who subscribed presents for a royal guest were made *kuei*, and exempted from *sabai* and *sahaw*. The privilege

of *kuei* is hereditary, and descends to the eldest son of the person on whom it was conferred, and so on for ever. Once in every generation each *kuei* must help the chief in some way, even if it is only by giving him a pig. The *kuei* are exempted from *rapaw* in Chapi, but not in Savang. In Savang when a *kuei* shoots a wild animal he pays a much lower due than an ordinary person.

Nowadays, a chief sometimes makes an elder who has served him well a *kuei* as a reward for his services. The elder, in return for the honour conferred on him, has to give the chief a pig.

The *machas* or elders are men selected by the chief to assist him in ruling the village. Usually they belong to noble clans, but if there are any specially able plebeians available, chiefs often appoint them as elders in preference to less intelligent nobles. The elders receive a share in the meat due, called *vopia*, which is paid by the loser whenever a case is decided, and a certain number of them are given exemption from coolie work by Government in consideration of the work they do in the village.

In addition to the *machas*, there are some other officials who deserve notice. There is the *tlaawpa*, the village crier, who goes round the village every evening giving out the chief's orders for the next day, and is remunerated by being exempted from coolie labour; the *seudaipa*, the blacksmith, who repairs the tools and fashions new ones; and the *khireipa*, the village writer, who writes all letters for the chief and acts as his clerk and man of all work; both of these receive certain dues from the villagers and are exempted from coolie labour by Government.

The Lakhers have no such thing as village priests, each householder performing his own sacrifices, but for the *Tleulia* sacrifice a special priest is appointed by the chief and villagers from among the families that have been in the village for several generations. This priest is known as the *tleuliabopa*. In most of the villages the post of *tleuliabopa* is held for life, and the *tleuliabopa* is very often succeeded by his son, though in case of misconduct the chief and villagers can dismiss the holder of the post and replace him. In Chapi

and Savang no permanent *tleuliabopa* is appointed, the sacrifice being performed by any man who is ceremonially pure. In all the villages except Chapi the *tleuliabopa* is entitled to a yearly due, known as *zidei*, which consists of a basket of paddy.

Another functionary is the *cheusapathaipa*. The literal meaning of *cheusapathaipa* is " the pure man," and the term is applied to the person who acts as cook when the chief performs the *Khazangpina* sacrifice. Usually the man selected is a close relation of the chief, and it is essential that he should belong to a noble clan. A *cheusapathaipa* must be of absolutely pure descent on both sides, and no one descended from a slave, or whose mother or grandmother was a concubine, or any of whose ancestors was a bastard can hold this office. A murderer cannot be a *cheusapathaipa*. In Savang only members of the Bonghia clan can act as *cheusapathaipa* to the chief.

Unlike the Lusheis and most of the Assam hill tribes, the Lakhers have no bachelor's house. Bachelors do not sleep in their parents' houses, nor even, as among the Paithes, in the verandah of the chief's house, but in the house of the girl they happen to prefer at the moment. A bachelor is known as a *satlia*, and an unmarried girl as a *laisa*. A boy reaches the status of a *satlia* when his hair becomes long enough to tie up in a knot over his forehead, and as soon as he attains this status he is no longer allowed to sleep in his parents' house, but is sent off to join the young men in some house where there are unmarried girls. This arrangement is not conducive to morality, and has the further disadvantage that the boys lose the disciplinary training of the bachelor's house. Two or three young men generally sleep in one girl's house, and the girl in whose house they sleep must provide them with nicotine-water. The girl usually sleeps near her parents, who occupy the bed with the younger children, or else in a place by herself; before retiring, she indicates the spot near the hearth in the inner room where her swains are to sleep by placing a log of wood for them to use as a pillow. The young men take the blanket from the youngest of their number and lay it by the pillow as a rug

to lie on, and all of them snuggle together under the other blankets as close together as they can, so as to keep warm.

If a youth makes advances to the girl in whose house he is sleeping, and she accepts them, and they have intercourse, no one can raise any objection, and the girl cannot afterwards claim any fine from her admirer, love affairs between unmarried boys and girls being the custom among the Lakhers, and constituting no offence. If, however, a youth sleeps with a girl on her parents' bed during their absence, and is caught, he is fined a pig and a fowl to the parents, and a pig and *sahma* as *vopia* to the chief and elders. The pig and the fowl paid to the parents are sacrificed in order to purify the bed. In Tisi a much heavier fine is imposed—namely, a gong of seven spans to the girl's parents, a *vopia* to the chief and elders, and a dog and a fowl to the parents, which they must sacrifice to purify the bed. The fine varies slightly in different villages.

In Chapi there is a custom that if only one youth is sleeping in a girl's house he is entitled to sleep with the girl under her blanket, the idea being that if there are no other young men sleeping near him he will feel cold. The theory is that the girl's kind heart does not lead to any undue intimacy with her bedfellow, who merely meets with ordinary politeness, but the Chapi people are not prepared to assert that in actual practice purely platonic relations are maintained. If two or three youths are sleeping in a girl's house at the same time none of them is entitled to sleep under her blanket. The absence of a bachelor's house thus makes it very easy for the young men to obtain favours from the girls.

The Chief.

The chief or *bei* is the head of the village ; he is the leader in war, the owner of the village lands, the protector and father of his people. Though in theory possibly the chief is a despot, and though chiefs can and on occasions doubtless do commit tyrannical acts, the basic relationship between a Lakher chief and his people is one of mutual benefit and mutual help. The chief must protect his people, let them

TAIVEU CHIEF OF SAVANG

use his lands to cultivate, and help them in time of famine or other distress, and in return the people must pay him certain dues, render him certain services, and come to his aid when called upon by him for assistance. The relationship is similar to that existing between a Lushei Sailo chief and his villagers, though among the Lakhers the principle of mutual help is less obvious than among the Lusheis. Sailo chiefs being all related to each other more or less distantly, not only is there mutual help between chief and people, but if one Sailo village is burnt down or suffers a failure of crops, the chief of the village affected calls upon his brother chiefs and their villagers to assist his villagers in their misfortune, and help is rendered instantly, and as a matter of course. The Lakhers have no single royal clan like the Sailo, each tribe has its own royal clan, but within the village the same principle of mutual help between chief and people prevails. So far as is possible, the chiefs have been left in exactly the same position as they were before the Lakhers came under British rule, and every effort is made to support their authority and to prevent the people from going to officials over the head of the chief. The chiefs therefore decide all cases except those of a very serious nature, such as murder or rape. The chief represents the village in all dealings with the Government, and all dealings with the villagers should as far as possible be carried on through the chief, who nowadays has a dual function, in that, in addition to being the native chief and father and spokesman for his people, he has also become the village representative of Government. This development in the chief's position, inevitable though it is under a settled rule, brings with it the danger that the chief may become a mere mouthpiece of Government, and degenerate into a functionary useless alike to the people and to the Government he is supposed to serve, like the *gaonbura* in the Assam Valley. It is necessary, therefore, to exercise extreme care to avoid treating the chief as a Government functionary. The chief's power and privileges come from his birth, they do not come from Government, and misguided attempts to use the chief as a purely Government functionary will end in disaster to

a most excellent system of rule. As I have remarked before, the commoner chiefs who have been given certain villages in the hills by Government never command the same respect as a hereditary chief, as in their case the essentials of the relationship between chief and people is lacking. Chiefs therefore should be treated with the respect due to their position, and if this is done they both can and do give invaluable advice and assistance.

Chiefs have full power of control over their villagers—they can punish them by fines; and, in the last resort, if a villager refuses to obey the chief's orders, the chief can refuse to allow the offender to cultivate his lands any longer, and can turn him out of the village.

Every chief now holds a boundary paper from Government vesting his lands in him, and on the death of a chief his name is removed from this paper and his successor's name entered instead. The Lakher chiefship is hereditary, and both inheritance and succession are by primogeniture, the eldest legitimate son succeeding. Lakhers are monogamous to the extent that they have only one legitimate wife (*nonghrang*), and although a good many men have one or more concubines (*nongthang*) in addition, it is more usual for men to have only one wife. A chief usually has one or more concubines, but as a concubine is definitely of a much lower status than a wife, a concubine's child, which is known as *nongthangsaw*, can inherit only if a chief has no legitimate heirs, *i.e.* sons, brothers, or nephews, and in such a case a chief would select the *nongthangsaw* he preferred to succeed him, as among the sons of concubines primogeniture is not followed. Bastards who are the result of a casual amour with a woman not even recognised as a concubine are known as *riasaw*. A *riasaw* can never succeed as chief.

Formerly in rare instances nobles held fiefs within a chief's lands, which they treated as their own, and which descended to their eldest son. It was only under weak chiefs that nobles were able to seize lands for themselves, and even so, none of them succeeded in establishing a village. The owner of a fief collected *rapaw* from the villagers cultivating his lands, and in his turn had to pay *sabai* to the chief, while

if he cultivated any land outside his own fief he had to pay the chief both *rapaw* and *sabai*. Fiefs were sold on occasion, and given as part of a marriage price. Khihu of Laki owned a fief under the Savang chief between Savang and Chapi. Mahneu of Chapi owned a fief under the Chapi chief between the Tichang and Raphu rivers. Hneutu of Saiko formerly had a fief between Saiko and the Kolodyne. Laidang of Sabeukhi owned a fief at Hloma. None of these fiefs now exists, the last of them were wiped out when the unadministered country was taken over in 1924. It would have been most unwise to have recognised them, as there was bound to be perpetual friction between the chief and the owner of a fief.

Dues and Subscriptions.

All villagers are bound to perform certain services for the chief and to pay him certain dues. In addition to those dues and services which must be rendered to the chief personally, subscriptions are levied on the authority of the chief and elders for village purposes of a public nature, and work also has to be performed by each able-bodied member of the village for the benefit of the whole community. The unit in the village is the household, and not the individual, so the rice due is levied on each household, though for services involving manual labour all able-bodied individuals generally turn out and take their part.

Dues and Services to be Rendered to the Chief Personally.

The chief's house, with a long verandah called *aitla*, and a yard fence called *piali*, has to be built and kept in repair by the villagers. While the work is in progress the chief supplies the workers with beer, and generally gives them a feast when it is finished. The Chapi villagers, in addition to building the chief's house, help the junior Changza chief when he builds, and each man also gives the Chhachhai chief one day's labour to help him when he is house-building.

When the chief or a member of his family travels, some of the villagers have to accompany him and carry his loads

free. When the chief or a member of his family dies, the villagers have to dig his grave, erect his gravestone, which is called *longphei*, and also have to sacrifice a pig as *riha* to accompany the dead chief to the next world.

Except in Chapi, chiefs are not entitled to call upon their villagers to work in their fields. In Chapi the villagers give one day's work each year to cut the chief's *jhum* and another day's work each to weed it. If the Chapi chief buys rice in another village, his villagers carry it in for him. More is done for the chief in Chapi than in any other village. The Lakher chiefs all have *jhums*, which they work themselves, unlike the Sailo chiefs, who, with very rare exceptions, do no manual labour of any sort. These services to the chief are rendered cheerfully, and are never questioned, as they are the immemorial custom, and due to the chief as the father and protector of the villagers.

The chief has special rights over bees' nests, which are known as *kheiang*. Bees' nests found on a chief's land are the property of the chief, and no one may take honey or wax without the chief's permission. The chief receives the honey and wax taken by his villagers and gives the people who took the nest a small share as remuneration. If any one takes honey or wax without the chief's permission he is fined according to the amount he took.

The most valuable dues received by the chief are the rice dues, known as *sabai* and *rapaw*. In the old days *sabai* was paid only to the chief, nowadays two village officials—the village writer and the blacksmith—also are given *sabai*, the reason being that as no one would accept these posts on an honorary basis, the villagers had to offer *sabai* to induce people to fill them, and even now the posts are not popular.

In most of the villages *sabai* is the only rice due payable, but in the Chapi and Savang groups there is another due, called *rapaw*. *Sabai* is the due payable to the chief in recognition of his chiefship, and is usually one *tlabai* or basket of paddy. *Rapaw* is the price payable to the chief for the privilege of cutting *jhums* in his land. *Sabai* is payable to the chief in whose lands the field for which it is being paid is situated. It must be paid in paddy if the payer

has any ; if his crops have failed or the person to whom the due is payable agrees to accept cash or a fowl in lieu, cash or a fowl can be paid instead. If a man has fields in the lands of two chiefs he must pay *sabai* to each of them, but *sabai* is not payable for a mere plot of vegetables. The paddy for *sabai* is given to the chief at his house as a rule, though in some villages he has to collect it from each house in the village. In Savang and Chapi the chiefs build granaries in their fields, in which the villagers deposit the paddy paid as *rapaw*, the paddy for *sabai* being collected by the chief from each house.

If a man migrates without paying *sabai* he is fined 1 rupee, the fine being the same in all the villages. In Chapi if a man migrates without paying *rapaw* he is fined a gong of seven spans.

In Savang if *rapaw* is not paid the fine is 1 rupee for each *bai* of paddy due.

The following list shows the rates of *sabai* payable by each house in the village, and the persons to whom it is paid village by village. The dues are always measured by the *tlabai* or *bai*, the size of which has been permanently fixed in each village by the chief and elders.

Saiko.

To the chief, three *bais* of paddy, or, if not paid, 1 rupee.
To the village writer, one *bai* of paddy, or, if not paid, a fowl.
To the blacksmith, one *bai* of paddy or a fowl from each householder whose tools he repairs.
To the *tleuliabopa*, one *bai* of paddy or a fowl.

Siaha.

To the chief, three *bais* of paddy or 1 rupee.
To the village writer, one *bai* of paddy or a fowl.
To the blacksmith, one *bai* of paddy or a fowl from each householder whose tools he repairs.
To the *tleuliabopa* one *bai* of paddy or a fowl.

Kiasi.

To the chief, four *bais* of paddy or 1 rupee 8 annas.
To the village writer, one *bai* of paddy or 8 annas.
To the blacksmith, two *bais* of paddy or 12 annas.

Tisi.

To the chief, three *bais* of paddy or 1 rupee.
To the village writer, two *bais* of paddy or 12 annas.
To the blacksmith, one *bai* or 4 annas.
To the *tleuliabopa*, half a *bai* of paddy or 2 annas.

Savang.

To the chief, two *bais* of paddy or 12 annas or a pullet.
To the village writer, one *bai* and a half of paddy or 8 annas.
To the *tleuliabopa*, one *bai* of paddy or 4 annas.

In addition to this the chief is entitled to *rapaw* from each house in the village as follows :—

If the crop is	10 *bais*	the chief	receives	2 *bais*.
,, ,,	20	,,	,,	2 ,,
,, ,,	30	,,	,,	4 ,,
,, ,,	40	,,	,,	6 ,,
,, ,,	50	,,	,,	8 ,,
,, ,,	60	,,	,,	10 ,,
,, ,,	70	,,	,,	12 ,,
,, ,,	80	,,	,,	14 ,,
,, ,,	90	,,	,,	16 ,,
,, ,,	100	,,	,,	20 ,,

If the *rapaw* is not paid, the defaulter is fined at the rate of 1 rupee per *bai*.

The Savang chief can also claim the following dues :—

Rapawti A pot of *sahma* beer once a year from each house in the village or, in default, 4 annas.
Rapawsa Two handfuls (*pazapikha*) of ginger once a year from every house.
Rapawlo One packet of cooked rice wrapped up in plantain leaves once a year from each house.

The due paid to the *tleuliabopa* has been shown for convenience under *sabai ;* the proper term for this due, however, is *zidei.*

Chapi.

In Chapi dues are paid not only to the chief, but also to two other junior hereditary chiefs, who assist the chief in ruling the village. One of them, Mahneu, is a Changza, and a cousin of the ruling chief, Rachi, the other, Satha, belongs to the Chhachhai clan. When the Changzas turned out the Chhachhai chiefs they allowed them certain privileges, which are continued to this day.

The *sabai* payable in Chapi is as follows :—

To the chief one *bai* and a half of paddy or 8 annas.
To the junior Changza chief one *bai* and a half of paddy or 8 annas.
To the Chhachhai chief half a *bai* of paddy or 4 annas.
To the village writer one and a half *bai* of paddy or 8 annas.
The blacksmith gets no *sabai.*

In addition to this, the chief receives *rapaw* at the rate of seven *bais* of paddy and one pot of *sahma* from each house, and also *larapaw*, which consists of a basket of cotton from every cotton-field. Defaulters are fined 3 rupees.

Sahaw.

Sahaw is a meat due payable to the chief and certain other persons in the village on every wild animal killed by a villager. No matter in whose lands the animal was killed, the due must be paid to the chief in whose village the hunter resides. In Chapi the due is payable on certain domestic animals also. In Tisi there is a curious custom that if a man borrows a gun and promises beforehand that if he shoots anything he will divide it up among all the villagers, the ordinary dues are not payable ; the animal is divided up into approximately equal shares, and every one, from the chief down to the poorest widow, gets a share. Successful hunting is rewarded by honour and glory rather than by actual profit, as when a man has paid his *sahaw* to the chief and the other village officials entitled to it, to the *sapahlaisapa*, to his *pupa* and other relations who can claim a share, he has very little meat left for himself.

Details of the *sahaw* payable to village officials in the different villages are given below. If the due is not paid the person failing to pay it is fined. The amount of the fine varies in different villages.

Saiko.

The chief receives a hind-leg. If the due is not paid a fine of 10 rupees is inflicted.
The blacksmith receives two ribs.
The *tleuliabopa* receives a fore-leg without the shoulder.

Siaha.

The chief receives a hind-leg and the spleen. If the due is not paid, the person not paying is fined 1 rupee.
The blacksmith receives three ribs. If the due is not paid he can claim a fowl.
The *tleuliabopa* is given just enough meat for one meal. If fish are caught he is given enough fish for one meal.

Kiasi.

The chief receives a hind-leg. If the due is not paid a fine of 1 or 2 rupees is inflicted, according to the size of the animal shot.
The blacksmith receives four ribs. If the due is not paid a fine of 4 annas is inflicted.

Tisi.

The chief receives a fore-leg. If the due is not paid a fine of 10 rupees is inflicted.
The blacksmith receives two ribs.
The *tleuliabopa* receives a span's length of the spine.

Savang.

If the animal has been shot or trapped the chief receives a fore-leg. Any one failing to pay *sahaw* is fined 10 rupees.
If a *kuei* kills an animal, he has only to give the chief the piece of the spine between the shoulders, with the small bones on each side.
The *tleuliabopa* receives a shoulder.

Chapi.

In Chapi, as all the guns belong to the chief, he can claim an extra due from any one who borrows a gun from him. For the hire of a gun the chief takes half the neck of any animal shot. The *kueis*, who are exempted from *sahaw*, are liable for this due, and a *kuei* hiring one of the chief's guns has to pay him a hind-leg of every animal shot. The details of the meat dues paid by the Chapi villagers are as follows :—

To the Chief.

(1) A hind-leg, the spleen, a kidney, the tail and the meat round its base, and a span's length of the spine of all wild animals killed.

(2) The hind-leg and the tail, with the meat at its base, of every animal sacrificed to the mountain at *Tleulia* or when a new house is built.

(3) Once a year two small pigs out of those collected as *Vawhle*.

(4) A hind-leg from every dog, goat, or pig killed at *Chithla*. If only a chicken is killed, one leg of it cooked with rice.

(5) The largest fish caught when fish are poisoned or caught in a fish weir or a drag net (*sopi*), and fourteen small fish when fish are caught by damming a stream and slightly diverting its course (*parasa*), or when they are netted.

The junior Changza chief receives a fore-leg of each wild animal killed, and also the meat from between the shoulders of each domestic animal killed. Once a year he is given one small pig out of those collected as *Vawhle*.

The Chhachhai chief receives the leg minus the shoulder of each wild animal killed only.

The village writer receives half the neck of each wild animal killed.

Persons failing to pay their dues are fined, the fines varying with the amount of the dues unpaid.

Services and Dues to be Rendered to the Community.

Every villager is bound to do certain work for the benefit of the community. The path to the water supply has to be kept clear, all jungle round the village has to be cut at regular intervals, the water supply has to be fenced, and paths leading to neighbouring villages and to the fields have to be cleared once or twice during the rains, otherwise so rapid is the growth of weeds and undergrowth that the paths would be impassable. The village forge is built and kept in repair by the villagers. All work of this nature is known as *tlaraihria*, and any one failing to do his share is punished with a fine, which is known as *leu*. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of work that was left undone. If a cash fine is levied, it would be 8 annas or 1 rupee, but more often an axe, a *dao*, a hoe, a fowl or a seer of rice. If money is paid, it is used for the purchase of rice beer, which is drunk by the chief and elders. If the fine is paid in kind, the article seized becomes village property. All villagers are expected to join in making tiger-traps, and any one failing to assist would have to pay *leu*. The building of a fish weir is also communal work in which all should help ; shirkers are not allowed any share in the fish caught.

In the old days every one had to turn out to build the fort in the centre of the village, clear the jungle at all vulnerable points, build a stockade outside where necessary, and also small houses for the sentries posted on the paths outside the villages. In the present peaceful times these precautions are no longer necessary, and the villagers have been relieved of a great deal of work.

Sathi.

Every householder in a village is bound to kill a pig whenever the chief and elders decide that it is necessary for a pig to be killed. In some villages the chief subscribes in his turn like any one else, in others he does not. The pig for *sathi* is usually killed to make a feast for the villagers, or to entertain a visiting chief, or on any other occasion for

which the chief thinks it desirable for an entertainment to be held. If a man migrates before he has taken his turn to kill a pig he must pay 5 rupees to the chief instead. The 5 rupees goes to the village entertainment fund.

Vohle.

Whenever a sow has a litter, one piglet has to be given to the villagers. This piglet is used by the villagers for any purpose they like. Sometimes it is used for a sacrifice, sometimes as remuneration to a young man who has gone on a message, sometimes for other purposes. The chief and elders seize the piglet as soon as it is born. If the piglet is not given, a rupee must be paid instead. The chief is not liable to this due, and in Chapi the chief is given two piglets a year out of those collected for *vohle*.

Sakhei.

This is a subscription of paddy levied for public purposes on every house in the village except the chief's. It is generally used to repay any rich man who has advanced money or property for a village entertainment to a distinguished visitor, or for a village sacrifice like the *Tleulia*. The paddy is all collected in one place, and sold, and the proceeds are devoted to whatever purposes the chief and elders order. Salt is also sometimes collected in this way, but in that case only houses in which there are strong young men, who can go down to the plains to fetch the salt, are called upon to subscribe.

Tlongang (*Hospitality*).

In addition to the regular subscriptions already described, it is the duty of every Lakher to be hospitable. Travellers passing through a village can claim a night's food and lodging free, and are generally given a packet of rice to take with them for their midday meal next day, or if they have to halt a night in the jungle before reaching their destination, they are given enough uncooked rice for three meals. Travellers who have to stay a few days in a village are put up free

for ten days, but after that are expected to pay for their keep, though as a matter of fact no one would ever halt so long except in case of illness, when no payment would be accepted. In addition to rice, a departing guest is given salt and tobacco for the road, and if he is a particular friend, nicotine-water also. Chin or Lushei traders are not taken in free, but have to pay for their board and lodging, which is just, as they only come to fleece the people.

It is considered disgraceful to refuse hospitality, but I think that Lakhers are on the whole less hospitable than the Lusheis, who make it a point of honour to vie with each other in looking after strangers and guests.

Migration.

Lakhers are not much given to migrating from village to village. They are attached to their village sites, and dislike leaving the graves of their ancestors. Unlike the Lusheis, who think nothing of moving to a new village for most trivial reasons, the Lakhers regard migration as rather disgraceful; in fact, very few people migrate unless they have had a serious difference of opinion with the chief, or are emancipated slaves who want to start afresh in a new village where their origin is less well known. Before a man migrates he must pay up his *sabai*, *sahaw*, *vohle* and *sathi*. If these dues have not been paid, the chief can recover a rupee for *sabai*, a rupee for *vohle*, 5 rupees for *sathi*, and for *sahaw* an amount which varies in different villages.

The house, garden and standing crops of a man who migrates are all at the disposal of his chief. The chief, or more usually villagers who are short of paddy, can also buy half of the emigrant's stored paddy at the village rate. The other half the emigrant can dispose of as he likes. This is known as *apatai*. Formerly the chief used to confiscate all the paddy belonging to a migrant;[1] nowadays, however, the custom of *apatai*, which is in vogue all over the district, and is called in Lushei *hawlbun*, has been adopted in all Lakher villages.

[1] So, too, among the Sema and the Thado.—J. H. H.

An emigrant must take all his livestock with him when he goes ; if any animals are left behind they are dealt with according to the village custom, which varies. In Siaha, Saiko and Tisi a due called *sediachahreuma*, meaning the price of building a fence to keep the *mithun* out, is levied on each animal, at the rate of 2 rupees a year. In Savang a similar due of a rupee a year is levied, and is known as *reubeunatawh*, the charge made for grazing. In Chapi livestock may be left behind for a year, after which period any *mithun* calves become the property of the chiefs, and if a sow has been left behind, the litters go half to the owner and half to the man who looks after it.

When a man immigrates to a new village the villagers subscribe paddy to help him when he first arrives, and he is put up in some one's house until he has built his own. The owner of the house in which the immigrant is put up cannot claim any remuneration from him.

Chipaleipa.

This term covers village idiots, cretins and other persons who, owing to mental or physical defects, are unable to lead the ordinary village life and do the ordinary village duties. Such persons are regarded as not responsible for their actions, and are not expected to do village work and are not liable to pay *leu* in default. If a *chipaleipa* commits an offence, however, he is punished like any one else. In Chapi if such a person is fined in a case with a fellow-villager, his relations have to pay his fine, but if a fine is inflicted on a *chipaleipa* in a case with a man from another village, his fellow-villagers pay the fine.

Leichhang. Trial of Cases.

The method followed by the Lakher chiefs in trying cases is, I should think, unique. When any one takes a case to the chief for trial, the latter fixes a day for the hearing. Each party prepares rice beer, without the aid of which no case can be tried, and on the day fixed the chief, with one or two *machas* or elders, goes to the house of one of the parties,

generally to that of the plaintiff; two or three *machas* with possibly a brother of the chief go to the house of the other party, and such villagers as wish to attend the case assemble at one or other of the parties' house. The proceedings are opened by handing round drinks, and as soon as the judges have got comfortable, the party in whose house the chief is seated states his case and nominates a *leuchapa* or representative. If this *leuchapa* is approved of by the chief, he is then sent to state his principal's case to the second party and the *machas* assembled in his house. The second party then states his case to the *leuchapa* and *machas*, and the *leuchapa* goes and reports it to the chief. If witnesses are to be heard, the parties calling them fetch them to their respective houses, and the *leuchapa* questions them and reports their evidence to the chief. All this takes a very long time, and as any villagers who are present are at liberty to express their opinion on the case, it is not easy for the chief to come to a decision quickly.

When the chief has come to a provisional decision, he sends the *leuchapa* to communicate it to the second party and the *machas* who are sitting in his house, and asks them what they think should be done. This leads to further discussion and endless comings and goings between the two houses, till at length, after due consultation, the chief and elders arrive at a decision. The chief then promulgates his order and the case is finished. The more beer that is provided by the parties the longer the case lasts, as the chief and elders are quite ready to continue proceedings indefinitely provided they are plied frequently with beer, and so cases sometimes last two or three days. This cumbrous method of trying cases is the main reason why Lakhers are so much more prone than Lusheis to appeal against orders passed by their chiefs.

The wonder is that any orders are ever carried out. The chief personally only hears one side of a case, and has to rely for the other side on the reports of an intermediary nominated by the party in whose house the chief is sitting, checked by the elders sitting in the second party's house. That the system works as well as it does speaks volumes

for the honesty of the average *leuchapa*, for the simplicity of the people and for their readiness to give and take, without which in such circumstances no settlement could ever be reached.

Achhisa or Asia.

If the chief cannot decide the case, recourse is sometimes had to trial by ordeal. A *leuchapa* is appointed to supervise the proceedings, and he takes the parties down to a stream. The stream is dammed so as to form a pool. Each party drops a little rice flour into the water to show that a solemn rite is to be performed, the *leuchapa* places each man's head under water and holds it there, the man who takes his head out first losing the case. This form of trial is rare, and is regarded as unlucky for the man who wins, as he is believed to contract consumption as a result. The man who asks for the trial by ordeal must pay a pig to the chief for purifying the hill, as the ordeal is believed to defile the hills and the streams of the village and to make the men, the animals, and the crops unhappy and impure, so a pig has to be sacrificed to restore happiness to all animate and inanimate things on the lands of the village in which the ordeal was undergone. The person demanding the ordeal must also give the *leuchapa* a pig for his trouble. In Savang this form of trial is still often made use of. A similar ordeal by water is in vogue among the Khyeng of Sandoway, a people related to the Lakhers.[1]

Another form of ordeal which used to be resorted to, though it has now fallen out of favour, is known as *Tieipaei*. Where a man has had paddy or other property stolen, but does not know who is the thief, though he knows that the thief must be one of his fellow-villagers, he can apply to the chief for *Tieipaei*. If the chief sanctions the ordeal the complainant must pay 30 rupees or a gong of seven spans to the villagers to show his bona fides in the accusation he

[1] *Vide* G. E. Fryer, "On the Khyeng People of Sandoway Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, Part I, p. 44.—N. E. P.

See also my footnote (4) at p. 68 of Shaw's "Notes on the Thadou Kukis" (*J.A.S.B.*, XXIV, 1928, No. 1), where some account of the distribution of the custom will be found.—J. H. H.

has brought against the village, and also a pig, which is sacrificed to purify the village. After this the ordeal takes place. A large pot of boiling water is produced, and if it is money that was stolen, some money, if paddy some paddy, is thrown into it. Two small stones are also placed in the pot. The villagers are all collected, and each one in turn has to pull out a pebble. As each person pulls out a pebble his hand is rubbed with the rice refuse left over after making *sahma*. As soon as every one has undergone the ordeal the complainant and the chief and elders examine all their hands, and if any one's hand has been scalded as a result of pulling the pebble out of the boiling water, the person with the scald on his hand is adjudged to be the thief, and is fined. The fine varies with the value of the property stolen, and a *vopia* of a pig and *sahma* has also to be paid to the villagers. If no one is scalded as a result of the ordeal, the complainant loses his case and also his gong and pig. The Garos have a form of ordeal not unlike *Tieipaei*, but use an egg instead of stones.[1]

Fines.

The fines inflicted by the chiefs vary according to the nature of the offence and the custom of the particular village. The highest fine ordinarily inflicted is a *sepi* (a cow *mithun*), which is valued for formal purposes at 60 rupees. Money is scarce, and fines are generally paid in kind, *mithun*, pigs, gongs, beads and other movable property taking the place of cash. The fines inflicted always go to the winner of the case.

Vopia.

Whenever a man is fined for an offence he also has to pay a *vopia*, or court fee, which consists of a pig and a pot of *sahma*, which is nominally payable to the chief and the villagers, but is really consumed by the chief and his elders. It is the same as the Lushei *salam*,[2] but is always taken in kind.

[1] *Cf.* A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 75.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 2 and 6. —N. E. P.

Lianeu (*Murder*).

Although nowadays murder cases are tried by the courts, prior to British rule they were dealt with by the chief and elders, and a murderer had to pay a fine ranging from 100 to 300 rupees to the relatives of the man murdered. The amount of the fine varied according to whether the murdered man belonged to a high or a low clan, the Lakhers making no pretence that all men are equal in the eyes of the law. The fine for murder was known as *luteu*, the price of a head. It was most usually 200 rupees, and was accompanied by a *vopia*, which was eaten by the chief and elders. If the murderer was poor and unable to pay the fine, the chief paid it for him, and he entered the chief's house and became the chief's slave, or if the chief did not wish to pay the fine, the murderer became the slave of the murdered man's brother.

If the murderer was a *cheusapathaipa*, or chief's sacrificial cook, he was considered to be defiled and to be debarred from performing his office any longer. Murderers were excluded from performing sacrifices with their fellow-clansmen, and were debarred from joining in tribal feasts. It was also difficult for murderers to marry any one of an aristocratic clan, and they had to content themselves with more lowly brides. If, in the heat of anger immediately after the murder, one of the murdered man's relatives killed the murderer, he was not punished, but the Lakhers have no custom allowing a life for a life ; there is nothing resembling a blood feud, and if the murdered man's relations killed the murderer in cold blood they were punished. A murdered man's brother had no right to go and kill the murderer even the day after the murder—all that he could do was to claim the *luteu*. In addition to paying a fine, a murderer had to undergo purification ceremonies before he could be received back into society. Among the Hawthais, after having paid the *luteu* to the murdered man's relatives, the murderer had to perform a penance, which consisted of going on a journey over eight mountains and eight rivers. When he had accomplished this journey the murderer had to throw away all his clothes and any ornaments he was

wearing and return to the village stark naked.[1] One Zahreu, an ancestor of the Tisi chief who lived at Siata years ago, committed a murder and performed this penance. Even after doing penance in this way a murderer cannot be a *cheusapathaipa*, and cannot assist at the chief's *Khazangpina*. In Saiko village the purification ceremony consisted merely of sacrificing a sow, washing the hands in its blood, bathing and remaining *pana* for the day of the sacrifice.

Murder is very rare indeed, deliberate murder is practically unknown, such murders as do occur being almost always due to drink.

Suicide.

Suicide is very rare. A striking case of it occurred recently, however, which, owing to the peculiar circumstances surrounding it, is worth relating. Vahu, chief of Ngiaphia, felt that he was going mad. He summoned all his villagers from the fields where they were camping and also his relations from Hnarang. When they had all arrived, he held council with his elders and his relations from Hnarang. They all sat round in the verandah of Vahu's house and drank beer. Vahu said to them, "I am mad. I am not getting any better. Shall I do *Khazangpina*, or do you advise me to do some other sacrifice to cure myself of my madness?" The elders and Vahu's relations deliberated for a long time as to what he should do. Then Vahu got impatient and said, "There are too many of you, you cannot come to any decision. I and my wife will consult together inside the house." So saying, Vahu and his wife went inside the house and shut the door, Vahu's wife, named Ngunpong, a daughter of the chief of Haka, carrying her five-year-old child Mahlei with her. After a short time those sitting on the verandah heard the sound of a gunshot, and Vahu's son Mahlei ran out on to the verandah crying, "My father has shot my mother," and holding out his hand, the first finger of which had been blown off when his mother,

[1] Haka Chins inflict a less elaborate penance on a murderer. *Cf.* Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 29.—N. E. P.

who had been carrying him, was shot. None of the assembled company, however, dared to enter the house, and in a short while another shot rang out. Vahu had solved the problem of his madness by shooting himself. These events occurred at eight o'clock in the morning, but it was not till after three that any one dared to go in to bring out the corpses. When they went in they found Ngunpong lying dead, shot through the breast, and Vahu near by, shot through the mouth. The reason for the delay in going into the house was this. Both the corpses were *sawvaw*, Ngunpong having been murdered and Vahu having killed himself, and as none of Vahu's near relations was present, all were too afraid of the double *saw* to venture in, and it was not till the arrival of Vahu's near relations and clansmen, who were bound to do their best for the deceased, that any one dared to go in to bring out the bodies. The two corpses were buried next morning without ceremony outside the village, as both were *sawvaw*.

Vahu was a man of very hot temper, and some years ago had shot a man by accident while out shooting in the jungle.

This is the only case of suicide by a Lakher that I can recollect.

Aparupa. Theft.

Theft is not a common offence. It is considered very disgraceful for a well-to-do man to steal, but if a poor man steals, a charitable view is taken; he is held to have been driven to theft by misfortune, and is not considered to have been disgraced. The amount of the fine depends on the nature of the property stolen, and varies considerably in the different villages. In Saiko, when paddy is stolen, if a load or less is stolen, the thief must provide a fowl to sacrifice to the spirit of paddy; if more than a load is stolen, either the amount stolen must be made good or its value must be refunded. In Savang the return of the paddy is not insisted on, but if a load is stolen, a fine of 5 rupees is inflicted, if more than that, the thief is fined a *racha* valued at 10 rupees. In Tisi the paddy is not returned, and if a load or less is stolen, the fine of a *vopia* is inflicted, while for larger amounts

the fine is a gong of seven spans or 30 rupees. In Chapi the fine for theft of paddy is a *vopia*. In addition to the fine, in all the villages the thief always has to give the owner of the paddy a fowl to sacrifice to the spirit of the paddy. Paddy and maize are both believed to have souls, and when a theft occurs the soul, being outraged by the theft, flies away, and has to be called back by a sacrifice. Were the soul not recalled in this way, it is believed that the store of paddy in the granary would decrease.

In Tisi the theft of a necklace of *pumtek* beads is regarded as very serious, and the thief is fined a cow *mithun*, and has to return the necklace. The theft of a *pumtek* necklace, as it is always worn round its owner's neck, is considered to be tantamount to cutting the owner's throat. If a man loses his *pumtek* necklace, and it is found and restored to him, he is expected to give the finder a *dao* (*thuasang*), the reason for this being the belief that a man who finds a lost *pumtek* necklace is liable to suffer from weak eyes, and that the gift of a *thuasang*, which carries the idea of brightness, will restore the dimmed eyes of the finder of the necklace. In this village they had a curious custom for dealing with a gun thief. The owner of the gun would kill a fowl and put it uncooked into a brass pot and present it to the thief, who thereby became the slave of the owner of the gun.

One of the most serious thefts is that committed when a thief opens a closed basket (*baiba*) and abstracts any of its contents. The usual fine for a theft of this nature is a *sepi* and a *vopia*, irrespective of the value of the article stolen. Theft from a *baiba* is regarded as particularly objectionable, as a *baiba* is the only place where a Lakher can shut up anything of value or anything that he does not wish other people to see.

The theft of indigo leaves is regarded as serious, and is punished with a fine of a gong of seven spans and a *vopia*. Indigo is highly valued, as it is used for dyeing cloths.

No fine is inflicted for the theft of cotton or eggs. The theft of both, however, is *ana*, as it is believed that an egg or a cotton thief's eyes stick out of their sockets and cannot close after death. The theft of a hoe is also *ana*, the belief

being that any one who steals a hoe will die early, and that the hoe he stole will be used to dig his grave.

If an animal such as a pig, a cow or a *mithun* is stolen, the thief has to return the animal or its value, and is also fined, the amount of the fine varying in the different villages.

Kumasaparu (Theft of Bird or Animal from Trap).

No fine is inflicted on a man who steals a bird or an animal from a trap set by another. The man who takes the animal must give its head to the person who set the trap, and also a hind-leg.

It is *ana* for a man who has set a trap to insist on a person who has taken an animal caught in the trap paying him a fine, as it is believed that if he insists on a fine being paid, the setter of the trap will be unlucky in hunting ever afterwards.

Atuh (Assaults).

On the whole the Lakhers are not a quarrelsome people—they make much noise, but there is more smoke than fire. Assaults are generally due to drink. No fine is inflicted unless blood is drawn. If blood is drawn, the man committing the assault is fined a *vopia*, which is taken by the chief and elders.

Women are thought to require strict discipline, and accordingly a Lakher husband is entitled by custom to beat his wife in moderation whenever he thinks she requires it, and for an ordinary beating by way of correction a woman has no remedy. If, however, a man habitually beats his wife unreasonably and excessively, and she runs away to her parents, he must call her back and pay her a *hmiatla* or atonement price. If in these circumstances a man refuses to pay his wife a *hmiatla*, he is considered to have divorced her. When the *hmiatla* is paid the woman's relations are expected to kill a pig and give a feast to her husband, and the husband must in his turn kill a fowl and give it to the wife's people. This is done as a token of reconciliation.

No punishment is inflicted if when two children are fighting one of them gets injured, but it is considered very

bad form for the father of either of the children who are fighting to interfere and beat his child's opponent. The custom is for the children to be left to fight it out, and a father who tried to interfere on behalf of his young hopeful would be punished by the other villagers.

Angiapatli (*Eavesdropping*).

Among Lakhers eavesdropping is a definite offence. This is a good custom in a country where a man has only to stand up against the wall of a house to hear every word that is said outside. Married people are supposed to be able to say anything they like to each other within their own house, whether defamatory or not. Any one caught eavesdropping, therefore, is liable to a fine. In Saiko the fine is a gong of seven spans and a *vopia*, but if the eavesdropper repeats anything he has overheard, the fine is increased to a cow *mithun*. The amount of the fine varies in the different villages. Chapi is the only village in which no fine is inflicted for this offence.

Tlahno (*House Trespass*).

Any one who trespasses in another's house with intent to assault or annoy him does so at his own risk. No fine is inflicted for house trespass unless the householder gets injured in turning the intruder out, when the intruder is fined a *vopia*. Householders are expected to look after themselves in this way, and can use force to expel the unwelcome visitor, and are not liable to a fine even if they draw blood from the intruder in the process of ejecting him. It is *ana* for a *pupa* (maternal uncle) to break into his nephew's (*tupapa*) or niece's house. A *pupa* disregarding this prohibition and breaking into his *tupapa's* house to chastise him would have to pay his *tupapa* a pig or a fowl with which to perform *Thlathleu*. The idea is that the *tupapa* would be seriously outraged by this breach of custom, and that his soul would be very troubled, and might wander away, so a sacrifice must be made to soothe the soul and bring it back to its abode.

If a man's wife runs away and hides in another's house,

the husband may pursue her and bring her back, and is not liable to a fine for forcibly entering the other man's house.

Thapachhi (*Defamation*).

It is impossible to say exactly what is defamatory and what is not, as much depends on the circumstances. It is highly defamatory to accuse a freeman of being a slave. It is defamatory to accuse a woman of being an adulteress; but it would be worse to accuse her of being a slave. It is very defamatory to accuse a woman of having the evil eye or of being an epileptic, as such women cannot get husbands. It is very defamatory to accuse any one of being a bastard. An accusation of theft is defamatory. It is defamatory to accuse a young man and a girl of having been too intimate, but such an accusation is not regarded as very serious defamation, though a fine is imposed on the scandalmonger to teach him to curb his tongue.

The fine for defamation varies according to the nature of the offence alleged and according to village custom, the usual fine being an earthenware pot called *racha* or 10 rupees. If a man makes defamatory statements while drunk, and apologises next morning, he is forgiven, and no fine is inflicted.

Sahrangthipa thlei.

If any one kills another man's domestic animal by mistake for his own, he must give an exactly similar animal to the man whose animal he has killed. There is no fine. Such occurrences are fairly common, especially with pigs, as it is not easy to tell one pig from another.

Seichodo.

When a man wants to start keeping *mithun* and has not enough money to buy a full-grown cow *mithun*, it is customary to purchase a *mithun* calf before it is born. The would-be purchaser pays down whatever the price may be, 20 or 30 rupees, and an agreement is made that he shall get the first calf that is born. If the calf dies before it is taken over by the purchaser, the owner of the mother bears the

loss up to two or three times, according to the arrangement made. When the number of times agreed on has elapsed the purchaser can make no further claim. If the calf dies after it has been taken over, the purchaser bears the loss. This form of purchase is not in use in Savang and Chapi. If the mother dies, the purchaser of the calf cannot claim back the money he has paid.

Sahrang a hleu.

Two men combine to buy a *mithun*, each subscribing half of its price. They then wait till the *mithun* has two calves, and one man takes the cow *mithun* and the other the two calves. This form of purchase is frequently made use of by men who want to start keeping stock and have not enough money to buy a cow *mithun*. In the case of pigs, as soon as the sow has farrowed, the piglets are divided equally between the two shareholders, and the sow is sold and the proceeds are divided in the same way. People often go shares in this way in a young castrated piglet which costs 1 rupee. One of them supplies the food, the other the wood and water. When the pig has attained a girth of four fists, they change round, the man who supplied food hitherto supplying the water and wood, and vice versa. When the pig has attained a girth of five or six fists it is killed and divided equally between them.

Vo lei hlo.

When a Lakher wants to start keeping pigs, he sometimes contracts to look after another's sow from the time it is quite small, on certain conditions. The first time the sow has young, the man who is looking after it takes all the young, the mother remaining the property of its owner. After the first litter, if the man who has been looking after the pig continues to do so, the young are divided equally between the owner of the sow and the man who is looking after it. Bitches are also kept on these terms.

Ano or Pawlapa.

Prior to British rule poor men often had great difficulty

in recovering debts, and the only hope of doing so was to persuade some influential man to take the matter up in consideration of a share in the proceeds. Now that Lakhers have found that easy redress can be obtained from the courts, this custom is falling out of use.

Sawnglahna or Kaleipasa.

Another way of recovering a bad debt, if a man was on good terms with the chief, was to go to him and offer to sell him the right to collect it. If the chief agreed, he paid a sum in cash to the creditor, or, more likely, promised him a certain sum, and then proceeded to recover the full amount of the debt plus as much extra as he could extort. This method was risky, as the chief was quite likely to recover the debt and keep all the proceeds himself without paying a penny to the real creditor.

Sapala.

Loans of paddy are usually made with an agreement that double the amount borrowed must be repaid after the harvest. If the loan is not repaid as agreed within the year, the debt is doubled each year it remains due. Thus if a loan of two maunds of paddy taken in May 1925 were not repaid till May 1928, it would amount to sixteen maunds.

Sapatha.

This is a loan without interest, and such interest-free loans can only be obtained at one special season. Every year in the month of *Chhipa*, which corresponds to our June, Lakhers perform a ceremony called *Chakalai*, to drive out the spirit of famine. The day for the ceremony is fixed by the chief. At noon on the appointed day the village crier gives out that *Chakalai* will be performed that night. When night falls each householder throws out of his house all the half-burnt firebrands, shouting as he does so, "*Chaka sila, chapho sila, Hiakha tlong la, Thlatla tlong la,*" which means, "Go away famine, go away to Haka or Thlatla." On this night the women may not weave, and the village is *pana*. At dawn rice is cooked with very little water, and

every one eats as much rice as he can, and the whole day is *aoh* for the entire village.

If between *Chakalai* and the harvest any one borrows paddy, no interest is chargeable on the loan. The idea is that as between July and December the poor people's store of rice is at its lowest, it is not right that they should be charged interest on loans of paddy taken in order to enable them to live.

Kawngngiareu.

This is the payment of a small sum due to a creditor to induce him to allow a debt to run on longer. Thus, if a man has borrowed money and is unable to pay on the date agreed upon, he goes to his creditor and gives him a brass or an iron pot or some similar article, in consideration of which, the creditor refrains from claiming the principal. This is constantly done.

Tliapi and Tliata (Commission).

When a man buys a *mithun* or a horse he is bound to give the seller a small present, the amount of which varies in different villages. *Tliapi* might be a brass pot of four spans worth 3 rupees and *tliata* a *dao* worth 1 rupee, or similar articles of about the same value more or less. The idea of this payment is partly to console the seller for the loss of a beautiful animal, partly because Lakhers believe that if they buy an animal too cheap it will die very soon, and partly to make the *mithun* fertile and healthy, as if the seller is happy the *mithun* is more likely to be happy and healthy also.

Sahrang ka Leila (Damage done by Animals).

No fine is inflicted if crops are damaged by domestic animals, but if cows or *mithun* damage crops, the owners of the animals must help the owners of the crops to strengthen their fences. If a *mithun* kills a man, the *mithun* must be killed as *riha*, and the owner of the *mithun* must give the deceased's relatives *sahma* beer for *bupa*.

If a man owns a dangerous *mithun*, and the chief and the

villagers have warned him to dispose of it but he has failed to do so, and it subsequently kills some one, the owner of the animal must pay the deceased's relatives 100 rupees *luteu* (head price), and also kill the animal for *riha* and supply *sahma* for *bupa*.

Theupapathlei (*Accidental Deaths*).

If a man out shooting or in any other way accidentally causes another's death, he must supply a *mithun* for the *riha*, a cloth called *chiaraku* in which to wrap the corpse, and a pot of *sahma* for *bupa*. No other compensation can be claimed. Saihleu of Chholong accidentally shot the son of the chief Bilsanga while the latter was up a tree, having mistaken him for a monkey. Saihleu sacrificed a horse for *riha*, as a horse was considered a grander sacrifice than a *mithun*, as the dead boy's spirit would be able to ride upon it in *Athikhi*, and supplied a cloth to wrap the corpse in and *sahma* for *bupa*. Vahu, chief of Ngiaphia, accidentally shot his brother-in-law Apiapa, and supplied a *mithun* for *riha*, a chief's cloth (*cheulopang*) to wrap the corpse in, five *pumteks* to bury with the body and *sahma* for *bupa*.

Kei (*Friends*).

Lakher men generally have some special formal friend, like the Lushei *thian*. Such a friend is known as *kei*. There are two grades of formal friends: the *kei macha*, the principal friend, and the *kei hawti*, the secondary friend. Every Lakher has a *kei macha*, but the majority of men do not bother about making a *kei hawti*, and no one makes a *kei hawti* unless his *kei macha* agrees to his doing so. *Kei machas* give each other the neck of each wild animal they shoot or trap, and *kei hawtis* three ribs.

When a man's daughter or sister marries, his *kei macha* receives the friend's price, called *Keima*. When one of two friends marries the other often helps with a contribution towards his friend's marriage price. Friends are expected to help each other when in trouble, and are used as confidants. If a friendship is broken off, no claims can be made between friends on account of benefits given or

received. If after breaking off a friendship either of the friends publishes any confidences that have been made him by his friend he would be fined.

Food and Lodging Charges.

Although among Lakhers there is no custom equivalent to the Lushei custom under which a man can claim *chawmman* or food and lodging charge from any one he has supported in his house, circumstances similar to those which would enable a Lushei to claim *chawmman* arise among the Lakhers also. It is possible that under the influence of Lushei interpreters an attempt might be made to introduce *chawmman* as a Lakher custom ; it is desirable, therefore, that the position should be made clear, as not only does the custom not exist among the Lakhers, but there is no word in the Lakher language equivalent to the Lushei *chawmman*.[1]

A Lakher cannot claim anything from a person on the ground that he has maintained him in his house. If a Lakher keeps a man in his house and treats him as a member of the family, he has the benefit of the man's work in the fields and of any earnings he may make ; he is bound to pay any fines he may incur, and even to buy him a wife, but when the man leaves him he cannot make any claims on him for board and lodging allowance. The same applies in the case of a woman living in another person's house, except that when she marries the householder is entitled to her marriage price, and if she has a bastard, the owner of the house she is living in will receive the bastard's price. In the old days if a man supported a child belonging to another clan and brought him up from boyhood, that child became the slave of the man who brought him up. No claim, however, could ever be made from a relation or fellow-clansman by a man who had brought him up. Now that slaves are not allowed, no claim can be made for *chawmman* by a man who has brought up another. The householder has the benefit of the work done by the man he is supporting, and that is all.

A Lakher who is ill, blind, or too old to work can always

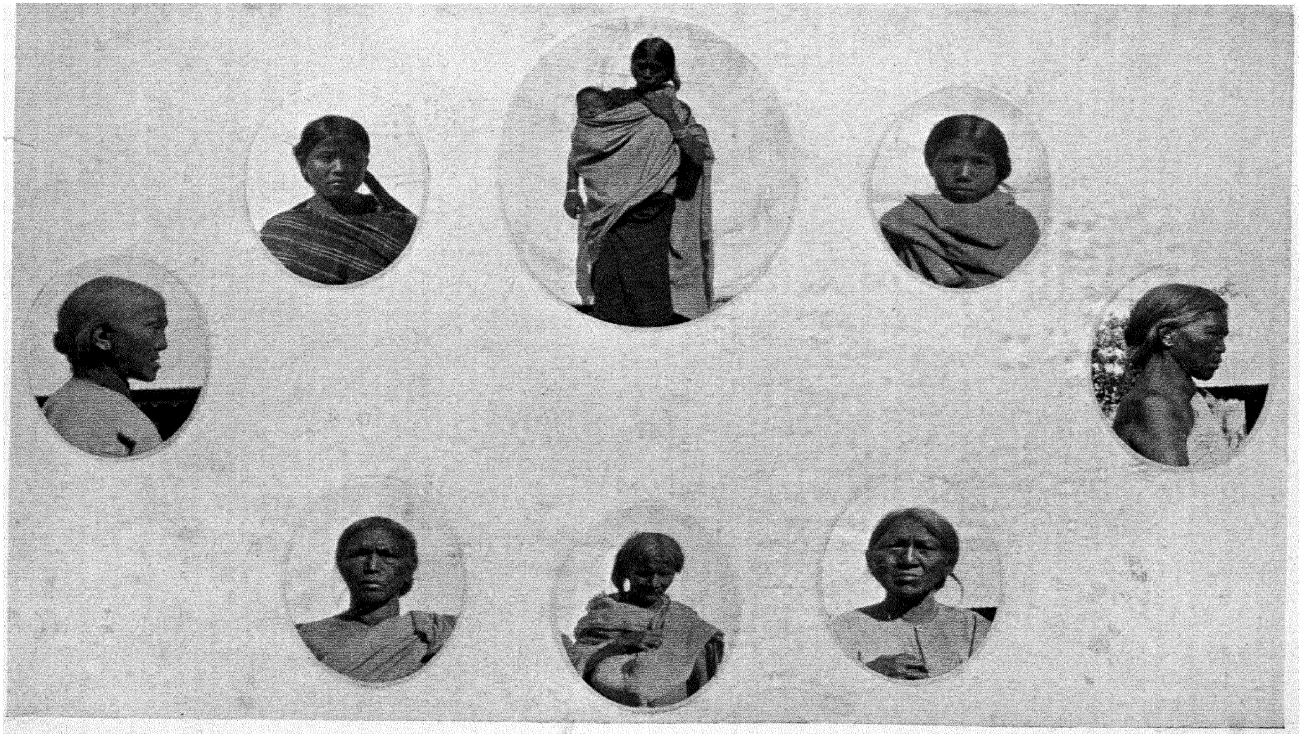
[1] *Vide* Parry, *Lushai Customs*, p. 60.—N. E. P.

claim to be fed free by his fellow-clansmen. Such a person generally lives in his own house, and goes round for his meals to the house of any fellow-clansman he fancies. No claim can, or, in fact, ever would be made on account of assistance rendered in this way. To such an extent is it recognised that relatives must help each other that it is actually *ana* for a brother to claim anything on account of services rendered to a brother, and for a *pupa* to claim anything from his *tupapa* on account of any help he may have given.

The Position of Women.

Like all hill-women, Lakher women have a good deal of hard work to perform. On the whole, however, the household labours, whether in the fields or in the home, are very fairly divided between men and women. Social relations between the sexes are easy and natural, men and women meeting freely on an equal basis. The women are very far from being mere household drudges—a married woman has a clearly defined position, and inside the house she is supreme. Colonel Lewin has remarked with surprise on the courtesy with which a Lakher chief treated the women who accompanied him on a visit to the former's camp, and how he refused to drink any of the liquor offered him until the ladies of his party had been served first.[1] This courteous attitude towards women is maintained to-day, and it is very rare to find a Lakher who is brutal to a woman. I can only recall one instance of really brutal conduct to a woman, and in that case the offender was a Chin called Tli-Tlaw who had settled in Laki. Though a Lakher will beat his wife if he thinks she deserves it, he does not as a rule do so without good cause. People who constantly beat their wives are looked down upon. The high marriage prices in force strengthen a wife's position, and divorce is far less common than among the Lusheis, neither party being willing lightly to incur the material losses involved. A man married to a woman of a higher clan will not divorce her save for very

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, pp. 311, 312.—N. E. P.



TYPES OF LAKHER WOMEN

strong reasons, as if he does, not only does he forfeit the price paid, but he also descends a rung on the social ladder. The high marriage price therefore has its good side, in that it tends to make marriages more permanent and the position of the wife more secure. A wife takes part in the sacrifices performed by her husband, and though she may find his affections shared by one or more concubines, the concubines cannot encroach on her social privileges, and are in a definitely inferior position. When a chief comes to meet visitors at the entrance to his village he is always accompanied by his wife; and the widows of the former chiefs of Savang still maintain a certain position, and are highly respected by the villagers. In all social events the woman plays her part, and helps her husband to entertain his guests. She hands round the drinks, shares in the conversation, and behaves in much the same way as any European hostess. There is a regular etiquette as to the entertainment of chiefs' ladies, who do not as a rule attend feasts in the houses of villagers, but only when four or five ladies of chiefly or noble clans have been specially invited to meet them.

Among Lakher women there is no false shame, they do not consider themselves as inferior beings, and take part in all matters in which the family is interested. If a man has a case, his wife comes along with him, presses her opinion, and says anything she may have to say without any shyness or reluctance. Widows act as guardians to their young sons, and look after their interests very efficiently. Married women are very moral, and adultery is far from common. Prostitution does not exist, but girls before marriage are fairly free of their favours. There being no bachelor's house, the young men sleep in the house of the girl who attracts them at the moment, and this custom renders prenuptial love easy of satisfaction. Even so, if a young man hopes to obtain favours from a girl, he has to work for them, and make himself pleasant and attractive, as Lakher girls are by no means all things to all men. Usually, though not always, these love affairs end in marriage. Although the Lakhers would be regarded by Indians as savages, there is no question but that they, together with

most of the primitive hill tribes, are on a higher plain of social civilisation than the dwellers in the plains of India, and nowhere is this more clearly shown than in their treatment of women. In the hills women are normal human beings, with minds and opinions of their own; they may lead hard lives, but no harder than the men, and all the time they are free. Untrammelled by purdah or caste rules, they can lead their own lives and are in a far happier position than their sisters in the plains, condemned to child marriage and a life behind the purdah.

Riathama (The Bastard's Price).

Bastards are rare, as, although no stigma whatever attaches to love affairs between unmarried persons, it is considered a disgrace for a girl to have a bastard, and bastards labour under serious social disabilities. The comparative rarity of bastards among the Lakhers is not due[1] to Lakher girls being more straitlaced than their Lushei sisters, but to the fact that so great is the disgrace which accrues to a girl who has a bastard, and so heavily is a bastard handicapped in after life, that as soon as a love affair shows signs of ending in its natural result the couple generally marry, so that the child may be born in wedlock.[2] The Lakher name for a bastard is *riasaw*, and the bastard's price is called *riathama*. *Riatha* means literally scabies, and as it is considered disgraceful for a girl to have a bastard, the name for scabies, which is regarded as a shameful disease, is applied also to a bastard. Unlike the Lusheis, who treat their bastards much the same as their legitimate children, and among whom bastards suffer no great disabilities, the Lakhers despise bastards intensely. A bastard cannot take part in any sacrifice performed by his father, and is looked down on and treated as of no account both by his family and by the other villagers. In all the villages except Tisi the *riathama* is of the same amount as the girl's marriage price (*angkia*), and, in addition, the bastard's father has to

[1] But in this connection, see also Pitt-Rivers, *Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races*, p. 132.—J. H. H.

[2] The Lakher dislike for bastards is shared by the Ao Nagas. *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, pp. 266, 267.—N. E. P.

give its mother a *rahong* or brass basin of five spans circumference in which to wash the child, which gift is called *nawngaipasina*, and also a *dao* to cut the umbilical cord, which is called *liariana*. Actually a *dao* is never used for cutting the umbilical cord, a sharp split bamboo being always employed. The *dao* here figures as part of the bastard's price. The *leuchapa*, or go-between, has to be given a small sum such as 2 or 3 rupees for his trouble, and a *vopia* is generally paid to the villagers.

In Tisi, if the father does not wish to claim his bastard, he need pay no *riathama*, and the bastard then belongs to its mother's brother, who has to bring it up. If the father wants his bastard, he must pay *riathama* equal in amount to the girl's *angkia*, plus a pig as *awrua*, and a *pumtek* bead as *awruabawna*.

If a man has made a girl pregnant, and before the *riathama* has been paid they decide to marry, the man must pay the girl's father a *hmiatla*, the amount of which is decided by agreement. When this *hmiatla* has been accepted the parties marry, the ordinary marriage price is paid, and no *riathama* can be claimed. As already explained, marriage is the usual ending for these love affairs, but it may happen that a girl does not wish to embark on permanent relations with the father of her child, and if she refuses to marry him, she is still entitled to claim the customary *riathama*.

Cases occur in which a girl has been altogether too free, and has lavished her favours so indiscriminately that it is impossible for the chief and elders to decide which of a number of young men is the father of her child. In such a case the girl's statement as to which of them is the father is accepted, and the man named has to pay the *riathama*. As a rule girls show no reluctance in making a frank statement. As soon as the *riathama* has been paid a bastard belongs to its father, but the mother is responsible for it till it is three years old. A bastard cannot inherit his father's property except failing all other heirs, and a man's brothers and cousins would inherit before his bastard. Neither a bastard nor his descendants till the fourth genera-

tion can be a *Cheusapathaipa*, nor take part in the *Khazangpina* performed by a member of the clan. The status of a bastard, therefore, is very considerably inferior to that of a person of legitimate birth.[1]

Rakhong Kia (*Fornication in Another's Bed*).

When a young man and girl sleep together, either in the girl's parents' bed or in any other person's bed, the young man is liable to a fine. It is *ana* for a couple to have sexual intercourse in another person's bed, as it is believed that such action will lead to the death of the owner of the bed. The amount of the fine varies, but a sow and a fowl or a dog are always included as part of the fine, as these animals have to be sacrificed to purify the bed.

Biatai (*Agreement to Fornicate*).

If a young man makes an agreement with a girl, that if she will let him have intercourse with her he will marry her or pay her a sum of money or give her a present, it is known as *biatai*.

Agreements of this nature are enforced in some villages, and are not recognised at all in others.

In the Zeuhnang villages of the Savang group all such arrangements are null and void, and a girl who has made such an agreement can claim nothing. In Saiko, Kiasi, Chapi, Tisi, and Siaha—that is, among the Tlongsai, Sabeu and Hawthai—the young man has to fulfil the agreement, and if he fails to marry the girl must pay her the amount agreed upon. The Zeuhnang custom in this matter is the same as the Lushei. The Lushei attitude is that love affairs between young men and girls have always been recognised by custom as natural and harmless, but that to allow them to become definite agreements which would be enforced by the chief and the elders would be to commercialise love and sanction prostitution; hence all attempts by the girls to enforce such agreements are sternly refused by the chiefs, who insist that the old custom is the best, and must be

[1] For the Lushei customs as to bastards and sexual offences, *cf.* Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 49–57.—N. E. P.

followed. The Lushei attitude has a great deal to commend it, and it is interesting to find that the same custom exists in Savang.

Sapihria (*Touching of Woman's Breasts*).

When a man fondles a woman's breasts it is known as *sapihria*. It is no offence for a man to fondle a girl's breasts, young men are allowed to do this in all Lakher villages, and as a rule the girls like it. Even if a girl does not like it, she cannot, according to custom, claim any fine because a young man has fondled her breasts, and if she complained to the chief he would simply dismiss her case. It is an offence, however, to fondle a married woman's breasts, and a fine is inflicted in all the villages except Chapi and the other Sabeu villages if this offence is proved. The Chapi chief said to me, " We all do this when we are drinking together and no one thinks anything of it at all, so what would be the use of a fine ? "

In Saiko and the other Tlongsai villages the fine is 20 rupees and a *vopia*, in Savang 20 rupees, in Siaha 20 rupees and a *vopia* plus 1 rupee to the *leuchapa* ; in Tisi the fine is a gong of seven spans circumference and a *vopia*.

Aleuhno (*Fornication with Sleeping Woman*).

If a man has, or attempts to have, sexual intercourse with a woman who is asleep, without first waking her and getting her permission, it is known as *aleuhno*. Lakhers do not regard this as rape, and, indeed, as stealth is used instead of force, there is a distinct difference. Lakher girls usually sleep by themselves on the floor, and not on the parental bed, and the young men, as already described, sleep on the floor in another place not very far off. *Aleuhno* is therefore not very difficult to commit, and if a young man is in love with a girl who is not as responsive as he would wish, he sometimes waits until the girl is asleep, and then goes over and lies down beside her, and before she realises fully what is happening, the girl finds that she is seriously compromised and that her admirer is accomplishing his desire. As a rule in these circumstances a girl makes the best of things, and

it is but seldom that a case of *aleuhno* on an unmarried girl comes to light. Young men do not as a rule attempt *aleuhno* on a girl unless they are fairly sure that the liberty they are taking will not be too actively resented. *Aleuhno* on an unmarried girl is no offence in any of the villages except Saiko and Siaha, in which villages, probably owing to mission influence, a fine is inflicted if a girl complains. In Saiko the fine is 20 rupees and a *vopia*, and in Siaha 10 rupees and a *vopia*. All the other villages follow the old custom ; the young man is not punished, and is, in fact, looked on as rather a clever fellow for having attained his end, and is not regarded as disgraced or as having committed a crime. Even in Saiko and Siaha *aleuhno* on an unmarried girl is not regarded as at all a grave offence. *Aleuhno* on a married woman, is however, a serious offence in all the villages, as the woman's husband has been injured by this encroachment on his rights, and the woman, though through no fault of her own, has been placed in the position of an adulteress.

The fines inflicted in the different villages are as follows :—

In the Saiko group, a *mithun* to the woman's husband and a *vopia* to the villagers.

In Kiasi, a fine equal to the woman's *angkia*, plus a *vopia*, a *panglukhu* cloth, and a *sisakuchakhi* bead.

In the Savang group, if the man accomplishes his desire, a fine equal to the woman's *angkia* must be paid to the woman's husband, but if the attempt fails no fine is inflicted.

In the Chapi group, if the offender and the woman are both common people, whether the attempt is successful or not the offender must pay a fine equal to the amount of the woman's *angkia*, plus a *panglukhu* cloth and a *sisakuchakhi* bead to the woman's husband, and a *vopia* to the villagers. In this village, as usual, the rights of the chief and his family are more strictly safeguarded than in any of the other villages, and if *aleuhno* were committed by a commoner on an unmarried girl of the chief's family the offender would be fined a cow *mithun* and a *vopia ;* though a young chief could commit *aleuhno* on either a commoner or a girl of the chief's family with impunity. If a commoner committed

aleuhno on a woman married to one of the chief's family in the old days he became a slave, and nowadays would be fined 100 rupees plus a *panglukhu* cloth, a *sisakuchakhi* bead, and a *vopia*. If a member of the chief's family commits the offence on a commoner's wife, he is fined the amount of the woman's *angkia*, plus a *panglukhu* cloth and a *sisakuchakhi* bead to the husband, and a *vopia* to the villagers; while if he commits the offence on the wife of a man of the royal house, the fine is 100 rupees plus the cloth, the bead and a *vopia*.

In Siaha, whether the offender is successful or not, a fine of 60 rupees, plus a *dao*, a *panglukhu* cloth and a *pumtek* bead as *sisakuchakhi* must be paid to the woman's husband, and a *vopia* to the villagers and 2 rupees to the *leuchapa*.

In Tisi, if the man succeeds in accomplishing his desire, a fine of 60 rupees is imposed, plus a *pumtek* for *sisakuchakhi*, a *panglukhu* cloth to the woman's husband, and a *vopia* to the villagers.

If the man fails to accomplish his desire, the fine is only a gong of seven spans circumference worth 30 rupees and a *vopia*.

The reason why a *panglukhu* cloth and a *sisakuchakhi* bead have to be given to the husband of the woman on whom the offence is committed is because the woman willy nilly has become an adulteress. The meaning of the cloth and the bead are explained in dealing with adultery.

Hrahrachahno or Chanongchahno (Rape).

Rape, which unlike *aleuhno*, involves the use of force, is known as *hrahrachahno*. It is practically unheard of, and in several villages I was told that they had never known a case. Lakhers consider rape to be very disgraceful; but, as in the case of *aleuhno*, a girl's virtue is in most of the villages rated lower than that of a married woman. Rape is only known to have occurred when a woman has gone alone to the fields or to draw water, and never inside a village. Lushei girls who have been caught out misbehaving themselves frequently try to save their reputation by alleging quite falsely that they have been raped. Lakher girls,

however, are too uneducated and unsophisticated to have resort to such shameless behaviour, and I have never come across a case of even alleged rape.

The fines for *hrahrachahno* are as follows :—

In the Saiko group, for raping a girl, the fine is a gong of seven spans worth 30 rupees and a *vopia ;* and for raping a married woman 60 rupees, plus a *panglukhu* cloth, a *sisakuchakhi* bead, and a *vopia*

In Kiasi, for raping a girl, the fine is a *racha* worth 10 rupees and a *vopia ;* and for raping a married woman an amount equal to the woman's marriage price *angkia* a *panglukhu* cloth, a *sisakuchakhi* bead, and a *vopia.*

In the Savang group, an attempted or successful rape on a girl or a married woman is punished with a fine of a gong of eight spans worth 30 rupees plus a *vopia* and 3 rupees to the *leuchapa.*

In the Siaha group, if an unmarried girl is raped, the fine is 20 rupees ; if a married woman is raped the fine is 60 rupees, a *sisakuchakhi* bead, a *panglukhu* cloth, and a *vopia,* and 2 rupees to the *leuchapa.*

In the Chapi group, no fine is inflicted for raping a girl. In this village it is said that, up to to-day even, the young men are allowed an extraordinarily free hand with the girls, though no case of this nature has ever come before me. For raping a married woman the fine is the amount of the woman's *angkia,* a *sisakuchakhi* bead, a *panglukhu* cloth, and a *vopia.*

In Tisi and the Hawthai villages, the fine for raping a girl is 20 rupees or a gong of six spans circumference and a *vopia,* and for raping a married woman the fine is 60 rupees, plus a *sisakuchakhi* bead, a *panglukhu* cloth, and a *vopia.* The husband of the woman raped is regarded as a cuckold in most villages, and so the cloth and bead form part of the fine.

Cheusa Lapinong Reipaso (*Attempted Seduction*).

If a man tries to seduce another's wife and the woman complains, the would-be seducer is fined. The fine varies

in the different villages, but the usual fine is a gong of seven spans to be paid to the woman's husband, and a *vopia*, which is taken by the chief and elders.

Lunacy.

The Lakhers think that madness is caused by the anger of *Khazangpa*, who is held almost entirely responsible, the *leurahripas* being believed to have practically no hand in making people mad. It is believed that *Khazangpa* is annoyed if people fail to observe certain *anas*, such as the prohibition on the marriage of a nephew and his late maternal uncle's widow and others, and punishes the descendants of the offenders by making them mad. As soon as a person shows signs of being mad, *Khazangpina* must be performed. It is said that many people recover after *Khazangpina*, but on a certain number the sacrifice has no effect. As *leurahripas* are not believed to be responsible for making men mad in most cases, the only sacrifice performed to the *leurahripas* in case of madness is *thlaaw*, the sacrifice performed for calling back a soul that has been seized by a *leurahripa*. Recourse is also had to *Khazanghneipas* in hopes of a cure. Lakhers recognise that lunacy may be hereditary, and say that it sometimes appears in the same family after every second or third generation. It is believed that if a madman is going to recover he will do so within three months from the first attack, and that a man who remains mad for over three months will remain so permanently. The Lakhers also say that once a lunatic has taken to eating his own excrement he will refuse all other food and will die.

Dangerous lunatics are bound hand and feet and kept inside the house, their hands being loosed to enable them to eat their meals. Non-dangerous lunatics are allowed their freedom, and are looked after by their relatives.

Reutang (*Inheritance*).

Lakher descent is patrilineal, and a Lakher's heir is his eldest son. The eldest son takes all the property and must

pay up all his father's debts; he also has to pay his father's *ru* or death due. The mother's *ru* must be paid by the youngest son, but although he has to pay this due, the youngest son cannot claim as of right any share in the estate. In practice, however, the eldest son always allows the youngest son a share, though theoretically it is entirely at his discretion to do so or not. In case of a dispute arising because an eldest son refused to give his youngest brother any share in the paternal estate, I think that probably the chief would insist on a compromise, giving the youngest son a share, unless the eldest son had very good reason for refusing it. Sons other than the eldest and youngest have no claim whatever to any share in the estate. If a man leaves only one son, that son must pay the *ru* of both his father and mother. Women cannot inherit, and if a man dies without any sons his brothers inherit his estate, as shown below.[1]

If the deceased was one of two brothers, the estate goes to the survivor. If deceased was the eldest of three, the estate goes to the youngest brother or his heirs. If the middle brother dies childless, his estate goes to the eldest brother or his heirs. If the youngest brother dies childless his estate goes to the eldest brother or his heirs. In the case of four or more brothers, the eldest and youngest brothers inherit from each other if either dies childless, and if a middle brother dies childless, his estate goes to one of the other middle brothers or his heirs.

Failing brothers, the estate goes to uncles and first cousins, and then to more distant relations, eventually going to the nearest fellow-clansman. A woman would only inherit if she were the last of the clan and no other clansmen at all were surviving. Such an eventuality, however, has probably never arisen, and I do not know of any case of a woman who has inherited property. If a man dies leaving an only daughter, and this daughter is on bad terms with her uncles, she can claim an atonement price (*hmiatla*) from them, and

[1] *Cf.* Rawlins, "On the Manners, Religion, and Laws of the Cucis, or Mountaineers of Tipra," *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. II, xii, p. 193. The Cucis had similar inheritance customs.—N. E. P.

if they refuse to pay it they cannot claim her marriage price, which in such circumstances will be taken by her maternal uncle or his representative (the woman's *pupa*). When a *pupa* receives his niece's marriage price in this way, he takes the *angkia* and its subsidiary prices, but cannot claim *puma* as well: provided that they pay the *hmiatla*, however, the price will go to the girl's uncles. When the father of Seichinong of Saiko died, the latter was on bad terms with her father's heir, Ngiasa. As Ngiasa refused to pay Seichinong a *hmiatla*, her marriage price went to her *pupa*, Chhameu of Saiko.

If a man dies leaving minor children, his wife is entitled to the custody of his estate on behalf of his eldest son, and may continue to occupy her late husband's house and bring up his family, provided she does not marry again. If a widow in these circumstances marries again, the property and children go to her late husband's brothers. If a widow is unable to look after the estate and support the family, the deceased's youngest brother or, if deceased himself was the youngest of several brothers, his eldest brother would inherit on behalf of deceased's eldest son, and would have to support deceased's wife and children.

If a young man dies without children, his father inherits his estate, or may allow one of deceased's brothers to take it. The heir, whoever he is, must pay the deceased's *ru* or death due.

A dead man's brothers and nephews will inherit his estate before his sons by concubines or bastards. Sons by concubines inherit before bastards, and bastards before a mere fellow-clansman. No Lakher can make a will, and all property must descend to the customary heirs. At the same time, no one can refuse an inheritance on the score of its being over-burdened with debt; an inheritance must be accepted, and debts are inherited as well as assets. Any one inheriting the property of a man who has died leaving daughters but no sons, as a rule hands over to the deceased's daughters any articles usually recognised as woman's property that the deceased may have left, such as belts or women's cloths or ornaments. An essential condition of inheriting

a man's estate is that the heir must pay the *ru* or death due [1] payable on the deceased and his wife, the payment of which can in no circumstances be dispensed with. According to old custom, if when a chief or a member of the royal house died his heirs refused to pay his death due, one or two of the deceased's slaves could club together and pay the death due, and thereby ransom themselves from slavery. The inheritance customs described above are those observed in all the Tlongsai, Zeuhnang and Hawthai villages.

In Chapi and the other Sabeu villages, the custom regarding inheritance is different. The formal heir is the youngest son; he takes his father's house and divides all the other property with his eldest brother, the largest share of the movables going to the youngest son. Sons other than the youngest and eldest receive no share in the inheritance, and if the eldest son has died before his father, the youngest son gets the whole estate; but if any of these middle sons are still unmarried when their father dies, the eldest and the youngest brothers must subscribe and buy them wives. If a man leaves daughters and no sons, his brothers inherit, but must give the deceased's daughters a share of his property for them to have as a dowry and to take with them when they marry. A man's daughter inherits prior to cousins more than thrice removed. If the only heirs are a legitimate daughter and a son by a concubine, the estate is divided between them; the son by a concubine has to pay all debts and the death dues of his father and of the latter's widow, but can claim his half-sister's marriage price. As in the other villages, the youngest son pays the mother's death due and the eldest son the father's. If, owing to the death of either the eldest or youngest son before his father, one of them inherits the whole estate, he must pay the death dues of both his father and mother. The Chapi custom of inheritance is in some respects similar to that followed by Lusheis, among whom the youngest son, known as *fathlum*, is the formal heir, and succeeds to his father's house. The Lakher inheritance rules are very fair: the heir inherits everything, debts and obligations as well as assets. It is

[1] *Cf.* Shaw, *op. cit.* p. 56, my footnote on *lôngmăn*.—J. H. H.

practically impossible for a man to die and leave an orphan family unprovided for, as his heirs are bound to support the orphans. This they are quite ready to do, as family feeling is strong, but, as a matter of fact, the orphans soon earn their keep if boys, and, if girls, their protector is amply recompensed for any expense he incurs on their behalf when he receives their marriage prices. If a man likes, he can divide up his property among his sons in his lifetime, and if he does so his sons must abide by the division made by their father. Old men fairly frequently dispose of their property in this way, but it is *ana* for any man who is not really old to make such a division of property in his lifetime as it is believed to induce an early death.

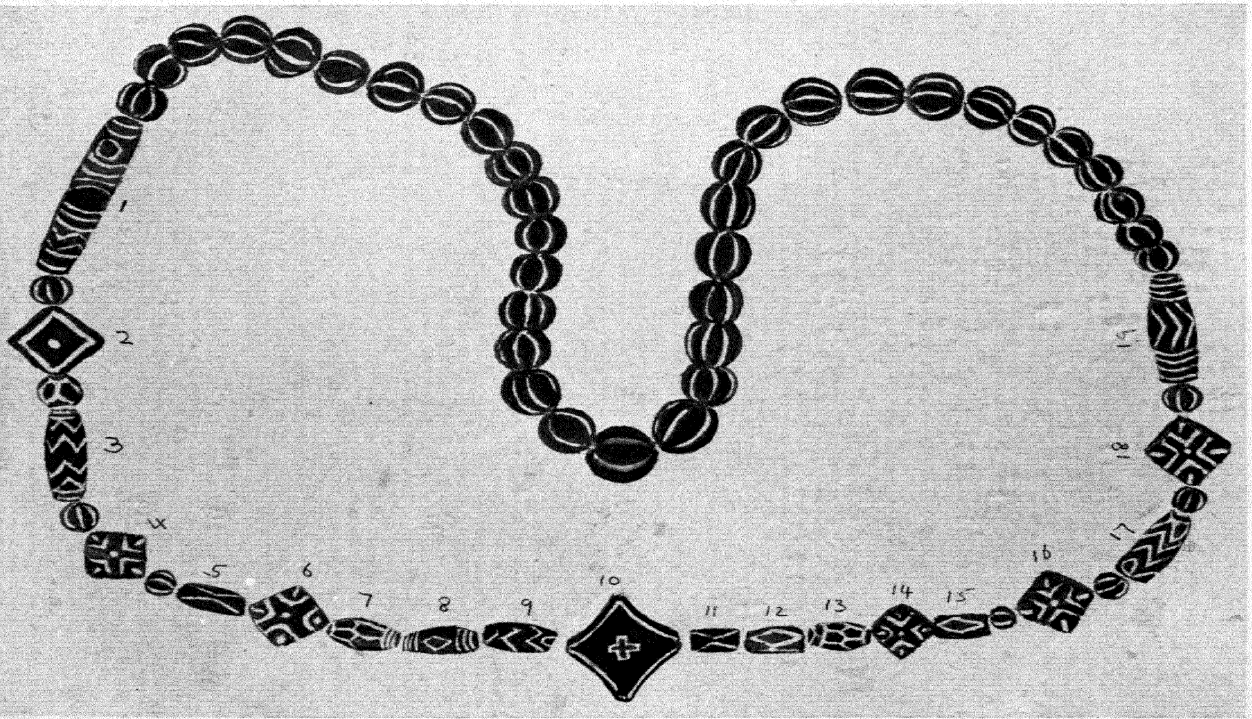
Adoption (*Sawta Alapa*).

Adoption is very rarely resorted to, since, save in very exceptional cases, it is useless for any one to adopt a stranger as a son, as the claims of an adopted son to inherit cannot be sustained against the claims of members of the deceased's family or clan. It sometimes happens that a childless man adopts one of his brother's sons, and to such an adoption within the family no objection would be raised, and actually Zabeu, chief of Tongkolong, who has no children, has adopted Hralong, son of his brother Thangtu, and recognised him as his heir, and no objection has been or could be raised to this. Supposing, however, that a man having no children, but with numerous brothers and cousins, tried to adopt a boy who was no relation and a member of another clan, the brothers would at once raise strong objections, as such an adoption would be contrary to custom and of no effect; as even distant cousins can claim to inherit before an adopted son. To all intents and purposes, therefore, it is impossible for a Lakher to adopt any one who is not a relation, as not only would the relations of the adoptive parent object, but it would be necessary to find some orphan without relations or protectors; as if the child proposed to be adopted had relations they would certainly object to his being adopted into another family and clan. The only circumstances in

which adoption can take place outside the family circle is if a lone man without children or other recognisable heirs adopts as his son a slave or captive made in war; to effect such an adoption the adopter must perform *Khazangpina* and give to the person he wishes to adopt part of the *phavaw*. The participation in this sacrifice makes the person thus allowed to participate a member of his adopter's family, and after this ceremony the adoption is complete; the adopted son is treated in every way as the son of the man adopting him, and on the death of his adoptive father inherits his property. Such adoptions have taken place in the past, but they are exceedingly rare, and are not likely to recur.

Reu (*Heirlooms*).

In the families of chiefs and nobles, heirlooms are handed down from generation to generation. These generally consist of necklaces of *pumtek* beads, *rahongs*, gongs or guns. Rachi, chief of Chapi, has a very fine necklace of *pumteks* which came to him from Khilai, one of his ancestors, and which he says nothing would induce him to sell. Heirlooms, in fact, are never sold unless the owner is in very great distress indeed. In Chapi it is believed that if a man sells his heirlooms he will have no children, and will be the last of his family. This belief is not current in the other villages, but in all of them heirlooms are sold only in the last resort. The beads in the *pumtek* necklaces all have their own special names. Rachis necklace, illustrated opposite, consists of the following beads: (1) *Thingapa*; (2) *thikhongphiapa* (a flat bead); (3) *kiamei* (this is a very old bead indeed); (4) *thikhongphiapa*; (5) *paripilu* (a snake's head); (6) *thikhongphiapa*; (7) *thivakawngapa*; (8) *laikhaichanongpa*; (9) *kiamei*; (10) *thikhongphiapa*; (11) *paripilu*; (12) *paripilu*; (13) *thivakawngapa*; (14) *thikhongphiapa*; (15) *paripilu*; (16) *thikhongphiapa*; (17) *kiamei* (also a very old bead); (18) *thikhongphiapa*; (19) *laikhaichapawpa*. The round beads are called *Sisa*. Lakhers know every little mark on their old beads, and can identify them unfailingly.



PAMTEK NECKLACE BELONGING TO RACHI, CHIEF OF CHAPI

Marriage Customs.

Laisacharei (*Courting*).

While courting all the world over follows much the same course, a Lakher's wooing savours rather more of direct action than that of a young man in the West.

The chief difference really is that the Lakhers frankly recognise facts which are camouflaged in England. The Lakher method of courting is similar to the Lushei, but as the Lakhers have no *zawlbuk*, and it is the custom for young men to sleep in the house of the girl they favour, their task is much easier, whether their intentions are serious or whether they are only contemplating a casual amour. The suitor spends his day with the girl; they help each other in their work and exchange tobacco and nicotine-water, and at night the suitor sleeps in the girl's house. When a girl is favourably inclined to a young man, she places her bed nearer to his than is usual, and he is not slow to take the hint. The chief of Chapi told me that a favourite occasion for a young man to bring his wooing to a head is when a party of men and girls are drinking and singing together. The lover puts his arms round the girl and fondles her, and if she makes no objection he proceeds to make further advances, and if these are not taken amiss, the couple leave the merry-makers and go to the girl's house. Lakhers, however, are comparatively secretive about their love affairs, and show far better feeling in these matters than the Lusheis. If a Lushei has succeeded with a girl, he proclaims his triumph on the housetops, entirely regardless of the feelings of his victim, like a cock on a dungheap. A Lakher, on the other hand, never says a word, and does all he can to keep the affair quiet.

Though the custom varies somewhat in the different villages, scandal is on the whole sternly discouraged. In the Saiko and Siaha Tlongsai groups, if any one accuses two young unmarried persons of having been too intimate, the scandalmonger is fined a *racha* or 10 rupees and a *vopia*, whether the charge is true or not. In Chapi and the other Sabeu villages a fine is inflicted only if the charge cannot be proved. In Savang and the other Zeuhnang villages, no

fine is imposed for merely saying that two young persons have slept together. Again, in the Saiko and Siaha group, if a young man himself gives out that he has slept with a girl and she denies it, he is fined 10 rupees and a *vopia*, whether he can prove the truth of his statement or not. In the Zeuhnang villages, a young fellow who boasts of his success with a girl is fined a gong of eight spans and a *vopia* if it is found that his boast is true, but if it is found that there was no foundation for the boast no notice is taken. In Chapi and the other Sabeu villages, however, young men can boast with impunity, and no fine is inflicted even if the girl denies the soft impeachment and her self-styled lover cannot prove his statement.

The Sabeu custom in this, as in a number of other instances, differs from the custom followed by the other groups. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that Lakhers are far more discreet about these matters than Lusheis.

It is doubtless this dislike for publicity that accounts for the fact that the Lakhers have no equivalent to the Lushei *puarak*, a friend who always accompanies a young Lushei in amorous adventures, and who acts both as pimp and as witness to what occurred, if by evil chance a civil suit arises owing to the victorious lover's boasting of his prowess. However, apart from the fact that discretion in love is essential, there is no bar to the freest of intercourse between unmarried persons, and no fine is inflicted merely because a young man and a girl have slept together.

Nonghia (*Marriage*).

As a rule a young man's bride is selected by his parents, and it is only in comparatively rare cases, generally where a love affair has ended in an undesired result, that a man chooses his own bride. Except in cases of *nongapahaw*, a form of child marriage which will be described later, a man usually marries between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, and a woman after the age of twenty. This reasonable marriage age is due largely to the fact that Lakhers always want to marry into a higher clan if possible, so that it is

by no means easy to find a suitable bride, and partly to the high rate of marriage price, which renders it necessary for a man's relatives to save up for years before they can afford to buy him a wife. Even so, the Lakhers marry earlier than the Lusheis. There is a deep social gulf between the higher and the lower clans, and every Lakher wants to raise his status by marrying a wife from a clan higher than his own.

Prohibited Degrees of Relationship.

Very few restrictions are imposed on the choice of a wife. There is no bar to people of the same clan marrying. It is *ana* for a full brother and sister to marry, as the children would not thrive. The Lakhers, however, believe that the marriage of a brother to a sister will only have evil effects for the parties, and not for the rest of the village, while among the Lusheis incestuous marriages are believed to lead to a failure in the crops. Children of the same father but by different mothers may not marry, but children of the same mother by different fathers may marry. The children of a brother and sister may and do marry if the sister's child is a son and the brother's child a daughter, but a man should not marry his father's sister's daughter, though it is not actually *ana* for him to do so. I am told that the reason for this is purely utilitarian, a brother's son being his sister's daughter's *pupa*, and so entitled to her *puma* when she marries, so that if he himself married her he would lose her price. I think, however, that the prohibition is more probably really due to the peculiarly close relationship existing between a maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces, the tie between them being very nearly as close as that between a parent and his children. The nature and significance of this relationship have been discussed elsewhere, and I think that probably in former times a marriage between a maternal uncle and his niece would have been just as *ana* as a marriage between a nephew and the widow of his maternal uncle is to-day. It is believed that such a marriage will most probably be fruitless, and that if by any chance offspring are produced, they will be imbeciles or

afflicted with congenital disease. I know only two instances of a man marrying his father's sister's daughter, one in Siaha and the other at Chholong, the names of the parties in the latter village being Pabu and Keuhlei. Both these marriages took place only because the young man had made the girl pregnant, their relationship had come to light, there had been a scandal, and the relations had thought the best way out of it was to make the miscreants marry.

The children of brothers do not marry, it is not absolutely *ana* for them to do so, but it is believed that the children will be few and unhealthy, and that the parties themselves will die prematurely. In the one instance of such a marriage that I know of, between Siatia and Nongkhai of Amongbeu, no evil effects are yet apparent, and they have three children. There is no objection to the marriage of the children of two sisters.

It is not *ana* for a man to marry his father's widow, but it is considered disgraceful. Mawtheu of Siaha, a son of Kikhaw by a concubine, on his father's death married his father's widow, Dawpeu. This was regarded as a breach of custom, and Dawpeu died not long after. In a marriage of this kind the son does not have to pay the full marriage price, he has only to pay a due called *abanasong*, usually a gong of eight spans. Such marriages are very rare indeed.[1]

Although I am assured that such marriages are contrary to custom, I think that the sentiment against them is probably of modern growth. I find in Phayre's "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, No. 117, that among the Lungkhes and Tseindus "a son can marry his father's inferior wife after his father's death." It is true that Mawtheu married his father's married wife, but I am inclined to think that formerly such marriages were much more common than they are now.

The marriage of a father to his deceased son's widow is allowed, and is not regarded as a breach of custom. Vachhong, chief of Savang, married Ngongkei, widow of his son Chhonlang. Vachhong badly wanted an heir, and, being

[1] Marriages of this kind are frequent among the Sema Nagas, and regarded as quite correct and desirable.—J. H. H.

an old man, would have had to pay a very heavy price for any one else, the widow was good looking and willing, and no additional price beyond an extra gong of eight spans as *abanasong* was required. The most favoured marriage is with a mother's brother's daughter,[1] as it keeps the maternal avuncular relationship in the same line, but it is not obligatory.

Remarriage of Widows.

There is no bar whatever to a widow marrying again, she can do so immediately her husband dies if she likes. A widow usually remains in her husband's house till the memorial stone has been erected, but the Lakhers have no equivalent to the Lushei *thla-hual* ceremony, before performing which a woman is considered to be still bound to her deceased husband, and a woman can marry while still living in her late husband's house without any objection. A woman who has children usually remains in her late husband's house till she marries again, and her children generally go with her to her new husband, but if they prefer to go to their father's relations or to their *pupa* they are at liberty to do so. A dead man's brothers have no rights over his widow unless they support her, and even then the widow will obey them only so long as she is living in their house. They cannot put any bar in the way of her remarrying. The price of a widow who remarries is as a rule less than that of a girl who has not been married before, but it is impossible to say what reduction, if any, will be made, as this will depend partly on the age, personal attractions and industry of the widow, and partly on the custom followed in different villages. A widow is called *nonghmei*. A woman who has been thrice married and all of whose husbands have died is called a *malusong*. A *malusong* is on the verge of being *ana*, and Lakhers are very shy of marrying *malusong*, as they believe that if a woman has outlived three husbands she is likely to outlive a fourth. An elderly spinster is known as *laitleu*.

[1] This is so also among the Fijians. *Cf.* A. H. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 190.—N. E. P. And generally, I think, among the hill tribes of Assam.—J. H. H.

Lapinongkhu (Marriage to Deceased Brother's Wife).

It is quite common among Lakhers for a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. The deceased's relatives do not like to send the woman away, also it is economical for the man's family, as it saves expenditure on marriage price. When a married man dies, either his younger or his elder brother can, if he likes, ask to marry his deceased brother's wife.[1] The widow can refuse, but more usually she accepts. If she accepts, her deceased husband's brother pays a small sum, called *abanasong*, which is usually between 10 and 30 rupees, to her relatives, and then marries her. In such a case a woman cannot claim a separate marriage price for this second marriage, but her new husband must pay any balance of the price that had not been paid by his deceased brother.

If the deceased left sons, his sons inherit his property. If deceased left no sons, the brother who married his widow inherits his property, provided that he is the youngest brother ; but if the deceased was the eldest of three brothers and his widow was married by the second brother, the youngest of the three inherits deceased's property, and not the brother who marries the widow ; as eldest and youngest brothers inherit in preference to those born in between them.

Ordinary Marriages.

When the parents have found a girl they think suitable as a bride for their son, the first step is to send a female relation to the girl's parents to find out whether a proposal for their daughter's hand is likely to be welcomed. If this woman reports favourably, the parents appoint an intermediary, who is known as the *leuchapa*, who is sent to present the girl's parents with a *dao* (*thuasang*), which is supposed to bring them lucky dreams.[2] If on the night after they have been given the *thuasang* the girl's parents have lucky dreams, they will agree to the match, but if the dreams are unlucky,

[1] So, too, the Thado. Among Naga tribes, on the other hand, it is generally the rule that a younger brother may take an elder brother's widow, but not vice versa.—J. H. H.

[2] The Lakher *thuasang* may be compared with the club taken by a Fijian wooer. *Cf.* A. H. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 191.—N. E. P.

they will refuse it. Dreams about fish, clear water, necklaces, guns or *daos* are lucky, and show that the match will be a success ; but dreams about a wild animal that has been shot or killed by a tiger, a dead snake, or about any one stealing pigs or fowls are very unlucky ; and if a girl's parents dream of any of these things they accept the warning and refuse the proposal.

If their dreams have been lucky and the girl's parents accept the proposal, after a few days they prepare *sahma*, and invite the *leuchapa* and the suitor to their house to discuss the price. As soon as the suitor and the girl's parents come to a definite agreement as to the price, the match is finally arranged. Once the marriage has been fixed in this way the suitor is liable to pay up the *angkia* if he jilts the girl. In Savang the *thuasang* is given by the woman who is first sent to ascertain the feelings of the parents of the prospective bride, and if after the *thuasang* has been given the man cries off, he must give the girl's parents a gong of eight spans. As soon as the price has been agreed on, the wedding day is fixed, and when this day arrives the bridegroom sends the *leuchapa* to the bride's parents to say that the marriage is to take place.

On the marriage day their respective friends gather in the house of the bride and bridegroom and start the proceedings by drinking beer. After this, as the people who are entitled to the bride's price have to kill some pigs before they can claim it, the next proceeding is to kill some pigs. The bride's parents have to kill three to five pigs to enable them to claim the various prices, and the bridegroom has to kill a certain number of pigs in return. If the bride's people kill three pigs, the bridegroom must kill one in return ; if they kill five pigs, the bridegroom must kill two. There is no limit to the number of pigs that may be killed, and the more pigs killed the grander the show and the bigger the feast. The *sisazi* pig must be killed on the wedding day, and the *sisazi* must be paid on that day. The *angkia* pig should be killed on the wedding day, but if the bride's father has no pig at the time he can kill one at a later date. If the bride's father intends to keep all the prices that come

under the *angkia* heading himself, provided that he kills the *angkia* pig, the *sisazi* pig, and one other pig, called the *mahra* pig, on the wedding day, he need kill no more pigs to enable him to claim the other *angkia* prices, such as the *seipihra* and *seicheihra*. If, however, the bride's father does *matlei*, and divides the *seipihra* and other *angkia* prices among his brothers or sons, each person claiming a price must kill a pig for each price he claims. If the bride's uncles or brothers kill the pigs and claim the prices on the marriage day, the bridegroom does not have to kill an *awrua* pig and pay *awruabawna* for each price claimed, the *awrua* and *awruabawna* paid on the *angkia* covering all the prices. If, however, the brothers kill their pigs and claim their prices at a later date, the bridegroom must kill an *awrua* pig and pay *awruabawna* with each price. The largest pig killed is called the *angkiavo*, and is killed to enable the *angkia* or main price to be claimed. This pig should measure six fists across the body, and is given whole to the bridegroom. The *sisavo* is then killed. If the bride's father has done *matlei* or divided the marriage price with his sons or his brothers or a fellow-clansman, the other pigs, known as the *seipihravo*, the *seicheihravo* and the *chawcheuvo*, are killed to claim the prices whose names they bear. When the pigs have been killed, they are cut in half, and the half with the head is sent to the bridegroom raw, the half with the tail is cooked with rice and sent ready cooked to the bridegroom. It is considered disgraceful for the bride's parents to eat any part of these pigs sent to the bridegroom, and they never do so. Thus three pigs enable the bride's people to claim the whole of the *angkia* and its subsidiary prices if the prices are not divided up between the bride's father and her brothers, and six are enough to enable all the prices to be claimed if they are divided up; but these pigs do not cover the prices payable to the bride's maternal and paternal aunts and maternal uncle.

In return for the five pigs killed by the bride's parents the bridegroom kills two pigs. These pigs are also cut in half, and the half with the head is sent raw and the half with the tail is cooked in rice and sent to the bride's parents. This

gift of pork is known as *awrua*. When they receive the cooked meat the bride's parents say, "You have been very kind and have sent us this pork and rice, but unless you pay us the *awruabawna* we are not going to eat it." The bridegroom then pays the *awruabawna*, but the bride's parents still refuse to eat any of the meat until the *sisazi* has been paid. The *sisazi*, which consists of three *pumtek* beads, is then paid, after which the bride's parents eat the meat which the bridegroom has sent them. On this day the bridegroom must pay a due called *lokheu* to the bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle). The due is a large earthenware pot (*racha*) or 10 rupees. When paying this due the bridegroom must also kill a fowl and give it to his bride's *pupa*.

These preliminaries having been satisfactorily settled, the *leuchapa* fetches a cup of beer from the bridegroom's to the bride's house, and calls the bride and her aunt to the *amakia*, which is the bride's marriage procession to her bridegroom's house. Before starting, the *leuchapa* gives the cup of beer to the oldest person in the house. As soon as it is dark, the bride and her aunt start off, their procession being headed by the *sahmaphopa*, who is a cupbearer and carries a large pot of rice beer, while behind him follow the bride, her aunt and their friends. The paternal aunt has to go with the bride, as she must claim the *tini* on the marriage day. When the party reach the bridegroom's house they stand outside and wait for the bridegroom to give the bride's aunt a *dao* to cut the road with. This gift is called *lavana*. The bridegroom must then give the bride's aunt an axe with which to cut away any trees that may have fallen across the road, and this gift is known as *thangchachaina ;* after these dues have been paid the bride's party demand the price which must be paid to them for climbing up the ladder to the bridegroom's house. This consists of a skein of cotton thread, and is called *kahmikiana*, and goes to the bride's aunt. The whole party then climbs up the ladder on to the verandah and demand *chakeichakana*, the price of crossing the threshold, which consists of a puggree,[1] and is taken by the aunt. This due having been paid, they cross the thres-

[1] *Cf.* Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 63.—J. H. H.

hold and enter the house. The bridegroom places mats and a cloth for them to sit on, and they all sit down ; the young men bring a basket called *tini baikhai* to put the presents in, and the bride's aunt demands her dues, which are called the *tini*. This ceremony is called the *tinitheuna*. The *tini* consists of a large number of small dues, which vary from village to village, and are given in detail in the sample marriage prices which will be found further on. The aunt does not have to kill a pig to enable her to claim the *tini*, but all the dues composing the *tini* have to be claimed on the wedding day, and must be paid without delay. There is only one due, the *atawna*, which consists of a brass pot of five spans or 5 rupees, which can be claimed afterwards.

The *tini* presents all go to the aunt except three : the *sisai*, a necklace of twenty strings of small red beads ; the *naba*, one string of cornelians, and the *chongchi*, a brass wire belt, which are taken by the bride. The following is a list of some of the possible component parts of the *tini*, but it is not exhaustive, and a number of dues not included here will be found in the marriage-price tables.

Lakher Name of Due.	Meaning of Name of Due.	Payment.
Lavana	A *dao* for cutting the road.	A *dao*.
Thangchachaina . .	An axe for clearing away trees that have fallen across the road.	An axe.
Kahmikiana sisa . .	The price for climbing the ladder.	One *pumtek*.
Chakei chakana . .	The price of crossing the threshold.	A *puggree*.
Tinitheuna . . .	The largest due.	A brass pot of five spans.
Tini sisai	Red beads.	Ten strings of red beads.
Naba rikha. . . .	A string of cornelians.	One string of cornelians.
Kheiti rikha . . .	A string of round white beads.	One string of round white beads.
Tini hrakhaw . . .	A woman's metal belt.	One metal belt.
Tini pangphaw . .	A cloth for the person claiming the *tini* to sit on.	A cloth with a black stripe.
Kohrei	A coat with short sleeves.	A coat with short sleeves.
Peuchi mangnang . .	Two skeins of blue thread.	Two skeins of blue thread.
Hrokei	Woman's hairpin.	A woman's brass hairpin.

Lakher Name of Due.	Meaning of Name of Due.	Payment.
Sakia	Man's hairpin.	Five man's hairpins.
Lara sawng . . .	White, red and blue threads.	Enough white, red and blue thread to make a coat.
Seitidangna . . .	A drinking vessel for a *mithun*.	A brass pot of three spans.
Pang	An ordinary cloth.	Two ordinary cloths.
Bawhri hra. . . .	In lieu of raw cotton.	Enough raw cotton to make a cloth.
Beihnang hra . . .	In lieu of a chief's skirt.	One embroidered skirt.
Khahnang hra . . .	In lieu of a good skirt.	One good skirt.
Zawnglei hra . . .	In lieu of a skirt without a join.	One ordinary skirt.
Lakeu chavei chacha .	A bracelet for the right and the left hands.	Two bracelets.
Chhongpang lakeu hra	In lieu of a solid bangle.	A woman's bangle.
Chongchi hra . . .	In lieu of a woman's belt.	A woman's belt.
Chhebi hra	In lieu of beads.	A string of pink beads.
Kihlong hra . . .	In lieu of cowries.	A large cowrie.
Vopi hra	In lieu of a pig.	A sow of three fists.
Vohrang hra . . .	In lieu of a piglet.	A piglet.
Tini thuasang . . .	A lucky *dao*.	A *dao*.
Mocheu	The bride's friend's due.	Wire belt of four strings.
Beichhangahnang . .	The cook's skirt.	An ordinary skirt.
Tini chhongkhong . .	A lid for the brass pot.	A brass pot of three spans.
Rithu	The due of the man who watches the girls during the feast to see that they do not get into mischief.	A brass pot of four spans.
Tini chateuna . . .	A cloth to wrap up the *tini*.	A white cloth with a black stripe.
Siba patheuna . . .	A basket for carrying the *tini*.	An iron pot of four spans or 2 rupees.
Aphi	A cane mat.	A cane mat.
Tinitlana	The end of the *tini*.	A brass pot of four spans or 3 rupees.
Baikai	A basket for carrying the *tini*.	A basket or a fowl.

As soon as the aunt has finished claiming the *tini*, which takes a long time, she is plied with beer to make her as drunk as possible, so that she may forget what dues she has claimed and so fail to carry them off with her when she goes. The bride and bridegroom are placed on seats near the *sahma* pot, and the actual marriage ceremony takes place. The *leuchapa* takes a cup of rice beer, dips his brass hairpin in it, gives some beer from the hairpin to the bride and bridegroom to drink, and wishes them many children, long life

and prosperity. This ceremony, which is called *Tipani*, must be performed before the first cock crows, and until it has been performed the bride must not drink beer nor smoke in her husband's house.

After this the bride and bridegroom drink beer together, and then get up and spend the rest of the night with the assembled company, drinking and singing, and finally the bride returns to her parents' house. In Tisi there is an additional ceremony. One of the young men present kills a fowl while the couple are drinking beer, and sings a chant. The sacrifice of the fowl is to enable the couple to have children, and the fowl can be eaten only by unmarried girls and relations of the sacrificer.

Next day the bride's parents, with the bride and ten or fifteen friends, go to the bridegroom's house with a pot of *sahma* beer and ask him and his *leuchapa* how much of the price he can pay at once. The bridegroom pays as much as he can, and owes the balance. The rest of the day is spent in feasting and drinking. In the evening the bride and her party all return to her parents' house. The man who carries the *sahma* pot is called the *sahmaphopa*, and the bridegroom has to pay him 4 annas or a fowl. The following day they all meet again in the bridegroom's house, and the bride's parents ask the bridegroom to give presents called *ahla* to the friends who have accompanied them. The *ahlas* are then paid. The chief, the elder or *macha* who came with the party, the woman sitting next to the bride's mother, who is called the *chanongtokhai*, and the man sitting next to the bride's father, the *chapawtokhai*, the *mocheu* or bride's friend, the cooks or *chongtlapa* who carried the pork to the bride's house—all receive small dues, which vary in different villages; and the other members of the party probably get a fowl each or a small sum of money. These presents all have to be refunded if the woman later leaves her husband. As it is difficult for the bridegroom to find the wherewithal to pay all the dues expected from him, he distributes the pork he has received from the bride's people to his friends and relations, and calls on them to help him to pay the presents mentioned above, sending

two men called *ahlasupa* to invoke their aid. The *ahlasupa* are given a hind-leg of pork each. After the presents have been distributed, the bride and her party return to her parents' house.

When the bridegroom and bride belong to different villages, an additional due, called *adeuna*, has to be paid to the person who takes the *angkia*, in consideration of the fact that he has had the trouble of escorting the bride to the bridegroom's village. In some villages the amount of the *ahlas* is also increased. The next day the bride finally moves over to her husband's house. After the house has been thoroughly cleaned and purified, the husband sacrifices a white cock on a stone in front of the house, and as soon as the cock has been killed the stone it was killed on is turned upside down. The bride and bridegroom and the bridegroom's parents eat the cock together. This sacrifice is called *Miapali*, and is to ensure that the couple shall get good crops and shall not cut themselves accidentally while cutting the *jhums*. The spirits of the pigs which have been killed are called *Mia*, and they are believed to hover over the place where the pigs were sacrificed. The reason for turning upside down the stone upon which the cock was sacrificed is to turn the *Mia* out of the house. In Tisi, on *Miapali* day, it is customary for a man to take a small fowl in one hand and a broom in the other and to go round the house sweeping out all the dust and refuse of the feast. When the house has been swept clear the fowl is killed by throwing it on the ground, and is then cast out in the direction of the setting sun. This ceremony is supposed to cast out all evil that might affect the crops of the newly married pair, and to ensure that their *jhums* shall burn completely and that their paddy shall germinate.

From now on the bride remains in her husband's house, but it is not etiquette for the husband and wife to sleep together till at least a month has elapsed, and sometimes they wait for as much as a year.[1] This delay is said to be

[1] Among the Fijians a similar delay in cohabitation takes place. *Cf.* A. H. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 196.—N. E. P. *Cf.* also *The Angami Nagas*, p. 222, and *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 57 *n.*[3], for similar cases.—J. H. H.

due to shame, as the neighbours make spiteful comments on the indecent haste with which the marriage has been consummated if it seems that a child is on its way too soon. Considering the freedom of prenuptial intercourse, this restraint after marriage is curious, and in this the Lakhers are quite unlike the Lusheis, who always consummate the marriage on the first night that the bride sleeps in her husband's house, which is the night following the night of the wedding ceremony. For the first few months of the marriage, therefore, the bride sleeps in her husband's house, while he sleeps in some other house, and woos his wife as if she were a stranger. It is not until a man has consummated his marriage that he sleeps permanently with his wife in his own house.

There are two slight variations from the procedure described above which are sometimes adopted and which should be mentioned here.

(1) When a chief asks for the hand of another chief's daughter for his son, he employs a *macha* or elder as *leuchapa*, and if, after the *thuasang* or *dao* has been presented and the girl's parents have had good dreams, the marriage is agreed on, the *angkia* is paid at once, before the usual ceremonies called *amakia* have been performed. The bride's parents kill a *mithun* or a pig, and the bridegroom's parents must pay the amount of the *angkia*, whatever it may be. This is called *angkiasani*. It is not essential for the *angkia* to be paid on the *angkiasani* day, it can be paid at the time of *amakia* if desired, but if after the *angkiasani* the bridegroom calls the marriage off, the girl's parents keep the *angkia* paid, or, if it had not been paid, can claim it.

After *angkiasani* all the other ceremonies described before are performed as usual.

(2) In the case of common people a similar procedure is also adopted sometimes, but in their case it is the *sisazi* which is paid in advance. On the day fixed for payment of *sisazi* the bride's people kill a pig, and the *sisazi*, which consists of three *pumteks*, is paid by the bridegroom. If after this the bridegroom jilts the girl, her people can keep the *sisazi*, and if it has not been paid can claim it.

This payment in advance is sometimes insisted on by a girl's parents in order that they may assure themselves of at any rate part of the price before they commit themselves to the marriage.

In Chapi and the Sabeu villages the procedure is rather different from that followed in the other villages. The man's parents select the bride, and if her parents are agreeable the parties inform the chief, and ask him for his consent, and it is not until the chief has approved the match that the *thuasang* can be sent. This is another example of the very paternal rule of the Changza chiefs of Chapi. The *thuasang* having been sent, the preliminaries as already described are gone through. On the marriage day the bridegroom's party with the chief go to the bride's house, and the bridegroom pays the *sisazi*, which consists of two *pumtek* beads and an iron pot of three spans in circumference. If the bridegroom can do so, he pays the whole of the *angkia* price on this day, but this is not essential. The point in which the Chapi custom differs most from that of the other villages is that the *amakia* does not take place on the wedding day. The bride's people if possible kill two pigs, or at any rate one, and provide beer, while the bridegroom kills a fowl and gives it to the bride's parents. A small feast is held, but it is not essential for the bride's father to kill pigs to enable him to claim his daughter's price; pigs are killed, but primarily for a feast.

On the wedding night the bride sleeps in her husband's house, and the marriage is consummated; if not on that night, then within a week or ten days. It is not till after the marriage has been consummated that the *amakia* takes place. There may be a delay of anything between six months and two years after the marriage before the *amakia* takes place. It depends on the financial position of the parties, and whether there are plenty of pigs and beer available for the feast. Often the *amakia* does not take place till one or two children have been born.

The *amakia* feast lasts for three days. The first day is the *awruabawna* day. On this day the bride's people kill pigs, and the bridegroom reciprocates. If the bride's people

kill three pigs, the bridegroom must kill two, and if they kill five, the bridegroom must kill three. The pigs are cut up, the stomach, the skin and meat over the stomach, and one hind-leg of each pig are set apart, and the bride's people send the rest of the pig raw to the bridegroom. Of the parts set aside by the bride's people, the stomach is cooked and sent to the bridegroom, while the hind-leg and the skin and meat over the stomach are given to the cook. The pigs killed by the bridegroom are dealt with in exactly the same way: the cook receives the hind-leg and the skin and meat over the stomach; the bride receives the cooked stomach and the rest of the meat raw. The bride's parents refuse to eat the cooked meat until the *awruabawna* is paid, and when this is paid they hold a feast, and the *amakia* procession to the bridegroom's house takes place. The bride's aunt claims her *tini* as already described. The next day the bride's parents claim her price, if it has not already been paid, and the bridegroom pays as much as he can, leaving the balance to be paid off by instalments. In Chapi if the parties both live in the village none of the presents called *ahla* is paid; these are payable only if the bridegroom belongs to another village. The Chapi chief does not wish his village girls to marry strangers, so if a man from another village wants to marry a Chapi girl, he has to pay a higher price for her than a Chapi villager would. The parents of a girl whose *angkia* would be 20 rupees to a Chapi man demand an *angkia* of 30 rupees from a man of another village, and all the subsidiary prices are raised proportionately. Ordinarily in Chapi no *Miapali* sacrifice is performed, but if the marriage takes place at the time when the paddy is germinating, a fowl is supplied by the parents of the bride and bridegroom, and is sacrificed on the *Tleulia* ground, its flesh being given to the elders to eat. The reason for this sacrifice is the belief that if a marriage takes place when the paddy is germinating the paddy may die unless the sacrifice is performed. If both the *sisazini* and the *amakia* happen to take place while the paddy is germinating, the sacrifice must be performed on each occasion.

On the third day a feast is held, the pork is all eaten and

much beer is consumed. In Chapi the price called *chawcheu* must be given to his brother by the person who receives the girl's price. Sabeu marriage custom thus differs considerably from that in the other villages. On the whole it is more sensible, the marriage price is lower, the delay between the marriage and its consummation is only nominal, and the marriage feast is adjourned until the parties have collected the means to perform it suitably.

Nong a Pahaw (*Child Marriage*).

This is a curious custom entirely unknown among the Lusheis. Either the parents of two children marry them at an early age when both are below the age of puberty, or else a young man aged eighteen or twenty is married to a girl child, or a girl who has reached puberty is married to a boy younger than herself, who has not reached the age of puberty. These marriages are more often between two children of about the same age than between a mature and an immature person, and in most villages are comparatively rare. There are said to be two ideas at the back of this custom, the first being the desire of Lakher parents for their sons to marry into a higher clan, to ensure which a parent reserves a girl of good clan for his son at a tender age ; and the second that if a girl is married young she is less likely to be deflowered by some other youth than her husband before she gets married. When such a marriage is contemplated the parents who wish their son to marry send a woman to sound the girl's parents, and if the latter are agreeable, a male envoy or *leuchapa* is then sent to present the girl's father with one *pumtek* bead to be worn as an ear-ring by the girl. This is called *nachipaba*. The girl's father must give the *leuchapa* rice beer to drink. After this a *thuasang* is sent to the girl's father through the *leuchapa*, and if that night the girl's parents have good dreams the match is finally settled and the price fixed. The couple are then treated as betrothed, and if the man breaks off the engagement he must pay the *angkia*. After this the parties wait till the girl has tied her hair up, and then the *amakia* takes place, pigs are killed by both parties and

the price is claimed. The girl is still probably immature, and so she spends her time partly in her father's house and partly in her husband's house, as she likes. When the girl reaches the age of puberty, her husband has to woo her and try to persuade her to let him sleep with her. This courtship after marriage is called *ngiapareu*, and nowadays, if the girl does not like her husband, and absolutely refuses to sleep with him, she is considered to have divorced him, and the whole of the price paid must be refunded to him.

If the husband forcibly sleeps with his girl wife before she has fully reached the age of puberty and she complains, he will have to pay a *hmiatla* or peace offering of a *racha*, a large earthenware pot, to her parents. Where the husband is younger than the wife, and the wife reaches the age of puberty first, the girl must wait until her husband is able to have intercourse with her. If prior to her husband being able to have intercourse with her the girl has intercourse with another man, she is treated as an adulteress, and is subject to all the pains and penalties incurred by adultery.

If when a husband reaches the age of puberty he refuses to have anything to do with his wife, he is considered to have divorced her, and her people will keep all the price they have received, and can claim any balance of the price for which they have killed pigs. If either party dies before the marriage can be consummated, the girl's people keep whatever amount of the price has been paid, but none of the unpaid balance can be claimed.

Formerly, if when a girl reached the age of puberty she refused to let her husband have intercourse with her, her father would tie her hands and feet and take her to her husband, saying, "I have tied your wife up for you; now have intercourse with her." The husband then usually consummated the marriage while his wife was still tied up. If the husband refused to have connection with his wife while she was tied up, he was considered to have divorced her, and her parents kept all the price paid for her, and could claim any balance for which they had killed pigs.

Sometimes a girl induced her husband to release her

before he had had connection with her, on the pretext that she would then let him have intercourse with her willingly, and, having been released, escaped before her husband could accomplish his purpose. When this happened the husband was held to have divorced his wife, and her people kept the whole of the price that had been paid, and could claim any balance for which they had killed pigs. It seems strange that the parents of a woman who had deceived her husband in this way should have been entitled to keep the price paid for her. The idea seems to have been that the parents had done all they possibly could by tying the girl up and handing her over to her husband, and that if the latter was so foolish or so tender-hearted as to let the woman go without consummating the marriage when he had the chance, he only had himself to blame, and could not claim back the price. If the woman ran away after consummation, her price had to be refunded. The custom of tying up a wife who refuses to yield to her husband's embraces has passed out of use, but if a girl refuses to allow her husband access to her she is soundly beaten by her parents and sent back to her husband well primed with good advice. Several instances have been recorded, however, within living memory. Chiachai, a sister of Theulai, chief of Saiko, was married as a child to Pilang, brother of the chief of Tisi. Having refused to let her husband have connection with her, she was tied up and sent back to him, but induced him to release her by promising to let him sleep with her freely as soon as she was released. In spite of her promise, Chiachai, without redeeming her pledge, ran back to her village. Theulai kept all the price he had been paid, since he had done all that could be expected of him.

Nongpawh, daughter of Theulai, was married as a child to Dawlong. When she grew up she refused to let him have intercourse with her, so her parents tied her up and sent her back to him, and he consummated the marriage while she was tied up. After this they lived happily together, and had children, and the woman is still alive. A similar case is that of Chahnang and Teichai of Siaha. Chahnang consummated the marriage while Teichai was

tied up, and the marriage was a success, and they have sons. Teichai is now living in Amongbeu.

In the Zeuhnang villages, child marriage is practised only in the case of marriages between cross cousins—that is to say, when a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. Marriages between these relations are much favoured in Savang. The preliminaries are settled by verbal agreement, and no payment is made till the girl is of marriageable age. If the match is broken off before *amakia*, neither party forfeits anything.

In Chapi and the Sabeu villages child marriage is the commonest form of marriage, probably because the Sabeu value noble birth even more highly than the other Lakhers, and so make timely arrangements to secure a girl of a high clan for their sons. A verbal agreement is first made, and as soon as the girl can work in the fields the bridegroom's parents send her parents a *dao* (*thuasang*) and pay the *sisazi*. If the girl refuses to sleep with her husband, her parents beat her, but it has never been the custom in Chapi to tie a girl up and return her to her husband. If the girl continues in her refusal to have anything to do with her husband she is held to have divorced him ; the girl's parents are allowed to keep her *angkia* and *sisazi* provided that they have killed pigs for them, but the rest of the price must be refunded.

Anas relating to Marriage.

There are certain occasions on which it is *ana* for a married couple to sleep together which it will be convenient to mention here, though some of them will arise again. These occasions are when the man is performing the *Ia* ceremony over a head taken in war, during *Saia* and *Salupakia*, before setting traps and when the man has wounded a wild animal and intends to follow it up next day.[1] It is

[1] In the Sema Naga tribe there are, of course, similar tabus, which in connection with agricultural ceremonies, etc., amount in all to a considerable number of days in the year. Some villages have, on conversion to Christianity, fixed certain nights in the week to be permanently subject to this tabu, on the same principle as Sunday, on which no work is allowed, is regarded as taking the place of the various occasions on which it was tabu to go to work in the fields before conversion to Christianity.—J. H. H.

not *ana* for a man to sleep with his wife when she is pregnant, nor is it *ana* when a woman is menstruating, though in the latter case it is usually avoided.

Exchange of Husbands.

A curious custom is that in certain circumstances women can exchange husbands. If two sisters get married about the same time and, after *amakia*, but before their husbands have actually had intercourse with them, they come to the conclusion that they each prefer the other's husband, provided that the husbands agree, they can exchange. The price each man has paid goes to the price of his new wife, since it makes no difference to the person who gets the price, as he is to get the price of both of the women. Beichai and Pawlong, daughters of Theulai, chief of Saiko, married Mapaw of Longba and Matupa of Tisi respectively, and finding that each preferred the other's husband they exchanged.

The Marriage Price.

A Lakher's marriage price is a most complicated affair, and consists of several parts, each part in turn having a number of subsidiary prices attached to it.

The main price is called the *angkia*, and the rate of the *angkia* governs the rate of all the other prices. Once the *angkia* is fixed the rate of the other prices follows automatically. In theory the higher clans have marriage prices with a higher rate of *angkia*, but in actual practice it is impossible to tell what a girl's *angkia* will be simply by finding out her clan. The difficulty arises from the fact that all Lakhers are social climbers, and try to marry into a clan higher than their own. Thus, supposing a man A and his son B and B's son C have all married into clans higher than their own, when C is marrying off his daughter he will try to obtain for her a higher *angkia* than his own clan *angkia*. For a man to be able to claim a higher *angkia* than his own clan *angkia* for his daughter, it is necessary for both him and his father and grandfather to have married into higher clans. One marriage only into a higher clan is not

enough to raise the *angkia*. In Savang only, if the mother's *angkia* is higher than the father's, the daughter's *angkia* will be the same as her mother's. The ordinary rates of *angkia* vary from 10 to 70 rupees, though lower rates are occasionally found.

We have thus the curious situation that while for all religious and other purposes a Lakher is born into his father's clan, and cannot change it, for the purpose of the marriage price a Lakher regards his daughters as entitled to a higher rate of marriage price than his own clan price, provided that his grandmother, his mother and his wife belong to higher clans. This leads to great confusion, and makes it impossible to say at a glance what *angkia* rate a given girl's price will take. The following are the different parts of the marriage price: the *angkia*, the *puma*, the *nongcheu*, the *nangcheu*, the *tini*, and in Savang and the Zeuhnang villages, the *nonghrihra*. As each of these prices has its own series of subsidiary prices, it is necessary to describe them separately.

The Angkia.—This is the main price, and, as explained above, is the basis of all the other prices. Where the *angkia* is high, the other prices are proportionately high, and where it is low, they are proportionately low. The *angkia* is taken by the father, or if he is dead by the elder brother of the bride in all villages except Savang, where if a man has sons he does not take his daughter's *angkia*, the *angkia* of the eldest daughter going to the eldest son and of the younger daughters to the younger sons. In Savang the father and the elder son always live in the same house, and are regarded as the same person, and it is only if a man has no sons that he takes the *angkia* of his daughters.

The *angkia* is made up of the following prices, the *angkia* proper meaning the largest price, the *sohra* meaning the portion of the price which has to be paid in lieu of giving a slave as part of the price. It can be claimed only by persons whose *angkia* is 60 rupees or over.

Seipihra . .	The portion of the price given in lieu of a cow *mithun*.
Seicheihra . .	The portion of the price given in lieu of a bull *mithun*.
Sisazia . .	Three *pumteks* to be paid on the marriage day.
Chawcheu . .	The brother's share, payable to one of the bride's brothers.

If the father is going to take all these six prices himself, he need kill only three pigs to enable him to claim them. If, however, he has divided up all the prices except the *angkia* and *sisazia* among his sons or brothers, which division is known as *matlei*, each person claiming a price must kill a pig for it. In addition to the six prices named above, there are the following prices, to claim which no pig need be killed.

Raipihra . . The price payable in lieu of a beer pot.
Dawhra . . The price payable in lieu of a brass pot.
Keima . . The price payable to the man friend of the man who receives the *angkia*. It should be paid on the marriage day.
Awruabawna . A price which must be paid on the marriage day before the bride's parents eat any of the cooked pork sent them by the bridegroom for the marriage feast.

If on the marriage day the full number of pigs was not killed, and later on another pig is killed to claim the *seipihra* or *seicheihra*, the bridegroom has to pay *awrua* and *awruabawna* over again, which comes very heavy on him, and accordingly he usually presses for all the pigs to be killed on the marriage day.

As stated above, the person strictly entitled to the *angkia* is the bride's father or eldest brother; in practice, however, the person entitled to the price usually allows one or more of his sons, brothers or kinsmen some of the prices comprised in the *angkia*. As already explained, if the prices are divided in this way, it is known as *matlei*, and two additional prices can be claimed by the persons getting the *sohra*, *seipihra*, *seicheihra*, and *chawcheu*. These two prices are as follows :—

The chanonghla This means the woman's share, and goes to the wife of the person who gets the *seipihra* or *sohra*, or other prices, as the case may be.
The sawhla . This means the child's share, and is payable to the child of the person who gets the *seipihra* or *sohra*, or other prices, as the case may be.

The sample marriage prices given later show all the prices in detail, with the amount payable on each according to the *angkia* rate of each price.

There is a custom peculiar to Savang and the Zeuhnang villages called *Hratuarawh*. If a man's sister marries

and he is entitled to a share in her price, but is so poor that he has no pig to kill with which to claim the price; and if for a number of years he gives her the hind-leg of each wild animal he shoots or traps, he can claim a *racha*, a large earthenware pot or 10 rupees from her husband.

Puma.

Puma is the price payable to the bride's *pupa*, who is her maternal uncle. The rate at which *puma* is payable depends on the rate of the *angkia*, and if the *angkia* is 60 rupees the rate of the *pumamapi* or main *puma* price is also 60 rupees.

The *pupa* does not as a rule claim the *puma* on the marriage day, though he can do so if he likes, but he usually waits till the couple have settled down as man and wife.

1. *Pumamapi* . The main price.
2. *Phavaw* . *Pumteks.*
3. *Awruabawna* The price to be paid first when the *pupa* kills a pig.
4. *Chanonghla*. The price to be paid to the *pupa's* wife.
5. *Sawhla* . The price to be paid to the *pupa's* child.
6. *Lokheu* . This is payable to the *pupa's pupa*, and is different from the *lokheu* payable to the *pupa* on the marriage day.
7. *Pukeima* . Payable to the *pupa's* friend.

When all these prices have been paid, the *pupa* must give the bride an embroidered skirt and a white cloth, or 10 rupees. This gift is called *ngiateu*, and on the day that he claims the *puma*, the *pupa* has to kill a pig of at least six fists. This pig is quartered; the two fore-quarters and one hind-quarter are sent raw to the man who has to pay the price, and the remaining hind-quarter is cooked with rice and also sent. The man who has to pay the price, who is called *tupapa*, in his turn kills a pig of not less than four fists, and sends three-quarters of it raw and a quarter cooked to the *pupa*. The *pupa* then refuses to eat the meat sent him till the *lokheu* and the *awruabawna* are paid. These being duly paid, the *pupa* eats the meat, and as much as possible of the rest of the price is paid, and the balance left owing for payment by instalments. The *pupa* and his wife when they go to claim the *puma* take a number of friends with them, all of whom have to be given presents or *ahlas*,

in the same way as is done when the *angkia* is claimed. The people who carried the pork and beer also receive certain dues. These are much the same as have already been described when dealing with the *angkia*, and are all shown in detail in the sample marriage prices given later. If the *pupa* and his nephew by marriage from whom he is claiming live in different villages, a further due, called *adeuna*, has to be given to the *pupa*, in consideration of his having had to come to another village to claim his due.

Where a woman has several daughters and several brothers, the *puma* of the daughters is divided among the brothers, preference being given to the eldest brother, the youngest brother taking precedence over any brothers in between. Thus if a woman has three daughters and three brothers, each brother would receive the *puma* of one daughter; if there are only two daughters and three brothers, the eldest and youngest brothers each receive a *puma*, and each give a share to the middle brother; if there is only one daughter, her *puma* goes to the eldest brother.

In Savang and the other Zeuhnang villages there is a special custom regarding the payment of *puma*. If a *pupa* is very poor, and during the lifetime of his niece and her husband has been unable to kill a pig to enable him to claim his niece's *puma*, when his niece and her husband are both dead he can claim from his niece's son a gong of six spans in full payment of the *puma*. The niece's son cannot refuse to make this payment, and the *pupa* need not kill a pig to claim it. This custom is peculiar to Savang, and is known as *Chhongchhireu*.

Nongcheu.

This means the mother's price. If the bride's mother and father have been divorced, it is payable to the bride's mother. If they are still married, it is payable to the bride's mother's sister. If the bride's mother has several sisters, she will select one of them to take this price. If the bride's mother's sister is dead, the price is taken by her son. The procedure for claiming this price is the same as has already been described when dealing with the other prices. The

pig killed by the claimant must be of at least five fists in size, and the pig killed in return by the bridegroom must be of four fists. The claimant refuses to eat the pork until the *awruabawna* has been paid, and when this has been paid eats the pork and proceeds to claim the rest of the price. The price can be claimed either on the wedding day or later, and consists of the following: *awruabawna*, *nongcheumapi*, *chanonghla*, *sawhla*.

The people who carry the pork and beer and the cooks are given certain dues, but as a rule the claimant can take only two friends with her when she goes to claim the due, and these two get the *chapawtokhai* and *chanongtokhai* dues. In some villages it is customary for the claimant to take an elder or *macha* with her when she claims the price, in which case an elder's due or *machahla* will also be payable. The dues payable in different villages are shown in the sample marriage prices.

If the claimant lives in a different village from the person who has to pay the due, *adeuna* and certain other *ahlas* are also payable. These are also shown in detail in the marriage-price tables. In Savang and the Zeuhnang villages a second price similar to that described above is also payable. It is called *nonghrihra*, and is payable to the bride's mother's younger sister. If the bride's mother has only one younger sister she gives this price to some female relation. The procedure for claiming this price is the same as already described, and details of the price are given in the marriage-price tables.

The Nangcheu.

The *Nangcheu* means the aunt's price, and is payable to the bride's eldest paternal aunt. When the price is claimed, a pig of four or five fists must be killed by the claimant. This pig is sent to the person who has to pay the price, half of it cooked and half of it uncooked, and he returns the gift by killing a pig and sending it in the same way to his wife's aunt, who is claiming the price. The same formalities are gone through; the aunt refuses to eat the meat sent her till the *awruabawna* is paid, and on this being paid eats the meat and claims the other parts of the price.

The price consists of the following: *nangcheumapi*, *awruabawna*, *chanonghla*, *sawhla*.

The dues payable to the cooks and carriers of meat and *sahma* are given in detail in the tables. The aunt is supposed to take only two friends with her when she goes to claim her dues, and these take the *chapawtokhai* and *chanongtokhai* dues. Where the aunt and her nephew by marriage live in different villages, *adeuna* and certain *ahlas* are also payable. These are all shown in the marriage-price tables. The aunt is also entitled to the price called *tini*, which must be claimed on the marriage day, and which has already been described.

The Ahlas.

The minor dues payable to the chief, an elder, the cooks, beer-makers, water-carriers, etc., are known as *ahlas*. The custom regarding the payment of these *ahlas* varies in different villages, and this has been clearly shown in the tables. In Chapi, when the bride and bridegroom both belong to Chapi, no *ahlas* of any sort are paid. In Savang certain *ahlas* are payable even when both parties to the marriage live in Savang, and if the bridegroom belongs to another village certain additional dues can be claimed by the chief and elder. A reference to the marriage-price tables should make this quite clear, as it has been specifically stated what extra *ahlas* can be claimed if the bridegroom belongs to a separate village.

The marriage price has been dealt with in considerable detail, as unless the details of each separate price are explained it is very difficult indeed to make head or tail of a Lakher marriage-price case. It is impossible, for reasons of space, to give examples of marriage prices of every rate of *angkia*. I have given an example for each group of villages of a price at the highest and lowest *angkia* rates. Prices at intermediate *angkia* rates are on the same lines. I have not attempted to deal with chiefs' marriage prices; their *angkia* rate is 100 rupees, but the actual prices paid vary a great deal, according to the position of the bride and bridegroom; the general principle followed in chiefs' marriage prices is the same

as already described, but there are more minor dues. The sample prices given are to all intents and purposes absolutely correct for the rate of *angkia* for which they have been worked out, though there may be slight differences in the minor dues in concrete cases. It must be remembered that though the prices are shown in rupees, the bulk of a price is always paid in kind, cash forming only a small proportion of the payments made. As, however, each article used for the payment of a marriage price has a fixed formal value, in dealing with marriage prices it is simplest to deal in rupees, and this is done by the Lakhers themselves, though in Savang an *angkia* rate is given in terms of gongs.

No month is *ana* for marriages, but *Thlazang* and *Chhipa* are considered unfavourable, and as a rule people avoid getting married in these months. *Thlazang* is disliked because, being the beginning of the rains, the weather is dark and misty, which is supposed to have a bad effect on the future of the couple. *Chhipa* is avoided because *chhi* conveys an impression of evil which also may have unfortunate reactions. All the other months are good, the best being *Thlara*, a bright month at the end of the rains.

Dowry. Chanong Chaichi or Chanong Theukhei.

A Lakher girl is seldom given a dowry when she marries, more often than not she has none. If a girl has any property, which is very rare, she takes it with her when she marries, but it makes no difference to her price whether she has any property or not. A girl usually goes to her husband's house with only one cloth. Any property owned by a woman is inherited by her daughter when she dies ; if she has no daughters her husband can keep it, but if he does so he must pay her *ru*.

Jilting. Chanong Aparawtupa.

If when a marriage has been arranged the girl breaks it off at the instigation of another man who persuades her to marry him instead, the man who induced the girl to break off the engagement is fined, except in Tisi, where the girl's parents are fined The amount of the fine varies.

Tlongangma (*Putting up Price*).

When a bride and bridegroom belong to different villages the bride and her parents have to put up for the days of the marriage ceremonies in the house of one of the bridegroom's fellow-villagers, and have to pay their host a fee of 10 rupees or a *racha*, which is known as *tlongangma*. In some villages this price has to be refunded if the girl afterwards divorces her husband, in others not.

Elopement. Arakhei.

If a young man elopes with a girl, he must pay her father a *hmiatla* or atonement price, which varies from 10 to 30 rupees. This sum is not repayable if the girl afterwards leaves her husband. When the *hmiatla* has been paid the usual marriage ceremonies are performed and the customary price is paid.

SAVANG MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 70 RUPEES

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	70	0	0
Seipihra	60	0	0
Chawcheu	70	0	0
Seuhra	70	0	0
Seicheihra	60	0	0
Rahonghra	40	0	0
Dawkhanghra	40	0	0
Lawngnahra	20	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*) or	45	0	0
Chinahra	20	0	0
Raipihra	5	0	0
Sawhra	5	0	0
Aseihra	3	0	0
Lakeuto (a bracelet)	5	0	0
Raitahra	2	0	0
Seitahra	2	0	0
Pakuhra	3	0	0
Tehla	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Awruabawna	40	0	0
Leuchapahla	10	0	0
Leuchaseihla (to be paid by bride's father)	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I (cook)	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	584	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can also be claimed.

Adeuna	40	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng	2	0	0
	62	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	70	0	0
Awruabawna	40	0	0
Phavaw (about seven *pumteks*)	50	0	0
Chanonghla	5	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Lokheu	10	0	0
Thuasang (a spear) or	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Chanongtokai	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	189	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village the additional prices below can be claimed.

Adeuna	40	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng	2	0	0
	62	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's mother if she is divorced from the bride's father. If the parents are living together this price is taken by bride's mother's elder sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	70	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	5	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chongtlapa 1	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa 1	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	98	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can be claimed.

Adeuna	1	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng	1	0	0
	22	0	0

Maximum payable, including extra dues to be paid if bride groom belongs to a different village. 1159/-

The *Nonghrihra* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's mother's youngest sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nonghrihramapi .	60	0	0
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0
Chanonghla . .	5	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai . .	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai . .	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I . .	1	8	0
,, II . .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I . .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Beichhangpa . .	1	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0
	88	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can also be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	5	0	0
Chhiatlawng . .	1	0	0
	6	0	0

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi .	60	0	0
Awruabawna . .	5	0	0
Chanonghla . .	5	0	0
Sawhla . . .	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai .	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai .	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Beichhangpa . .	1	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0
	83	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can also be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng . .	1	0	0
	11	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken partly by bride's paternal aunt and partly by the bride.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Kahmikiana . .	5	0	0
Tinitheuna . .	5	0	0
Chakeichakana .	3	0	0
Seitidangna . .	3	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of red beads). .	1	0	0
Nabari (a cornelian)	5	0	0
Kheitiri (a yellow bead) . . .	5	0	0
Hrakhaw (brass belt)	2	0	0
Tini pangphaw (a cloth). . . .	2	0	0
Kohrei (woman's coat)	1	0	0
Peuchi (a skein of blue thread) .	2	0	0
Hrokei (woman's comb) . . .	1	0	0
Lara (a skein of white thread) .	0	8	0
Sakia (five man's combs) . . .	1	4	0
Pang (a cloth) .	2	0	0
Bawhrihra (raw cotton) . . .	1	0	0
Chhongpang lakeu (bracelet) . .	1	0	0
Thuasang (a *dao*)	1	0	0
Aphi (a bamboo mat) . . .	1	0	0
Baikai (a basket)	0	4	0
	43	0	0

SAVANG MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 40 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	40	0	0
Seipihra	20	0	0
Chawcheu	40	0	0
Seuhra	40	0	0
Seicheihra	20	0	0
Rahonghra	20	0	0
Dawkhanghra	20	0	0
**Lawngnahra*	15	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*)	30	0	0
Chinahra	15	0	0
Raipihra	5	0	0
Dawhra	5	0	0
Aseihra	2	0	0
Lakeutohra	5	0	0
Raitahra	2	0	0
Seitahra	2	0	0
Pakuhra	1	0	0
Tehla	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Awruabawna	20	0	0
Leuchapa	3	0	0
Leuchaseihla (five piglets)	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	319	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can be claimed.

Adeuna	20	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng	2	0	0
	42	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's pupa (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	40	0	0
Awruabawna	20	0	0
Phavaw (five *pumteks*)	40	0	0
Chanonghla	5	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Lokheu	10	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Leuchapa	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	133	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional prices below can be claimed.

Adeuna	20	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	10	0	0
Chhiatlawng	2	0	0
	42	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's mother if she is divorced from the bride's father. If the parents are living together, this price is taken by bride's mother's elder sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	40	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	5	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	1	8	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
	68	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional price below can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0

Maximum payable, including extra dues to be paid if bridegroom belongs to another village, Rs. 777 8 0.

* *Lawngnahra* means the price payable instead of a diamond. Where the Lakhers learnt about diamonds I do not know, they do not now, at any rate, possess any.

The *Nonghrihra* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's mother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nonghrimapi . .	20	0	0
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0
Chanonghla . .	5	0	0
Sawhla . . .	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I . .	1	8	0
,, II . .	1	0	0
,, III . .	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I . .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Chanongtokhai . .	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai . .	1	0	0
Beichhangpa . .	1	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0
	48	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional price below can be claimed.

If pig killed on *angkia* day there will be *adeuna* 5 rupees, otherwise nil.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi .	40	0	0
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0
Chanonghla . .	5	0	0
Sawhla . . .	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Sahmaphopa I .	1	8	0
,, II .	1	0	0
,, III .	0	8	0
Chanongtokhai .	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai .	1	0	0
Beichhangpa . .	1	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0
	68	0	0

If the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the additional price below can be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	5	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken partly by bride's paternal aunt and partly by the bride.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Kahmikiana . .	5	0	0
Tinitheuna . .	5	0	0
Chakeichakana .	3	0	0
Seitidangna . .	3	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of red beads) .	1	0	0
Naba (a cornelian)	5	0	0
Kheitiri (a yellow bead) . . .	5	0	0
Hrakhaw (brass belt)	2	0	0
Tinipangphaw (a cloth) . . .	2	0	0
Tinikohrei(woman's coat)	1	0	0
Tinipeuchi (a skein of blue thread) .	2	0	0
Larasawng (a skein of white thread) .	1	0	0
Hrokei (a woman's comb) . . .	1	0	0
Sakia (five man's combs) . . .	1	4	0
Tinipang (a cloth)	2	0	0
Bawhrihra (raw cotton) . . .	1	0	0
Tini lakeu (bracelet)	1	0	0
Sibapatheuna . .	2	0	0
Tinitlana . .	3	0	0
Aphi (a bamboo mat)	1	0	0
Baikai . . .	0	4	0
	47	8	0

CHAPI MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 20 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	20	0	0
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*).			
Rahonghra . .	20	0	0

Raipihra (an earthenware pot).
Raitahra (a small beer pot).
Dawkhanghra (gong of seven spans).
Meitheihra (gong of seven spans, or any gong).
Mipihra (she goat).
Mitonghra (he goat).
Chhotlawng (a *pumtek* and a dead fowl).

Chawcheu . . .	20	0	0

If five pigs are killed, a *phavaw* is payable to the brother of the man who receives the *angkia*. It consists of a *pumtek*, a small brass gong and a dead fowl.

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	10	0	0
Abeihla . . .	10	0	0
Machahla . . .	7	0	0
Beireihla . . .	6	0	0
Chanongtokhai . .	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai . .	4	0	0
**Chongtlapa* I .	4	0	0
,, II .	3	0	0
,, III .	2	0	0
,, IV .	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I . .	2	0	0
,, II .	1	0	0
Beichhangpa . .	2	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumtek . . .	20	0	0
Nongcheu . . .	20	0	0
Phavaw (three *pumteks*).			
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	10	0	0
Abeihla . . .	10	0	0
Machahla . . .	7	0	0
Chanongtokhai .	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai .	4	0	0
Chongtlapa I .	4	0	0
,, II .	3	0	0
,, III .	2	0	0
,, IV .	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I .	2	0	0
,, II .	1	0	0
Beichhangpa . .	2	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi .	20	0	0
Awruabawna . .	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna . . .	10	0	0
Chanonghla . .	10	0	0
Sawhla (a brass pot)	2	0	0
Abeihla . . .	10	0	0
Machahla . . .	7	0	0
Chapawtokhai .	4	0	0
Chanongtokhai .	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I .	4	0	0
,, II .	3	0	0
,, III .	2	0	0
,, IV .	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I .	2	0	0
,, II .	1	0	0
Beichhangpa . .	2	0	0
Tithaipa . . .	1	0	0

NOTE.—I have not totalled the price, as so much is paid in kind, but it is much less than in the other villages.

* The number of *Chongtlapas* given is the number employed if one pig is killed. If five pigs are killed there will be twenty *Chongtlapas*.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	20	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0
Chanonghla	5	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	7	0	0
Chapawtokhai	4	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	4	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
,, III	2	0	0
,, IV	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	10	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of red beads)	1	0	0
Tini ahnang (three cloths)	5	0	0
Tini pangphaw (a skirt)	3	0	0
Hrokei (a comb)	1	0	0
Tini vohrang (a piglet)	1	0	0
Lasawnglara (white thread)	0	8	0
Tini votaw (a piglet)	1	0	0
Tini takong (a *dao*)	1	0	0
Tini thuasang (a *dao*)	1	0	0
Kahmilupahleuna	1	0	0
Kahmikiana	1	0	0
Chakeichakana	0	4	0
Lakeu (two bracelets)	3	0	0
Tini tlana	0	4	0
Tini baikai	0	4	0

Pakoniana (the price of entering the door of the house—an axe).
Acholahmipangi (a *pumtek* bead to tie on to the *mithun's* tail).
Setidangna (a brass pot in which water is given to the *mithun*).
Sahmaheidangna (a beer mug).
Beihnanghra (in lieu of a chief's skirt).
Khahnanghra (a skein of cotton).
Cheulohra (in lieu of a chief's cloth—some cotton).
Viapanghra (in lieu of a blue embroidered cloth—some cotton).
Angchhong phangphaw (the price of the mats for sitting on, a cloth).

CHAPI MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 10 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices, and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	10	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*)	5	0	0
Raipihra (a beer pot)	3	0	0
Raitahra (a small beer pot)	2	0	0
Dawkhanghra (a gong of whatever size the bridegroom's people may have).			
Rahonghra	10	0	0
Mipihra (a she goat).			
Chotlawng (a brass pot of four spans circumference).			
Chawcheu	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	7	0	0
Bireihla	6	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	4	0	0
**Chongtlapa* I	4	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
,, III	2	0	0
,, IV	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	10	0	0
Nongcheu	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	7	0	0
Chapawtokhai	4	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	4	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
,, III	2	0	0
,, IV	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	3	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	7	0	0
Chapawtokhai	4	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	4	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
,, III	2	0	0
,, IV	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0

* *Chongtlapas* (cooks are to be allowed for at the rate of four per pig killed).

NOTE.—I have not totalled the price, as so much is paid in kind, but it is much less than in the other villages.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna (only if a pig is killed)	10	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Chanonghla	10	0	0
Sawhla	4	0	0
Abeihla	10	0	0
Machahla	7	0	0
Chapawtokhai	4	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	4	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
,, III	2	0	0
,, IV	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	10	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of red beads)	1	0	0
Tini ahnang I	3	0	0
,, II	1	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Tini pangphaw (a cloth, also known as *Tleuhmiaphangphaw*, the price of placing a white cloth on the ground for the aunt to sit upon)	5	0	0
Hrokei (a comb)	1	0	0
Votawhra (a piglet)	1	0	0
Takong (a *dao*)	1	0	0
Tini thuasang (a lucky *dao*)	1	0	0
Kahmikiana	1	0	0
Chakeichakana	1	0	0
Lakeu (two bracelets)	0	4	0
Atlana	3	0	0
Baikai	0	4	0

Pakoniana (the price of entering the door of the house—an axe).
Acholahmipangi (a *pumtek* bead to tie on to the *mithun's* tail).
Setidangna (a brass pot to give water to the *mithun*).
Sahmaheidangna (a beer mug).
Beihnanghra (in lieu of a chief's skirt).
Khahnanghra (a skein of cotton).
Cheulohra (in lieu of a chief's cloth—some cotton).
Viapanghra (in lieu of blue embroidered cloth—some cotton).
Angchhong phangphaw (a cloth—the price of the mats for sitting on).

TISI MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 60 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	60	0	0
Chawcheu	30	0	0
Seipihra	20	0	0
Seicheihra	10	0	0
Awruabawna	20	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*)	24	0	0
Raipihra	7	0	0
Raitahra	3	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Vopihra	7	0	0
Mipihra	3	0	0
Mitonghra	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	8	0
,, IV	1	8	0
,, V	1	8	0
Reichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
Keima (two fowls) or	2	0	0
	205	8	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	20	0	0
Abeihla a *racha* or	7	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Leuchapa	4	0	0
	34	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	60	0	0
Awruabawna	20	0	0
Phavaw (7 *pumteks*)	20	0	0
Nongcheu	10	0	0
Puma thuasang	1	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Lokheu (payable to *pupa's pupa*)	7	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	8	0
	126	8	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Abeihla	7	0	0
	or a *racha*		
Machahla	3	0	0
Leuchapa	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
	15	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	15	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chongtlapa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	8	0
Chanongviasa	1	0	0
	29	8	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Abeihla	3	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Keima a fowl or	2	0	0
	9	0	0

Maximum payable, including the extra dues payable if the bridegroom belongs to another village. Rs. 463 12.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.	The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

		Rs.	a.	p.
In Tisi there is no *Nangcheu*.	*Tinitheuna*	7	0	0
	Lava (a *dao*)	1	0	0
	Thangchachaina (an axe)	1	0	0
	Kahmikiana	1	0	0
	Chakeichakana	1	0	0
	Aphia (a square of matting)	0	8	0
	Baikai (a basket)	0	4	0
	Beihnanghra (a skirt)	2	0	0
	Khahnanghra (a skirt)	1	0	0
	Zongleihra (a skirt)	1	0	0
	Zongchhohra (a skirt)	1	0	0
	Bahreihra (a coat)	0	4	0
	Hrakohhra (brass belt)	3	0	0
	Chongchihra (brass belt)	2	0	0
	Sisaihra (10 strings of glass beads)	5	0	0
	Theisahra (a cornelian)	1	0	0
	Chhebihra (a string of white beads)	3	0	0
	Kihlong (a half conch-shell)	1	0	0
	Hrokei (a comb)	2	0	0
	Sakia (a man's comb)	0	4	0
	Chanong hrokei (five woman's combs)	3	0	0
	Achateuna (a cloth)	3	0	0
	Vohranghra (piglet)	1	0	0
	Atlana	3	0	0
		44	4	0

TISI MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 30 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	30	0	0
Chawcheu	15	0	0
Seipihra	10	0	0
Seicheihra (a brass pot of five spans).	5	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Sisazi (*pumteks*)	15	0	0
Raipihra	3	0	0
Raitahra	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Vopihra (pig of three fists) or	5	0	0
Mipihra	3	0	0
Mitonghra	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	8	0
,, IV	1	0	0
,, V	0	8	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Tithaipa	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa	0	4	0
Keima (a fowl) or	2	0	0
	119	4	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0
Abeihla (or a brass pot of five spans).	5	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Keima (a fowl) or	2	0	0
	19	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Phavaw (five *pumteks*)	9	0	0
Nongcheu (a brass pot of five spans)	4	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Keima (two fowls)	2	0	0
Lokheu (a brass pot of two spans or a fowl).			
Chongtlapa I	2	0	0
,, II	1	8	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
	61	8	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Leuchapa	2	0	0
	12	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Chongtlapa I	1	0	0
,, II	1	8	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Keima (two fowls)	2	0	0
	21	8	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Abeihla	3	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Leuchapa	2	0	0
	9	0	0

Maximum payable, including the extra dues payable if the bridegroom belongs to another village. Rs. 287 8 0.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by the bride's paternal aunt.	The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

In Tisi there is no *Nangcheu*.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	7	0	0
Lavana	1	0	0
Thangchachaina	1	0	0
Kahmikiana	1	0	0
Chakeichakana	1	0	0
Tini aphi (matting)	0	8	0
Baikai (a basket)	0	4	0
Baipadia (a basket)	4	0	0
Beihnang (a skirt)	2	0	0
Kahnang (a skirt)	1	0	0
Zongleihra (a skirt)	1	0	0
Zongchhohra (a skirt)	1	0	0
Tini kohrei (a woman's coat)	0	4	0
Hawmichongchahrei (a solder stick)			
Hrakhaw (a brass belt)	3	0	0
Chongchi (a brass belt)	2	0	0
Mipi hra.			
Sisai (ten strings of red beads)	5	0	0
Theisa (a string of cornelians)	1	0	0
Chhebi (a string of beads)	3	0	0
Kihlong (a half conch-shell)	1	0	0
Sakia (a man's comb)	0	4	0
Tinichateuna	3	0	0
Tini vohrang (a piglet)	1	0	0
Tinitlana	3	0	0
Hrokei (a woman's comb)	1	0	0
	44	4	0

SIAHA MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 60 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and the amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	60	0	0
Seipihra	50	0	0
Chawcheu	40	0	0
Seicheihra	30	0	0
Awruabawna	40	0	0
Sisazi (pumteks)	25	0	0
Raipihra	10	0	0
Aw ah	10	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Thuasang	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Abeihla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
	288	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	20	0	0

If taken by person who gets *Angkia*, 20 rupees, but if by one of his brothers, 30 rupees.

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	60	0	0
Awruabawna	40	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
,, II	10	0	0
,, III	5	0	0
Lokheu, a *racha* or	7	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Chanonghla	3	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
	160	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0

Maximum payable, including *Adeuna*, which is payable only if bridegroom belongs to a separate village. Rs. 633.

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Lokheu	3	0	0
Chanonghla	2	0	0
Sawhla	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
	62	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	3	0	0

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	20	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	2	0	0
Sawhla	1	0	0
Lokheu	3	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
	51	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	2	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Kahmikiana	(a small fowl).		
Chakeichakana	(beads).		
Tinitheuna	10	0	0
Pangphaw (a cloth)	3	0	0
Tini ahnang (three skirts)	3	0	0
Beichhang ahnang (one skirt)	1	0	0
Sisai (a string of thirty glass beads)	2	0	0
Hrokei (three brass hairpins)	3	0	0
Naba (a cornelian)	1	0	0
Mocheu (the bride's friend's due)	2	0	0
Rithu (paid to the man who chaperons the girls while the *tini* is being claimed)	2	0	0
Tini votaw (a piglet)	1	0	0
Atlana	1	0	0
Achateuna	(a *puggree*).		
	29	0	0

When the aunt has claimed all her dues, one of the young men gives her beer, and tells her that she cannot claim anything she has forgotten next day.

SIAHA MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 30 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	30	0	0
Seipihra	30	0	0
Chawcheu	20	0	0
Seicheihra	20	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Sisazi (two *pumteks*)	17	0	0
Awh ah	5	0	0
Raipihra	7	0	0
Lokheu	3	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
	160	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* (maternal uncle).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Phavaw (two *pumteks*)	17	0	0
Keima	3	0	0
Lokheu	3	0	0
Chanonghla	3	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
	83	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Lokheu	2	0	0
Chanonghla	2	0	0
Sawhla	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
	35	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0

Maximum payable including *Adeunas*, which are only payable if parties belong to different villages. Rs. 364

The *Nangcheu* with its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Keima	2	0	0
Lokheu	2	0	0
Chanonghla	2	0	0
Sawhla	1	0	0
Chanongtokhai	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Machahla	2	0	0
Abeihla	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
	35	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	2	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	10	0	0
Tini pangphaw (cloth)	3	0	0
Tini ahnang (three skirts)	3	0	0
Beichhang ahnang (a skirt)	1	0	0
Sisai (thirty strings of glass beads)	2	0	0
Hrokei (three combs)	3	0	0
Naba (a cornelian)	1	0	0
Mocheu (for the bride's friend)	2	0	0
**Rithu*	2	0	0
Tini votaw (a piglet)	1	0	0
Atlana	1	0	0
Kahmikiana	(a small fowl).		
Chakeichakana	(beads).		
	29	0	0

* This due is payable to the men appointed to watch the girls taking part in the *Amakia* to see that they behave themselves.

SAIKO MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 60 RUPEES.

The *Angkia* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	60	0	0
Seipihra	40	0	0
Seuhra	50	0	0
Seicheihra	30	0	0
Chawcheu	20	0	0
Sisazi (three *pumteks*)	30	0	0
Raipihra	10	0	0
Dawhra	7	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa	1	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chakipa	7	0	0
	279	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	30	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
	38	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* or maternal uncle.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	60	0	0
Phavaw (five *pumteks*)	30	0	0
Awruabawna	30	0	0
Chanonghla (a *racha*)	20	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Lokheu I	10	0	0
,, II	5	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
	210	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra dues can be claimed.

Adeuna	30	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
	38	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	15	0	0
Chanonghla	10	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
	67	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed

Adeuna	10	0	0

Maximum payable, including the extra dues which are payable only if parties belong to separate villages. Rs. 737 4. 0.

The *Nangcheu* and its subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	20	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	10	0	0
Sawhla	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
	52	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	10	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of red beads)	5	0	0
Tini ahnang I, II, III (skirts)	1	0	0
Tini pangphaw (a cloth)	5	0	0
Hrokei (three woman's combs)	2	0	0
Vopihra	5	0	0
Vohrang (piglet)	1	0	0
Lara sawng (a skein of white thread)	1	0	0
Lavana (a *dao*)	0	8	0
Tini thuasang (a *dao*)	0	8	0
Kahmikiana	3	0	0
Chakeichakana	0	8	0
Lakeu (bracelets)	0	8	0
Atlana	3	0	0
Baikai	0	4	0
	38	4	0

SAIKO MARRIAGE PRICE WITH *ANGKIA* OF 30 RUPEES.

The ***Angkia*** and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's father or brother.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Angkia	30	0	0
Seipihra	20	0	0
Seicheihra	15	0	0
Chawcheu	15	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Sisazi	20	0	0
Raipihra	10	0	0
Dawhra	5	0	0
**Chanonghla*	10	0	0
**Sawhla*	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	1	0	0
Sahmaphopa	1	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Chaki	7	0	0
	169	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0

The *Puma* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's *pupa* or maternal uncle.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pumamapi	30	0	0
Phavaw (three *pumteks*)	20	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Chanonghla	7	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Lokheu I	5	0	0
,, II	3	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
,, III	1	0	0
Beichhangpa	2	0	0
Sahmaphopa	1	0	0
Abeihla	5	0	0
Machahla	3	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
Keima	5	0	0
Chaki	7	0	0
	109	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	10	0	0

The *Nongcheu* and its subsidiary prices and amount of each. Taken by bride's mother if she is separated from bride's father, otherwise by bride's mother's sister.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nongcheumapi	20	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Chanonghla	7	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
	42	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0

Maximum payable, including *Adeunas*, which are payable to parties belong to different villages. Rs. 405 12. 0.

* Claimable with *Angkia* only when *Seipihra*, etc., given to brothers.

The *Nangcheu* and subsidiary prices. Taken by bride's paternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nangcheumapi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Chanonghla	7	0	0
Sawhla	2	0	0
Chongtlapa I	3	0	0
,, II	2	0	0
Chapawtokhai	2	0	0
Chanongtokhai	1	0	0
	32	0	0

Where the bridegroom belongs to a different village, the following extra due can be claimed.

Adeuna	5	0	0

The *Tini*. Taken by bride's paternal aunt or rarely by maternal aunt.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Tinitheuna	5	0	0
Sisai (ten strings of beads)	2	0	0
Tini ahnang (a skirt)	2	0	0
Tini pangphaw (a skirt)	3	0	0
Hrokei (a brass comb)	1	0	0
Sakia (two men's brass combs)	1	0	0
Vopihra	3	0	0
Vohranghra (piglet)	1	0	0
Larasawng (a skein of white thread)	1	0	0
Lava (takong)	0	8	0
Tini thuasang	0	8	0
Kahmikiana	1	0	0
Chakeichakana	0	4	0
Lakeu (bracelets)	0	4	0
Atlana	2	0	0
Baikai	0	4	0
	23	12	0

Concubines. Nongthang.

Many Lakhers keep concubines as well as their married wife, as they find them useful for work of all kinds, both in the fields and in the house, and it is quite common to find men with two or three concubines.

As a rule concubines are taken after marriage, but occasionally men take a concubine before getting formally married. Where a concubine is taken prior to marriage it is usually because the man has not enough money to pay the price of a high-class bride ; and so he takes as a concubine a girl of an inferior clan with a low price, and postpones his marriage till he has saved enough money to buy a bride of a high clan. A concubine's price depends on her clan, and is the same as that of a regular wife, but the *amakia* ceremony cannot be performed in the bridegroom's house if he is already married, but must be performed in his brother's or some other relation's house. The *Miapali* sacrifice is also performed in the house where the *amakia* is held. In Savang the latter part of *amakia* is performed on the platform outside the house, and the *Miapali* sacrifice is made in the street. A concubine is regarded as inferior to a married wife, and suffers various disabilities. Concubines cannot take part in the *Khazangpina* and *Zangda* sacrifice or in the *Nawhri* sacrifice for a legitimate child, and it is believed that if a concubine did attend any of these sacrifices her husband or one of his children would die. They have to sleep on the floor, and may not occupy the big bed or *rakhong*. In some villages they are not allowed to give birth to their children inside the house, but must do so on the verandah, or, as in Chapi, in a small hut built for the purpose ; in other villages, as in Savang, they give birth inside the house, but in a different place from that which is used for the accouchement of the married wife. In Chapi it is believed that if a concubine gives birth to a child inside the house, either her child or one of the legitimate children will die. When a child is born to a concubine, the mother must perform the *Nawhri* sacrifice herself—the father will take no part in it at all. In Savang, when last I was there,

only one man, called Idong, had a concubine, a very different state of affairs from that existing in the other villages.

Satawreu.

A woman is said to be *satawreu* if when she dies she has had no children or if she has actually had children and they have predeceased her.[1] In all the Tlongsai and Hawthai villages, if a woman dies *satawreu* her relatives can claim only half of the balance of the price due, and that only if they have prior to her death killed the requisite number of pigs to enable them to claim. If a woman dies after having had children, and the children are alive, the whole balance of the price for which pigs have been killed can be claimed. This custom does not apply in Savang and the Zeuhnang villages, where the price must be paid in the customary way whether a woman has had children or not, provided pigs are killed as required. In Chapi and the other Sabeu villages if a woman is *satawreu* her *puma* is reduced by half, her *nangcheu* and *nongcheu* cannot be claimed at all, but her *angkia* and *sisazi* must be paid as usual. *Satawreu* may be compared with the Lushei custom of *thisenpallo*.[2]

Longtang.

When a chief or rich man marries a girl from another village, the girl's parents often erect a pyramid of stones called a *longtang* to commemorate the event. Such memorials are usually constructed on a hill or by the side of a river on the path between the two villages. Stones are piled up in the shape of a pyramid around a living tree, which is left to grow out of the middle of the pyramid, the height of which is about 4 to 5 feet. The bride's procession approaches the tree chosen, playing on gongs and drums. When it reaches the tree a halt is made, and the young men collect stones and build up the pyramid; the procession then wends its way to the bridegroom's village. A man who erects a *longtang* in honour of his daughter's

[1] *Cf.* The Thado custom of *dumditmān*, " the price of a tobacco pouch " (Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 61.)—J. H. H.

[2] *Cf.* Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 38.—N. E. P.

wedding must kill at least six pigs for the wedding feast. If ten pigs are killed, the father is said to have done the *Ah* ceremony in honour of his daughter. This ceremony has no religious significance, but both father and daughter acquire honour thereby, and the father can claim from the bridegroom an extra price called *ahma*, which is a cow *mithun*, or 60 rupees, if the father is a chief, and a gong of eight spans, or 40 rupees, if he is a noble (*phangsang*). Commoners (*machhi*) never have ten pigs to kill, and so cannot be *Ah*. The meat of the pigs killed is given to the bridegroom ; the memorial pyramid is thereafter known by the name of the bride, *e.g. Nongkei longtang* if the girl's name is Nongkei. There is a *longtang* between Chakang and Satlong called *Thlachai longtang*, and another between Savang and Khongpai, and a third between Siata and Tisi called *Machia longtang*, after Machia, daughter of the chief of Khabong, and wife of Hmonglai, late chief of Savang.

It is not necessary to erect a *longtang* in order to perform *Ah ;* any one who kills ten pigs for the wedding feast can do *Ah* and claim *ahma*. It is only, however, very well-to-do people who can afford the ten pigs.

Laawha.

When a man marries a girl from another village, on the *amakia* day the bride's party sacrifice a fowl on the road for the health of all persons taking part in the marriage. This sacrifice is called *laawha*, and the bridegroom has to give the sacrificer a brass pot of four spans circumference.

Chhikhawvia.

In Chapi when a girl marries a man from another village, the bachelors who used to sleep in her house have to give her a present of beer, and in return the bridegroom gives each of them a brass pot of four spans circumference. This custom used to be in vogue in all the villages ; nowadays it survives only with the Sabeu.

Nonghnolei.

If after a marriage has been arranged, but before *amakia*, the bridegroom jilts the girl, he must pay her a fine equal

to her *angkia*, and also a *vopia* to the chief and elders. This applies among all the tribes, but among the Sabeu no *vopia* is taken. When the fine is claimed, three presents, called *nanghlo*, must be paid by the man fined to the persons accompanying the claimant. These consist of two brass pots of four and three spans circumference, respectively, and a hen.

Divorce.

Divorce among Lakhers is easy, and a man who wants to divorce his wife can do so at any time, provided he complies with certain formalities, while a woman can likewise divorce her husband. Divorces, however, are less common than among the Lusheis. This is chiefly due to the high rate of marriage price, though I think also that Lakhers are less unstable in their affections and less liable than the Lusheis to turn to divorce on the flimsiest pretext.[1] It is more common to find a husband divorcing his wife than a wife her husband, as a woman's relations always bring pressure on her to remain with her husband, as they do not want to have to refund her price; even so, the Lakher divorce custom is more favourable to women than the Lushei. There are several different forms of divorce.

Lapinongma.

This is the form of divorce used when a man divorces his wife, and is similar to the Lushei *mak*. The custom varies slightly in different villages.

In the Saiko and Siaha Tlongsai groups, and in Tisi and the Hawthai villages, when a man divorces his wife her relations are entitled to keep all the price which has actually been paid, and the husband must pay any balance of the price for which pigs have been killed. The woman's relations cannot, however, claim payment of any part of the price for which pigs have not been killed. It makes no difference whether the woman has had any children or not.

In Savang and the other Zeuhnang villages, if a man

[1] For Lushei divorce customs, *vide* N. E. Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 42–49.—N. E. P.

divorces his wife before she has had any children, the woman's relations are entitled to keep all the price that has been paid to them. If on the marriage day the *angkia*, *sisazi* and *awruabawna* have been paid in full, nothing more can be claimed from the husband, even though pigs may have been killed for other parts of the price. If, however, the *angkia*, *sisazi* and *awruabawna* were not paid on the marriage day, even though certain other prices were, these three prices must be paid.

If a man divorces his wife after she has had children, the wife's relations keep the whole of the price that has been paid, and can claim any balance for which pigs have been killed. No balance for which pigs have not been killed can be claimed, however.

In Chapi and the Sabeu villages, when a man divorces his wife, her relations keep whatever has been paid, and can claim the *angkia* and *sisazi* if pigs have been killed for them, but nothing else. The same custom applies whether or not the parties have had children.

Sawng Pakua.

This is the form of divorce followed when a woman divorces her husband, and is equivalent to the Lushei *sumchhuah*.

In the Saiko and Siaha Tlongsai groups, and in Tisi and the Hawthai villages, the same custom is followed. If a woman divorces her husband before she has had any children, the whole of the price paid must be refunded to the husband, and compensation can be claimed by the woman's relatives for the pigs they have killed when claiming the price.

If a woman divorces her husband after she has had children, the whole of the price paid must be refunded to the husband except the *angkia*, which the woman is entitled to keep in consideration of having had children. The children go to the husband ; if the *angkia* were refunded they would belong to their mother's relations, and would go to their *pupa* or mother's brother. As a rule the husband prefers to keep his children and the woman's relations keep the *angkia*. In Tisi, in addition to refunding the price as

explained, the woman has to pay a fine of a sow to her husband; this fine is called *songthithu.*

In Chapi, when a woman divorces her husband, whether before or after she has had children, her relations must refund the whole price paid except the *angkia* and *sisazi.* If the woman's relatives have killed pigs for these two prices and they have not been paid, they can claim them from the husband. When a woman divorces her husband, if at any time she has received a *hmiatla* from him on account of a quarrel, she must refund to him the amount she received as *hmiatla* or atonement price, which is contrary to the custom of all the other groups. The children go to their father.

In Savang if a woman who has no children divorces her husband, the whole price must be refunded except the *awruabawna.* No compensation can be claimed for pigs killed when claiming the price.

If the woman has children and the father takes the children, the woman can keep the whole price paid, but cannot claim any balance. If the husband does not want his children, the whole of the price must be refunded, and the children become *pupasaw*—that is, are taken by the woman's brother, and become his children for all practical purposes.

In all the villages, when a woman divorces her husband, all the persons who received presents (*ahla*) at the wedding have to refund them. The only exception to this is that among the Zeuhnang, the cooks (*chongtlapa*) keep the presents they received, though all other recipients have to refund them.

Khuthi (*Impotence*).

When a man is impotent and is unable to perform his conjugal duties, the wife can claim a divorce. Before the wife can obtain her divorce, however, the man is allowed a certain period, which varies in the different villages, but is usually a year, during which to perform sacrifices in order to recover his lost powers. If at the expiration of the period agreed on the man is still impotent, the woman is entitled

to a divorce and to keep all the price she has received ; she cannot, however, claim any unpaid balance of the price. During the period allowed for performing sacrifices, if the woman leaves her husband she is held to have divorced him, and will have to refund her price, according to the custom of *sawng pakua*. If during this period the woman has intercourse with another man, she is treated as an adulteress, and her price will be dealt with as shown under *aphei*.

If a woman accuses her husband of being *khuthi* and he denies it, an old woman is put to watch them and report. If this old woman finds that the man is not impotent, the wife is ordered to live with her husband, and if she refuses to do so is dealt with as *sawng pakua*. *Khuthi* may be compared with the Lushei *zangzaw*.[1]

Hrupathlei hasala (*Divorce on Account of Madness*).

In the Saiko, Savang and Siaha groups, and in Kiasi the custom is as follows :—

If a man's wife goes mad he must perform sacrifices for a year, and if after that she is still mad, and he no longer wants to keep her, he can send her back to her family, the price paid for the woman being retained by the people who received it. In Savang and the other Zeuhnang villages, if the *angkia*, *sisazi* and *awruabawna* have not been paid, though pigs have been killed for them, the woman's relations can claim them, but not in the other villages. If a man goes mad his brothers perform sacrifices for him for a year, and during that year his wife must remain with him. If he is still mad at the end of the year, his wife can leave him, and the price paid will be retained by her relatives, but they cannot claim any outstanding balance.

In Chapi and the Sabeu villages, if a husband goes mad, the wife can leave him, and her relatives will keep the whole of the price paid for her and can claim the *angkia* and *sisazi*. If the madman has brothers, one of his brothers can claim to marry his wife on payment of one fowl for *awrua* and one *pumtek*, and will also have to pay the outstanding

[1] *Cf.* Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 47.—N. E. P.

balance of the price. The madman's wife can refuse to marry the brother if she likes.

If a wife goes mad she returns to her brothers, who keep any price that has been paid, but cannot claim any balance except *angkia* and *sisazi* if the requisite pigs have been killed.

In Tisi, if a man goes mad and has brothers, one of his brothers will marry the madman's wife, provided she is agreeable, and will merely have to pay the balance of her price. If the madman has no brother available, or if his wife prefers to do so, she can return to her relations, who in these circumstances keep whatever has been paid them for her price, but cannot claim any balance. If a man's wife goes mad, she simply returns to her brothers, who keep whatever has been paid of her price, but cannot claim any balance.

Aphei (*Adultery*).

Adultery is considered very disgraceful, and a woman caught in adultery is as a rule turned out at once by her husband. It is not at all a common offence, as after marriage Lakher women keep very straight indeed. The ordinary custom is that if a woman commits adultery her whole price must be refunded to her husband, and the co-respondent must pay a fine in cash plus a *pumtek* bead, known as *sisakuchakhi*, and a cloth known as a *panglukhu* to the injured husband, and also a *vopia* to the villagers. If the adulteress has children, she is allowed to keep the *angkia* only as the price of her children.

The fine inflicted on the co-respondent is in Siaha, Kiasi and Saiko a *mithun* or 60 rupees; in Chapi a fine equal to the amount of the woman's *angkia*; in Savang three gongs of eight, seven and six spans respectively or 70 rupees. The reason why a co-respondent is fined a *panglukhu* cloth and a *sisakuchakhi pumtek* is as follows. It is considered very disgraceful for a man if his wife has committed adultery. This disgrace follows him even to the next world, and when his spirit arrives in *Athikhi*, the abode of the dead, it feels great shame, and so the co-respondent has to provide the

panglukhu, literally "the cloth to wear on the head," for the injured husband's spirit to cover its face with when it reaches *Athikhi*. The *sisakuchakhi* is a *pumtek* worn as a bracelet. One explanation as to why this *pumtek* bead has to be given to a cuckold is that the spirit of a man whose wife has committed adultery is like the spirit of a woman, and to show this wears a bracelet in *Athikhi;* another is that the bead is given to console the spirit for having been robbed of its wife. When a spirit with a bracelet on its arm and a cloth over its head arrives in *Athikhi*, all the other spirits call out, "Lo, here is a man whose wife was an adulteress," and all know that the unfortunate spirit was a cuckold. The co-respondent is in a much happier position. It is a source of great pride for a man to have succeeded in overcoming the virtue of another's wife, and so when he dies his spirit wears a white cock's tail-feathers in its hair. When a spirit arrives with white plumes in its hair, all the dwellers in *Athikhi* know that this is the spirit of a man who made a conquest of a married woman, and respect it greatly on that account. As soon, therefore, as any one who has made another a cuckold dies, his relations place these feathers in his hair, and when he is buried they are tied on the top of the memorial post.

PART IV

RELIGION

THE Lakhers believe that the destinies of the universe are in the hands of one God, who is known as *Khazangpa*, or *Khazangleutha*, or *Pachhapa*, the creator of the world.[1] *Khazangpa* is generally believed to live in the sky, though sometimes a Lakher will tell one that he does not know where *Khazangpa* lives, and the Chapi people say that he lives on the high mountains called *Khisong*. *Khazangpa* means literally the father of all, being derived from *khapa zeudua*, meaning everything. The alternative name, *Pachhapa*, means the old man, or the source, presumably the source of life.

This god has full power over men, and can make them prosperous or the reverse, as he likes. He resembles the Lushei *Pathian*, but the Lakhers pay more attention to *Khazangpa* than the Lusheis do to *Pathian*, and regard him as more powerful than the *leurahripas*, who are the spirits of the mountains, pools and woods. The most important Lakher sacrifice, the *Khazangpina*, is offered to *Khazangpa*, but I do not know of any special sacrifice offered by Lusheis to *Pathian*. *Khazangpa* is possessed of all human attributes: he has a wife and child, though these latter have no names and are not referred to in the *Khazangpina* chant; he eats food and drinks beer like any human being. *Khazangpa* is a just and benevolent being, who is believed to deal with men according to their works. Proud and quarrelsome men who oppress the poor are called by the Lakhers *thatlongbireu* (boasters, because of their power), while men who speak the truth, act in all things according to custom and are kindly

[1] The name Khogein Pootteeang given by John Macrae in his "Account of the Kookies or Lunctas," *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, 1801, seems to be a combination of the Lakher *Khazangpa* and the Lushei *Pathian*.—N. E. P.

disposed towards their neighbours are called *thlochhibireu* (those who speak kindly), and it is believed that *Khazangpa* punishes the former by cutting short their lives, while he rewards the latter with long life and riches. While *Khazangpa* is the supreme god, every person is believed to have a sort of tutelary deity or guardian angel, known as *Zang*.[1] Lakhers do not know exactly where the *zang* lives, but they say that it is always in close proximity to the being of whom it is in charge, and follows him about wherever he goes. To propitiate this guardian angel the *Zangda* sacrifice is performed. If a *zang* is well pleased with the person it has charge of, it can make him happy, healthy, and prosperous, grant him children and protect him from accidents, and so the *zang* must be propitiated with sacrifices, lest it become displeased with its charge and neglect to watch over him and even punish him.

A man's *zang* is believed to be of the male and a woman's of the female sex, and it is further believed that if a man's and a girl's *zang* take a liking to each other, that man and girl will marry. A *zang* does not cause death, but if a *zang* is displeased with the person it is in charge of, it hands him over either to *Khazangpa* or to the *leurahripas* to kill. What happens to a man's *zang* when he dies is not known ; some Lakhers say that it dies also. The *leurahripas* are evil spirits or demons, the more powerful of whom live in the *Khisongs*, which are high mountains, steep cliffs, deep pools, precipices or ponds. The whole world, however, is full of lesser *leurahripas*, who come into contact with man in all his doings. The *leurahripas* are generally evil, and like to seize men and kill them. All sickness is believed to be caused by *leurahripas*, and for this reason they have to be propitiated with frequent sacrifices. They are jealous of men's possessions, and have a habit of making men ill in order to force them to sacrifice their animals in hope of a cure. Some *leurahripas*, however, are benevolent, and all are capable of beneficent action on occasions if a man

[1] This *zang* appears to correspond to the Angami *ropfü*, a man's guardian angel, familiar, fate, soul, or the Chang *müghka* (lit. =(that which is) from the sky), which is used for a man's fate, or soul, as distinct from his ghost *sou* (=Lakher *saw*).—J. H. H.

is successful in propitiating them; but Lakhers live in constant dread of them, and spend much of their substance in bribing the *leurahripas* to leave them in peace. The spirit who dwells on Mawma, the lofty peak above Siata, is one of the few kindly spirits. During the great flood this spirit was in charge of all wild animals, and to this day holds sway over them; it is said that no stranger ever visits Mawma without shooting game, as the spirit is fond of hunters and helps them in their quest.

The Chapi people hold that *Khazangpa* dwells in the *Khisongs*, and when they sacrifice to a *Khisong*, the sacrifice is intended for *Khazangpa* rather than for a *leurahripa*. This belief is not found among the other Lakher tribes, who all regard the *Khisongs* as abodes of *leurahripas* only. When standing near a *Khisong*, the name of the *Khisong* must not be uttered, as it is disrespectful to do so, and mention of its name would annoy the spirit. A *Khisong* should be referred to as *azinong*, which means chieftainess. *Leurahripas* sometimes quarrel and fight, and such fights are believed to be the cause of hurricanes. Believing, as they do, in these countless supernatural beings who may at any time exercise an influence on their lives, it is not to be wondered at that Lakhers are bound to offer propitiatory sacrifices and to consult the fates at every important occasion in their lives. Sacrifices must be performed at births, marriages and deaths. In time of sickness almost the only remedy known is a sacrifice, and at every stage of agricultural operations sacrifices must be performed to avert the jealousy of the spirits. Necessarily superstitions abound; it is unlucky to do certain things, and to do others is forbidden, and when any breach of the numerous prohibitions takes place, the only chance of averting misfortune is by perform ing a sacrifice.

The Soul.

A man's soul resembles his body in appearance and size, but is invisible. During the day the soul lives inside the body, which it enters by the mouth, but at night, during sleep, the soul sometimes leaves its body and wanders about;

a link called *hu* in the shape of an invisible cord remains, however, between the soul and the body, and on the sleeper awakening the soul returns. It is because souls roam about in this way that dreams arise, and as souls in their wanderings are able to foresee future events, dreams often come true.

Souls are of two kinds. The ordinary soul is called *thlapha* ;[1] some people, however, are afflicted with mischievous souls, which, while wandering about when their owner is asleep, maltreat and go out of their way to annoy others ; such souls are called *thlachhi*. If a man dreams that he is being beaten, or pushed into the water, or otherwise annoyed by one of his friends, he knows that his friend has a *thlachhi*. *Thlachhi* often enter into pigs and fowls, and when this happens the animal possessed gives out a peculiar noise. Lakhers listen carefully to this noise, to see if they can recognise whose *thlachhi* has possessed the animal from its voice.

No resentment is felt at the freaks committed by *thlachhi*, as it is recognised that the body is not responsible for the vagaries of these mischievous souls. *Thlachhi* have the power, after their bodies have died, of returning from the abode of the dead and making nuisances of themselves whenever they like. There is no cure for *thlachhi*.

When any one falls ill, it is due to his soul having been seized and detained by *Khazangpa* or a *leurahripa*, so, as soon as sickness occurs, a sacrifice must be performed to the god or spirit that is believed to have imprisoned the soul. This sacrifice, however, is useless unless it is made to the deity which is actually in possession of the soul, and if sacrifice is offered to the wrong deity, the link (*hu*) connecting the soul with the body is snapped and the sick person dies. If, however, the sacrifice is directed rightly, the deity which has impounded the soul restores it to its body and the sick person recovers. It is owing to the difficulty of ascertaining whether *Khazangpa* or one of the numerous *leurahripas* is

[1] *Thla-pha* appears to be the Thado *thilha apha* = "a good spirit," the difference between the two kinds of soul therefore is perhaps merely moral and individual, and not generic.—J. H. H.

responsible for the illness that so many sacrifices are of no effect. Sometimes a sick man can tell from his dreams what *leurahripa* has seized his spirit, as if he dreams that he is on the Kolodyne river he knows that his soul has been caught by the Kolodyne *leurahripa*, and if he dreams that he is on some mountain-top, he knows that it is the *leurahripa* dwelling on that mountain that is holding his soul confined, and directs his sacrifice accordingly. If all other means fail, in order to find out the correct sacrifice to ensure the sick person's recovery, a ceremony called *Litang* is sometimes performed. Certain people known as *litangthaipa* are believed to have the power of ascertaining what sacrifice is required, and when a sick person's relative wants to find out what sacrifice to offer, he places a little rice in the invalid's right hand, takes some of this rice, and goes off to the *litangthaipa* and asks his advice.

The *litangthaipa* takes a pellet bow, holds it by its string, places some of the rice on the stave, and then calls upon the spirits, asking them what sacrifice should be performed, naming each sacrifice in turn. As soon as the correct sacrifice is mentioned, the bow is said to swing backwards and forwards, and the sacrifice so indicated must then be performed.[1]

In dealing with Lakher religious observances, three terms will be constantly cropping up—namely, *Ana*, *Pana*, and *Aoh ;* it will be convenient, therefore, to explain these terms before going any further.

Ana.

Ana means anything that is forbidden.[2] It may be *ana* to do certain things, to say certain things, to see certain things, to touch certain things, or to go to certain places. If the prohibition is disregarded, it is believed that the person defying the prohibition will die or be unlucky. *Ana* has also a positive side, and it is *ana* to omit to do certain

[1] *Cf*, Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 97. The Garos follow a similar practice.—N. E. P.

[2] Sema *chini*, Angami *kenna* (whence the expression " genna " commonly used for tabu in Assam.)—J. H. H.

things. When a woman dies in child-bed, an *aoh* must be held, or else it is *ana* for the whole village. It is also *ana* if an *aoh* is not held after an unnatural death. In the former case the holding of the *aoh* is believed to avert from the other women in the village the danger of dying in child-bed, and in the latter to avert from the men the danger of an unnatural death. When an unnatural death takes place, the other people in the village fear that they will suffer the same fate, and so an *aoh* is held to avert it. The breach of a village *aoh* is *ana* only for the people who break it, and it is believed that the people who break the *aoh* will be unlucky. The breach of the *aoh* by one or two people does not affect the people who observe it, but if a village failed to hold an *aoh* when the occasion demanded it, misfortune would fall upon the village as a whole. *Ana* is practically the same as the Lushei *thianglo* and the Garo *marang*. The Lakhers strictly observe the numerous *anas* with which they are encumbered, but the Lusheis are fast losing their belief, and most of them have no scruple in doing things that twenty-five years ago would have been regarded with horror. The *anas* are really the Lakher equivalent to the Ten Commandments, and though to Western minds many of the prohibitions may appear absurd, some of them are of undoubted social value, and are no more illogical than most of our own superstitions. Thus it is *ana* to shift the boundary of another man's field, it is *ana* to throw weeds into another's field, it is *ana* to steal eggs, it is *ana* for a woman to give birth to a child in another person's house, and all these prohibitions and many others are sound, as they prevent people from causing inconvenience to others. Lushei Christians are by way of having given up all their superstitions, yet they have introduced new prohibitions just as little based on reason as the old. The Sabbath is very strictly kept, and a quite senseless prohibition has been introduced, which is observed even by the Welsh and English missionaries. Christians are strictly prohibited from moving from one place to another on Sunday; thus a Christian who is on a journey may not move, say, from Aijal to Neiboi, a matter of ten miles, on

a Sunday, and if he did so would be subjected to church discipline; if, however, he likes to go from Aijal to Neiboi and return to Aijal the same day, thus doing twenty miles on a Sunday, he has done no wrong, and would incur no penalty. None of the Lakher *anas* is as illogical as this prohibition, which, to my personal knowledge, is observed by missionaries in the Lushai Hills. The Lakher *anas* are the natural outcome of the mode of life and surroundings of the people, who are like children, and, believing in the omnipresence of gods and demons, naturally take precautions so as not to offend them. The prohibitions are not artificial, and so are entitled to respect; though many may seem foolish one must consider their origin before passing judgment, and must allow full credit for their beneficent social effect. The *anas* I have referred to above are of more general application, and impinge more directly and obviously on the social than on the religious life of the people, though the religious idea is there in the background all the time. When a man performs a sacrifice he is *pana* from the beginning of the sacrifice to the end of the *aoh*. It is *ana* for such a man to go out of his house and to meet any one, and it is equally *ana* for any one else to enter his house while he is *pana*, as did any one enter all the good effects of the sacrifice would be destroyed. Here the *ana* has a purely religious side—the sacrificer is forbidden to do certain things lest he offend the god to whom he has sacrificed, and other people are forbidden to do certain things lest they spoil the sacrifice offered. The converse of this is found in the case of *Parihrisang*, where, though the entry of a stranger into the sacrificer's house while he is *pana* has no evil effect on the sacrifice, the stranger himself who broke the *ana* by entering the sacrificer's house in breach of the *ana* is liable to suffer sickness, which he may catch from entering the house.

Pana and Aoh.

When a man has performed a sacrifice, he and his family are *pana* from the time of performing the sacrifice till dawn

next day, or, if an *aoh* is imposed, till the end of the *aoh*. When a man is *pana* on account of a family sacrifice, he may not do any work and may not go outside his house. The women may not weave, the only work they may do is to draw water and cook; they may not go outside the village. In the case of certain sacrifices the family may not even leave their house. While a man is *pana*, no one may enter his house; if any one enters a man's house while he is *pana* the sacrifice is spoilt and must be performed again, and the person who spoilt the sacrifice is fined. Again in the case of certian sacrifices, it is *ana* to enter another person's house, and if the sacrificer enters another's house he has spoilt his own sacrifice and will have to do it again. This is the case when the *Zangda* sacrifice is performed. The nature of the *pana* depends on the sacrifice performed. Practically speaking, a person who has performed a sacrifice is *pana* until all the meat of the animal sacrificed has been consumed. In the case of the more important sacrifices, an *aoh*, during which no work may be done, is imposed for one or two or more days after the *pana*.

A whole village also can be *pana*, and when this is so no work is done, the women may not weave and no one goes outside the village, but the villagers visit each other's houses.[1] When a family or a village is *pana* it means that they are forbidden to do certain things, as it is *ana* to do them, and to help the people to avoid doing anything that is *ana* an *aoh* is imposed. An *aoh* is imposed only for the more important sacrifices and events of village life, for all ordinary sacrifices one day's *pana* is enough. *Aoh* literally means rest or remaining.

An *aoh* may apply to one family only or to the whole village, according to the occasion. When a family is *aoh* no member of it may go outside the house at all, the women may neither

[1] This word *pana*=Angami Naga *penna*, Sema Naga *pini*, Malay *buni*, S. E. Solomons *ăpu*. (Ivens, *Melanesians of the S.E. Solomon Islands*, pp. 253, 259). In Micronesia it appears as *penat* and *panale*, while *émo* (Delmas, *Réligion des Marquisiens*, p. 62) is perhaps correlated to the Ao Naga term *amung* (=Lakher *aoh*). The Tahiti form is *puni*, the Maori *punipuni* and the Tongan *tapbuni*, so linking up with *tabu* (Evans, "Kempunan," *Man*, May, 1920). The constant idea throughout is that of segregation.—J. H. H.

spin nor weave, and no work may be done. When the whole village is *aoh*, no work is done, and no one may go outside the village, but the villagers are allowed to leave their houses and go into the village streets. An *aoh* also partakes of the nature of a holiday during which no work is done, and the people amuse themselves with games like *seuleucha* or *longbeucha* within the village. In the cases of certain of the more important sacrifices, such as *Khisongbo*, *Tleuliabo*, *Tlaraipasi*, *Nangtha Hawkei* and others, it is *ana* for strangers to enter the village during the *aoh*, as they would spoil the sacrifice. Any stranger entering a village during the *aoh* is fined the value of the animal sacrificed, so that the sacrifice may be performed again. Strangers have no excuse for breaking these *aoh*, as the entrances to the village are always closed on these occasions, branches with leaves are erected on the path to show that an *aoh* is being held, and a by-pass is constructed to enable travellers to skirt the village.

When a village *pana* or *aoh* is to be observed, the decision is taken by the chief and elders. In the case of a family sacrifice, once the head of the house has decided to perform a sacrifice, a *pana* or *aoh* follows automatically. A *pana* may be due to either holiness or uncleanness. Thus the *panas* for *Khazangpina*, *Zangda* and *Khisongbo* are due to holiness, but the *panas* after *Parihrisang* and *Ahmaw* are due to uncleanness.

Anahmang.

The *anahmang* (photo at p. 38) are certain articles dedicated to the service of the god *Khazangpa*, and used at the *Khazangpina* sacrifice. The literal meaning of *anahmang* is "the forbidden things."

They consist of the following utensils :—

Kangtlaphei .	Twin wooden plates carved out of one block of wood, each plate being the shape of, and a little larger than, a dice box ; on one plate meat and rice and on the other rice flour are placed.
Beirai . . .	An earthenware beer-pot.
Pakong . .	A bamboo syphon with a wooden joint.
Beikang . .	An earthenware saucer for holding beer.

Two *Maisa* .	Two small open-work bamboo stools, across which is laid a wild plantain leaf, on which the *phavaw* are laid out. Some flour is first placed on the leaf, and then the pig's spurs and one of its ears, half its tongue, half its tail, and half its penis are placed on each of the stools, the spurs from its right leg on the right-hand stool and those from its left leg on the left-hand stool. The bladder is emptied, blown up, and tied to the wall below which the *anahmang* have been laid out. The parts offered are taken from different parts of the pig's body in order to represent the whole pig. After this some cooked liver, some gravy, some meat, some rice, and salt are added to the offerings on the *maisa*.
Phiatla . .	A gourd spoon for the use of *Khazangpa* when he drinks the gravy offered him.
Deuchhai . .	A small wooden chair for *Khazangpa* to sit on when he comes to eat the meat and drink the beer offered to him.
Bei	An earthenware cooking-pot for boiling the pig's head.
Phavaw pawkho	A bamboo basket for holding the portions of the *phavaw* to be eaten by the sacrificer.
Peuveu . .	A small cloth displayed on a bamboo [1] frame for *Khazangpa* to wear as a head-dress when he comes to eat the *phavaw* offered him. A pipe filled with tobacco for *Khazangpa* to smoke.[1]
Hrokha . .	Three small gourd beer-pots, with reeds for sucking up the beer.
Aphi . . .	A bamboo mat on which the *anahmang* are placed while the sacrifice is being performed.

These things are kept either in a model house like a doll's house or in a bamboo basket, which is fixed up just under the roof above the big bed or *rakhong*. Sometimes the earthenware pots for cooking the meat are kept over the hearth above the racks used for drying meat. Every Lakher householder possesses a set of *anahmang*, and when a man has built his own house and separated from his father, he himself makes his *anahmang* if he can ; if he cannot, he gets some one else to make them for him. If while the *anahmang* are being made a death occurs in the village, those that have been made have to be destroyed, and a fresh set has to be prepared, as the half-made set has been defiled by the death. As soon as the *anahmang* are ready, the model house to contain them is prepared, and then the *Khazangpina* sacrifice is performed with a fowl, and after that the *anahmang* are placed and kept inside the house as already described.

The *anahmang* are used only for *Khazangpina*, and at the

[1] These two articles are included only by the Hnaihleu clan, and not by the other Saiko clans.—N. E. P.

conclusion of the sacrifice are washed and replaced inside the house. The Hnaihleu clan use them also for the tiger sacrifice, *Nangtha Hawkei*. If a father and son are living together in one house, when the father dies the son must make new *anahmang;* he cannot continue to use his father's.

The Lusheis use in connection with their *Sakhua* gourds called *hairual* a small clay *zu* pot called *rothumbel*, a *zu* syphon of bamboo called *dawnkawn*, a gourd called *bing*, another small gourd called *haite*, and a small wooden plate *chirawtthleng*. The *serh*, which are the parts set aside for the guardian spirit of the clan, and which correspond to the Lakher *phavaw*, are placed on the *chirawtthleng*. The *hairual* and *chirawtthleng* are used only for *Sakhua*, the other articles are used in other sacrifices also. The *hairual* are used as cups for drinking the *zu*.[1] These articles are known collectively as *Bawlhlo*.

The *anahmang* described here are those used in Saiko, and similar articles are used in all the villages. In the Siaha group a *vaina* or war *dao*, a *puggree*, a skirt, a blue cloth, a bronze bracelet, a cornelian bead, an amber necklace, a chestnut pole, a bow and a quiver of two arrows, one of which is kept in the quiver, while the other is used to kill the pig, are also included with the *anahmang*. It is *ana* to touch another person's *anahmang*, and any one doing so, whether intentionally or by accident, is fined, and new *anahmang* have to be made. In Chapi the *anahmang* are not kept in a basket or a model house, but simply hung up close to the roof, and the heads of the pigs sacrificed are hung on the wall next to the bed. In the old days if a commoner touched the chief's *anahmang* he became his slave, now he is fined a *mithun*. The fine for touching an ordinary man's *anahmang* in all the villages is a fowl. In

[1] The Thado Kuki *Indoi*, described by Dr. Hutton in Appendix G, at p. 153, of William Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, seems to differ from the Lakher *anahmang* and the Lushei *Sakhua* vessels in that they serve no practical purpose, but are merely a bundle of charms. *See also* William Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 74.—N. E. P. I think that some Thado clans, *e.g.* the Holthang, produce them for ceremonial purposes on certain occasions, and possibly all do. Certainly offerings are made for it on some occasions.—J. H. H.

Savang the *anahmang* are known as *hmangkhei* and are hung up close to the main back post of the house.

When I wanted to photograph a set of *anahmang* vessels in Saiko in 1928, the vessels were lent by three different persons—Hlitha, Deutha and Sarang. I found out afterwards that this arrangement was made as the articles brought to be photographed had to be destroyed, and so each of these three lent a few of their vessels, so that none of them should have the trouble of making a whole new set.

The Phavaw.

In nearly every sacrifice, *phavaw*, which are the parts of the animal sacrificed dedicated to the god or spirit to whom the sacrifice is offered, are set aside. The parts used vary according to the sacrifice performed, but always include flour, salt, and some blood of the animal sacrificed. The blood is mixed with either rice flour or with raw or cooked rice, according to the nature of the sacrifice. These *phavaw* correspond to the Lushei *serh*.

In Savang, when a pig has been sacrificed, the parts usually set aside as raw *phavaw* are the ears, the eyebrows, the lips, the tongue, the teats, the penis, a toe from the right foot, the tail, the bladder and some blood mixed with flour, while some of the cooked liver is used for the cooked *phavaw*.

A fowl's *phavaw* consist of its tail feathers, its tongue, some blood, and a foot raw and some cooked liver, rice, and salt. These are the fowl's *phavaw* used in Saiko; in the other villages the same parts, with slight differences, are used.

Sacrificial meat is neither cooked in metal pots nor eaten off metal dishes. It is not *ana* to use metal for these purposes, but it is contrary to custom. Earthen pots and dishes having been used for these purposes from time immemorial, before the Lakhers knew of metal at all, it has become a fixed custom to use earthenware for all sacrificial purposes and metal is never used.

Khazangpina.

Khazangpina is the most important sacrifice performed by the Lakhers. It is a sacrifice to the god *Khazangpa* with the object of pleasing him and inducing him to bless the sacrificer and his wife with good health and with children, to give him good crops and fertile domestic animals, and to make him rich. The sacrifice must be performed by the head of the house, and the animal sacrificed may be either a pig or a fowl. If only a fowl is killed, the family are *pana* from the time of the sacrifice till dawn next day; if a pig is killed, they are *pana* till dawn next day, and after that are *aoh* for three days. During the *pana* and *aoh* the *phavaw*, which are the parts of the animal set aside for the god, must not be touched by any one except a member of the family, and even the sacrificer's concubine must not touch them. If any one dies while the *sahma* beer for *Khazangpina* is being prepared, the beer must be thrown away and a fresh brew made after the funeral. The first day of the sacrifice is called the *Khazangpinang*, or day on which the offering is made to *Khazang*; the second day is called *Aruhlonang*, or the day on which the bones are cooked and eaten with rice; the third day is called *Aohnang*, and the fourth day *Sahaw i chaka pana nang*, or the day on which it is not permissible to walk over wild cat's excrement, as, if any of the sacrificer's family did so, the sacrifice would be spoilt. It is important that the sacrifice should be performed at the correct place, which varies with different clans. Some clans sacrifice near the hearth on the side of the house on the upward slope of the hill; some near the main post at the back of the house; some near the main post at the front of the house; some near the bed; some at the foot of the verandah wall.

As soon as the animal has been slaughtered by stabbing it under the right shoulder with an arrow, certain parts of it, known as the *phavaw*, are set aside for *Khazang*. Some of the *phavaw* are raw and some are cooked. The raw *phavaw* of a fowl consist of its tongue, its blood, and its tail feathers, and the cooked *phavaw* of a little of its liver and

comb, some rice, some flour, a little cooked meat and gravy, and a little salt. The raw *phavaw* of a pig consist of its lips, its ears, its tongue, its tail, one toe from the right fore-leg, its bladder, its penis, and the fore-leg, from which a toe has been removed. The cooked *phavaw* consist of a little liver, a little of the intestine, a little of the heart and stomach with a little meat, rice, salt, and gravy. The raw *phavaw* are first placed on a plantain leaf laid across the two *maichas*. The *phavaw* to be cooked are then cooked in the *anahmang* pots, the meat portions being cooked in one pot and the rice in another. When they are ready, half of the *phavaw* is eaten by the sacrificer and his family, and half is placed with the raw portions on the plantain leaf; any portions for which there is no room on the plantain leaf are placed on the wooden plate. The head of the pig is cooked by itself in one of the *anahmang* pots; it can be eaten only by members of the sacrificer's clan, and with some clans by his *kei* or friend. The rest of the meat is cooked separately in the ordinary way, and can be eaten by any one, but until the sacrificer and his family have eaten their half of the *phavaw* the feast for the general company cannot be started. If only a fowl has been killed the parts of the *phavaw* eaten by the sacrificer are a little flour, rice, meat, and liver.

The *phavaw* of the fowl are thrown away at the foot of the ladder leading up to the house as soon as the fowl has been eaten. The *phavaw* of the pig are thrown away in the evening of the *Aruhlonang* day after the sun has set, and then the pig's head is hung up inside the roof above the place at which it was killed. The fore-leg of the pig that was placed on the *anahmang* is then cooked and eaten by the sacrificer and his family and any members of the clan they may invite, and it should all be eaten before sunrise on the *Aohnang* day. After the *phavaw* have been thrown away the *anahmang* are washed, replaced in their box and hung up in their accustomed place under the roof.

Khazangpina is not performed every year, but only when it is thought necessary, as when the householder or his wife has ill health or their domestic animals die. When *Khaza-*

ngpina is being performed, fellow-villagers may enter the sacrificer's house, but strangers may not. If any one other than a member of a man's family touches the *anahmang*, whether during a sacrifice or not, it is *ana*, and a fine is inflicted.

Before the pig is actually killed the sacrificer intones a chant which runs as follows :—

"Oh, *Khazang*, I sacrifice this pig to you. Accept it without anger and be pleased with us.
Grant me sons and daughters, and let them be clever and comely.
Bless my pigs and cattle, and cause them to multiply.
Watch over me in illness and save me from death.
Enable me to shoot many animals, and give me good crops.
Bless me in all my works and deeds.
Watch over my whole family and keep us from harm,
I cannot pray to you as well as my father and my mother did, but if I have made omissions, forgive me my mistake."

After finishing the chant, the sacrificer places some *sahma* and flour in the pig's mouth, and then stabs it with an arrow under the right shoulder.

The description given above applies to the Tlongsai, but much the same procedure is followed by the other tribes, though there are small differences, which depend on the clan. With some clans the water for cooking the *phavaw* must be drawn by the sacrificer himself or his wife, and when they have started making flour to put with the *phavaw*, the pounding of the flour must not be stopped till the job is finished, or it is *ana*. The belief is that the quicker they pound the flour the quicker *Khazangpa* will grant what they pray for. In Tisi the ceremony performed by the Nonghrang clan lasts a week. The first day is called *Teibihmanang*, and is *pana*. The second day is called *Atawhlonang*, and is *aoh*. The third day is called *Teibipasinang*, and is *aoh*. The fourth day is *aoh*. During these four days no stranger may enter the sacrificer's house. On the fifth, sixth and seventh days the sacrificer and his family may go to work, but must not attend a wake and may not touch a dead animal. In Savang the ceremony lasts for three days. The first day is called *Pananang*. The second day is *pana*. The third day is *aoh*. The raw *phavaw* consist of the ears, the

eyebrows, the lips, the tongue, the teats, the penis, a toe from the right foot, the tail, the bladder, and some blood, together with one fore-leg. The cooked *phavaw* consist of rice, salt, gravy, and liver. The head and intestines are cooked in one pot, but the meat of the head can be eaten only by clansmen. The loins and a hind-leg are cooked on the second day, and the fore-leg that was set aside with the *phavaw* on the evening of the second day. This fore-leg is set aside because it is under the fore-leg that the animal was stabbed, so the fore-leg is dedicated to *Khazangpa*, who, however, is believed to give it back to his worshippers, and so it is eaten last of all. When all the meat has been consumed the *phavaw* are thrown away through the hole in the floor through which the main post of the house passes.[1]

During the *aoh* people may enter the house, but may not be given food or nicotine-water, and may not smoke.

In Chapi the ceremonial for the Changza chief's *Khazangpina* is different from that in use in the other villages. On the first occasion that a new chief performs *Khazangpina* after his father's death, the sacrifice must consist of a red cock. On the day of the sacrifice, the chief and his family are *pana*, and shut themselves up in their private part of the house ; the retainers are not allowed to enter the private apartment on this occasion. The cock having been killed, the *phavaw* are laid out on the place on the floor where the sacrifice was made. For *phavaw* a little meat from one leg and the breast, a little liver, a little of the comb, some gravy and some rice, salt and sesamum are set aside. A little of the *phavaw* is eaten by the chief and his family, and then they partake of the fowl, and some of its meat is given to the retainers to eat in their own part of the house. Next day there is an *aoh* for the chief and all his household—no one may enter the house and no one may leave it. The house doors are kept shut, the chief and his family remaining in their apartment and the retainers in their own rooms. The *aoh* lasts till the stars came out on the night of the day after

[1] The main post of the house is often associated with sacrifice, and with fertility rites in particular, by Nagas.—J. H. H.

the sacrifice. This sacrifice of a red cock is the preliminary ceremony, and three years later *anahmang* are made and a pig is sacrificed. As before, the chief remains in his own apartment and the retainers in their part of the house. The pig having been killed, its right fore-leg, bladder, and penis are set aside as the raw *phavaw*. The liver is cooked, and a small portion of it eaten as *phavaw* by the chief alone. Then some liver, brain, some of the intestines and some meat are placed on the *anahmang* wooden plate as *phavaw*, and the rest of these portions is eaten by the chief and his family. The rest of the meat is cooked and eaten by the chief, his family and his retainers. The meat being all consumed, the chief draws water, places the *phavaw* on the floor, washes up the *anahmang* and puts them away. The pig's head is then hung up on the wall of the chief's apartment above the place at which the pig had been sacrificed. The next day is *aoh*, the fore-leg that was set aside with the *phavaw* is cooked by a retainer, and eaten by the chief and his household, the rest of the *phavaw* are thrown away. The *aoh* lasts till the stars appear. After the lapse of four or five years this sacrifice is repeated.

Zakhapa.

If for any reason a man finds it impossible to do the regular *Khazangpina* sacrifice, he can do a modified form of it, which is known as *Zakhapa*. When *Zakhapa* is performed, the whole of the meat of the animal sacrificed must be eaten in one night, and people belonging to other clans than the sacrificer may partake of it. *Phavaw* are set aside as in the regular sacrifice. The family are *pana* for the day and night of the sacrifice, but there is no *aoh*, and fellow-villagers may enter the house, but it is *ana* for strangers to do so.

Either a fowl or a pig may be killed for *Zakhapa*, but if the latter, a small animal is always chosen. Any meat not consumed on the night of the sacrifice is thrown away, and may not be kept for use next day.

Zangda.

Zangda is a sacrifice to *Zang*, a tutelary deity who is attached to every human being, and acts as a guardian angel. It is intended to ensure the good health, fertility, and happiness of a married couple or of their children, and to save them from getting nightmares and from suffering from sores. For this sacrifice a fowl must be killed. If the sacrifice is especially for the benefit of the woman, a pullet is used, and if it is for the benefit of the husband a cockerel. A gourd spoon *phiatla* containing water and a little rice is placed on the floor of the house, an incision is made in the bird's mouth and it is allowed to bleed into the gourd ; some feathers are pulled out of its tail and placed on the floor near the gourd. The fowl is then held over the gourd and its back is broken with a *dao*. Its tongue is then pulled out for the *phavaw* and placed inside the gourd, after which the fowl is cooked, and when it is ready a little of its comb and liver, a little gravy, some salt, and some rice are placed in the gourd as *phavaw*. The sacrificer does not eat any of the *phavaw*. The meat is then eaten by the married couple. When all the meat has been eaten, the *phavaw* are thrown out through a hole in the floor. The whole family is *pana* from the time the sacrifice is made till dawn next day. It is *ana* for any one to enter the house on the night of the sacrifice, and any one doing so is fined a fowl. The fact that a sacrifice is being held is indicated by two bamboos placed crosswise in front of the house. When the sacrifice is performed for one of a married couple, their children may not eat any of the meat. If the couple are living in the husband's parents' house, the parents must partake of the meat, but if the couple are living in their own house, their parents may not eat any of it. If a married couple do *Zangda* for one of their children, the child for whom the sacrifice is performed and the parents may eat of the meat, but none of the other children may, as if they do so the *Zang* will not know for which child the sacrifice is made. A married couple may not do *Zangda* for any of their children who have got married, as by marriage the child has separated from its parents.

The following is the chant used by Sarang of Saiko when he performs *Zangda* :—

" Oh, guardian angel, I sacrifice a cock to you,
Be pleased with me, and keep me well and grant me children.
Save me from suffering from sores.
Do not let my soul wander away from me."

If the sacrifice is being made for the benefit of the husband, the husband utters the prayer, holding the fowl which is to be sacrificed, and then hands the fowl to his wife, who sacrifices it. If the sacrifice is for the benefit of the wife, she utters the prayer, and her husband kills the fowl.

Khisongbo or Kathlawbo.

Khisongbo is a sacrifice to the *Khisong*, which is a place inhabited by some powerful spirit or genius loci. These spirits generally dwell on mountain tops or precipices, or in deep pools in rivers or lakes.

Every village has some place near by which they believe is a *Khisong*, to which at irregular intervals sacrifices are offered. Some villages sacrifice every year, some every other year. Savang sacrifice to the precipice above their village on the Tlialia range ; Chakhang to Mawma Tlang ; Chapi to the Kahri mountain just above Chapi village, also to Tichang, a precipice below the village, and to Longpha, the highest peak on the Kahria range ; Saiko and Siaha sacrifice to a hill called Chhongchongpaw on the Bualpui range ; Tisi to a pool called Tisi Khupi in the Tisi river ; Tongkolong to a deep lake called Pala Tipang, and known to the Lusheis as Palak Dil, while Longba sacrifice to a pool in the Pala river called Tleulianong.

The sacrifice is performed by all the villagers jointly, and its object is to improve the land, the crops, and the animals, and also to ensure the good health of the villagers. A man is selected by the villagers to perform the sacrifice who must be clean and healthy, not afflicted with syphilis, sores, or scabies. None of the women of the sacrificer's family may be pregnant or with menstrual flow, and the man selected must also have a lucky name. A red cock and a pig are the

usual sacrifice, but once in a generation a *mithun* is sacrificed instead of a pig. The sacrifice is performed outside the village at some spot from which the hill or precipice to which the sacrifice is being offered can be seen clearly, or else at its very foot. A flat stone is laid at the foot of a well-grown young tree, and a head stone is also erected. Before the sacrifice is performed, the sacrificer intones a chant, calling on the *Khisong* by name to make them prosperous. The pig is held down by young men who are ceremonially pure, and is killed with an arrow at the foot of the tree, and its *phavaw*, both raw and cooked, consisting of its ears, tongue, tail, penis, toe, and blood and some cooked liver and intestine with rice and salt, are placed on the stone. The sacrificer eats a little of the *phavaw*, the meat off the pig's skull and the whole of the chicken. The rest of the meat is eaten by the villagers. When a *mithun* is sacrificed to the *Khisong*, a rope is tied to its horns, and it is held by a number of young men who must be ceremonially pure. The sacrificer then shoots an arrow into the *mithun*, after which the men who are holding the rope pull the *mithun* down on its knees and kill it by striking it on the head with an axe.

For *phavaw* they set aside on the stone some flour mixed with blood, and on this the *mithun's* ears, tongue, and tail are placed raw, some of the liver, intestines, and meat being added cooked, with salt, gravy, and rice. The meat on the head of the *mithun* is eaten only by the sacrificer and his family, as if all the villagers were allowed to partake of it some portion of it might be eaten by women who are pregnant or menstruous, and so ceremonially impure, which would vitiate the sacrifice. The rest of the meat is distributed to the people, and at dark they all return to the village and cook and eat the meat.

On the day of the sacrifice the village is *pana ;* the next day is a strict *aoh*, and even the chickens are kept shut up lest a hawk should take them. The day after is called *Chheutheu*. On the *Chheutheu* day the women may neither spin nor weave, but may work. The men all go to the jungle and try to shoot or trap a wild animal. If they are

successful in this, the next day also is *aoh Chheupana* ; if not, the sacrifice is finished and the *aoh* at an end. The idea of the *Chheutheu* is to see whether the sacrifice has had any effect or not. If they manage to kill or trap an animal, they believe that the spirit of the mountain is pleased, and that he will give them a prosperous year. The further *aoh* imposed if a wild animal is killed is because it is believed that if there is no *aoh* after a wild animal has been killed for the first time after the sacrifice they will thereafter be unlucky in hunting. The *aoh* is to please the souls of the wild animals, who are supposed to dislike cotton thread ; and so on that day the women are not allowed to touch any cotton thread. During the *aohs* held after this sacrifice the villagers amuse themselves by playing at the bean game called *seuleucha*.

During the *aoh* for *Khisongbo* it is *ana* for a stranger to enter the village. The entrances to the village are all closed and a large bunch of leaves is erected at each entrance to show that the village is *aoh*, and a by-pass is made to allow strangers to pass without entering the village. Any stranger disregarding these warnings and entering the village is fined a pig or a fowl. The sacrificer must remain inside his house during the *aoh*, and is not allowed to eat the meat of any animal that has been killed by another wild animal, nor to enter a house where a death has taken place, nor to attend a wake until the new moon has risen, as he would thereby be defiled, and the spirit of the mountain would be annoyed.

Tleulia.

Tleulia is a village sacrifice to the slope of the hill on which the village is situated, as, though the village site is not a regular *Khisong*, it is believed to be also inhabited by spirits, who must be propitiated in order to induce them to make the people healthy and fertile, to give good crops, and to make all domestic animals breed freely. The sacrifice is generally performed once in every two years, but in Savang it is performed every year, and the *Chithla* sacrifice is performed on the same day. The sacrificer is a man who is

usually appointed for life as a priest for this particular sacrifice, and is the only person resembling a priest found among the Lakhers. This priest is known as the *tleuliabopa*, and when he performs the *Tleulia* sacrifice he must be ceremonially pure. If in a given year his wife or any of the women of his household are pregnant, the sacrifice is postponed to the next year. He cannot perform the sacrifice while any of his women have their menstrual flow. The *tleuliabopa* is also subject to certain other prohibitions. He may not go and catch fish in the river, as a great deal more rice is eaten with fish than with meat, and if the *tleuliabopa* eats fish he will eat a large amount of rice, which by sympathetic magic will have a bad effect on the crops, and cause the paddy to be consumed rapidly. He is not allowed to touch the indigo plant, as when indigo dye is prepared the plant is rotten and bad smelling, and if the *tleuliabopa* touches it, the rice will rot in the same way. He is not allowed to touch the *barongthu*, a kind of pulse which is eaten rotten, for the same reason. Further, the *tleuliabopa* may not eat of the flesh of any animal that has been killed by a wild animal, may not go to a house where a death has taken place, and may not attend a wake, as if he did so he would be defiled. For a year after he has performed the *Tleulia* sacrifice the *tleuliabopa* is not allowed even to go near a river, as it is believed that if he does so the crop will fail and the paddy already harvested will not last out.

The sacrifice is always performed at the same place in the village—under the *tleulia* tree, usually a tree called *bongchhi* (*Ficus geniculata*) which is planted in every village the first time the sacrifice is performed on that village site. Under the tree a flat stone is laid on the ground and an upright stone is erected at its head. The flat stone is used for laying out the *phavaw*. The sacrifice consists of a fowl and a pig, and once in a generation a *mithun* is sacrificed instead of the pig.

Before the sacrifice is made all the fires in the village are extinguished. The old fire is regarded as defiled, having been used for cooking funeral meats and the meat of animals killed by tigers, having also been present through any illness

that may have taken place in the house, and so it must be put out before the sacrifice. As soon as the animal has been slaughtered, new fire is made on the *Tleulia* ground with either matches or flint and steel—it is immaterial which is used. A large fire is made, and the village crier calls on all householders to come and fetch the new fire. The villagers all come with torches, which they light at the new fire, and go back to their houses and kindle the new fire on the hearth.

The *tleuliabopa*, as he is about to make the sacrifice, offers up a prayer; the animals to be slaughtered are held by young men who are ceremonially pure, as in *Khisongbo*, and are shot or stabbed with an arrow beneath the *tleulia* tree.

No women may be present at the sacrifice, lest any who are unclean may spoil the sacrifice. Enough meat is cooked on the *tleulia* ground for the men present to eat on the spot, and the rest of the meat is distributed raw among all the villagers. When the men have finished their meal on the *tleulia* ground, and before they go off to their houses, the *tleuliabopa* hangs up the pig's head in the *bongchhi* tree.

Although women are not allowed to partake of the meat cooked on the *tleulia* ground, there is no objection to their cooking and eating in their houses the raw meat that falls to their share.

The *phavaw*, which are the same as those set aside at *Khisongbo*, are placed on the stone at the foot of the *tleulia* tree. The fowl, the *mithun's* or the pig's head, as the case may be, and small portions of the *phavaw*, are eaten by the *tleuliabopa*, part of it on the place of sacrifice and the rest in his house. The day of the sacrifice is *pana*, the next day is *aoh*, and the day after is called *Chheutheu*. If any animal is shot on the *Chheutheu* day there is another day's *aoh* for *Chheupana*, exactly as in the *Khisongbo*. The entrances to the village are closed, it is *ana* for any stranger to enter the village, and any one entering the village instead of going round by the by-path is fined a pig or a fowl. The *tleulia* tree is regarded as sacred, and it is believed that a *leurahripa* of comparatively kindly disposition comes and takes up its abode in the branches, who, if duly propitiated, will help

the village, give good crops, make both men and animals fertile and make the children good looking. To cut the tree is *ana ;* any one doing so would be fined a sow and made to plant a new tree. If a branch of the tree breaks, it is believed that one of the village elders will die, and if the tree is blown over in a storm it is said to indicate the impending death of the chief or one of his family. When the Saiko *tleulia* tree was blown down, the chief's wife died within six months. If any one injures either of the stones below the tree, he is fined a sow, which is used to perform the sacrifice required when a new stone is erected.

In Siaha the first day is *pana ;* there are then two days *aoh*, and after that *Chheutheu*. In Chapi no regular *Tleulia* is performed, its place being taken by two sacrifices called *Chitang* and *Chhome*. In Savang each householder takes a little of the blood of the sacrifice and anoints some of his standing crop with it. Less importance is apparently attached to the *tleuliabopa* being ceremonially pure in Savang, as he is allowed to perform the sacrifice even if any of his womenkind are pregnant or menstruating.

Feasts.

The Lakhers, except for one clan, have no great series of feasts, like the Lushei Thangchhuah feasts. The Khichha Hleuchang, the royal clan of Siaha, however, perform a series of feasts intended to assist the giver to attain to Paradise, though it does not release him from the obligation of shooting certain animals. Each feast has its own name, the whole series leading up to the final feast, known as *Khangchei*. The feasts must be performed in the order given below ; to alter the order is *ana*.

The first of these feasts is called *Phidong*. The *anahmang* are all placed at the foot of the verandah wall on the side of the house higher up the slope of the hill, and a sow of three fists is killed close by immediately after sunrise by the giver of the feast. When the pork has been cooked, a little of each part of the stomach, with some meat, gravy and salt, are laid out on the *anahmang* as *phavaw* for the

god to eat. The members of the family eat some pork on the day of sacrifice, and the next day invite their friends and give them a feast off the rest of the pork and *sahma* beer. That evening when the sacrificer goes to bed he leaves the *phavaw* set aside for the god on the *anahmang;* next morning he throws out the *phavaw* at the foot of the ladder, washes up the *anahmang* and puts them away. After an interval, usually of about three months, the next feast, called *Vothawthi*, takes place. For this a boar of five or six fists is killed near the *anahmang*, which are laid out on the verandah in the same place as in the first sacrifice. The animal is killed in the evening after sunset, beer is prepared beforehand, and many people are invited. The *phavaw* are set aside for *Khazangpa* as before, and the sacrificer and his family eat their pork in the verandah; when they have finished, the *anahmang* are taken inside the house and placed at the foot of the wall near the bed on the side of the house which is higher up the hill, this side of a house being considered the more honourable. The reason why the *anahmang* are first placed in the verandah and then taken inside the house, is that *Khazangpa* will first arrive in the verandah and rest awhile, and will then go inside the house and partake of the things laid out for him. The pork for the guests is then cooked, the young men and girls sing songs, and drinks are handed round. When the pork is ready, the girls and boys who have been amusing the company, singing and dancing, are served first before the first cock crows, after them the women, and last of all the men. Lakhers say that the women are served first because they are regarded as inferior beings to the men, and so must be treated with special kindness. The whole company sits up all night. In the morning the pork left over is cooked again, more beer is prepared, and the feast goes on all day. After dusk every one goes home and the sacrificer goes to bed. Next morning beer is prepared on the verandah; this day is called *Aruhlonang*, the day on which the pig's bones are cooked with rice and eaten. The guests all return, and feasting and drinking go on all day on the verandah; the younger people only get beer, the bones and rice being preserved for the elders. The

reason for the feast being held on the verandah is that on this last day *Khazangpa* is preparing to return to his home, and so has come out of the house on to the verandah. As soon as it gets dusk the guests all go home, and the sacrificer goes to bed. Next morning the *phavaw* are thrown away at the foot of the ladder, and the *anahmang* are washed and put away.

The next feast is called *Vori*. A sow of two fists is killed by the head of the house. The *anahmang* are laid out in the evening at the foot of the wall on that side of the house which is higher up the slope. The pork being cooked, the same *phavaw* as described in the other feasts are set aside for *Khazangpa*. The pork may be eaten only by fellow-clansmen; it is *ana* for any one else to partake of it; not even the sacrificer's sister's children nor his mother's brothers can do so. The pork must all be consumed before dawn; it is *ana* to leave any of it over. Before sunrise the *anahmang* are taken out on to the verandah and the *phavaw* are thrown out at the foot of the ladder, the *anahmang* are washed, and then put away. The reason for throwing away the *phavaw* at the foot of the ladder is that *Khazangpa* will leave the house by the ladder, and the food that has been dedicated to him should go out by the same way.

The next feast is *Seichhong*. For this a *mithun* calf seven months old is used. The *mithun* is tied with a rope round its neck, a rope is attached to its right hind- and fore-feet. The ropes must all be held by the sacrificer's clansmen, in order to avoid all danger of any person one of whose ancestors was a slave, possessed of the evil eye, a murderer, or a bastard taking any part in the ceremony. The sacrificer then shoots the animal with a bow and arrow under its right shoulder. The men holding the ropes throw the *mithun*, which is killed by the sacrificer with a blow on the neck from a heavy wooden stick. The *mithun* is sacrificed after sunset. Before the sacrifice the *anahmang* are laid out on the ground close to the place where the animal is to be killed, and as soon as it has been slaughtered the sacrificer's clansmen remove its entrails and cook a little liver, a little of its stomach and its bowels and some meat as *phavaw*. When these are ready,

they are placed on the *anahmang* with rice and salt for *Khazangpa*. The animal is then cut up by some of the guests and cooked. After the *phavaw* have been arranged on the *anahmang*, they are brought into the house and placed at the foot of the upper wall, and the feast begins; songs are sung, food and drink are served to all, and the proceedings continue all night and till dusk next day, when the guests go home. The next day is *Aruhlonang*, the guests return, and are given beer and bones and rice; at dusk they all go home. Next morning before sunrise the *anahmang* are taken out into the verandah, the *phavaw* are thrown away at the foot of the ladder, and the *anahmang* are washed and put away.

The next feast is called *Beibei;* it is held whenever the sacrificer has the animals required. A week before the feast is held, the sacrificer invites all the young men and girls to help collect firewood to cook the meat. They collect and split firewood and lay it to dry along a fence, built on the edge of the village path.[1] As a reward for their help, the sacrificer kills a pig, prepares beer, and gives them a feast. On the day fixed for the sacrifice two bull *mithun* and three pigs are slaughtered. The larger *mithun* is killed first, and its meat is distributed raw to all the villagers. The smaller *mithun* and the three pigs are cooked and used for a feast, which lasts for seven days, during which the whole village gives itself up to eating, drinking, and merriment. No *phavaw* are set aside, as the *mithun* are not killed as a sacrifice to God, but merely for a feast to glorify the man who gives it.

The next feast is *Chakei Ia*, the ceremony performed over the head of a dead tiger to lay its ghost. For this purpose the man who is performing this series of feasts has to wait till some one has killed a tiger, and as soon as this event has occurred, preparations are made and the *Ia* is held.

The proceedings start with the sacrifice of a boar in the village street to lay the tiger's ghost. This pork may be eaten only by men, who have a feast and drink beer. Women may not take part, as their presence would prevent the tiger's

[1] *Cf.* the Lushei *Sathingzar*. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 88, and Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 103.—N. E. P.

ghost from being laid. Next morning a bull *mithun* and a pig are slaughtered and beer is brewed. The tiger's head is placed on a small platform erected in the street. This platform is made of *thohmaw* wood (*Rhus semi alata*), which is much feared by tigers' ghosts, as it is used to make gunpowder. Another reason given me for the use of this particular wood is that *thohmaw* wood burns away very rapidly and vanishes, and so if it is used for holding the tiger's head the tiger's *saw* will vanish quickly also. The man who is performing the ceremony then dresses up in woman's cloths, does his hair like a woman, takes a spindle in his hand, and dances round the tiger's head, followed by all the guests. They dance round the head in this way nine times, and after each round the giver of the feast thrusts the spindle through the tiger's nostrils and pours a little *sahma* into them. After this the feast is held. In the evening the man performing the ceremony puts on his own cloths again and, taking a *vaina* in one hand and a shield in the other, dances five times round the tiger's head with one of his friends. At the end of the fifth round the dancer seizes the tiger's head and runs off with it outside the village, pursued by the performer of the ceremony jabbing at the tiger's head with his *vaina*. The head is then thrown away outside the village fence. That night the whole village is *aoh*, and the women may neither spin nor weave for fear of the tiger's ghost. Next morning before any one else leaves his house the giver of the feast sacrifices a small fowl on the village path, which ends the *aoh*, and the villagers may all come out of their houses and take up their daily tasks.

The culminating feast of the series is called *Khangchei*. The proceedings commence with the slaughter of a cow *mithun* and a three-day feast. After that the young men and girls spend ten days in collecting and drying firewood, for which labour they are rewarded with a feast of pork and beer. A week later the real feast begins. A post called *hraisong* is erected in front of the house for each *mithun* to be killed. These posts are straight, not forked, like the Lushei *seluphan*, and are simply to show how many *mithun*

were slain. About five *mithun* are slaughtered, all except one in the morning, one being kept to be killed in the evening as a sacrifice to *Khazangpa*, to whom prayer is offered before the sacrifice, though no *phavaw* are set aside for him. Next morning a bamboo platform, called *khangang*, is made, and the wife of the performer of the ceremony is carried on it nine times round and round in front of the house by eight young men, followed by all the villagers chanting—

"*A nu maw khuang a chawi*
A pa maw khuang a chawi
Se ra suse, sungthla de de law.
Awla zaza law."

which, roughly translated, means :—

"Is the wife performing the ceremony ?
Is the husband performing the ceremony ?
Rock them from side to side.
Hurrah ! Hurrah !"

The woman throws down gongs, brass basins, and money from the platform on which she is being carried ; these are taken by the sisters of the man who is performing the ceremony. This shows the difference between the Lakher and Lushei character. The gifts thrown to be scrambled for by the villagers by a Lushei chief doing *Khuangchawi* are kept by those who manage to annex them, but the Lakher largesse is only a pretence, and is returned to the giver after the ceremony. The young men who carry the lady round receive no reward—it is regarded as their duty to help the giver of the feast by doing this free. The feast lasts for nine days. The animals slaughtered are eaten and vats of beer are consumed. On the ninth day, in the evening, a Lushei comes out to the space in front of the house stark naked, followed by a Lakher youth wearing a loin-cloth, and they wrestle together. It is so arranged that the Lakher always wins, as it is believed that if the Lushei wins his opponent will become consumptive, whereas a defeat involves no such disastrous consequences for the Lushei, who is given a present of 10 or 20 rupees. On the ninth evening, after dark, the fires are all put out in the sacrificer's house, and a saturnalia of free love is allowed, the young men

being at liberty to take their pleasure with any of the women present, whether married or single, without let or hindrance, save that the women may defend themselves with weapons if they like, and no man may complain even if a woman in defending herself has cut him and drawn blood. This goes on all night, and is the end of the feast. Actually it does not seem that force was ever used, but all those who wished to take advantage of the opportunity were able to do so freely. The last person to do the whole series of feasts was Zaneu, the grandfather of the present chief of Siaha, about sixty years ago. The description above was obtained from Tleitia, a former slave of Zaneu, who was present as a boy, and from the present chiefs of Siaha and Thiahra, Thachhong and Tlaiko. Tlaiko has already performed the feasts up to *Chakei Ia*, and is going to perform *Khangchei* as soon as he has enough *mithun* to do so.

A man performing *Khangchei* does not acquire the right to wear special cloths and plumes, like a Lushei who has performed *Khuangchawi*, nor is he *pana* for a period after the ceremony; the only material effect of the ceremony is to increase the death due (*ru*) that will be payable on his death.[1] Great prestige, however, accrues to any one who goes through the whole series of feasts. Strictly, the ceremony is Poi, and not Lakher, the Khichha Hleuchang, the only Lakher clan that performs it, being of Poi origin, and still influenced by Poi custom. These feasts, while a source of pride to the giver, are an occasion for merry-making for the whole village, and all willingly subscribe beer to ensure that the proceedings shall not be dull for lack of enlivening liquor. The Poi *Khuang Soi* and the Lushei *Khuangchawi* are similar feasts.[2]

Birth.

All Lakhers desire to have children, and one of the objects of the *Khazangpina* and *Zangda* sacrifices is to induce the

[1] The picturesque ceremony called *Mitthirawplam*, which is an important part of the Lushei *Thangchhuah* feasts, is not performed by the Lakhers. *Cf.* Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 103–106.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 31 *et seq.*; N. E. Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 95–108; Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, pp. 87–90.—N. E. P.

gods to bless the persons offering them with large families. The communal *Tleulia* sacrifice to the spirit of the village site is offered in the hope that the spirit will make all members of the community fertile. In addition to these general sacrifices, other methods are adopted by childless women who are desirous of offspring.

Sakia is a sacrifice performed by women to the *Sakia* to enable them to have children. The *Sakia* is a spirit like *Zang*, but of a less benevolent nature. Men have no *Sakia*, but every woman has a *Sakia*, and if a woman is unhealthy or unable to have children the *Sakia* is blamed. If a woman constantly dreams that she is beating her husband or her children, she is said to have an evil *Sakia*. A *Sakia* is a less powerful spirit than a *Zang*, but, being spiteful, it must be propitiated, lest it should prevent the woman it is attached to from having children, or should make her children ill. The woman who desires a child sacrifices a red cock in the place where the water-tubes are kept, which is supposed to be the woman's side of the house. Before she kills the fowl the woman places on the floor an imitation beer-pot made out of a gourd, containing water, and a reed for sucking up the beer; close by she lays out some flour; then, holding the fowl in her left hand, she offers up a prayer, after which she cuts the fowl's mouth and lets it bleed on to the flour. She then breaks the fowl's back with the blunt side of a *dao*, pulls out its tongue and its tail feathers, and places them on the flour as *phavaw*. The fowl is then cooked, and some liver, some of the comb, some gravy, some rice, and some salt are laid with the other *phavaw*. The meat is eaten by the woman and her family. The *phavaw* are then thrown away through the hole in the floor. The gourd beer-pot and reed are placed in a small basket and hung over the place where the water-tubes are kept. The sacrifice is performed in the evening, and the family are *pana* till next morning.

Another method for enabling a woman to have children is for her brother or her *pupa* to place some *sahmahei* (fermented rice) in her mouth with a hair-pin. This must be done when the moon is waning, and the brother or *pupa*,

as the case may be, must not speak to the woman till after a new moon has risen. The belief is that if there is ill-feeling between a woman and her brother or her *pupa*, this renders her unable to have children, and so this little ceremony is performed as a sign of goodwill, and in the hope that the restoration of friendliness will cause the gods to raise the ban and allow the woman to have children. Lakhers say that this method is efficacious. Again, in the case of a woman whose parents are dead, infertility is ascribed to the spirits of her parents being displeased with her.[1]

When this is believed to be the cause of a woman's barrenness, a fowl is sacrificed and cooked with rice, and the meat and rice are placed on the graves of the barren woman's parents. The spirits of a woman's husband's parents can also prevent her from having children if they are displeased with her, so this sacrifice is performed to them also, if occasion arises. The night of the sacrifice is *pana*. This is an interesting instance of the belief that the spirits of the dead are able to exert influence over the living. These sacrifices are called *Thlaawrua*. The following instance is of interest.

Panghleu of Tisi was always on very bad terms with his father. He was married before his father died, and could not get any children. His friends all said, "You behaved badly to your father when he was alive; when he died he was very angry with you, and his spirit is preventing you from having any children. You must perform the *Thlaawrua* sacrifice." Panghleu followed the advice given him, and in due course became the father of two children.

In Chapi a special sacrifice is offered to the sky in order to enable a barren woman to have children. This sacrifice is known as *Avapalopatla*, and is intended to make the slaves and domestic animals of the sacrificer fertile and prolific, as well as the woman for whose special benefit it is performed. A small mat is spread out at the base of the post of the platform in front of the verandah and on the side of the house lower down the hill. On this some flour and a small pot of

[1] No doubt the latent idea is that the deceased parents might be expected to be reborn of her if they were not displeased.—J. H. H.

rice beer are placed. For the sacrifice either a he-goat or a white cock may be used. If a goat is used, it must be caught by men friends of the sacrificer, who, when it has been caught, intones the following chant: "Oh, wonderful sky above me, I offer you this hornéd goat. Grant me sons and daughters men servants and maid servants, slaves, *mithun* and domestic animals, and let them increase and multiply." After making this prayer, the sacrificer puts some of the flour and beer into the goat's mouth, and when the goat has swallowed this places some flour under the animal's right shoulder and sprinkles it with beer. He next pulls out some of the goat's hair, and blows some towards the east and some towards the west, after which he stabs the goat with an arrow under the shoulder. When the meat is cooked part of the liver and some of the meat from the head are set aside as *phavaw*, the rest of the meat being eaten by men only, no women being allowed to partake thereof. The goat's head is stuck up outside the house on a high pole, and the day after the sacrifice the sacrificer is *pana*, and may not leave the village; the women, however, are allowed to weave and may go about their daily tasks as usual. This is the most important sacrifice to the sky,

The sky is a woman, according to the Sabeu, so her favour is invoked for her sisters here below.[1] It is only in Sabeu villages that the sky is held to be a woman; all the other Lakher tribes consider that the sky is a man.

During pregnancy no special food is prescribed for women, they can eat what they like. Pregnant women are especially addicted to eating clay. Many women eat this clay at ordinary times, but when they are pregnant they acquire a regular craving for it.

There are two kinds of edible clay, one is red and the other grey. They are both known as *longbeu*, and seem to have much the same properties. The red variety is said to be found under the soil, in places where the soil is especially good. The grey clay is found on the surface, very often on

[1] This rather suggests the Angami notion of the Spirit-mother, the ultimate source of at any rate all human life, who lives in the sky.—J. H. H.

the surface of paths and roads. Both varieties have some of the properties of chewing-gum. After clay has been chewed for some time it gets sticky, and clay eaters can be spotted at once from the fragments of clay sticking round their mouths. It is said to have a detrimental effect on the health of those who eat it.[1] Men eat clay much more rarely, and never seem to become slaves to the habit, like women. Lakher women are also very fond of eating tobacco ashes out of their pipes; they say that the ash has a pleasant salty taste; but it is said to cause constipation and to have a generally weakening effect.

Lushei women, and men, too, occasionally eat clay, but only the grey variety. This clay is called *lungno*. It is said to cause constipation and general ill-health. Tobacco ash and charcoal are also eaten, and are both said to have very bad effects on the health of the eaters. I have never heard of any Lakhers eating charcoal. The habit of eating clay or tobacco ash, once acquired, is very difficult to break off.

Bitter fruits, such as lemons or pomelos, are much sought for by pregnant women.

A pregnant woman, though her condition disqualifies her husband from performing the *Tleulia* and *Khisongbo* sacrifices, is not herself regarded as particularly unclean, and can take part in the *Khazangpina* and *Zangda* sacrifices. Pregnant women are not shy of appearing in public, it is only if a woman is carrying a bastard that she feels any shame, and girls in this unfortunate condition often refuse to go outside their houses. Pregnancy, in fact, involves very few restrictions for a woman. If, however, a pregnant woman attends a wake, she must not dance, and if her husband dances he must not stamp with his feet at the end of the dance, as is usually done, lest by doing so he should trample on the spirit of his unborn child. It is also *ana* (forbidden) for a pregnant woman to cross a big river, as it is believed that if she does so the spirit of the river will seize the soul of the unborn child, and that consequently the child will be sickly and will

[1] *See* Whiffen, *North-West Amazons*, pp. 124 *et seq.* Also Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 152 and footnote.—J. H. H.

probably not survive. When a woman is with child, her husband must not touch a corpse; it is *ana* for him to do so, as it is thought that if a man touches a corpse while his wife is with child, his wife and her unborn child will die in the same way as the person whose corpse was touched. Apart from these few religious observances, Lakher women take no special precautions when they are going to have a child, but carry on with all their ordinary work until the pangs of child-birth actually begin.

It is *ana* for a woman to give birth to a child in another's house, and when this happens the father has to give a dog and a fowl for sacrifice to purify the house, but if the birth takes place in the verandah, it does not matter. As soon as it appears that the birth is imminent, the expectant mother is placed in a kneeling position on the floor of the house near the bed, and a cane head-band used by women for carrying loads is tied to a beam above her; she holds tightly on to this rope, resting her weight on it, and, still kneeling on the ground, gives birth to the child.[1]

If a woman finds delivery difficult when holding on to the brow-band, she is held by another woman, still in a kneeling position. If there is no female relation able to help, the husband takes the woman's place, and supports his wife till she is safely delivered. As soon as the child is born two cotton ligatures are tied round the navel string, which is then cut by an experienced woman with a sharpened split bamboo between the two ligatures. A bamboo is used to cut the navel string, as it is considered to be pure. A steel knife is never used for this purpose. One woman takes the child and bathes it in cold water to wake it up, while another woman helps the mother to get rid of the after-birth, after which the mother is bathed in warm water and given food. As soon as the child has been bathed it is given warm water

[1] So the Angamis (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 214), the Kayans of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, II, 154), some tribes of Malaya (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 334), and some tribes of the Philippine Islands (Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 264; *Wild Tribes of Darao District, Mindanao*, p. 100). The Thado Kuki and Sema Naga methods are different, as no head-band or hanging support is used at all. Burton (*Arabian Nights*, II, 80) gives a parallel case to that of the Lakhers among the Moslems of Waday, and mentions other fashions.—J. H. H.

to drink, to remove the dirt which is believed to have collected in its stomach. The next morning the child is bathed in warm water.

In cases of difficult delivery a woman who always gives birth to her children with ease is called in, an egg is boiled, and the woman who has easy deliveries takes the egg and hands it to the woman who is giving birth to eat, and says, "May you give birth to your child as easily as I do always." Immediately after the birth of a child an *aoh* called *Nawkhu-tlong* is observed, which lasts nine days if the baby is a girl and ten days if it is a boy. During these nine or ten days the mother must not leave the house, and whenever the father goes off to work, he makes a bamboo pin, places it in the baby boy or girl's hand and says, "You must not follow me to the place where I am going to work." This is to stop the child's soul from following its father, as it would be most dangerous for the baby's soul to be near its father while the latter is at work, as it might get squashed under a stone or cut with a *dao* or an axe, and then the baby would die.

For the first three days after birth the child must not be taken outside the house; on the fourth day it is taken into the village street, with a hoe for luck and the small pot in which its rice is cooked. While the baby is held by its mother, another woman pierces its ears with a thorn from a lemon tree or a porcupine's quill, and some small solder earrings or similar round earrings of cotton thread are placed in its ears. If the child is a girl, *Radeido* takes place on the ninth day. Either the father or the mother stands on the spot where the birth took place; the other parent goes under the house with a small model basket made of leaves held together with cotton thread, two pebbles from beneath the house are placed in the basket, the thread is passed up through the floor to the other parent inside the house, who pulls up the basket and places it on the birthplace. Either the father or mother then kills a fowl of either sex on the birthplace and anoints the stones with its blood. The fowl is cooked, and the *phavaw* are placed inside the basket with the two stones. The leaf basket is then fixed with a bamboo

peg into the wall of the house. The reason for this ceremony is the belief that it is possible that when the baby was born its soul fell through the floor of the house on to the ground beneath, and that as the baby's soul is likely to suffer if it remains on the cold ground, and thereby cause the baby to become ill, it is necessary to lift it up into the house again. The baby's soul enters the basket, the stones are placed in the basket with the baby's soul, as stones are heavy and strong, and it is hoped that the baby will be strong and industrious and able to do heavy work. The cotton thread by which the stones are pulled up represents the carrying band with which women carry their loads.

If the baby is a boy, *Radeido* is held on the tenth [1] day after birth, the ear-piercing ceremonies on the fourth day after birth being exactly the same as those for a girl. On the tenth day the boy's father makes a bow and arrow, lays them on the ground under the house exactly below the spot where the child was born. A cotton string is tied round the bow and arrow, and the mother pulls them up inside the house, and lays them on the floor. The boy's soul, if perchance it had dropped through the floor on to the ground when the child was born, is drawn up into the house with the bow and arrow. A fowl, either red or black, is sacrificed over the bow and arrow, and they are anointed with its blood. The fowl is then cooked and eaten by the family. Liver, gravy, rice and salt are set aside as *phavaw* and rubbed over the bow. The bow and arrow are tied on to the wall above the place where the child was born. The bow and arrow are symbolical of success in war and in the chase, and are used in hopes that the boy will become a great warrior and hunter from being brought into contact with weapons at an early age. On the *Radeido* day the child, whether boy

[1] This different assessment for male and female is common in Assam, *vide The Sema Nagas*, pp. 218, 233 (*cf.* 175); Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 158, 159; Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 52; Endle, *The Kacharis*, p. 41; *Folk Lore*, XXXIX, p. 94 (March 1928). On the Gold Coast the ratings are the other way round, *vide* Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, pp. 73, 109. Frequent instances of ratings similar to those in Assam occur in Nepal (Northey and Morris, *The Gurkhas*, pp. 127, 133, 176, 194, 220, 246). Another instance is afforded by Plutarch, *Romane Questions*, No. 102, and is discussed by him.—J. H. H.

or girl, is taken to its *pupa's* house and shown to him. The *pupa* gives the child's parents some meat or a fowl and rice; this present must be cooked and eaten on the *Radeido* day. It is thought that if the fowl is not killed and eaten on the *Radeido* day it might be carried off by a hawk or devoured by a wild cat, either of which occurrences spells ill luck for the baby. On the *Radeido* day the baby's hair is cut, and is kept cut short regularly until the child is eight or nine years old; after which it is allowed to grow until it is long enough to be tied in a top knot or a bun, according to the sex. The last time the hair is cut is called *sarang*. The child is named on this day by its parents or their friends.[1] The names to be given are uttered and the leg of the fowl sacrificed is placed on the baby's hand. If the baby holds the chicken's leg tight in its fist they say that it is pleased with the name that has been given it. The names generally have reference to the circumstances of the family at the time of birth or to some striking occurrence. Children are also named after any ancestor who was a great hunter or warrior. The next day the *aoh* on account of the birth ceases and the mother goes about her ordinary work. A baby's food is cooked in a separate pot until it is able to feed itself. The food is first masticated by the mother and then given to the baby. On the day it is born the baby is given hot water to drink, on the next day it is given chewed rice, and when it is a month old the baby is generally given a little beer as an introduction to the drink which is a Lakher's stand-by at all the most important moments of his life.

Lakhers say that seven and ten months' children are strong and healthy, but that eight and nine months' children are generally weakly and die in infancy. Lusheis do not share the Lakher belief that seven months' children are healthy; on the contrary, they say that they generally die, and that it is only by wrapping them up in cotton wool and taking the greatest precautions that any ever survive. Twins are not welcomed, as one of them generally dies, but there are no superstitions about them, nor are there any about preternatural births.

[1] For Lushei custom, *cf.* Shakespear, *op cit.*, p. 82.—N. E. P.

A child is suckled by its mother until such time as another child is born, children often being suckled till they are two or three years old, and even sometimes till they are four years old. If a woman is unable to suckle her own child owing to illness, the child is sometimes handed over to another woman to suckle. A foster-mother should belong to the same clan as the child's mother or father, though very rarely a child may be handed over to a woman belonging to another clan. Women most of whose children have died are never used as foster-mothers, as it is believed that the child may acquire ill-health with the milk from such women. An infant whose mother has died after its birth is generally fed on rice and sugar-cane, but very few babies survive this diet. The rate of mortality among infants is high, and survival of the fittest only is the rule. Lakhers tell me that only about 40 per cent. of eldest children survive ; younger children have a better chance of life, and about 70 per cent. are said to survive.[1] In cases where a woman is unable to rear her children, who always die as babies, a small plant called *Hrangzonghna* is said to be efficacious. The woman sacrifices a fowl at the foot of the plant, and then digs it up, dries its root over the hearth and eats it. The root of the *Hrangzonghna* has the property of improving the quality of a woman's milk, with the result that after eating it women who have lost several children find themselves able to rear their next child.

The After-birth.

Lakhers are very careless in their disposal of the after-birth. If the birth takes place in the day-time, the after-birth is put in a basket, and as soon as it gets dark it is thrown out through the hole in the floor through which all rubbish is dropped out below the house. It is not thrown away in the daylight, because the dogs would carry it off and eat it in the village street, which would be disgraceful. There is no objection to the after-birth being eaten by dogs, it is merely disgraceful for other people to see the dogs

[1] Dr. Hutton tells me that most Nagas consider that the youngest son is always the best of the bunch. *Vide The Angami Nagas*, p. 369.—N. E. P.

eating it. The Lusheis, on the other hand, carefully tie up the after-birth in a water-tube and hang it in a tree to prevent the dogs getting hold of it.

Nawdong.

When a baby is born dead or dies within two or three days of birth, it is called *nawdong.*[1] Such babies are buried by their fathers outside the village, sometimes in an earthenware pot, sometimes just wrapped in a cloth. The whole village is *aoh* for a day, no one may go to work, and the women may neither spin nor weave. If the *aoh* is not observed, it is believed that the young paddy will die soon after germinating, in the same way as the baby has died soon after birth. In Savang the *aoh* is only held for the first baby that dies after the *jhums* have been cut. In Chapi the *aoh* is held if a baby is born dead or dies soon after birth, while the paddy is knee high or less. The reason for the *aoh* is the same in all villages. Lusheis call such babies *hlamzuih*, but observe no *hrilh* and bury them in an earthenware pot, under the house or in the garden. Babies dying between the ages of one month and three months are known as *sai*. No wake is held for them, no animals are killed for *riha*, and no *sahma* is prepared for *bupa*. The grave is dug outside the village fence by the young men.

When a child aged more than three months dies, a wake is held and animals are killed as usual. When a child who cannot yet talk but who is neither *nawdong* nor *sai* dies, a dog must be included among the animals killed for *riha*, so that the child's spirit may hold on to the dog's tail and so find its way to *Athikhi*.

Nawhri.

When a child has reached the age of two or three months a sacrifice called *Nawhri* is performed. Every baby is supposed to have a *hri* or disease germ, and the sacrifice is to propitiate this *hri* and to induce it to refrain from making

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 86, and Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 76 and 77.—N. E. P.

the child ill. The sacrifice is performed in most villages on the verandah, a special hearth being made on the lower side of the verandah as one enters the house. In some villages the sacrifice is performed inside the house, and then no special hearth is required. In either case the old fire is all extinguished and fresh fire kindled from flint and steel or with matches. The leaves of certain plants, among them a kind of thatch known as *pathang*, some grass known as *chapaphaphai* (*Anthistiria gigantea*), a thorned creeper called *kamakua* (*Smilax prolifera*, Roxb.), a thornless creeper called *nauhri thanghna* (*Argyreia Wallichii*, Choisy) are collected. Some leaves of these plants are taken in the right hand, together with the legs of the fowl to be sacrificed, the neck of the fowl being held in the left hand. The sacrificer utters a prayer for the health of the child, and then rubs the fowl and the leaves up and down the child's body six times. The fowl is given a little water to drink, and if it drinks it means good luck. The leaves are then placed on the floor, and the fowl is trussed and blood is drawn from its mouth, which is cut with a knife ; the blood is dropped in to a gourd called *phiathla* containing water and rice ; the child is then anointed with this blood and water on its right big toe, its head, and its spine, after which the fowl is killed by breaking its back with a *dao*. As soon as the fowl is dead, its tongue is pulled out and examined to see whether the omen is good or not. If when the tongue is pulled out the two outer bones are entirely separated from each other, the omen is good ; if, however, these two bones are joined together by a sinew, the omen is bad, and the child is likely to die.

After this the fowl is cooked, the liver, some comb, some gravy, rice, and salt are set aside as *phavaw*, and the meat is eaten by the child's parents only ; it is *ana* for any one else to eat of it. The bones and other remains of the fowl are collected together with the bits of cane and the leaves used in the sacrifice, and the body of the child is stroked with these six times as before, after which they are thrown out to the west of the house, the idea being that all the ills likely to afflict the child will also disappear in the west like

the sun. The day after the sacrifice the mother and child are *aoh*, and it is *ana* for them to leave the house till the stars come out in the evening. It is *ana* for any one to enter the house that day; crossed bamboos are planted in front of the house, and any one entering within the fence is fined a fowl. This sacrifice is always performed when the moon is waning, and it is *ana* for the mother to eat certain foods till the new moon has risen.

In Savang it is *ana* for the mother to eat roasted any animal or bird that has a tail, as it is believed that the child would absorb some of the meat with its mother's milk and would become ill, and it is also believed that the *hri* dislikes the smell of roasted meat. Pumpkin leaves must not be eaten, as they sting like nettles, nor may the *barongthu*, a kind of pulse which is eaten rotten, as the *hri* dislikes it. In this village the fowl is killed on the ground at the foot of the ladder leading up into the house, and the remains of the fowl and the leaves are burnt.

In Saiko, birds with tails, pepper (chilis), rotten fish and the meat of animals that a wild animal has killed may not be eaten till the new moon has risen. No bird's tails may be burnt in the fire, and nothing may be roasted during this time. The belief is that the *hri* or disease germ dislikes the smell of burnt feathers, roasted meat and also certain kinds of food, and so these are all prohibited.

In Tisi the mother may not eat the meat of birds, lest the spirit of the bird should fly away with the good effects of the sacrifice and the child should become ill.

Names.

All Lakhers, both men and women, are given two names. The reason for this practice is that the Lakhers believe that if a person has only one name, *Khazangpa* may forget it, and if this happens the person is likely to die, as the god, having forgotten his existence, will cease to look after him, and he will fall an easy prey to the *leurahripas*. If, on the other hand, a person has two names, *Khazangpa* will probably remember one of them, and will look after him when he falls

ill. The idea is naïve, and does not ascribe a very high degree of intelligence to *Khazangpa*. When the *Thla Awh* sacrifice for calling back a sick man's soul is performed, both the patient's names are always called out, to make certain that his soul shall know that it is being called. The following are some examples of double names : Lairi, Awtha ; Chakhang, Pahmo ; Maleu, Chhilai ; Chhochia, Zadia ; Chhali, Deuhreu ; Theulai, Kainang. Both names are given at *Radeido*. The second name is not kept secret deliberately, but as a rule it is known only to a man's relatives. There would be no objection to a friend calling a man by his second name, but in practice the first name only is used, and if a man is asked his name he gives only his first name. Boys are frequently called after their grandfather or one of their ancestors, and girls after their grandmother or other female ancestor, but care is taken to call children only after persons who were rich, wise, great warriors, or famous hunters, in the hope that the attributes of the person after whom the child is named may descend with the name to the child. Lakhers never name their children after their friends or after a fellow-villager, as it is considered an insult [1] to a man to call a child after him, and any one calling his child after a living fellow-villager is fined by the chief and elders.

When I was in camp at Saiko in 1928, Mawtheu of Thangsai, a hamlet of Siaha, came and complained that a man of Siaha had called his child Mawtheu, and asked that he should be fined for this breach of custom. The chief and elders, on being consulted, said they had already fined the delinquent a pot of beer and ordered him to give his child another name, which seemed to meet the case. For this reason one hardly ever finds two people in one village with the same name. Names are sometimes given with reference to the circumstances of the parents at the time of the child's birth. Thus the name Seimeu was given to a child because its mother

[1] Ultimately, no doubt, because identity of name is likely to involve the death of the older person on the ground that his substitute has been provided in this world, *vide The Sema Nagas*, p. 237, and Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, 370.—J. H. H.

had been given no dowry, *sei*=slave and *meu*=forget. Chhali means "the generation is turned upside down," and the bearer of the name was born at the time that the British first appeared in the Lakher country. Sarang means "long-haired," and the bearer of the name was born with particularly long hair; Leipo means "everything has been lost," and refers to the poverty of his parents at the time of Leipo's birth. The name Chhonglang was given to the present chief of Tisi because at the time he was born his father had been on an expedition and had taken a head, thus winning the right to wear the red horsehair plume known as a *chheutlia*, *chhon*=*chheutlia* and *lang*=a noise; another man in Tisi is called Tleilang, *tlei*=separation and *lang*=a noise; when Tleilang was born his father had no relations, hence the idea of separation, while the *lang* in this case refers to the fact that Tleilang was a very noisy baby who was always crying. The name Theulua means "thrown out," and was given to its bearer as at the time of his birth his father was turned out of Longchei village by the chief. Women are often called after flowers or after anything that is good. A girl who has a number of sisters but no brothers was called Pawki, meaning "all flowers"; another girl's name is Pawthli, meaning "flower-bud"; another's is Maitha, meaning "bright." Women are also sometimes named with reference to their parents' circumstances, as, for example, Dawku, which means "skilful in metal-work," this girl's father being a very expert blacksmith. The name of the second son of the Savang chief is Hniachai, which means "under the clouds." When Hniachai was born, Veuhei, the brother of Hmonglai, the then chief of Savang, had just been killed in war, and the whole village was in mourning, to which circumstances Hniachai owes his picturesque name.

Tevo; this name is in the Savang dialect. Tevo's father shot many wild animals and was a famous man, so he called his son Tevo. *Te*=many, *vo*=complete, meaning that the father had been very successful.

Ngongkong: *ngong*=silver or property, *kong*=collected. Ngongkong's father was very rich, so he gave his son this name, which may be translated as "hoard of silver."

Deutha: *deu*=war, *tha*=famous. Formerly Deutha's village, Tisongpi, had many famous warriors; to commemorate this his father gave him the name of Deutha.

The last example I will give is Khangcheh, whose father had five daughters and no son, at which he was much displeased; accordingly, when a son arrived he was named Khangcheh, meaning "what I have always longed for." Thus it is often possible to deduce what the circumstances of a man's parents were from the meaning of his name. Nicknames are not used, except in one instance. Supposing a young man in Savang is famous for his amusing remarks and for making people laugh at gatherings round the beer-pot, and there is a young man in Siaha or some other village who is similarly gifted, his friends often call the Savang wit by the name of the Siaha wit, and vice versa.

Some names are lucky, and the possessors of such names are usually selected to perform the big village sacrifices *Khisongbo*, *Tleuliabo*, *Sapahlaisa* and *Leuhrangna*. The following are lucky names:

Veutang . Lit. "share got," meaning that the owner of the name gets a share of meat whenever it is distributed.
Tangpho . Lit. "everything carry," meaning that if the bearer of the name goes to his fields he will have paddy to bring back, and if he goes to hunt he will carry back game.
Tanghmong Lit. "everything get," *i.e.* the bearer of the name will get all he wants.
Sachai . Lit. "most magnificent."
Khilai . Lit. "village large."
Kualei . Lit. "return not," meaning that the owner of the name is always successful and never turns back from anything he sets out to do.

There are many other lucky names bearing similar meanings.

Teeth.

When a child's first teeth are coming out, he takes the first tooth that comes out and flicks it with a whippy piece of bamboo in the direction of the setting sun, and at the same times invokes the chameleon, who is supposed to have very good teeth, saying, "Oh, chameleon, take my bad teeth and give me your good teeth in exchange." [1] There

[1] For examples of the belief that an animal may bring children new and stronger teeth, *cf.* Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, part i, vol. i, pp. 178–181.—N. E. P.

are no ceremonies connected with the attainment of puberty. A boy sleeps in his father's house till he is about nine years old, at which age he is sent off to sleep with the other young men and boys in some girl's house. Boys take to a loin cloth when they attain puberty at about the age of twelve, till then they wear no clothes at all; girls wear a cloth as soon as they are old enough to go about the village. A boy's hair is generally kept short till he is about nine years old, after that it is allowed to grow and is done up in a knot over the forehead. It is disgraceful for a Lakher to wear short hair, a cropped head being the hall-mark of slaves and lunatics. Men with short hair cannot take part in the *Khazangpina* sacrifice.

Death Ceremonies.

Death is caused by *Khazangpa* or a *leurahripa* becoming angry and confiscating a man's spirit. When a man is ill or is about to die, his soul often enters into a pig. When this happens, the pig makes a noise like a man groaning. Sometimes the soul enters into a tree, and then the tree makes a noise like a baby crying. People hearing this noise have often looked to see what was making it, and have found nothing, and so they know that it must have been a dying man's spirit in the tree.

Again, if a buzzing noise is heard that cannot be accounted for, Lakhers think it is the spirit of some man who is dying, and they sometimes say "that is very like So-and-so's voice," and afterwards hear that the man whose voice they thought they heard has died. When the sick man is about to expire his soul leaves the pig or the tree, or whatever it has entered, and returns to its home in its owner's body, and when the sick man dies it finally leaves his body and goes off to *Athikhi*, which is said to be below the earth. According to Lakhers, normal souls (*thlapha*) do not enter into animals or trees and make noises when a man is dying—it is only the mischievous souls (*thlachhi*) with which some persons are afflicted that indulge in these vagaries.

Near Longchei village in Haka is a path called *Hawleu-*

paka, which path passes between two huge stones, and every soul must pass through this gap on its way to *Athikhi*. Living people never use this path. Near Longchei also is a stream called the dead men's water supply. It is said that any one approaching this stream hears voices talking; these are the voices of the dead, who cease conversing as soon as the intruder reaches the spring from which they are drawing water. They also say that there is always a swarm of flies hovering over this spot, and that these are the spirits of the dead [1] awaiting their turn to draw water.

There is no second life for the dead, but after a dead man's spirit has been a very long time in *Athikhi* it dies again, and when this death of the spirit takes place a chief's spirit is turned into heat mist, and a poor man's spirit becomes a worm; the heat mist goes up to heaven and vanishes, the worm is eaten by a chicken, and that is an end of it. The spirits in *Athikhi* refer to themselves as *Hrangzong* or immortals, and refer to human beings as *Pawdua* or flowers that fade in a day. When it is noon in this world it is night in *Athikhi*, and night in this world is noon in *Athikhi*. The spirits use bamboo leaves instead of fish, regard the large woolly caterpillars as bears, and use a large mushroom called *athipaso* as a fishing-net. Lusheis call this mushroom *phungsahmim*, or the ghost's bag. There are numerous other plants to which the Lusheis assign uses in the abode of the dead, *e.g. mithi buhtun*, dead men's millet; *mithi sulhlu*, dead men's plums; *mithi zongtha*, dead men's tree beans. In *Athikhi* [2] people who in this world have had several wives or husbands in succession, as the case may be, always marry their first wife or their first husband. When a man who has had many successful intrigues with women dies, on his road to *Athikhi* he collects a number of

[1] The soul is thought of as flying in the form of a butterfly or bee, at any rate all over Europe from Ireland to Lithuania, in Assam, Burma, Japan, and the Pacific.—J. H. H.

[2] This word *Athikhi* is interesting; obviously it means village (*khi*) of the Dead (*thi*), and is etymologically the same as the Thado *Mi-thi-khu*, while the syllable *thi* reappears in the Sema words for "die" and "dead." The Ao word *tiya*, meaning the sky soul on which the life of a man depends, is perhaps connected, as well as the Polynesian *tii*, the figure made to accommodate the soul of a dead man.—J. H. H.

small stones equal in number to the girls with whom he has been successful, and places them at the gateway to *Athikhi*, to show his friends how many women have succumbed to his charms. Even in *Athikhi* men are not equal; a chief in this world remains a chief in *Athikhi*, and a slave remains a slave. The rich remain rich, and the poor remain poor.

There are three separate abodes to which the spirits of the dead may be sent. The pleasantest abode is *Peira*, which is nearest to *Khazangpa*, and corresponds to our Paradise. Attainment of *Peira* is very difficult, and the only way to get there is by killing certain wild animals. I have been given the following list of the animals which must be killed to qualify for this abode of bliss. A man, an elephant, a tiger, a bear, a small tree bear, a *serow*, a *gural*, a *mithun*, a rhinoceros, a *sambhur*, a barking deer, a wild boar, a crocodile, a hamadryad, an eagle, a specimen of each kind of hornbill found in the Lakher country and a king crow. Over each of these animals and birds the *Ia* ceremony must be performed. A man who has qualified in this way is known as *Hrapaki* or *Chhongki*, and is eligible for *Peira*. Whatever may have been the case in the old days, I fear that now the standard will have to be lowered, or no one at all will ever reach *Peira*, as not only has Government declared a permanent close time for men, but the other larger animals are much scarcer than they were.

Prowess in love is of no avail as a help on the road to *Peira*, though among the Lusheis it is of great assistance. The Siaha chief's clan, who are influenced by Chin custom, say that those who have performed the *Khangchei* feasts can also attain to *Peira*. This is peculiar to the Siaha Khicha Hleuchhang clan, as no other Lakhers ever perform these feasts, and even among the Khicha Hleuchhang clan the mere giving of feasts is not enough, unless the prescribed animals have been slain as well. A man who reaches *Peira* takes his wife with him when she dies, and also his children.

The abode of all ordinary spirits is *Athikhi*. *Sawvaw*, people who have died unnatural deaths, and *thichhi*, those who have died of certain loathsome diseases, go to *Sawvawkhi*. All spirits start along the same road; when they get to the

place where the roads branch they find the *Chhongchhongpipa*, a Lakher Cerberus, who sends those bound for *Athikhi* by the right-hand road, while the *sawvaw* and *thichhi* are sent by the left-hand road to *Sawvawkhi*. *Chhongchhongpipas* are the spirits of men who, either from impotency or from any other causes, have never had sexual intercourse with a woman. The Lakhers consider that such people have not fulfilled the purpose of their lives on earth, and so are unable to reach *Athikhi*, but are condemned to remain for ever hovering on the road between this world and *Athikhi*.[1] Not only does the *Chhongchhongpipa* show the spirits the way to their abode, but he makes a perfect nuisance of himself to all spirits who pass along the road by stealing their cloths and making them go to *Athikhi* naked. If a spirit has two cloths, the *Chhongchhongpipa* always steals the lowest cloth, so when a Lakher dies, in addition to the cloth he is wrapped in, a small piece of cloth is placed under his armpit for the *Chhongchhongpipa* to steal. The Tangkul *Kokto* is a more intelligent demon, as he always appropriates the best cloths brought along by the spirits. The *Chhongchhongpipa* has another unpleasant habit of refusing to allow any spirit to pass until it has picked off his fleas. Now the *Chhongchhongpipa's* fleas are no ordinary fleas, but are large hairy caterpillars, which are extremely unpleasant to kill, and which it is impossible to crack like ordinary fleas. Before a Lakher is buried, therefore, sesamum seeds are placed between each of his fingers, and when the *Chhongchhongpipa* tells a spirit to catch his fleas, the spirit cracks the sesamum seeds with his teeth and says, " You hear, I have cracked your fleas," and the *Chhongchhongpipa* allows him to pass.[2] Although Lakhers hold that when an adult dies the spirit goes to *Athikhi*, whence it never returns, there is a strong

[1] There is a widespread idea that virginity is a bar to paradise, *vide* my note [5] at p. 228 of Mills' *The Ao Nagas*, To the words cited there may be added that of the Toradja of the Celebes (Moss, *Life After Death in Oceania*, p. 112); *cf.* also Stallybrass' *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, II, 824, and the old English belief that women dying unmarried will " lead apes in hell."—J. H. H.

[2] The Sema *Kolavo* and the Tangkul *Kokto* closely resemble the *Chhongchhongpipa*. Similar demons are the Ao *Moyotsung*, the Angami *Metsimo* and the Lushei *Pupawla*. See Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 227, and Dr. Hutton's note on that page.—N. E. P.

belief that the spirits of children are sometimes reborn in the person of a younger brother or sister, and I have been given definite instances in support of this belief. In Longba village one Seikia and his wife Tleihia had a son called Laikha. To the great grief of his parents, Laikha died when he was about five years old. Before burying Laikha, his mother made a mark on his ankle with soot from off the cooking-pot, and when the corpse was laid in the grave the parents called out, "Come back to us again." After a while Tleihia gave birth to another son, on whose ankle is a black mark similar to that made on Laikha's ankle before he was buried. This boy was given the two names Laikha Laribai, and is now about nine years old. A second instance is recorded from Chakhang, where Hneuchang and his wife Bithli lost their son Leimaw when he was quite a child, and before burying him marked his cheek with the black off a cooking-pot. Not long after, Bithli gave birth to another son with a black mark on his cheek on the same place as the mark had been made on the dead Leimaw's cheek. This boy with the birth-mark is called Viachho, and is now about twenty and living in Chakhang.

The last instance I will give is one from Chapi. There were two brothers, Hlikhai and Khaikia, who were very fond of one another. Khaikia, however, died, and his mother marked the side of his head with soot before burying him, and called out, "My son, come back to your brother Hlikhai and his wife." Later on Hlikhai married, and in due course his wife gave birth to a son with a black mark on the side of his head corresponding to the mark made on the dead Khaikia's head. This child is called Thlutha, and is now about three years old. Such phenomena might easily convince people far more sophisticated than the Lakhers that in these cases the spirit of the dead had returned and been born again. Possibly the marks on the new-born babies were produced by the mothers while pregnant letting their minds dwell on the marks made on the dead children, thus causing similar marks to develop on their unborn offspring, but the Lakhers believe firmly that the souls of the dead children have been born again, and who

shall say that the belief is any more unreasonable than other beliefs held by more civilised people? Lusheis have a somewhat similar tale of a couple whose children regularly died as babies. After five or six had died, the mother placed a black mark on the forehead of the next to die, and when the next baby was born it had a black mark on its forehead on the same place. From this the Lusheis deduced that the same soul had been reborn again and again in each of the children that died. This Lushei story dates from the last generation, while the Lakher instances relate to recent events and are well authenticated, Laikha of Longba and Viachho of Chakhang having dark marks on the places at which their deceased brothers are said to have been marked with lamp-black.

Death.

When a Lakher is ill he is taken off the bed and laid on the middle of the floor, and his friends and relations who are looking after him sit around him. The floor is preferred to the bed, as it is much lighter, and it is easier both for the sick man and for the people who are looking after him to see. When the sick man appears to be dying he is raised up into a sitting position and held there by his relations until he draws his last breath. It is considered better that a man should die in the arms of his relations than lying flat on the floor. As soon as death has taken place, if there is a gun in the house it is fired off, so that the dead man's spirit may take the spirit of a gun with it to *Atikhi*, and also that the villagers may know that the sick man has departed. After this the body is washed with warm water by some close relation, the hair is greased and properly tied, and the body is fully dressed as in life—if deceased was a man, with a loin cloth, a body cloth and a *puggree*, and if a woman, with all her best cloths. Two bamboos are placed sloping-wise against the wall at the back of the house, and a mat is placed across these bamboos, and the body is laid on the mat in a reclining position, with its feet on the floor. Against the wall above the dead man's head a small shelf

is erected, on which rice and cooked eggs are placed for the spirit to eat. Special care is taken to see that flies do not settle on the body, as it is very disgraceful if they do so.[1] A wake is held, which is attended by all the deceased's friends, who bring *sahma* beer, which on this occasion only is known as *bupa*, and *mithun*, pigs, or whatever animals may be available are killed as *riha* to accompany the spirit to *Athikhi*. The deceased's *pupa*, who is entitled to the deceased's *ru* or death due, must also kill a pig. Usually the body is kept in the house for two or three days, and on each day a little rice, meat and *sahma* are placed in deceased's mouth. Meanwhile the wake goes on, and a feast is held off the meat of the animals killed to go with the deceased to *Athikhi*. *Sahma* and rice are contributed by the deceased's friends, and dancing to the beating of drums and gongs goes on all the time. This feast is intended to make the deceased's spirit go off happily to *Athikhi*. During the wake, which is called *rikia*, the deceased's *pupa*, who is his maternal uncle, stands on the verandah; and, facing towards the dead body, calls out the name of the dead man and the names of his ancestors, in order to let the spirits in *Athikhi* know who is coming, and cries out, "Go to *Athikhi* happily: do not worry about your relations." Next the deceased's *pupa* makes cuts on the beams and doorways of the house with a *dao*. This is done to frighten the *Chhongchhongpipa*, who stands on the road to *Athikhi* and waylays all spirits, so as to make him allow the deceased's spirit to go to *Athikhi*. Having done this, the deceased's *pupa* dances round inside the house three times, and is followed by all the persons present in turn, one man dancing round at a time, followed by two women. The object of the dance is to please the deceased's ghost. At this dance beer is provided by the deceased's family and relations. Each trio dances round three times, and at the end of each round all stamp with their feet on the ground to show that the dance is ended. When the husband of a pregnant woman dances, he must not stamp with his feet

[1] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 278, and note [3], where other cases are cited.—J. H. H.

at the end of the dance, or he will trample on the spirit of his unborn child. The old men chant a song without words, called the *athihla*, intoning, *A-ah E-eh A-eh E-eh.* Meanwhile the feast goes on; the women are served by women and the men by men, the young men who have been digging the grave being served last. On the day fixed for the burial the deceased's *pupa* comes and stands on the verandah of the deceased's house and sends an envoy (*leuchapa*) into the house to claim the *athiawrua*, which consists of a pig, and the *athiawruabawna*, which consists of 5 rupees. The deceased's relations then kill a pig and make it over with 5 rupees and a *dao* to his *pupa*. This is preliminary to claiming the death due, which is not demanded till later.

Burials always take place in the evening, and before the corpse is taken out of the house the deceased's *pupa* again makes cuts on the beams and doorways as before. The grave is dug by the young men of the village, whether they belong to the deceased's clan or not, in front of the deceased's house or in the village street, except among the Sabeus of Chapi, Chakang and some Haka villages, who have cemeteries outside the village. The *pupa* first goes to the grave and climbs down into it; after him follow the young men carrying the body dressed in the cloths it was laid out in and wrapped in a blue cloth, and then come the deceased's relations. The body is laid on the edge of the grave, the deceased's wife or husband, as the case may be, taps the body gently with his hands and says, "Do not worry about me; go off happily to *Athikhi*," and places a little *sahma* in the deceased's mouth. The young men lift the corpse into the grave. If guns are available they are fired off, so that the dead man may take them with him to *Athikhi*, and the *pupa* lays down the corpse, pushes it feet first into the alcove hollowed out for it at one end of the grave,[1] and closes the alcove with a stone. The *pupa* climbs out of the grave and goes off home. The young men fill in the grave and

[1] This method of making a grave seems common in Indonesia. *Cf. Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 55 n.[2] and p. 56 n.[1], and see Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 287.—J. H. H.

lay a flat stone along the top of it, on which to place a small portion of all the component parts of the morning meal, which is done every day until the memorial stone has been erected. A forked post is planted on the grave, on which are hung plantains, sugar-cane, limes and any other fruits that are available, and a gourd of nicotine-water is placed on the stone. Another straight post is erected on the grave, to which the heads of the animals killed for *riha* are attached. Some people, instead of placing the food for the spirit on the stone above the grave, place it in a pot which is kept for the purpose above the hearth.

The dead man's relations now return home, and as they enter the verandah each steps on to a sieve containing a little rice, which has been placed ready for the purpose, and goes on into the house. This is to show that the soul of the dead has gone to *Athikhi*, and that his relations are again clean, rice being an emblem of purity. That evening the *pupa's* wife brings a fowl and some *sahmahei* (fermented rice), and sacrifices the fowl, to console the souls of the surviving members of the deceased's family, and anoints the big toe of each with the fowl's blood; she then gives each of them a little *sahmahei* to eat and returns home. This ceremony is called *Thlathleu*, and is an important sacrifice, as it is essential that the souls of the deceased's family should be at peace, as if any member of it sees any one in his dreams on the night of the funeral, the person dreamed of will soon die also. The belief is that on the night of the funeral the spirit of the deceased comes to visit his family, and if they are dreaming of any one, the deceased's spirit meets the spirit of the person dreamed of and seizes it and carries it off with him to *Athikhi*.

On the morning after the funeral one of the neighbours always asks the deceased's relatives whether they had any dreams during the night or not; if the answer is "No," all is well, but if one of the family dreamt of any one that night, he must say so, as it is very unlucky for the person dreamt of. If the dream was that the dead man appeared again alive in the house, it means that another member of the family will die.

A further precaution is often taken to prevent the deceased's relations or other villagers from dreaming on the night of the funeral. Each householder, before going to sleep, puts a little cooked rice into a pot, and each member of the household says, "May my spirit not wander about to-night, let it remain within this pot"; having said this, each person puts his hand inside the pot and touches the rice. By this means the spirits are kept imprisoned inside the pots, and as they cannot wander about and meet other people's spirits, the owners of the imprisoned spirits do not dream of any one that night, and so cause no one any harm. Another way of preventing the soul from escaping from its owner's house is to place a paddy pestle across the door, as the soul will fear to go under it, lest the pestle should fall on it.

In Tisi, to prevent the deceased's spirit from re-entering his house on the night of the funeral, a hen is taken and some of its feathers are cut off while standing on the ladder leading into the house. The feathers fall on each side of the ladder, and act as a barrier which the spirit cannot cross. The cutting off of the feathers of a live hen is symbolical of the final separation of the spirit from its relations. The hen is not sacrificed, but is released after its feathers have been cut. I have found this ceremony only in Tisi; it is called *Awhhmichaikha*, and is to show the dead man's spirit that if it returns they will cut it in the same way as they cut the hen's feathers.

When a death has taken place in a village, all the people are very afraid lest the spirit of the dead should enter their houses at night and do them harm. To prevent this each householder places his paddy pestle across the doorway. When the dead person's spirit comes along, it sees what it thinks is a huge snake, and retreats in terror. More intelligent spirits are said to recognise the pestle, but, fearing that it might fall and crush them if they attempt to enter, return whence they came.

After the funeral all fires in the deceased's house must be quenched and fresh fire must be kindled. The old fire, having been used for cooking the meats for the funeral

feast and for all kinds of purposes during the lifetime of the deceased, is held to be defiled. If new fire were not made, the *Khazangpina* and *Zangda* sacrifices would be of no avail. *Khazangpa* and *Zang* would know at once that the sacrifice had been cooked on an impure fire, and would get angry, and the sacrifice would do more harm than good. It is therefore *ana* to use fire on which funeral meats have been cooked for *Khazangpina* and *Zangda*, and new fire must be made immediately after a funeral.[1] The fowl sacrificed by the *pupa's* wife for *Thlatheu* is cooked on the new fire and eaten; no *phavaw* are set aside. All persons who have touched a corpse must cleanse themselves by washing their bodies with water and rice. Rice is the purest of all things, and removes the evil smell of the corpse and all other defilements. Unless this purificatory ceremony is performed a man must not touch his *anahmang*, the vessels dedicated to the service of *Khazangpa*, or they would be defiled, and *Khazangpa* would be annoyed and would wreak vengeance for the insult offered to him. It is *ana* to walk over a corpse. If any one does so, the spirit of the deceased removes the strength of the man crossing over his body and carries it off to *Athikhi*. People who disregard this prohibition become suddenly weak and feeble when on a journey, and are unable to proceed.

The day after a funeral the deceased's family is said to be *sawpana*. This *pana* is strictly observed, as if it is disregarded the deceased's *saw* may cause misfortune or sickness to other members of the family. No member of the family may leave the village, no work may be done, and the women may neither spin nor weave. The day after this *sawpana* a bamboo fence is erected round the grave. If any of deceased's relations have been unable to attend the wake, they must come after the funeral and see the grave, and pour a little *sahma* on it, and must go and give the deceased's family *sahma* and condole with them. This is known as *Athiahmo*. If a deceased's *pupa* neither attends the wake nor visits his grave after the burial, the deceased's

[1] Among the Tangkuls also all fires are put out after a funeral and fresh fires are kindled. *Cf.* Hodson, *op cit.*, p. 151.—N. E. P.

family will claim a *hmiatla* or atonement price of 2 or 3 rupees from him. When a Lakher attends the funeral of a friend or relation in another village, precautions are taken to ensure that he shall not carry home with him the spirit of the disease (*hri*) from which his relation died, and thereby infect himself and any of his fellow-villagers. Before leaving the lands of the village in which the funeral has taken place, a fire is kindled, and the visitors step over the fire. A disease-bearing spirit (*hri*) cannot pass over a fire, and so is unable to follow the visitors home. By this means the dangers involved in attending a funeral in another village can be averted.

When a wealthy or an important man dies and a *mithun* or a cow is sacrificed for his *riha*, an additional ceremony, called *Rakhatla*, is performed while the body is in the house, and artificial flowers, called *tatangteuleupa*, are made out of small pieces of bamboo, which are placed crosswise one over the other and wound round and round with coloured threads. The Lusheis make similar flowers, which they call *lenglep* and use at the *Daibawl* sacrifice of a hen and a cock offered to a *ramhuai*, a spirit of the rivers or woods, when any one is ill, and hang them up over the place of sacrifice. *Lenglep* are not used by Lusheis at funerals. The *Rakhatla* is a peculiar dance, performed only on the occasion of funerals, and at no other time. A log is laid on the ground, and five people, men or women, sit opposite each other on each side of the log. Each person holds a bamboo in each hand, the other end of the bamboo being held by his *vis-à-vis*. The bamboos are struck against the log twice and then raised and struck twice against each other; the dancers have to skip in and out between the bamboos and avoid getting caught between the bamboo clappers, which requires a good deal of skill, the dance becoming faster and faster as it proceeds. The young men who dance wear their best cloths, and the first time they dance each carries a bag, a powder-flask and a gun; the girls each carry a new skirt, a new cloth, a man's loin-cloth, a new woman's coat and a bag. These articles are for the spirit of the deceased to take with him to *Athikhi*. The second time that each man and girl performs the dance,

instead of the cloths he carries a tall bamboo from which all the leaves have been removed and replaced with *tatang-teuleupa*. This dance is performed each day that the body remains in the house.[1] When the grave has been filled in, the bamboos with the *tatangteuleupa* are erected on it, and the bamboos and log of wood used for the *Rakhatla* are thrown away outside the village. The Lushei *Cherokan* is danced in the same way by young men and girls, but purely for amusement, and without any religious significance. Instead of the log of wood in the middle and the bamboo clappers, the Lusheis use paddy pestles.

Unnatural deaths are regarded as extremely unlucky, and are the occasion of special precautions designed to save other people from a similar fate. Any one who dies an unnatural death—being killed by a wild animal, drowned, killed by a fall from a tree or a precipice, killed in war or by a shooting accident—is known as a *sawvawpa*. A woman who dies in child-bed (*naweupasi*) is also said to be *sawvaw*. All *sawvaws* are *ana*, or unlucky, and when any one dies *sawvaw* there is a village *aoh* for from three to five days, starting on the day of the funeral, and neither men nor women may leave the village or do any work.[2] When a woman dies in child-bed (*naweupasi*), the women who go to draw water during the *aoh* must use men's carrying-bands for their water-tube baskets. The reason for this is that when a Lakher woman is giving birth to a child she holds on to the cane carrying-band of her water-tube basket, which is hung up on the beam above her, and the women fear that if they used their own head-bands during the *aoh* for a woman who died in child-bed they would suffer the same fate. The *aoh* for *naweupasi* applies to men as well as to women. The *aoh* for *sawvaw* is observed partly owing to

[1] A very similar dance to *Rakhatla* is performed by the Dyak women of Borneo, who dance between wooden paddy pestles clapped together by two other women, but the Dyaks do not seem to confine the dance to funerals. *Cf.* W. O. Krohn, *In Borneo Jungles*, pp. 210, 211. Among the Haka Chins the dance is called *Rawkarrklak*, and is performed at *lam sher* (the death dance) when the ceremony is being held in honour of a woman. Only women take part in it. *Cf.* W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 27. —N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 88.—N. E. P.

sorrow for the deceased and sympathy for his relatives, and partly from fear that the same fate will befall others unless the *aoh* is observed.

When the body of a man who has died *sawvaw* is brought back to the village, it is wrapped up in bamboo matting and is left for one night outside the village fence, and the deceased's relations and friends light fires and watch the body all night. Next morning the body is brought into the village and laid in the verandah of deceased's house, but it does not sit in state. The body may not be taken inside the house, as it is believed to have a *saw*, or the property of causing sickness, and so if the body is taken inside the house the deceased's relations fear that they will suffer the same fate. A wake is held as usual, animals are killed to accompany the spirit to *Sawvawkhi*, and *sahma* is drunk, but there is no dancing. The body is buried outside the village to the west, so that the sun, as it sinks, may carry the evil away, and the funeral takes place before dawn by torch-light. The grave is dug differently from ordinary graves, and a *sawvawpa's pupa*, if he is living in another village, very often does not bother to come to bury him, as he will get no *ru*.[1] No memorial posts or stones are erected for a *sawvaw*, nor is any food for his spirit placed on the grave, but if an animal has been killed for *riha* its head is buried with the body. The spirits of people who have died unnatural deaths have a separate abode from ordinary spirits. They start along the ordinary road, but when they reach the *Chhongchhongpipa*, he stops them and turns them off by a branch road which leads to their special abode. If the parents of a *sawvawpa* are rich, when they die they can rescue his spirit and bring it to the abode of all normal spirits by paying a ransom to the *leurahripa* who caused his death. They cannot do this while alive, but only after death. In Chapi there are stricter prohibitions than in the other villages. The body is not taken even into the verandah, but is left at the foot of the ladder leading up to the house. Only members of the deceased's clan can touch the body or perform the funeral

[1] These customs approximate very closely to those of the Thado, *vide Notes on the Thado Kukis*, p. 56 n.[1]—J. H. H.

rites. Any one going to the wake must, if a man, empty the tobacco out of his pipe, and if a woman throw away the nicotine-water out of the bowl of her pipe before going home, lest the *sawvawpa's saw* should have got into the tobacco and should be carried home in it and cause illness. The body of a woman who has died in child-bed is never taken out of the house by the door, but through a hole cut in the back wall; this is done because, as the spirits of women who have died in child-bed do not follow the road taken by the spirits of those who have died natural deaths, but have to go by another path to the *Sawvawkhi*, it is considered that the body should not leave the house by the ordinary path, but should also take a different path to the grave.[1] The Lushei *sarthi* is the same as *sawvaw*, but the Lusheis do not fear unnatural deaths to the same extent as Lakhers, and do not take so many precautions; but among them also no death due can be claimed for any one who has died *sarthi*.

Among the Tlongsai, Zeuhnang and Hawthai a special hole is cut in the wall of the house leading on to the verandah, and the corpse of a woman who has died in child-birth is carried out through this hole instead of through the door, for the same reason. No *ru* can be claimed for any one dying *sawvaw*, and if a woman dies *sawvaw* the balance of her price cannot be claimed. Besides the *sawvawpa*, another class of unfortunates called *thichhi* are also condemned to go to the *Sawvawkhi*. Any one dying of dropsy, paralysis, owing to losing an arm or a leg, blind of both eyes, mad, or covered with sores due to leprosy, syphilis, or yaws is known as *thichhi*. The spirits of *thichhi* have a peculiar and unpleasant smell, which the ordinary spirits dislike, so the *Chhongchhongpipa* does not let them into *Athikhi*. No *ru* can be claimed from the heir of a person who has died *thichhi*, and if a woman dies *thichhi* the balance of her price cannot be claimed. As a matter of fact, no one would ever claim these dues on account of a *thichhi*, as it is *ana* to do so, and any one taking the dues would die or suffer great mis-

[1] *Sawvaw* and *thichhi* may be compared with the Ao *apotia* which covers both these classes of deaths. *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, pp. 283 *et seq.* *Cf.* also J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 234. Semas take the body of a woman who died in childbirth out by the back door.—N. E. P.

fortunes. The corpse is buried in the same way as a *sawvaw*, but is never kept for more than one day.

If a man while on a journey dies in the house of any one belonging to a different clan, the man in whose house the death took place can claim a pig and a fowl from the deceased's relatives for a sacrifice to purify the house, which has been defiled by the death of a stranger, and can also claim a fine, which varies in the different villages, but is usually an earthenware beer-pot (*racha*) or 10 rupees. The sacrifice is called *Angpataina*.[1] The fowl is first killed, and thrown away towards the west outside the village fence, in the belief that the disease-bearing spirit (*hri*) which caused the death of the stranger will follow the chicken and disappear in the west. The pig is then killed and eaten. A little of the blood of the fowl and the pig is rubbed on the verandah and inside the house to purify it.

A Lakher intensely dislikes a stranger dying in his house, and if a stranger falls ill in another's house, the owner of the house often causes the sick man to be carried outside when at the point of death to avoid the death taking place inside the house. Leichhia of Saiko went to Lungleh for work, on his way home he fell ill in Paitha, he grew rapidly worse, and when he seemed to be dying his friends carried him outside the house and laid him on the ground, where he died. They did this at the request of the host and also to save Leichhia's relations from having to pay a pig and a fowl as *Angpataina*.

A young man of Bualpui while staying in the house of Hnangthlo of Saiko fell ill; before he died he was carried outside the house by his friends at the order of their chief Ngunlinga, who was with them. Ngunlinga and his villagers are Pois, but the Lakher and Poi customs in this respect are the same.

Graves.

The Lakhers always bury their dead, and, so far as I can ascertain, there are no traces of either cremation or platform

[1] The Lusheis claim a due called *Insilman*=house-cleaning price, in similar circumstances. *Cf.* N. E. Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 79.—N. E. P. The Thado call it *inbo'man*=house-dirtying price.—J. H. H.

burial. Unlike the Lusheis, they never use coffins, the corpses being simply wrapped in a cloth. There are three kinds of graves. Chiefs and important persons generally have family vaults, which are called *thlapi* or *longang*, situated near the house. The Savang vault is in the chief's garden, between his house and that of the dowager chieftainesses. The Saiko chief's vault is in front of the chief's house. *Longang* means literally "stone house."

The Lakhers are not singular in liking to have their dead near them: in parts of Scotland I have noticed that a favourite burial-place is in the grounds not far from the house. This absence of dislike to the proximity of the dead seems to be common to many primitive races, certainly to those in the Assam Hills. A vault is made by digging a pit about 6 feet deep, 8 feet long, and 6 feet wide. The floor, sides and roof are lined with stones; a small space is left as a doorway and is closed with a large stone. When a vault has been made, a *mithun* must be killed for the *riha* of the first person buried in it, and after this all members of the family who die are laid to rest in the same vault. The Savang vault contains the remains of Keinang, Ngongthaw, Hmonglai, and Vachhong, the last four chiefs, and also of Keinang's wife, Nona, and of Ngongthaw's wife, Nguhlia. The Saiko vault contains the bones of Theulai and his wife, and of Siatu's wife only, as Theulai's father was buried at Theiva. When a body is placed in a vault, valuable ornaments and guns are often deposited with it for the use of the spirit of the deceased in the next world, the articles selected being those that the dead man habitually used and liked.[1] When Theulai of Saiko was buried, as he had been a great hunter and warrior in his youth, his spear, his sword and his *dao*, to which he was greatly attached, were buried with him. When a vault has to be opened to receive another inmate, this must be done by the sister or the sister's son of the person who is to be buried; if deceased had no sister, then his daughter or her son must open it. When she opens the vault this woman picks up the head and bones of the last

[1] The Haka Chins also do so. *Cf.* Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, p. 192.—N. E. P.

person buried, wraps them in a cloth, and places them on one side of the vault; she then swceps all the debris on the floor of the vault into one corner, and the corpse awaiting burial is placed inside by its *pupa* or his representative in the usual way.

The woman who opens the vault is entitled to take all the articles buried with the last corpse; this is called *thupahama*, which means the price of touching the evil-smelling remains. When Vachhong, chief of Savang, died, many valuable ornaments and gongs that had been buried with his predecessor, Hmonglai, were taken by Ngongchia, mother of the Chapi chief, who was Vachhong's niece, and so opened the grave. These articles were thus all lost to the Bonghia family. When Theulai was buried, his sister Maicha opened the grave and took as *thupahama*, four metal belts which had been buried with Siatu's wife. The desecration of graves in order to steal the articles buried in them is quite unknown. It is very curious that articles of value buried in vaults should ultimately descend in the female line and so be lost to the family and clan that originally owned them, as this is the reverse of the ordinary Lakher custom of inheritance. It seems probable that this must have survived from a time when inheritance was matrilineal.

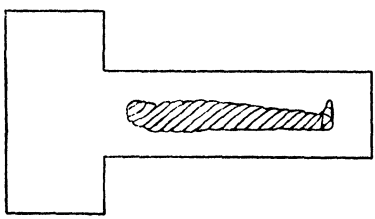
On the day that a vault is opened the whole village is *pana* for a day, lest the paddy should rot in the same way as the corpses in the vault have rotted. This *pana* is known as *thlathupaheu*. Although Lewin states that a "a chief or a woman of position is buried in a sitting posture, as among the Bunjogees," [1] I find that nowadays, at any rate, no Lakher is ever buried in any other way except lying straight out flat, and all those I have asked say that corpses never were buried in a sitting position.[2] The corpse when it is

[1] Lewin, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 115.—N. E. P.

[2] Precisely the same information exists about the Thado. Brown, *Native State of Manipur*, p. 51, and *Annual Report of the Munnipore Political Agency*, 1868–69, p. 132, very definitely described the Thado as buried sitting, but the idea of such a practice is now scouted by men who might be expected to know. I think Brown's and Lewin's evidence too good to be rejected, and that the custom has changed since 1869, in which year Lewin also published the book referred to.—J. H. H.

lying in the house is in a reclining position, and it is possibly from this that Lewin got the idea that Lakhers were buried sitting. Their nearest relations, the Haka Chins, sit in state after death, like the Lakhers, and are also buried prostrate.[1] Another old authority, however, Sir Arthur Phayre, recording a report made to him by Lengkung, a Lungkhe chief, as regards Lungkhe and Tseindu customs, notes Lengkung as saying, "We bury our dead; the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, with a pipe in its mouth, food by its side and *kung*." [2] It would seem, therefore, that formerly either the Lakhers or one of the tribes allied to them must have buried their dead sitting, and that if the Lakhers did so, they have now entirely abandoned the practice. I am inclined to think, however, that this burial custom ascribed to the Shendus by Lewin and Phayre must have been followed by some other tribe, and not by the Lakhers, as no traces or traditions of burial in a sitting posture exist among them to-day.

A commoner's grave is called *thlata*, and is generally dug in front of the deceased's house. A hole about 5 feet deep, 5 feet long, and 2½ feet wide is first dug out; when this is complete, a narrow hole just large enough to hold the body is burrowed out at one end of the grave. When the burial



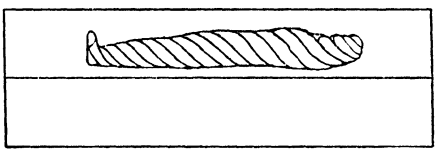
GRAVE OF PERSON WHO HAS DIED A NATURAL DEATH (*Thlata*).

takes place the body is lowered into the outer grave and then pushed feet first into the hole, which is closed with a large stone, the outer grave being filled in with earth. There is no particular mode of placing the corpse; the head may lie towards the north, south, east or west indiscriminately.

[1] Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, p. 192.—N. E. P.
[2] Phayre, "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, No. 117, p. 709.—N. E. P.

The head is never disinterred and buried separately, and bamboo tubes are never let down into the grave to let the soul escape.[1]

The grave of a person who has died an unnatural death is called *thlachhi*, and is always dug outside the village fence, on the west of the village, towards the setting sun. The grave is dug at first in the same way as a *thlatha*, but instead of the hole for the body being excavated at the end of the grave, it is excavated at one side ; the body is placed in this alcove and kept in place by a log of wood or by bamboos. The grave is then filled up with earth. The head of the body may lie in any direction. The different construction of the graves of *sawvaw* and *thichhi* from those of persons dying a natural death is due to the fact that the spirits of these unfortunates go to a separate place.



GRAVE OF PERSON WHO HAS DIED AN UNNATURAL DEATH (*Thlachhi*).

Mourning.

When a chief dies, the whole village goes into mourning and no music or merrymaking is allowed until heads, formerly human, now of animals only, have been taken for *machhi-paina*, as has been explained elsewhere. Mourning for a commoner is less prolonged ; the relatives generally go into mourning for two or three months, and during this period may not wash their bodies and may not put grease on their hair.[2] Until the memorial stone has been erected, food must be given to the spirit. A small portion of each daily meal

[1] As by, *e.g.* the Thado, where graves are made on the same plans but with the excavation, and therefore also the feet of the dead man, pointing northwards, except in the case of bad deaths, perhaps. I do not know on which side of the grave the Thados make their excavation in the latter case, but apart from orientation the plan is that shown by Mr. Parry for Lakher *Thlachhi*.—J. H. H.

[2] Haka Chins mourn in the same way. *Cf.* Head, *op. cit.*, p. 26.—N. E. P.

is set aside and placed either near the hearth inside the house or else on the grave for the spirit to eat. Plantains, sugar-cane, nicotine-water and flour are also placed on the grave in case the spirit should have need of them in *Athikhi*. Lakhers worship their ancestors at *Laliachhia*, but these offerings are not at present, at any rate, of a propitiatory nature, but merely to meet the needs of the spirit. Whether or not they are a relic of ancestor-worship I am not prepared to say. As soon as the memorial stone has been erected, the offerings cease, as it is believed that after this the spirit goes off to *Athikhi* for good and does not return, and so will have no further use for food.

Memorials.

The ceremonies held in connection with the erection of memorials are called *Athiteukhei*, which means "sitting with the dead," the idea being that on this occasion the dead man's spirit will visit its home for the last time before going off finally to the abode of the dead. There are several kinds of memorials. That ordinarily erected is a flat stone called *longphei*, and is always accompanied by a wooden memorial post called *thangri*. For chiefs and important persons pyramids called *phura pachang* and small stone walls called *longdong* are erected as well. If several memorials are prepared, they are all erected, or at any rate finished, on the day fixed for the *Athiteukhei* feast. For this all the deceased's relations and friends are invited. *Mithun* or pigs are killed, *sahma* is made, and a feast is prepared. Against the wall of the house which faces down the slope a tray is placed, covered with every sort of edible and drink; this is for the spirit of the deceased, who is supposed to come and sit with his friends and to partake of the good things provided. In the course of the day the memorials are finished, and then the women all have their feast inside the house and the men on the verandah. When the food is all consumed, the men join the women inside the house and they drink *sahma* together. In the evening after sunset all the edibles on the tray are collected in a small basket and hung on a forked

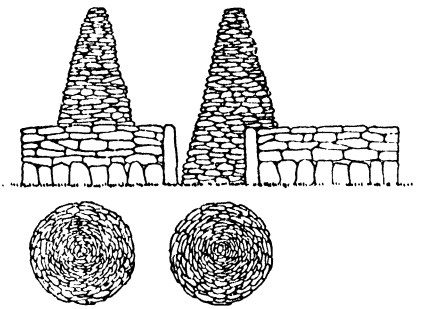
stick planted on the grave near the *thangri ;* this is to show the final separation of the dead man's spirit from the living. The next day the whole village holds an *aoh* called *Via-chawpana ;* no one may do any work, and the women may neither spin nor weave ; it is believed that unless this *aoh* is observed, the dead man's spirit will carry off with it to *Athikhi* the spirits of rice and of all the other kinds of edibles and there will be a famine. The *aoh* need not be held on every occasion that a memorial post is erected, but only on the occasion of the erection of the first memorial post between the harvest and the burning of the new *jhums.* Memorials are erected by the deceased's heir. If the latter is very poor and cannot afford to pay for the sacrifice and feast required, a little of every kind of available edible is collected in a basket and hung up on a forked post over the grave.

A *longphei* is a plain flat stone which is laid flat on the top of the grave, supported on all four sides by four stones of the same length planted on their sides. If at the funeral the *Rakhatla* dance was performed, it is repeated at the erection of the *longphei,* and if the ceremony is being held just before the *jhums* are burnt, it is customary to dance the *Pakhupila,* but not at any other season. On this same day the wooden memorial post called *thangri* is also erected over the grave. This post has to be prepared some days before the date fixed for its formal erection. A well-grown young *khaimei* tree (*Schima Wallichii*) is cut down, the bark is all removed, and it is roughly hewn into shape, so that the lower part of the post represents a body which is surmounted by a head (*cf.* illustration at page 416). A man's *thangri* has no neck, the body runs straight up to the head ; a woman's *thangri* has a sort of lozenge-shaped neck. The difference is clearly shown in the illustration. As soon as the post has been shaped, it is carried in procession to the dead man's house by the young men, who are accompanied by a crowd of boys, playing on drums and gongs. If the deceased was a man, his widow meets the procession and leads it into the house ; if a woman, this is done by her brothers. The post is then carved with a chisel with conventional ornaments, which vary in the different villages.

I have seen chevrons, herring-bone patterns, St. Andrew's crosses, lozenges and strings of detached circles with a string running through them to represent necklaces. The horns on the head of a *thangri* represent hair; a man's *thangri* has one horn, a woman's two. The bands at the bottom of a woman's *thangri* indicate the metal belts she possessed; if the dead person possessed a *pumtek* necklace it is carved round the neck of the *thangri*. If the dead man had a gun, the carvings include a small gun. If the man for whom the *thangri* is erected had succeeded in seducing another man's wife, a plume of white cock's feathers is tied on to his *thangri*. The *thangris* of chiefs and nobles are adorned with a plume of red goat's or horse's hair. On *thangris* erected for young men and girls, round pieces of looking-glass or rupees are inserted on the neck, and in Savang I have seen a brass plate for the spirit to eat off, and a bottle of *sahma* for it to drink, hung round a *thangri*. The carvings are dyed a dark colour with a mixture of pig's blood pounded with ashes from the leaves of the *bahru* palm (*Calamus erectus*) or the *thiahra* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). If the deceased was a great warrior, another post is erected by the side of the *thangri*. This post is about 3 feet high. Holes are made through the top of it, and a peg is inserted through each hole for each head taken by the deceased and for each slave captured in war. Thus the post for a man who had taken four heads and captured five slaves would have nine pegs run through the top. These posts are carved in the same way as *thangri*.

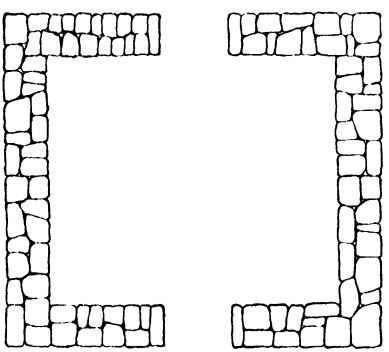
The decorations on the memorial posts all have definite names. The drawing above is of a woman's *thangri*. The horns on the top represent the hair, and are called *hrong*. The lozenges on the head are called *athei hmong*, meaning cucumber seeds. The circle hanging round the neck is

sisari, the *pumtek* necklace; the lozenges and triangles of the upper part of the body are *kei ongpa*. The small lozenges inside large lozenges are *athei hmong* (cucumber seeds); below these come zig-zags (*kiameichei*), and again lower come triangles enhanced by internal repetition, all those on one side having the same base, called *keiongpa khangpi*, and last of all bands called *ahra*, to represent a woman's belts. The decorations vary somewhat, but the illustration gives those most commonly found.



Phura Pachang, a Stone Pyramid in Memory of a Chief.

Besides the *longphei* and the *thangri* there are two kinds of memorials which are restricted to chiefs and wealthy nobles; these are known as *phura pachang* and *longdong*. The *phura pachang* is a pyramid of stones some 6 or 7 feet high, which is erected only as a memorial to men, and is usually sited just outside the village on one of the approach roads. The pyramid is timed to be finished on the day fixed for erecting the *thangri* and *longphei*, the stones being all collected beforehand, and the family erecting a pyramid kill a *mithun* and give a feast.



Longdong, Stone Memorial to a Chief.

A *longdong* takes the form of a square enclosed by four stone walls about 3 feet high, which is erected on a path leading into the village. A passage-way is left, through which the path runs. The work is nearly all done before the day for the formal erection of the memorial, and

on the actual day the work is merely finished off. *Longdong* are erected for both men and women, and the completion of a *longdong* is celebrated by the usual feast.

The Death Due or Ru.

The origin of the death due is curious.[1] Long ago there was no such thing as a death due, and it is all the fault of the little slow loris (*Nycticebus coucang*), who is known to the Lakhers as *ruleipa*, that men are now burdened with a death due.[2] Formerly the loris was a man called Ruleipa by the Tlongsai and Uli by the Hawthai, who fell violently in love and got married, but before he could consummate the marriage his wife died. Ruleipa was overcome with grief, and being practically out of his mind, insisted on having sexual intercourse with his wife's body. Her relations protested vehemently, but Ruleipa insisted, and to induce his brothers-in-law to agree, he promised to pay them a death due or *ru*. Eventually the dead woman's relations agreed to let Ruleipa do what he liked, provided he paid them a *ru*, and left him alone with the body of his wife. Having attained his desire, Ruleipa, unmindful of his promise, refused to pay the death due. His wife's brothers then got angry and took away all his bones, and Ruleipa was turned into a slow loris. When he became a slow loris, Ruleipa took an oath that any one who saw him in the daytime [3] would surely lose his wife in the same way as he had lost his, but that any one who saw him in his dreams would be lucky. Ever since then all Lakhers have been burdened with the obligation of paying the *ru* or death due.

Lakhers are very afraid of the loris. It is *ana* to see a loris, as it is believed that any one who does so will die prematurely, and that even if the person who sees it escapes

[1] For a less picturesque, but perhaps more probable, explanation of the custom, see *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 56, n.[2]. This fear of the loris is shared by the Thado, who regard it as the priest of the gibbon.—J. H. H.

[2] A somewhat similar story is current among the Haka Chins. *Cf.* W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 29.—N. E. P.

[3] *Cf.* Lewin, *Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 95. His "sloth" must be intended to describe the slow loris.—J. H. H.

his fate, his wife will certainly die in his stead. The only thing to be done when a person sees a loris is to endeavour to kill it at once. When the loris has been killed it must be cut up into little pieces, which are thrown in the direction of the different mountains, rivers, and lakes in the neighbourhood which are *Khisong* or the abode of spirits. It is hoped that the *leurahripas* inhabiting these *Khisongs* will eat the pieces of loris thrown to them, and in gratitude for the meat will save the man who saw the loris from the danger hanging over his head. Having thrown the pieces of loris to the *Khisong*, the sacrificer must remain in the jungle, and must not return home till the stars come out. This is the only possible way by which a person who has seen a loris can hope to escape, no other sacrifices being of any avail.

The loris is said to sing at night. If he sings the song sung at a wake, one of the persons hearing it or one of their relations will die ; if, however, he sings a hunting song, it means that the hearers will be lucky at hunting.

The death due called *ru* is payable on the death of any married person. A man's *ru* must be paid by his eldest son, or, if he has no son, by whoever inherits his property, and it is payable to his *pupa*, who is his mother's brother. A woman's *ru* must be paid by her husband, or if he is dead by her younger son, and it is payable to the deceased woman's brother.

Claiming the Ru.

The person claiming a *ru* must kill a pig for *riha* for the deceased. Unless a pig is killed, the main price, called *rupi*, cannot be claimed, though the subsidiary prices can be claimed even if no pig is killed. If the claimant and the deceased belong to the same village, the pig must be killed on the day of death or on the day the memorial is erected. If the claimant lives in a separate village from deceased, the pig for *riha* may be killed at a later date, but it should be killed as soon as possible after the death has taken place. The *riha* pig is given to the deceased's relations, who, in their turn, have to kill a pig, which they give to the claimant.

Once these pigs have been killed the *ru* must be paid in instalments, according to the payer's ability.

A death due consists of a main price called *rupi* and of the following subsidiary prices :—

Phavaw .	A *pumtek* bead.
Raibong .	A *sahma* pot.
Bongta .	A small *sahma* pot.
Seitla . .	The payment to be made because a *mithun* was killed for *riha*. Nowadays *mithun* are hardly ever killed for *riha*, but the due is still claimed.
Pangbu .	A cloth
Atu . .	A hoe.
Thuasang	A *dao*.

The amount payable as *ru* varies. In the case of men, the amount of the *ru* depends on two considerations, the first being whether the deceased belonged to a high or a low clan, and the second whether he was a Nimrod and had succeeded in amassing wealth. In some villages more stress is laid on the clan, while in others success in the chase and wealth are the deciding factor. It is impossible, therefore, to say offhand what a given man's *ru* will be. The amount to be paid is discussed among the relatives, and if they cannot agree, the chief and elders are called in to settle the question. Among the Hawthai both clan and wealth are considered, and the *ru* of any man who had married a woman of the royal clan would be high. In Savang a man's clan is disregarded, and the amount of the *ru* depends solely on wealth and success in the chase. In Chapi noble birth is the predominating consideration, the amount of the *rupi* being usually the same as the marriage price *angkia* of deceased's clan. Wealth and success in the chase might, however, raise the *rupi* above the clan *angkia*.

In Saiko and Siaha the amount of the *ru* depends on the clan ; a noble's *ru* is usually 20 rupees, and a commoner's 10 rupees, but the *ru* of a man who was rich or a great hunter is always higher than the ordinary rate. In Siaha the *ru* is raised if deceased's *pupa* belongs to a higher clan than deceased. In Saiko if a man dies very poor, the *rupi*, or main price, is sometimes not more than one brass pot. A woman's *ru* in all the villages is the same as her marriage price *angkia*, and is not subject to the same fluctuations as

a man's *ru*. In certain cases no *ru* can be claimed. Thus no *ru* is payable on any person who has died *sawvaw* or *thichhi*, and it is *ana* to claim it. Again, if when a woman dies she has either never had any children or all her children have predeceased her, her husband is not liable to pay her *ru* unless he retains her personal effects; provided that the husband returns all his late wife's effects to her brother, the latter can claim no *ru*. If, however, the woman's brother says that he would rather be paid the *ru* than have the woman's property returned to him, the husband cannot object. The monetary value of the *ru* of any member of a royal house, whether male or female, is 100 rupees. The examples of death dues from different villages which follow illustrate the variations in the amount of the *ru*. Most of the examples are of actual death dues which have been paid, and all of them have been given to me by chiefs and elders as the usual *ru* of persons in similar circumstances in the village. It will be noticed that the death due payable on a woman is considerably higher than that on a man.

Ru OF A RICH MAN OF SAVANG WHO HAD SHOT MANY ANIMALS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	5	0	0
Pangbu	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Atu	0	4	0
	43	4	0

Ru OF A POOR MAN OF SAVANG WHO HAD SHOT FEW OR NO ANIMALS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	5	0	0
Pangbu	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Atu	0	4	0
	33	4	0

Ru OF A CHAPI MAN BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 10 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
Raibong	3	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Atu	0	4	0
	29	4	0

Ru OF A CHAPI MAN BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
Raibong	3	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Atu	0	4	0
	39	4	0

Ru OF A MAN OF KIASI BELONGING TO A COMMONER OR *Machhi* CLAN.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Pangbu	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	43	0	0

Ru OF A KIASI MAN BELONGING TO A NOBLE OR *Phangsang* CLAN.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Pangbu	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	53	0	0

Ru OF A SAIKO MAN BELONGING TO A COMMONER OR *Machhi* CLAN.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Chapaw rupi	10	0	0	
Phavaw I	10	0	0	
„ II	5	0	0	
„ III	1	0	0	
Raibong	7	0	0	or a small *Racha*.
Awruabawna	5	0	0	
Pangbu	0	8	0	
Thuasang	1	0	0	
	1	0	0	
	40	8	0	

Ru OF A SAIKO MAN BELONGING TO A NOBLE OR *Phangsang* CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Pangbu	0	8	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	52	8	0

Ru OF A TISI MAN BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES WHO IS WELL-TO-DO AND HAS SHOT MANY ANIMALS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	7	0	0
„ III	2	0	0
Raibong	5	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	65	0	0

Ru OF A TISI MAN BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES, WHO HAS SHOT MANY ANIMALS BUT IS NOT RICH.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Awruabawna	7	0	0
Phavaw I	4	0	0
„ II	2	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	37	0	0

Ru OF A POOR TISI MAN BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES, WHO HAS NOT SHOT MANY ANIMALS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	10	0	0
Awruabawna	4	0	0
Phavaw I	2	0	0
„ II	1	0	0
„ III	0	8	0
Raibong	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	20	8	0

Ru OF A MAN OF SIAHA VILLAGE BELONGING TO A CLAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 40 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chapaw rupi	20	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	7	0	0
„ III	5	0	0
Raibong	5	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Pangbu	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	54	0	0

Ru OF A WOMAN OF SIAHA VILLAGE WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	60	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	7	0	0
„ III	5	0	0
Seitla	20	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Bongta	1	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	124	0	0

Ru OF A WOMAN OF SIAHA VILLAGE WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	30	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	3	0	0
Seitla	7	0	0
Raibong	5	0	0
Awruabawna	3	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	59	0	0

Ru OF A WOMAN OF TISI VILLAGE WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	60	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	10	0	0
„ III	4	0	0
„ IV	1	0	0
„ V	1	0	0
Raibong	7	0	0
Bongta	2	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	106	0	0

Ru OF A WOMAN OF TISI VILLAGE WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	30	0	0
Awruabawna	7	0	0
Phavaw I	5	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	2	0	0
„ IV	1	0	0
„ V	1	0	0
Raibong	2	0	0
Bongta	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	55	0	0

Ru OF A SAVANG WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 75 RUPEES OR THREE GONGS OF EIGHT, SEVEN, AND SIX SPANS RESPECTIVELY.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Chanong rupi	75	0	0	three gongs of eight, seven and six spans respectively.
Phavaw I	20	0	0	
„ II	15	0	0	
„ III	10	0	0	
„ IV	5	0	0	
„ V	4	0	0	
„ VI	2	0	0	
„ VII	1	0	0	
Seitla	20	0	0	
Raibong	10	0	0	
Bongta	5	0	0	
Thuasang	2	0	0	
Pangbu	2	0	0	
Atu	0	4	0	
	171	4	0	

Ru OF A SAVANG WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF ONE GONG OF EIGHT SPANS OR 40 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Chanong rupi	40	0	0	or one gong of eight spans.
Phavaw I	10	0	0	
„ II	7	0	0	
„ III	5	0	0	
„ IV	3	0	0	
„ V	1	0	0	
Raibong	5	0	0	
Seitla	5	0	0	
Bongta	2	0	0	
Thuasang	1	0	0	
Pangbu	1	0	0	
Atu	0	4	0	
	80	4	0	

Ru OF A CHAPI WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 20 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Chanong rupi	20	0	0	or a gong of 7 spans.
Phavaw I	10	0	0	
„ II	5	0	0	
„ III	3	0	0	
Raibong	3	0	0	
Bongta	1	0	0	
Thuasang	1	0	0	or a *dao*.
Atu	0	4	0	or a hoe.
	43	4	0	

Ru OF A CHAPI WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 10 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	10	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	3	0	0
Raibong	3	0	0
Bongta	1	0	0
Awruabawna	1	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
Atu	0	4	0
	34	4	0

Ru OF A SAIKO WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	60	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	3	0	0
„ IV	1	0	0
„ V	1	0	0

Ru OF A SAIKO WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES. —*continued.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Seitla	7	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Bongta	1	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	104	0	0

Ru OF A SAIKO WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	30	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	7	0	0
„ III	3	0	0
Seitla	5	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Bongta	1	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	72	0	0

Ru OF A KIASI WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 60 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	60	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	6	0	0
„ III	4	0	0
„ IV	3	0	0
„ V	2	0	0
Seitla	10	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Awruabawna	10	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	116	0	0

Ru OF A KIASI WOMAN WITH MARRIAGE PRICE *angkia* OF 30 RUPEES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Chanong rupi	30	0	0
Phavaw I	10	0	0
„ II	5	0	0
„ III	1	0	0
Raibong	10	0	0
Bongta	2	0	0
Seitla	5	0	0
Awruabawna	5	0	0
Thuasang	1	0	0
	69	0	0

Chhongchhireu.

For unmarried persons no *ru* is payable, but a due called *chhongchhireu* or, in Savang, *maichhangna* is paid instead. In Saiko the due must be paid on the death of all unmarried persons except babies, for whom no pig is killed as *riha*. In the other villages it can be claimed only on the death of persons who have tied their hair up—that is to say, over the age of ten or eleven. The due is usually a large earthenware beer-pot, called *racha*, or 10 rupees, but in Siaha it is 20 rupees. Unlike the *ru*, this due must be paid to the deceased's *pupa*, whether deceased is a man or a woman, and it is paid by the deceased's father or, if the father is dead, by the deceased's brother. When demanding this due, the person's *pupa* must kill a pig as *riha* to speed the deceased's soul on its way to *Athikhi*, or else he forfeits his claim. The pig killed is given to deceased's relations for a funeral feast on the day the death takes place. In return for the pig so killed, deceased's relations kill a fowl and give it to his *pupa*. The pig for *riha* must be killed on the day the death takes place; it may not be killed later on, and unless it is killed on the day of the death the *chhongchhireu* cannot be claimed, except if the *pupa* belongs to a different village, when he can kill the *riha* pig later on and claim the due. No *chhongchhireu* can be claimed for any person who has died *thichhi* or *sawvaw*.

The meaning of *chhongchhireu*, as explained to me by a Lakher, is "family (or clan), left, instead," or the price payable on account of a person having left his clan by dying. If this meaning is correct, as I believe it is, it points to the former existence of a matrilineal system, as the *pupa* who gets the price is not nowadays of the same clan as the deceased, but would have been under a matrilineal system.

There is one more very curious death due called *chachhai*, which can be claimed in all the Tlongsai villages, but not among the Zeuhnang, Sabeu or Hawthai groups, among whom it has never existed.

The due can be claimed when a man's sister's husband dies. Thus A has married B's sister C. When A dies, B can claim

chachhai from A's heir. The man claiming *chachhai* must kill a pig for *riha* on the day the death takes place, and not at any later time, and then the dead man's heir must pay the due, which consists of an earthenware beer-pot called *racha* or 10 rupees. The idea at the back of this due is that a man by dying has abandoned his wife, so his heir must pay a fine of 10 rupees to the dead man's wife's relations as compensation for the deceased's inconsiderate conduct in leaving his wife without a protector.[1]

Sacrifices connected with the Crops.

As Lakhers believe that it is in the power of the spirits to give them good or bad crops, it is not surprising to find that each phase of agricultural operations is marked by its appropriate sacrifice intended to placate the spirits of the hills and the fields. The first of these sacrifices is called *Rialongchhi*, and is performed when the *jhums* have been half cut, and by all the villagers together. The object of the sacrifice is to prevent the edges of *daos* and axes getting chipped and blunted, and to prevent people from cutting themselves by accident when cutting the *jhums*. During the day, the villagers collect the fruit of the *dangko* tree (*Spondias magnifera*, Willd.). Having eaten the fruit, they dry the stones and fix them on to the end of arrows. At night a fire is made in the village street and the stones are roasted in the fire, and when they are well alight are fired off towards the sky from pellet bows by the village children, saying "*Rialongchhi leu, chaka chhileu*" ("Let famine fly away as the arrows fly away with the *dangko* fruit"). The next day is *aoh* for the whole village. The idea is that the burning *dangko* fruit is the colour of blood, and that if this is fired off towards the sky, the people will not wound themselves by accident when cutting the *jhums* and will not bleed.

When the *jhums* have all been cut, the knee dance called *Pakhupila* is performed, and a joint feast contributed to by

[1] A similar due, called *tangten*, is payable among the Haka Chins. *Cf.* W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 31.—N. E. P.

all the villagers is held. This feast is called *Khutla*, and resembles the Lushei *Chapchar Kut*, and is the only public merry-making indulged in by the Lakhers, who do not have numerous public feasts, like the Lusheis. It is not held every year, but only when the village has had very good crops. It is a sort of harvest thanksgiving. The house of some rich man is selected for the feast, and every one goes there, taking a pot of beer as his contribution. Oceans of beer are drunk, pigs and fowls are killed, and the young men and girls dance a round dance called *Pakhupila* in the village street. The men stand in a ring, with a girl between each of them, put their arms round the girls' shoulders, and then dance round in a ring and sing and beat drums and gongs, while one man stands in the middle and beats a gong and conducts the dance and the singing. The duration of the feast depends on the number of men prepared to provide free drinks. The dancers go all round the village and dance and sing outside the rich men's houses in turn, the onlookers going with them. They remain at one house till they have imbibed all the beer, and then go on to the next, so the dancing may go on for some days. The feast is held before the sowing of the rice, and the idea is that as all will have to labour hard in the fields from now on, they should enjoy themselves first. Everybody in the village is supposed to be present at this feast. It is *ana* to dance the *Pakhupila* and to sing the *Pakhupi* song at any other season. Persons disregarding this prohibition suffer severely from carbuncles. After this feast the *jhums* are burnt, and then a sacrifice called *Leuhrangna* is performed.

Leuhrangna.

Leuhrangna is a yearly sacrifice offered jointly by groups of people who have their *jhums* on the same slope to induce the spirit of the slope to give them good crops and good health, to prevent wild animals from eating the crops and to enable the sacrificers to be successful in hunting. A man who is sacrificially pure is selected to perform the sacrifice, which is held under a tree on the edge of the *jhums*. Below

the tree two stones are placed, one erect and the other on the ground, for laying out the *phavaw*. The sacrifice consists of a sow of three fists and a red cock, or a boar of three fists and a hen. As soon as the pig has been killed, its ears, its tongue, its tail, one toe and its penis are laid on the stone, with flour, as *phavaw*. The cock is then killed, and its tongue and two long tail feathers, one foot and some blood are added to the *phavaw*. The pig's head and a little meat are cooked in one pot, and the rest of the meat in another. The right foreleg is set aside raw for the sacrificer to take home with him. The fowl is cooked separately by the sacrificer. Some pig's liver, intestine, meat and gravy are laid with the *phavaw*, together with salt and cooked rice, as are also the fowl's liver and the comb. The sacrificer then eats the meat from the pig's head, and the whole of the fowl and the villagers eat the rest of the pig.

The day of the sacrifice is *pana* and the next day is *aoh*. During the *aoh* it is *ana* to visit the place of sacrifice, and any one doing so is fined a fowl. The sacrificer is *pana ;* he may not leave his house, and it is *ana* to visit his house, and a breach of the prohibition is punished with the fine of a fowl. After the *aoh* the sacrificer sows a little paddy in his garden, and until this seed has germinated he may not eat any of the flesh of an animal killed by a wild animal, may not go to a house where a death has taken place, nor attend a wake, nor go near a river. If he does not observe these prohibitions it is *ana* for all the participants in the sacrifice, and their crops will fail. The paddy is sown simply to indicate the period within which the sacrificer must observe the prohibitions. If the sacrifice is performed on the same day as the *jhums* are burnt, it is not necessary for the sacrificer to sow any paddy in his garden, as the fire from the *jhums* is believed to have destroyed all evil influences, so that there is nothing *ana* to fear, and the sacrificer need not observe any prohibitions.

During the *aoh* strangers may enter the village, provided that only part of the inhabitants have performed the sacrifice. If the whole village has done the sacrifice, however, it is *ana* for strangers to enter.

Sachipachhua.

To ensure that the paddy shall germinate well, a sacrifice called *Sachipachhua* is performed in all the villages. As soon as all the paddy has been sown, a few seeds of every kind of crop are collected by each cultivator on the place selected for the performance of the *Chithla* sacrifice. A black hen is sacrificed by the owner of the field, and the seeds are anointed with its blood and then sown near the place of sacrifice. The sacrifice is to the spirit of the field, and the usual *phavaw* are set aside for him. A black pullet is sacrificed in the hope that the young paddy may come up with a rich dark colour like the pullet's. The sacrificer's household is *pana* for the day of sacrifice. In Chapi this sacrifice is performed before the paddy is sown.

Chithla.

The next sacrifice is called *Chithla*, and must be performed between the sowing of the seed and the second weeding, called *leuchapa*. It is intended to make the sacrificer and his family healthy, to ensure good crops and to prevent them from being eaten by wild animals ; it is offered to the spirit of the field, and is performed in front of the *jhum* houses. In Savang *Chithla* is done by the whole village at one time immediately after *Tleulia*, in the other villages each householder does it whenever it suits him best. A fowl must be offered for the sacrifice, and a pig, a dog, or a goat may be added if desired. A bamboo or a wooden post is erected in front of the *jhum* house, and on it are hung a hen's basket, and, if a pig is to be killed as well, a pig's basket also. No baskets are hung up for dogs or goats, as they are never carried about in baskets.

A flat stone is placed in front of this post to receive the *phavaw*, and near by a hollow bamboo is planted in the ground and filled with water to which a little rice is added. This bamboo is meant to resemble a beer-pot, and a bamboo tube for sucking beer through is also put into it. Leaves are then laid on the flat stone, and some flour is placed on the leaves, and on the top of this the animal is slaughtered.

If only a fowl has been sacrificed, its liver is cooked in a small pot and placed on the stone as *phavaw* with the usual raw *phavaw;* the rest of the fowl is taken back to the village and cooked at home. If a pig has been killed, the usual raw *phavaw* are set aside and the head and half of the entrails are cooked. The portions of the entrails required for cooked *phavaw* are placed on the stone, and the meat from the head is eaten by the sacrificer and his family, the rest of the meat being taken back to the village for consumption at home. The pig's skull is tied up on the post at the place of sacrifice. The day of the sacrifice is *pana*, the next day *aoh*, and the day after is also *aoh* and is known as *Lomang*. On the first two days no work at all may be done. On the third day the people may go to the fields, but may not weed them, and the women must not weave, but may carry wood. In most villages people are allowed to enter the sacrificer's house during the *aoh*.

On the same day that *Chithla* is performed another sacrifice called *Leupapa* is also held. A post and a stone for the *phavaw* are erected on the edge of the field, and a white cock is sacrificed over the stone; its raw *phavaw* only are laid on the stone, as animals never eat cooked food, and the rest of the bird is taken home to cook. This sacrifice is to the spirit who dwells on the borders of the field and the forest and who can stop wild animals from entering the fields to eat the crop if he is successfully propitiated.

Before the *Chithla* sacrifice has been performed it is *ana* for any one when cooking vegetables in a *jhum* house to throw any salt or the remains of rice which has been cooked at home and brought down to the *jhum* to eat into the pot in which the vegetables are being cooked. When the vegetables have been put into a saucer, salt and the remains of rice may be added. If a stranger puts salt or dry rice into the vegetable pot in any one's *jhum* house he is fined a fowl. Salt when boiled in water liquefies and disappears, and the Lakhers believe that if it is boiled in water in a *jhum* house, the growing paddy may disappear in the same way. The *lochhangpa*, or remains of *lacho* (cold cooked rice), is dry, and if it is added to the vegetables it is thought that

the crops will dry up like *lacho*. One of the reasons for performing the *Chithla* sacrifice is to make the use of salt when cooking in a *jhum* house permissible.

Pazutawla.

In Chapi village, to celebrate the gathering in of the maize crop a dance called *Pazutawla* is performed. The men hold hands and form a ring; the girls stand in front of them; one girl stands between two men, and puts an arm round the shoulders of the men on each side of her. They dance round and round, singing to the accompaniment of gongs and drums. This dance is peculiar to Chapi. It is *ana* to dance it except in celebration of the maize harvest, and were it performed at any other time those taking part would suffer from carbuncles.

Chitang.

The Chapi people concentrate their crop sacrifices, instead of holding them at different stages during the growth of the crop, like the other villages. After the first weeding of the fields a red hen is killed for *Chitang* outside the village by a man selected for the purpose, who must be ceremonially pure.

Chhomei.

The next day the whole village is *aoh*, and the day after each household performs the *Chitla* sacrifice in its own field. After this the *Chhomei* sacrifice takes place. The man who killed the red hen for *Chitang* offers up a boar at the spot outside the village where the hen was killed; *Phavaw* are set aside and a little of the liver, the stomach, and the meat is eaten on the place of sacrifice. The rest is taken raw to the village. The chief gets a hind-leg and half the buttocks, the second chief a fore-leg and the meat between the shoulders, and the man who is to provide next year's pig gets a hind-leg. The rest of the meat is cut into little pieces, and every one in the village gets a piece, which is cooked and eaten with rice, no matter how small it may be.

The same evening every householder in the village kills a chicken, which must be killed by a man, and is offered for the well-being of the individual household. During the month in which *Chitang* and *Chhomei* are performed no stranger may enter the village, so for the general convenience these sacrifices are held when the moon is waning. They must be performed once a year, and are intended to ensure good crops, good health and good hunting, and until they have been completed no one goes to live in his field house. The next day is *aoh ;* the day after the *aoh Chakalai* is performed, burning brands being flung out of the house to frighten the spirit of famine. The next day *Sahrisa* is performed, and after that *Tlaraipasi*, for which a dog, and not a hoolock, is used. By concentrating the sacrifices in this way, a certain number of working days are saved, which otherwise would be taken up by *aohs*.

In Savang a village sacrifice called *Chitang* takes place at the same time as the *Chithla*—that is, as soon as the first weeding has been finished. The *tleuliabopa* prepares *sahma* for the chief and elders, and as soon as it is ready, the *Chitang* day is fixed. In the morning the *tleuliabopa* kills a sow and a red cock on the *tleulia* ground. If for any reason a sow is not available, a red hen only is sacrificed. As soon as the sow has been killed a representative of each house in the village collects a little of the blood in a bamboo cup, takes it straight off to his field, and smears it on some of the paddy, maize and each kind of vegetable grown in the field. Having done this, each household does *Chithla* in its own field. The *Chitang* pig is cooked in the *tleuliabopa's* house, and is eaten by the chief and elders and the young men who prepared and cooked it. The usual *phavaw* are laid out on the place of sacrifice and the pig's skull is hung up above it. The next day the whole village is *aoh*. The sacrifice is for good health and prosperity. *Chhomei* is not performed in Savang.

Sahrisa.

Among the Tlongsai and Hawthai some time after *Chithla*, usually in the month of August, a sacrifice called *Sahrisa* is

performed to make the paddy healthy. A dog and a cock are sacrificed outside the village. Each householder takes some of the dog's blood and two of the fowl's feathers off to his field, and smears the dog's blood with the feathers over some of the paddy-stalks. Having done this, he returns home, and remains indoors for the rest of the day. The dog and the fowl are paid for by village subscription.

Leuhmathawna.

In all the villages at the beginning of the harvest, after all the paddy plants have been pulled up and before the grain has been gathered in, a sacrifice called *Leuhmathawna* is performed. A flat place is cleared near the *jhum* house and a mat threshing-floor is constructed, at one corner of which a bamboo or wooden post is erected. At the foot of this a small basket is placed containing seeds of paddy, millet, maize and, in fact, of every kind of vegetable that is grown in the *jhums*, and some flour. A red hen is sacrificed, and the seeds are anointed with the hen's blood. Before the hen is killed the sacrificer intones the following chant :

" *Leu li sa a vaw dila*
Leu lu sa a vaw dila
Ngapei kia ta kia la
Ngalang kia ta kia la
A seu tlang la
A za tlang la."

" Oh, paddy, from the bottom of the field come.
Oh, paddy, from the top of the field come.
Swarm together like the *nghapei*,[1]
Swarm together like the *nghalang*
Fill ten baskets full
Fill a hundred baskets full."

At the end of the chant the sacrificer blows three piercing blasts on a bamboo whistle, to call the spirit of paddy, and kills the fowl. The usual *phavaw* are placed in the baskets with the seeds. In Siaha the *phavaw* are placed in a corner of the threshing-floor. If a dog eats the *phavaw*, he is

[1] The *nghalang* and *ngapei* are two kinds of small fish that go about in large shoals.—N. E. P.

killed, and his intestines are pulled out to release the spirit of the paddy which has been eaten with the *phavaw*.

The sacrificer and his family then go into the field and start gathering in the paddy ; as soon as they have collected one or at most two baskets, they come back to the threshing-floor to rest, and cook and eat the chicken on the threshing-floor, and place the cooked *phavaw* in the basket with the raw *phavaw*. The chicken's bones are placed in the basket containing the paddy, and the basket is then tied to the post in the corner of the threshing-floor.

Next morning the people continue to bring in their paddy. If there is a good crop, no further sacrifice is required. If, however, the crop is poor, they say, " We have gathered paddy from a large area and have collected very little grain. The grain is getting lost ; we will perform another sacrifice." Another red hen or a mole is then sacrificed in the same place as before. After this sacrifice they rest for two or three days, and then gather the rest of the crop. During the days when harvesting is in progress it is *ana* to eat any bird or rat. If this were done the spirit of the bird or rat would eat the paddy. The reason why some people sacrifice a mole in preference to a brown hen is that the mole, as it excavates its tunnels through the earth, throws out a lot of soil, and they hope that their paddy may be as plentiful as the soil excavated by the mole. It is *ana* for a stranger to enter the house or the *jhum* of a man who is gathering in his rice crop, and it is also *ana* to give a stranger cooked rice to take with him on a journey, as the Lakhers believe that if they give away rice during the harvest the paddy will vanish like the rice, and the crop will be bad. If a piece of cloth or any feathers get burnt in the *jhum* house while the paddy is being brought to the threshing-floor it is *ana*, and a fowl must be sacrificed to appease the spirit of the paddy, which cannot bear the smell of burnt clothes and feathers.

In Chapi, wild pig, monkeys and fish may not be eaten, the first two lest their spirits should eat the paddy, the fish because a great deal of rice must be eaten with fish, and if fish and rice are eaten during the harvest, the crop will be

reduced in the same way as the stored rice is reduced when fish is eaten.

When all the grain has been collected on the threshing-ground, a granary is built, and as soon as all the grain has been stored, a sacrifice called *Sikisa* is performed. Each householder must kill a white fowl or a dog or both in front of the *jhum* house in his field in the morning. The raw *phavaw* are laid on the place of sacrifice, and then the family go off home and take the animal killed with them and eat it in their house.

On the way home to the village the owner of the field blows on a bamboo whistle and calls out at each turn on the path from which his field is visible, " Oh, souls of all members of my family, do not remain in the fields, but follow me. In the field there remain evil smells of dung and wind; hurry after us." The Lakhers fear that their souls may remain in the fields where they have been busy for so long, and that in consequence they themselves may fall ill. The next day the family is *aoh*—no member of it may leave the village nor do any work. *Sikisa* marks the end of the harvest.

Pazusata.

In Savang as soon as the last household to store its paddy in the granary has performed *Sikisa*, a feast called *Pazusata* is held, in which the chief part is played by the village children, who on this occasion are allowed to do and say anything they like without let or hindrance. *Pazusata* has some of the elements of a saturnalia; it marks the end of the year, and its celebration is believed to have the effect of causing the paddy to last throughout the new year and of enabling the people to shoot much game. The feast starts on the evening that the *Sikisa aoh* of the last family to fill their granary is completed. This evening is called *Loluta*. The chief and elders take their seats on the *tleulia* ground, and drink beer with any other villagers they may invite. Word is sent to the man who was selected the last time the feast was held, to kill the fowl for the current year's sacrifice, and he sacrifices a hen. When the hen is cooked,

one of the elders brings it with some cooked rice to the *tleulia* ground. The *tleuliabopa* sets aside the fowl's liver with a little rice as *phavaw* on the spot where the *tleulia* sacrifice is performed, and gives the rest of the fowl to the man chosen to provide the fowl for the next year's sacrifice. The next day is called *Lolupi*. No sacrifice is made, but a large pot of beer is placed on the *tleulia* ground, and the chief and his elders and all the older men of the village gather round it and suck up the beer through small bamboo reeds. Before any one else drinks any beer a cup is poured out and given to the man selected to provide the beer for next year's gathering, and after this has been drunk the elders settle down steadily to the business of the day. Meanwhile the chief and elders have sent round to every house in the village calling for contributions of as much barking deer and porcupine meat as they can obtain, to make a feast for the village children. The meat is cooked and served up with rice. Half of it is given to the village boys, and half to one of the most prominent hunters in the village, who is thereby bound to provide a liberal contribution for next year's feast. Throughout the year any one killing a porcupine or a barking deer sets aside a little of the dried meat to give to the boys for *Pazusata*. The boys all sit down and have their feast on the *tleulia* ground. The meat of the barking deer and the porcupine are chosen for this feast as they are regarded as particularly clean animals. The barking deer is always called "the weeder of the *jhums*," probably owing to its behaviour in the story of the barking deer and the porcupine, and so is likely to have a good effect on the crops. The porcupine is also a propitious animal for the crops, as when he burrows into the earth he throws up large masses of soil like a mole, and this is believed to induce a big crop. When the boys have finished their feast they go off to the square in front of the chief's house and light a fire in the middle; they then tie their cloths crosswise over their shoulders, hold hands, form a ring and dance twenty times round the fire. This dance is performed first squatting on the haunches like the Chapi *Dawlakia*. A drummer sits in the middle by the fire and beats time, and as they dance round the fire the

boys sing, "*Pazusata aulesa masa Aulemanong alema, taku taku,*" which means, "Come, all you wild animals, and Aulemanong will eat you." Aulemanong was the wife of an old-time *tleuliapoba*, during whose incumbency they were very successful in the chase. Next the boys dance round the fire standing up, and sing another song :—

"*Ke chhu chhupa, ke lia liapa haw e ve*
Vaw sala daw pi nang di a aw."

This last verse is in the old-fashioned tongue, and the Savang people themselves could not explain it.

When the dance has ended, the boys fetch torches, go round to every house in the village and demand meat, rice or any other kind of food. People may not refuse to give ; if they do, the boys break into the house, seize everything they can lay their hands on, and the householder has no remedy, as on this night the boys are given complete license. When any housewife gives them a large amount of food or some specially tasty bits they shout out something like this, "Chhali's mother has been most generous, and has given us excellent food," but if any housewife makes them a poor present they shout out, "Zahia's mother is the stingiest woman in the village : she has only given us some old dried rice," and so put her to shame. On this night nothing is *ana* to the boys, and even though people have performed a sacrifice and have erected bamboos in front of their house to show that they are *pana*, the boys break their way into the house, climb up on the shelves over the hearth where the food is stored, and take away anything they can find. Having collected all the food they can, the boys divide it up and take it off home, and having put it away, they come back to the square near the chief's house in the middle of the village, and call out praises of the generous givers, and pour abuse on all who have been stingy, mentioning them all by name. After this the elder boys tell obscene stories, and give the younger boys details of their love affairs and of the girls with whom they have been successful, and make the young boys proclaim all these adventures aloud. No one is spared : young men and girls who have been caught

philandering, bucks who run round breaking up happy homes, staid married men who have been caught tripping with frail beauties, mothers of families who have yielded to the too-ardent wooing of some handsome young blood—all find their little failings ruthlessly proclaimed aloud for all and sundry to hear, but they can get no redress, and must grin cheerfully and treat the matter as a bad joke. This custom must have a most salutary effect on the morals of the village, restraining all save the most ardent, and inculcating the greatest discretion on all desirous of emulating Don Juan or Ninon de l'Enclos. Only verbal licence is allowed: the feast is not an occasion for free love, and sexual offences committed at *Pazusata* are subject to the same pains and penalties as at at any other time.

Next morning the boys have a feast off their spoils of the night before, and invite their friends to share it. The drinking bout on the *tleulia* ground is not continued, but the boys' feast may last two or three days, according to the amount of food they have managed to collect. There is no regular *aoh*, but until the boys have finished feasting only the old rice may be given to a stranger who passes through the village on a journey. It is *ana* to give any of the new rice to a stranger until the feast is over, as if this is done the spirit of the paddy will go with it to the traveller's village, and the rice will not last out the year.

Khanghnakia.

In Chapi the *Pazusata* ceremony is not performed. The end of the year, however, is marked by a feast called *Khanghnakia*, which is really a sacrifice to the different *Khisongs* in the neighbourhood of the village, in the hope that they will grant the village general prosperity. On the day fixed a fence is erected outside the village. In the evening the *tleuliabopa* proceeds to the *tleulia* ground with a fowl in his hand. A small gong called *ladaw* and a drum are hung up in the *tleulia* tree, and all the boys are collected, and a ceremony called *Ezaw* is performed. Each boy carries two pieces of firewood. The *tleuliabopa* stands holding

his hen in the middle of the *tleulia* ground, and the boys file round him three times, beating their pieces of firewood together and singing, "*Cha cha ezaw ezaw sasu bokhai bokhai*" ("Give us occasionally some pairs of fine heads"), accompanied by an obligato on drums and gongs. When the boys have marched round him thrice, the *tleuliabopa* puts himself at the head of the line, and, followed by the boys playing gongs and drums, proceeds to the fence erected outside the village, and there offers up a prayer, calling upon the wild animals to come to Chapi from the north, south, east and west. While the *tleuliabopa* is praying, the boys again file round him three times. Having finished his prayer, the *tleuliabopa* plucks some feathers from the hen and places them on a stone at the foot of the fence. The procession is re-formed and, headed by the *tleuliabopa*, still carrying his hen, returns to the *tleulia* ground, where the *tleuliabopa* sits down and the boys again march round him three times. As soon as the boys have completed the third time round, the *tleuliabopa* kills the hen and all the boys go off home. The *tleuliabopa* remains with one young man, who has been chosen for the purpose. They cook the hen; a small piece of the liver, intestine and comb are placed at the foot of the *tleulia* tree as *phavaw*, the head and one leg of the hen are given to the elder who will have to provide a hen for the next year's ceremony, and the rest of the hen is eaten by the *tleuliabopa* and his companion, who then go to the *tleuliabopa's* house to spend the night. Next morning these two, each carrying a red cock, go and wait at the fence outside the village, where they are joined by the villagers with all the guns they can collect. The men with guns set off to shoot, and those without guns to trap, any birds or animals they can lay their hands on. The *tleuliabopa* and his companion follow the villagers to the jungle, and, having found a suitable spot, erect a shelter, and, calling upon all the neighbouring *Khisongs* by name to send them stags with fine heads, boars with heavy tushes, bears, tigers and all kinds of wild beasts, sacrifice the two red cocks. The sportsmen then scatter through the jungle and try their hardest to shoot some game, if necessary camping out in the jungle for two

nights, but not more. As soon as any one has shot an animal, a message is sent to the village, and those who remained behind spread mats on the *tleulia* ground and pass the time drinking beer and playing on gongs and drums till the successful hunter arrives. When they reach the entrance to the village, the hunters sing hunting songs and fire off guns. The man who shot the game, the two men who sacrificed the red cocks, and the people carrying the meat proceed to the *tleulia* ground, and the womenkind of the successful hunter, all dressed in their best, come to meet him, and he gives his wife and each of his sisters and nieces a small share of the meat. The head of the animal is carried in by one of the young men, preferably the brother or some close relation of the man who shot it. A procession is formed, and, followed by the man who shot the animal, dressed in his finest cloths and carrying his gun in his right hand and a cup of beer in his left, and also by a crowd of women and children of his clan, those who have received a share of the meat carrying the meat, and the rest beating gongs and drums, the head bearer leads them all three times in a dance round the *tleulia* ground, and then he places the head at the foot of the *tleulia* tree. After a short interval the head is again carried round the *tleulia* ground, the procession dancing round three times as before, and then the owner of the head takes it off to his house and performs the *Salupakia* sacrifice over it and holds a drinking bout, at which songs are sung by the young men and girls. Every house in the village gets a small share of meat, and has a feast, and all the villagers present their relations and friends with plates of rice and meat. Every household, however poor, must hold some sort of a feast; it is a great disgrace to have no feast.

The next day is *Chheupana*, and the whole village is strictly *aoh*, neither men nor women doing any work. The day after this *aoh* the main *Khanghnakia* ceremony begins. The men divide themselves into groups by clans; a clan group of six takes one pig and one pot of beer; a clan group of ten, two pigs and two pots of beer; a clan group of fifteen, three pigs and three pots of beer. Each clan group goes separately outside the village to some place near the stream and selects

one or more of its number, according to the number of the pigs, to perform the sacrifice. The sacrificers place a flat stone at the foot of a tree, cover it with flour, and then each slays his pig. Some meat, the pig's bladder, and penis are placed on the stone as *phavaw*. The pig's head is then cooked with some meat, and some of its heart, stomach, and liver and a little of the meat are set aside on the stone as *phavaw*. Some young men are then sent home from each group to fetch cooked rice and beer, and each clan eats the rice and cooked meat on the place where the sacrifice was made. Only men partake of this food; it is *ana* for any woman to attend, for fear lest any of them may be unclean and displeasing to the spirits of the hills, rivers and woods. The meal being finished, the rest of the raw meat is divided up. The man who has to provide salt for next year's feast is given the lower half of the neck, and at the same time this man is given a bamboo to measure the amount of salt he will have to provide. This is never less than a *seer*, and the bamboo is cut so as to hold the amount required. One front leg is then split from the shoulder to the foot, and half is given to whoever is to provide beer for the next year's feast. After these dues have been distributed, the rest of the meat is divided equally among the other members of the group. The pigs' skulls having been tied on to the trees beneath which they were sacrificed, the whole party goes home. The next day is *aoh*, no work is done, and the women may neither spin nor weave. The *aoh* is very strict. No music whatever is allowed, and the people remain quietly in their houses drinking. In the evening the people who received shares of pork give a feast to their relations and friends. On the day of this *aoh* it is *ana* for any stranger to enter the village. An exception is made in the case of Vahu, chief of Ngiaphhia, and Vasai, chief of Khihlong, who are Changzas and of the same clan as the chief of Chapi. The next day is again *aoh*, and is known as *Phaphopàna*. A bow and arrow are made. The arrow is tipped with cotton, and is set up by the *tleuliabopa* on the fence erected outside the village. This is to show the spirits of the mountains, the woods and the river that some game has been shot.

Phaphopana is observed only if a wild animal has been killed on the days preceding the main *Khanghnakia*, and its object is to show that the hunting days were fruitful. *Khanghnakia*, however, is observed yearly as described, whether or not any game has been shot on the preliminary days. The above description of *Khanghnakia* was given me by Rachi, chief of Chapi.

Laliachhia.

This is a village sacrifice performed by the Lakhers about the month of October to the spirits of their ancestors to induce them to help to make the crops good, the domestic animals healthy and fertile, and to give good hunting. The sacrifice is also intended to please the spirits of paddy and maize, and to prevent them from leaving the village.[1] The first thing is to make a broad road in front of the village. When this is finished, the villagers march up and down it, beating gongs and drums. After a bit they march into the village and go to the house of the man who has been previously selected to perform the sacrifice. He provides *sahma* for all who come to his house, and after sunset, when every one has gone home, he sacrifices a red hen inside his house at the foot of the main post at the back of the house, where they have already placed handfuls of the seed of every kind of food crop. The seeds are anointed with the fowl's blood. The fowl is cooked, its *phavaw* are placed at the foot of the post, and the sacrificer eats the meat. The village is *pana* for the day of the sacrifice, and the next day is *aoh*, and is spent in drinking beer. It is *ana* for a stranger to enter the sacrificer's house and also for the sacrificer to leave it during the *aoh*. The Chapi people have a variation of this sacrifice which shows the connection with ancestor-worship much more clearly than the sacrifices in the other villages. A road is made, and they march up and down it, beating drums and gongs. They then visit the graves of all people who have

[1] Judging by the analogy of Naga tribes, one may expect that the connection between the souls of the ancestors and the spirits or, at any rate, the productivity of the crop, is very intimate indeed. In most Naga tribes the ancestral souls are regarded as directly responsible for the crops if, indeed, they are not actually immanent in the grain itself.—J. H. H.

died within the last three years, and place handfuls of every kind of food and flour on the graves for the spirits of the dead to eat, and tidy up the graves and their surroundings. This day is *pana*. The next day is also *pana*, and a hen is sacrificed on the *tleulia* ground for the benefit of the crops. The next day is *Viachaw aoh*, no work is done, and the women must neither spin nor weave. The idea of this *Viachaw aoh* is to prevent the crops from drying up in the same way as the flour placed on the graves. This is one of the few occasions on which the Lakhers sacrifice to their ancestors, the ceremony in all the villages being undoubtedly a relic of ancestor-worship. The road is made for the spirits of the dead to come along, and the procession with gongs and drums goes to meet the spirits and to escort them to the house where the sacrifice takes place. Offerings are placed on the graves, not merely of the newly dead, but of all who have died within three years, by which time all well-behaved spirits should be safely in *Athikhi*, so the offerings can be due only to a lingering belief in the immortality of the spirit and in the power of the spirits of the dead to influence the living. The same thing is seen in the belief that childlessness may be due to the displeasure of the spirits of a man's or a woman's dead parents.

The Lushei *Mimkut*,[1] a feast in honour of all who have died in the past year, is somewhat similar to *Laliachhia*. Both ceremonies can be compared to the celebration of All Saints' Day in Continental countries, where it is the custom to visit the graves of dead relations.

Sacrifices are performed not only to ensure the safety of the crops at all the different stages of growth from the beginning of the cutting of the *jhums* to the end of the harvest; but even after the grain has been stored in the granary and is, as one would imagine, comparatively safe, sacrifices must be made to ensure that it shall not waste away of its own accord. Both paddy and maize have spirits, and these spirits must be propitiated, or the paddy will mysteriously decrease.

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 223, and Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 91.—N. E. P.

Sawva Awhthi.

Sawva Awhthi is a sacrifice to eke out the paddy. After the paddy has all been stored in the granary, a pig or a red hen is sacrificed in the granary. Before killing the animal the sacrificer invokes the spirit of paddy in the following terms :—

"*A . . . Sazia nong eu tleula thawla, awh sai pi tana, sawva awh ei cha thih. Sazia nong eu tleula thawla,*
Chani thai sala, cha baw thai sala,
Kongnong na pazola chhianong na pazola,
ei ni tleula eibaw tleula
na tha thlala nazong thla la,
tleula thawla Sazianong eu."

"O paddy, I sacrifice a fowl to you, increase and endure; if you endure and increase I will eat you. Remain with me from year to year, from winter to winter. Endure and increase, so that I may eat you, O paddy."

The paddy is sprinkled with the fowl's blood, and the fowl's tongue and some flour are placed on the paddy as *phavaw*. The fowl's feathers are stuck in the wall. The fowl is then taken home and eaten, and the door of the granary is left open till the end of the *aoh*, to enable the paddy spirit to enter again if it has been away on a visit. The Lakher idea is that paddy is able to increase or decrease of its own volition, and this sacrifice is to propitiate the spirit of the paddy and induce it to last a long time. If a pig is sacrificed, the sacrificer and his family are *pana* for one day and *aoh* for the next day. On the *aoh* day the sacrificer may not leave his house, and no one may enter it; the family, however, may go out. If a fowl is offered it must be sacrificed by a woman, and all people who partake of the meat are *pana* for a day; the woman who performed the sacrifice is *aoh* the next day and may not leave her house. The Lakhers believe that if the sacrifice is not performed, the paddy will be attacked by weevils. After the *aoh* has finished, the sacrificer must go and close the granary door.

Bei Pariawthi.

Even after some of the paddy has been husked and stored in the house for daily use, the store is liable to decrease with-

out apparent reason unless due precautions are taken, and a sacrifice called *Bei Pariawthi* is performed to help to make it last. A red pullet is killed close to the pot which holds the household store of rice. The rice is sprinkled with its blood, and its tongue and some pebbles are placed in the pot with the rice. Pebbles are very hard and strong, and the idea is that their presence in the rice jar will help to keep the rice hard and strong also. The sacrificer and his family eat the fowl, and are *pana* for the day of the sacrifice, which is performed in the evening to minimise the duration of the *pana*. It is *ana* for a stranger to enter the sacrificer's house on that day, and *ana* for the sacrificer to give rice to a traveller or to lend any of his possessions, lest the soul of the rice should leave his house with them.

Vebawngpana.

There are many incidents which are believed to have an effect on the crops. When the first bear is shot or trapped after the sowing of the paddy the whole village must be *pana* for a day, and no one may go to the fields, and the women must neither spin nor weave. This *pana* is called *Vebawngpana*, and its origin is interesting. Once upon a time a she-bear found a baby boy in the jungle. She suckled him and brought him up. When the boy had become a man, the bear said to him that he must shoot her, and that she would then run about among the vegetables growing in the field and scatter her blood on the crops; her blood would turn into paddy, which would make her foster-child and his descendants prosperous and ensure them a good supply of food for evermore. The bear at the same time warned her foster-child that after she was dead he must on no account look upon her face, as if he did so whenever a bear attacked a man it would in future first claw his face before biting any part of his body, and told him that he must follow her injunction strictly, or he would surely bring this misfortune on all future generations. According to the bear's instructions, the man shot her, and the wounded bear ran among the crops, scattering her blood, and her blood turned into paddy, as she said it would. As soon as the bear had died,

however, the man forgot the warning that had been given to him, and went and looked at her face, and ever since then bears have always attacked men in the face. Lusheis have a different explanation for the bear's propensity to attack in the face. They say that there was once a woman who was really a bear. Her husband divorced her, and married another wife the same day. The bear woman was so jealous of her supplanter that ever since then her descendants have attacked men in the face. The *Vebawngpana* is held every year as soon as the first bear has been killed after the sowing of the paddy, in memory of the bear who first gave paddy to men, and the *pana* is believed to please the spirit of the paddy, which knows that it originated from the blood of a bear, and so to ensure good crops. Omission of the *pana* would be regarded by the paddy spirit as an act of disrespect to its ancestor, and would lead to a failure of the crop. Both Lakhers and Lusheis have curious stories about paddy. Lusheis say that paddy is found in the hollow stem of *luang* (*Erianthus longisetosus*, Anders) or in hollow bamboos or trees. Khamliena's villagers say that they obtained it from the first source in 1919. Dorawta's villagers say that they found it in a hollow tree. The Lakher villagers of Thiahra Amongbeu say that it was found in a hollow bamboo, felled by one Chalua while cutting his *jhum* about six or seven years ago ; the seed was planted and germinated, and it is still being grown. The paddy found in hollow trees might easily be due to seed having been taken there by rats. It is less easy to account for the seed found inside growing bamboos and *luang* grass.[1]

Akheideu.

Again, when the first bee's nest is taken after the sowing of the paddy the whole village is *pana* for one day. This *pana* is called *Akheideu*. The belief is that when the bees

[1] This story of paddy or, in the Angami version, cooked rice, is found in the Naga Hills. The Naked Rengma village of Sahunyu ("Sohemi") ascribes the selection of its site as due to the finding of rice in a bamboo by a benighted hunting party from Tsaminu, and the site of Kijimatuma was similarly chosen by a party of Angami from Zhotsoma. The Dusun of British North Borneo have the same tale.—J. H. H.

have left their hive, the hive becomes empty and dry, so the paddy may dry up in the same way if honey and wax are removed from a hive before the paddy is ripe, unless a *pana* is observed.

In addition to this, any one taking a bee's nest between the sowing and the ripening of the crop is not allowed to visit his own or any one else's field on the same day, as it is believed that if he does so the paddy will dry up. Any one going to another man's field on the same day that he has taken wax or honey is fined a fowl for a sacrifice to the paddy spirit.

Other Anas Relating to Paddy.

It is *ana* to roast crabs, prawns and *nghavok*, which is a fish with very few bones, in a field-house at any time between the sowing of the paddy and the harvest. It is not *ana* if the fish are boiled. The belief is that when fish are roasted they become quite dried up, and that if this is done in a field-house the paddy will dry up in the same way. If any one roasts fish in another man's field-house he is fined a fowl. The Lusheis have the same custom.

It is *ana* for a woman during her menstrual flow to wash her skirt near the field and to hang it up on the field-house to dry, as it is said to cause the paddy to dry up.[1] If this offence is committed, the offender is fined a black hen, which is sacrificed to the spirit of the paddy by the owners of the neighbouring fields. In Savang and in Chapi no *ana* attaches to this.

The belief in the danger of giving paddy away at certain seasons is demonstrated by the *ana* called *Lachho Chate Ana*, which means the *ana* on giving cooked rice.

During the time that the ears of paddy are being removed from the straw it is *ana* to take cooked rice wrapped up in a plaintain leaf to eat on a journey, or to give rice in this way to any stranger on a journey. The belief is that if cooked rice is taken on a journey at this particular time the spirit of the paddy goes with it and is given away to strangers,

[1] *Cf.* the Lushei custom of *P'uanfen Zar*, Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 54, 55.—N. E. P.

and that the crop will be bad. It is also *ana* for a Lakher to take a midday meal during the time the ears of paddy are being gathered from the straw, as they are afraid that if they eat their ordinary midday meal in the *jhum* at this time they will eat and destroy the spirit of the paddy. It is also *ana* to take any fire, water or articles of domestic use out of the house while the paddy is being threshed, as it is believed that the spirit of the paddy will go with them.

Sahu.

When any one kills a *mithun* or bullock, the village is *pana* on the day the animal is killed. No work may be done in the fields, and the women may not weave. The same *pana* takes place if a *mithun* is killed by a tiger, and the villagers bring the meat into the village to eat. If the meat is not brought in, there is no *pana*. It is believed that if this *pana* is not observed the houses will be blown down by a hurricane, and that the rice will be blown down or will dry up.

Mithun and cows are the largest and most valuable animals kept by men, and have the loudest voice, and when they breathe their breath is like the wind; hence, when one of these animals is killed, the wind will punish the village where it has been killed unless a *pana* is held to appease the *mithun's* soul and prevent it from calling the wind. *Hu* is the noise made by a *mithun* breathing, hence *Sahu*.

It is *ana* to cut tree or bamboo stumps in a field of growing rice before all the rice has been harvested, as it is feared that if this were done the paddy spirit, who is always present in rice-fields, might accidentally get cut and injured, which would result in the crop getting spoilt. A breach of this *ana* in another's field entails a fine of a fowl to the owner of the field, to enable him to offer it to the paddy spirit, and so avert misfortune. There is no objection to lifting and carrying away fallen branches or logs, but standing stumps must not be cut.

Ana to Shift Boundary of Field.

It is *ana* to shift the boundary of a man's field, or while weeding to throw weeds into a man's field, as it is regarded

as very unlucky for the owner of the field into which weeds have been thrown or the boundary of which has been displaced. In some villages a fine is inflicted on the person who shifted the boundary. Thus in Siaha a man who shifts the boundary of another's field is fined a cock, and if the man whose boundary was shifted dies within the year, the person who shifted the boundary is liable to a fine of a gong of seven spans.

Leu Ckahi.

It is very unlucky for any one to have his field enclosed on two sides by two fields belonging to another man. If when two people have adjoining fields one of them makes another field on the far side of his neighbour's it is *ana*, and the man who made the extra field is liable to pay a fine, which is usually a pig to the person whose field he enclosed. If during the year the person whose field was enclosed dies, the death price or *luteu* of 100 rupees is payable to the deceased's relatives. The idea is that when a field is thus enclosed on two sides, the soul of the man whose field has been enclosed gets caught between the two enclosing fields, as though by a pair of pincers, and that this man whose soul has been caught will die.

The Tisi people told me that one Laipang enclosed Theusai's field. Theusai's daughter Vianeu died. Theusai complained to the chief, who fined Laipang a pig for *riha*, a pot of *sahma* for *bupa*, and a *vopia*. If Theusai had complained to the chief as soon as Laipang enclosed his field, Laipang would have been forbidden to do so, and if he had disobeyed the order, and a death had occurred in consequence, he would have been fined a *mithun* and a *vopia*.

Ceremonies connected with Rain.

A people depending entirely on agriculture naturally attaches great importance to timely rains, so it is not surprising that the Lakhers perform ceremonies both to call rain in a time of drought and to restrain an excessive rainfall.

At the first fall of rain that occurs after the harvest has

been completely gathered in there is always a *pana* of one day, called *Khisupana*, on which no work may be done in the fields and the women may neither spin nor weave. The *pana* is intended to call more rain and is a mark of respect to the rain spirit. The Lakhers believe that if they are not *pana* on this occasion the rainfall will be small and the crops bad.

Calling rain is known in Lakher as *Khiti Awna*, and there are several different methods. In Saiko, a chosen man is sent out to fetch a stalk of wild cardamum (*Amomum dealbatum*). The cardamum stalk is planted in the village street, and the man who brought it rubs it up and down with his hand. When rubbed, the cardamum stalk makes a noise "*Vut, vut, vut,*" which the Lakhers say resembles thunder, and while the man who is performing the ceremony is rubbing the stalk another man pours a bamboo tube full of water over his back. The water resembles rain, and, incidentally, running down the cardamum stalk helps to increase the noise of the thunder. The day on which this ceremony is performed the whole village is *pana*. Another method used in Siaha and also in Saiko is as follows. An eel is caught and its head is cut off and fixed to a pole planted on the roadside and pointed to the sky. Water is poured on to the eel, and also on to the person holding it up to the sky. As the eel lives in water, it is believed that when it is killed its spirit becomes very thirsty, and if its head is pointed up at the sky in this way, the spirit of the eel is sure to bring rain. The day of the ceremony is *pana*.

In Savang if drought is threatened the villagers go down to the Tisi river. They find a stone with a large hole in its top which contains water, bale all the water out, and then sacrifice a fowl near the stone, and place the *phavaw*, consisting of its tongue and tail, inside the hole. The fowl is then cooked, and a little of its liver and meat are placed inside the hole, and the rest of it is eaten. It is thought that the spirit who lives in the hollow stone will call down rain to fill its home with water again. Having eaten the chicken, they all go home, and the rest of the day is *pana*. After a few days the stone is inspected, and if it has filled

up with water and small fish are swimming about, the omen is favourable and good crops are expected; if, however, the stone fails to fill up with water, it is believed that a drought will occur. Stones with large holes in the top are believed by all Lakhers to be the abodes of spirits; but it is only the Zeuhnang of Savang who believe that these spirits have power over rain. The Ao Nagas also believe that stones can influence the weather.[1]

In the Kawlchaw river there is a deep pool called Siataw, with overhanging precipices. The Lakhers believe that if fish are poisoned in this pool rain will fall, as the spirit of of the pool gets annoyed when the fish in his pool are poisoned. In time of drought the Saiko people poison the pool in hopes of rain. The belief that the poisoning of fish in a pool will bring rain is also found among the Aos.[2]

In Chapi they call the rain more directly. A white cock is sacrificed outside the village and a prayer is offered up, "Rain, we call you with this white cock. The paddy, the *bal* and other vegetables need you, O rain." The day of the sacrifice is *pana*. This is a purely devotional method of calling rain, as opposed to the magical methods followed in the other villages.

Hawmikah.

If there is fear that the rains may be excessive and spoil the crops, bamboo arrows are made pointed with solder, and fired off at the sky. The belief is that, as the solder is white, the white-headed arrows will cause the sky to clear and become white also, and the rain will cease. In Savang there is a *pana* of one day, and women must not touch cotton. In Chapi only the man who fired the arrows is *pana* for one day. In Saiko the women may not touch cotton.

A more unpleasant method sometimes resorted to in order to stop the rain is for the people to spit in the direction from which the rain is coming.

No ceremony is performed to ward off hailstorms, pre-

[1] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 131.—N. E. P.
[2] *Idem, ibid.*—N. E. P.

sumably because hailstorms generally come when there are no growing crops, and so do little or no damage.

Ceremonies connected with Sickness.

Sickness is caused by the *leurahripaz*, and practically the only means of averting or curing sickness is by performing the appropriate sacrifices and ceremonies. Ceremonies intended to ward off sickness are of two kinds: those performed on behalf of the whole village, and those performed by individuals. The *Khisongbo* and *Tleulia* sacrifices, which have already been described, really fall into the first category, as they are intended, among other things, to make the people healthy. When, however, there is fear of a definite epidemic, another ceremony, called *Tlaraipasi*, is performed.

Tlaraipasi.

Tlaraipasi is a ceremony solely intended to stop an epidemic from entering a village, and is performed whenever neighbouring villages are afflicted, in the hope of keeping out the disease. The manner of its performance varies. In Tisi and the other Hawthai villages, as soon as it is heard that an epidemic is raging in a neighbouring village, the chief and elders fix a day for holding *Tlaraipasi*. The inmates of each house make small bamboo baskets and fill them with samples of every kind of food. At one end of the village a small bamboo fence is erected with a bamboo archway which spans the road. The baskets of food are placed outside this fence. The people then all go inside their houses and shut the doors. Meanwhile some of the young men have been sent out to shoot a gibbon (*Hylobates Hooluck*). As soon as they have bagged one they bring it to the village, and on the way they collect a quantity of pebbles. When they reach the village they sacrifice a fowl on the pebbles, and sprinkle the pebbles with its blood. Then one man carries in the gibbon and another man picks up the pebbles, and they enter the village, shouting out to the spirit of the disease, "Go away, stranger." [1] The gibbon is carried right through the

[1] *Cf.* The Khumi cure for small-pox, Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 226.—N. E. P.

village, and the man with the pebbles throws a few of them against each house, in order to chase out the spirit of the disease. When they reach the farther end of the village, where the fence and arch have been erected over the road, the gibbon is hung up over the arch. The fowl that was sacrificed is placed beside the baskets of food, and the villagers all go and spit and blow their noses into the baskets. The village is *pana* for the day of sacrifice, and no strangers may come in. Bunches of leaves are stuck on the paths leading to the village, and a byway is made to enable travellers to pass.

In Saiko and the other Tlongsai villages, a similar sacrifice is performed with either a hooluck or a dog. Each householder hands over his small basket of food to the young men who come to collect it, and spits into it as he hands it over. No pebbles are used. A hooluck is preferred to a dog, as the spirit of disease fears it more.

In Savang the sacrifice is called *Tlahri*. A fence is put up to stop the disease coming in. Baskets containing an egg and other edibles are placed outside the fence. A dog and a fowl are killed by having their throats cut, and are left on the place at which they were killed for the disease to eat. The dog's intestines are taken out and stretched between the fence posts, so as to make an arch over the roadway. The villagers apostrophise the spirit of the disease, saying, "*Raitla kola, Laku kola, Tisi suala, naki dila, naro dila, naerai pahneu, navei rai pahneu.*" ("Go over the Raitla and Laku mountains, go to the mouth of the Tisi river, go to your home. Here there is a smell of human excrement and wind.") They then all spit into the baskets. The village is *pana* for the day. In Chapi also a dog and a fowl are sacrificed, the baskets are filled with flour, charcoal and cotton wool, and the villagers call upon the disease to go away, and spit into the basket.

This sacrifice is both minatory and propitiatory. The gibbon is put up to frighten away the disease, and the spitting into the baskets is done with the same object. The Savang people further try to frighten away the disease by telling it what an unpleasant place their village is. The food

in the baskets and the offerings of a fowl and a dog are intended to please the spirit of the disease and induce it to spare the village.

All evil spirits are supposed to be afraid of gibbons, and many Lakhers wear bracelets made of gibbons' bones to prevent rheumatism, to make them healthy and to keep away magic. Where gibbons are found there is said to be no small-pox, and actually they say that there has never been any small-pox in the Lakher country. There have, however, been bad epidemics in Lushei villages, where gibbons are just as common. When there is no moon, gibbons are said not to call in the daytime, but as soon as the moon reappears they start shouting again. Lusheis say that if gibbons call at night it forebodes a death. They regard the gibbon as an unlucky animal, and formerly used never to shoot them, as they feared to be haunted by their ghosts.

Sacrifices very similar to the Lakher *Tlaraipasi* are performed by the Rabhas, a Bodo tribe inhabiting the foothills of the Garo Hill district. These people erect fences and arches on the roads leading into the village. From the centre of each arch a small stick is suspended to strike down the disease spirit if it tries to fly through, while on the ground traps are set to catch it, if it tries to crawl through. A chicken is sacrificed, but a pig's basket is hung on the arch to show the disease spirit that if it leaves the village alone a pig will be sacrificed to it later on. If the village escapes an epidemic, this promise is duly honoured.

Individual Sacrifices.

Parihrisang is a sacrifice performed for any one suffering from swellings, sores or sore throat, which are thought to be due to a snake having been killed in a rat-trap set by the sick man or one of his family, or to one of the family having killed a snake in some other way. Snakes have the power of causing disease, which is known as *hri*, Lakhers are therefore very much afraid of snakes, and kill them only when forced to do so in self-defence. If it is known that a snake has actually been caught in the sick man's rat-trap or killed by one of his family, the sacrifice must be held at the place

where the snake was killed. If it is only suspected that the killing of a snake has been the cause of the disease, the sacrifice is offered outside the village by the side of the path. Small earthen images of men, *mithun*, cows, lizards, tortoises, brass basins, gongs and *pumtek* beads are prepared and placed in an old basket. A snake is fashioned out of a piece of bamboo by cutting the surface of the bamboo to represent the snake's markings. The sacrificer ties a string round the neck of the bamboo snake and goes out to the place of sacrifice, holding the basket of clay images in one hand and dragging the snake along behind him. The idea is that the soul of the dead snake will follow the bamboo snake as it is dragged along the ground, and when it reaches the place where the sacrifice is held will see all the clay figures and, thinking them real, will accept them instead of the sick man, who will then recover. The basket is placed on the edge of the road with the bamboo snake lying near it. A bamboo beer cup filled with sand to represent beer, with a reed to suck through, is placed near the basket, and also an old pig's skull. A small bamboo railing is erected, and a piece of old cloth hung over it. A dog and a fowl are killed by cutting their throats, and the images are sprinkled with their blood, after which the sacrificer, who is always the eldest member of the sick man's family, returns home, leaving the dog and fowl on the place of sacrifice. The animals offered at this sacrifice are never eaten, as if the meat is eaten and only a little is left for the snake, the snake will think that he is being given only the remnants of the food, and will be displeased. On getting back to his house, the sacrificer must erect crossed bamboos in front of it to prevent any one coming in, and if the sacrifice was held in the morning, is *pana* till the stars come out, or if in the evening, till dawn next day. If during the *pana* any one of the sacrificer's family goes out and enters another person's house, it is *ana* or unlucky for the person whose house is entered, and he can claim a fowl. If this fine is not paid, and the man whose house was entered falls ill with sores or dropsy or a bad throat and dies within the year, the person who broke the *aoh* must pay a gong of seven spans to the man whose house

he entered and a *vopia* to the villagers. If any one enters the sacrificer's house during the *pana*, it is *ana* for the man who enters, and he will become ill. The crossed bamboos are erected to prevent people coming in, but if any one disregards this and enters, the sacrificer will indicate by signs that he is *pana*, but he may not speak.

The name *Parihri* covers cobras, hamadryads, pythons and all the larger snakes, all of which are believed to have a *hri*, or the property of causing sickness. The *hri* is so deadly that when passing the clay images used for an old sacrifice Lakhers carefully avoid touching them lest they should fall ill.

The Sabeu use only eggs for the sacrifice, they observe no *pana*, but do not go to the place of sacrifice the day after the ceremony. Among the Hawthais the ritual is more elaborate. In addition to the ceremonies and sacrifice already described, a small rat-trap is made on the verandah of the sick man's house. Near it are placed a *dao* and an old earthen pot. Having made these, the sacrificer goes outside the village and lights a fire, so that if the sick man's soul has been taken some distance away it may see the smoke and return to its home. He then lays down the clay models and other articles as before, kills a small fowl, which he leaves where he killed it, and returns to the village, taking with him two small pebbles. Before entering the sick man's house he stops on the ladder and calls out to the sick man, "Has your spirit returned to you?" The sick man replies, "It has returned." The sacrificer and his companions then enter the house and shut the door. The idea is that while they are inside the house with the door shut a snake may come and get crushed in the rat-trap, cut by the *dao* and cooked in the earthen pot, the rat-trap, *dao* and earthen pot having been made in case the snake should refuse the sacrifice and try to re-enter the house. The two pebbles are placed on the floor of the house, and another fowl is sacrificed on them to prevent the sick man's soul from going outside the house again. The two pebbles represent the sick man's soul, which is brought back into the house again, and to which a fowl is sacrificed to induce it to remain. The meat

of this fowl is cooked and eaten by the sacrificer, the sick man and their families. The *phavaw* are put out on the place of sacrifice. The day of the sacrifice only is *pana*. The use of pebbles to represent the soul of the sick man is common among the Lakhers.[1]

Chawngva.

Chawngva is a sacrifice to the sky and the hills, which is performed as a cure for any trifling illness. A model house is made and fixed on to the roof of the house above the doorway, and inside this model house are placed flour and raw cotton. Cotton threads are let down from the model house into the doorway of the house and right through the house to the main post at the back, to which they are tied. A fowl is taken up on to the roof, and some of its feathers are pulled out and placed in the model house. The fowl is killed on the roof, and its raw *phavaw* are placed in the model house, the cooked *phavaw* being added later. As soon as the fowl has been slain, the sacrificer ties some blunt-headed arrows (*zawnga*) with feathers from the sacrifice, and fires one at the sky, one towards the water supply, one towards the *jhums*, one towards the hills—in fact, in whatever direction they think that the sick man's soul may be wandering, in order to call it back. The sacrificer goes down into the house, and the fowl is cooked and eaten. There is a *pana* till all the meat has been consumed.

The idea is that the sick man's soul will follow the flight of the arrows fired to recall it, and so return home. The little house on the roof is to receive it if it comes down from the sky, in case it has been detained there by *Khazangpa*. After resting a while in the model house, the soul is believed to follow the cotton threads down into the house, and so back to its owner. If the soul has been detained in the fields or the woods, it does not go into the model house on the roof,

[1] *Cf.* W. O. Krohn, *In Borneo Jungles*, p. 174. Pebbles are also used by the Dyaks to represent the soul.—N. E. P.

A Thado who wishes to break a tabu on leaving the village will put up a small waterworn stone to observe the tabu while he goes out. Probably this use of a pebble to represent a soul is in origin the provision of a habitation for it.—J. H. H.

but enters the house direct. There is a *pana* till after the meat has been all consumed. Such is the ceremony as performed by the Tlongsai.

The Sabeu and Hawthai vary the ceremony. Eight arrows tied with feathers from the sacrifice are fired off towards the sky and the neighbouring *Khisongs*. The soul comes and settles in the model house, and is assisted to return to its owner by lowering two small pebbles representing it in a leaf-basket slowly down to the door of the house, whence the soul finds its way along the cotton threads to the sick bed where its owner is lying. The pebbles must be lowered very gently from the roof, lest the soul should be frightened and go away again. The fowl is sacrificed at the foot of the back post of the house to which the guiding threads have been tied, and its *phavaw* are laid out at the same place. On the day of the sacrifice the household is *pana*. The Zeuhnang perform a sacrifice called *Pachhuahli*, similar to the Tlongsai *Chawngva*. In the Garo village of Simsanggiri, I found a sacrifice called *Budawe* very similar to *Chawngva*. The model house for the spirit to enter is erected on the ground ; the spirit climbs into it by a ladder, rests in it, and then proceeds along a cane rope to the sick man's house, which in this case was about a hundred yards off. A fowl is sacrificed to the *mite*, the Garo equivalent of a *leurahripa*, to induce him to release the sick man's soul.

Sawhrangba.

This sacrifice is performed to cure any one suffering from consumption. Two chestnut saplings are cut ; one is stripped of its leaves, while the leaves are allowed to remain on the other. Chestnut wood is used, as it is very strong, and it is hoped that the sick man will consequently get strong also. The leafy sapling is planted in front of the house, and to steady it one end of the other sapling is tied to its top and the other end is pushed into the roof of the house. The sick man stands holding on to the chestnut sapling, and his father or elder brother, after praying that the sick man may grow strong like the chestnut tree, sacrifices a red cock or a pig. Some flour is placed at the foot of the sapling, and

blood from the animal sacrificed is poured on to it ; the fowl's tongue and tail feathers are laid on the flour, or if a pig was killed, the usual pig's *phavaw* are laid there. If a fowl was sacrificed, its wings are tied on to the upright chestnut sapling, if a pig, its penis and bladder are hung on it, and its head is hung under the roof of the house on the horizontal sapling, which joins the upright sapling to the house. The sick man's right big toe is anointed with the blood of the sacrifice. The meat is then eaten, and for the rest of the day the inmates of the house are strictly *pana ;* they may not leave the house, and no one may enter it. None of the inmates of the house may roast anything at the fire till the new moon has risen. The patient for whom the sacrifice was made is not allowed to visit any house where a death has taken place, nor to eat the meat of any animal that was carrying young when killed, nor of any animal which has been killed by tigers or wild dogs until a month after the sacrifice. If a fowl was sacrificed, he may not eat the meat of any bird ; if a pig was sacrificed, he may not eat the meat of any animal with a tail. It is *ana* for the patient to eat any of such meat, and if he breaks the prohibition, the sacrifice will be of no avail, as the *hri* or evil spirit which causes the disease dislikes the meat of animals carrying young or of animals that have been killed by tigers or wild dogs, and also disapproves of the patient eating any meat of the same kind as the meat offered in sacrifice before one month has elapsed, and will accordingly make the patient suffer more if he fails to observe the prohibition. Again, if the patient goes to a wake, they fear that he will die like the man whose wake he attends.

Ahmaw.

A person is said to be *ahmaw* [1] when his spirit has the power of entering into another person's body and causing severe stomach-ache. It is impossible to translate the term accurately ; it approximates to the evil eye, but is not

[1] *Cf.* W. Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, and Dr. Hutton's note on vampires at p. 155. The Thado *kaushi* seems to be very similar to *ahmaw*. The Lushei *Khawhring*, too, is similar. See p. 18 of my *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*,—N. E. P.

exactly the same. The belief is that a person who is *ahmaw* is always of an envious nature, and when he sees any one else possessed of cloths or other property that he would like himself, he becomes very envious, and sends his spirit into the body of the person whose property he envies, and at once causes most violent stomach-ache, which on occasions is believed to have resulted in death. An *ahmaw*, in fact, is a sort of vampire soul, which, on seeing any one prosperous and happy, tries to get hold of the property of the person he envies by entering his body and making him ill, in the hope that the sick man will then make offerings to him. *Ahmaw* is greatly feared, and to accuse any one of being *ahmaw* is very serious defamation. The fine for falsely accusing any one of being *ahmaw* is a cow *mithun* or 60 rupees. Any one who is *ahmaw* is unclean ; and if a woman is believed to be *ahmaw*, nobody will marry her.

When any one has been attacked by an *ahmaw*, a little meat, rice, salt, chilis, beer, tobacco, nicotine-water, bananas and other edibles are placed in a gourd spoon, and one of his relations takes the spoon up to the sick man, who spits into it. The spoon is then placed on the threshold for a short while, thence it is removed a little farther and placed at the foot of the ladder leading up to the house. The idea is that the sick man spits out the *ahmaw* into the spoon, and that the *ahmaw*, finding plenty to eat in the spoon, remains there, and can thus be removed from the house. If the *ahmaw* refuses to be tempted out of his victim by the offer of food, a fowl is sacrificed and cooked. It is then cut in half, and the half with the head, with some gravy, salt and rice, is placed on a plate for the *ahmaw*. The other half is eaten by the sick man's family. The *ahmaw's* share is taken up to the sick man, who spits into it as before, after which the plate is placed on the threshold of the house for a short time and then taken away and left outside the village fence. If the patient still fails to respond to treatment, a small pig is killed and singed. It is then cut in half, the half with the head is set aside on the verandah, and the tail end and the intestines are cooked. When it is ready, the children are given a little to eat, and the rest of the cooked meat is

put on a plate. Meanwhile men's and women's cloths, ornaments and property of all kinds are collected. As they do not know whether the *ahmaw* is the spirit of a man or of a woman, it is necessary to display both men's and women's property. Then the plate of cooked meat is taken to the patient, followed by the plate of raw meat and the cloths and ornaments, and the patient's relation says, "See, we offer you cooked meat to eat here, raw meat to take away with you, and cloths and ornaments. Now go away—oh, *ahmaw*, and let the sick man recover." The patient spits into each plate and on to the cloths; they are placed on the threshold of the house for a short time, and then taken outside the village fence. After leaving the cloths outside for a time, they say, "The *ahmaw* has now had time to take the cloths," and carry them back to the village. The plates of meat are left outside the fence. If the *ahmaw* still refuses to be bribed to leave the sick man's body, a little blood is drawn with a needle from the big toe of one of those present, smeared on a bit of stick and offered to the *ahmaw*. The patient licks some of the blood off the stick, and the following invocation is made: "O, *Ahmaw!* we have offered you everything you want, and still you are not satisfied, so now we offer you human blood, which is what you most desire." This is said to be an infallible cure for stomach ache caused by an *ahmaw*, and is the only Lakher sacrifice in which human blood is used.

The only way by which an *ahmaw* can be recognised is by dreams.[1] If, whenever people in a village get stomach-aches they find that they all dream of the same person, it is certain that the person so dreamt of is *ahmaw* and the cause of the stomach-aches. Once an *ahmaw* has been definitely recognised in this way, the meat from the sacrifices is placed on the ground close to the verandah of the person believed to be *ahmaw*.

Black magic, which is known as *deu*,[2] or in Savang as *thaihna*, is also much feared by the Lakhers, who say that

[1] Is there any etymological connection between Lakher *ahmaw* and Sema Naga *amou*=dream ?—J. H. H.

[2] Thado *doi*.—J. H. H.

though there are no magicians in the Lakher country, there are many among the *Tlaikopa* (Lusheis), *Tikupa* (Tipperahs), *Takangpa* (Chakmas) and *Kalasapa* (Mughs). In consequence, Lakhers are very careful of their behaviour when travelling among these peoples. When I first took some of the Lakher chiefs into Aijal they absolutely refused to go into any of the villages we passed through on the way, or to go and dine or drink with any of the Lushei chiefs, though they received several invitations, as they were afraid of being enchanted. They believe that the magicians put some substance, possibly an insect or a small stone, into food or drink, and that this eats the internal organs and so causes death. The Lusheis in the same way say that though there are no Lushei magicians there are many among the Thados. Chins also believe in witchcraft and the evil eye, especially among people belonging to other tribes.[1]

Hmo-Theu.

If a strong and athletic man gets weak and unable to go out hunting, and finds it a labour to climb hills that would have been nothing to him before, if his hair begins to fall out and other signs of premature old age descend upon him, he performs a sacrifice called *Hmo-Theu.* As disease of this kind is believed to be due to an *ahmaw*, the object of the sacrifice is to induce the *ahmaw* to leave the patient's body. The sacrifice must be performed by an elderly man of robust health, and consists of a fowl and a dog of opposite sexes. Before the dog and fowl are killed, the sacrificer takes them, together with some weeds called *kamakua* (*Smilax prolifera*, Roxb.) and *pathang* (*Scleria cochinchinensis*, Druce) and rubs them up and down the sick man's body, the while intoning a chant introducing the names of as many

[1] *Cf.* Lushei *dawi*, Parry, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 18. All the Lushei Kuki tribes seem to be fond of accusing their neighbours of practising wizardry and witchcraft, while maintaining that they themselves are guiltless of these practices. *Cf.* Phayre, "Account of Arakan," *J.A.S.B.*, No. 117, 1841, where Phayre reports the Lungkhes and Tseindus as saying, "We do not practise witchcraft, but other people around us do." *Cf.* also Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, p. 200; W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 44; J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 110.—N. E. P.

In just the same way the Sema are always accusing the Angami Nagas of witchcraft, but I do not think the accusation is reciprocated.—J. H. H.

neighbouring villages as he can remember. The village names have to be mentioned, as it is not known to what village the *ahmaw* belongs, and his village name must be called out to enable him to come and accept the sacrifice. The *kamakua* is used for this sacrifice, as its name conveys the idea of " return," and it is hoped that its use will induce the *ahmaw* to return whence it came. *Pathang* is used also, as its name indicates " shaking," as of a dog shaking itself free of water, and it is hoped that it will help the sick man to shake himself free of the *ahmaw*. The fowl and the dog are sacrificed in front of the sick man's house and cooked. When the meat is cooked, as there is generally more meat on a dog than the family can eat, as many children as there are in the village whose mothers are not at the moment pregnant are collected and are given the meat left over ; but a hind-leg of the dog is reserved for the sacrificer. When the meat is finished in the evening, the dog's head, its tail and its four feet, the cock's wings, together with the *kamakua* and *pathang*, are tied on to a bamboo the leaves of which have not been stripped off. The sick man comes out in front of the house again, and the sacrificer rubs the bamboo with the relics tied to it up and down his body, chanting the names of the neighbouring villages as before. After this the bamboo, with the relics, is planted either in front of the sacrificer's house or outside the village fence alongside the path. The relics are intended for the *ahmaw* to eat. There is no *aoh* after this sacrifice.

Thlaaw.

If a man who has been out hunting or on a journey falls ill, and is still ill when he reaches home, it is believed that his spirit has been caught in the jungle, and sacrifices must be performed to call it back. Two blunt-headed bamboo arrows are made, feathered with the feathers from a white hen, and fired off in the direction in which the sick man had been travelling. The feathers on the arrows are an offering to the *leurahripa* that has caught the man's spirit to induce him to let it go. If after these arrows have been fired off the sick man recovers, it is clear that the *leurahripa* has accepted the feathers in lieu of a hen, and no further sacrifice is

necessary. If as a result of firing off the arrows the sick man gets a little better, but does not entirely recover, it shows that the *leurahripa* is not going to be satisfied with the feathers only, but expects to get a whole fowl; so a hen or a cock is sacrificed at a spot from whence the direction in which the sick man had been travelling is visible. A fire is lit on the spot, so that the sick man's soul may see the smoke and come to the place of the sacrifice. The cock's entrails, liver and comb are left on the place where the sacrifice was performed as *phavaw*. Two pebbles are then taken from near the place where the cock was sacrificed to represent the sick man's spirit, and a bamboo whistle is also made, and the sacrificer goes off home, blowing on the whistle as he goes and calling out, "Come back, Chhali's spirit. I have called you back with a fowl." The blowing on the whistle is to enable the sick man's soul to know the direction in which to follow. When they reach the sick man's house they halt on the step and ask if the sick man's soul has returned. One of the patient's family replies, "Yes, it came back a little while ago." Then the man who has performed the sacrifice enters the sick man's house and places the fowl and the two pebbles at the foot of the main post at the back of the house and himself sits down there also, and after again calling the sick man's soul and blowing on his whistle, he takes the stones in his hand and a little water and sprinkles the sick man with water, after which he replaces the pebbles at the foot of the post. If when the sick man is sprinkled with water he gives a little jump when the cold water strikes him, it is believed that he will recover quickly. The day of the sacrifice is *pana*.

A variation in the *Thlaaw* ceremony, which can have been introduced only in very modern times, is to place a looking-glass on the road facing towards the place where the man became ill. A fowl is sacrificed close to the looking-glass, and the sick man's spirit, seeing the looking-glass shining in the distance, at once comes to the place of sacrifice, whence it is escorted back to the sick man's house. This is an interesting instance of the utilisation of a foreign article for a primitive ceremony.

If the sick man is very poor, and has neither a fowl nor the money to buy it with, the family borrow a fowl and go through the whole ritual of the sacrifice from beginning to end, even to going through the action of killing the fowl, without actually doing so. When the whole ceremony has been enacted, the fowl is returned to its owner none the worse for its experience. This is the only sacrifice which can be done in pretence.

Awhrang Pathli.

This is another sacrifice to cure any one who has fallen ill on returning from hunting or from a journey, and is the only occasion on which a scapegoat chicken is used. A small fowl is caught, and its right leg having been tied round with red and black thread so that the *leurahripa* may recognise it as definitely intended for him, it is carried some way in the direction from which the sick man had come, and let loose on the path. It is thought that the *leurahripa* who has detained the sick man's soul will seize the chicken and release the imprisoned soul.

If the fowl goes straight off into the jungle, it is believed that the sick man will recover quickly; but if it returns home it is believed that he will recover with difficulty. Even if the fowl returns to its home, its owner does not take it back, as it has been given to the *leurahripa*, and any one who likes can catch and keep it. These fowls if caught, however, do not survive long; they are especially liable to be caught by hawks. No *pana* is attached to this sacrifice.

The Matus who live in North Aracan have a curious practice akin to the use of a scapegoat. When an epidemic is raging in a village they select one of their number, who is given some salt and then sent off on a journey to another village. This man hides the salt in the village he is visiting and then returns home. On his way back he must stop on the road and light a fire. The disease is believed to have been left with the salt in the stranger village, and the fire lit on the road is to prevent the disease from following its remover back to the village it came from. This custom does not reveal Matus in a very pleasing light, especially

when contrasted with the Lushei custom of posting warning notices all round a village which is suffering from an epidemic, to prevent travellers from entering and contracting the disease.

Miscellaneous Beliefs.

To the Lakher there are very many things forbidden to do, to see, and to mention. Any breach of these prohibitions, which are known as *anas*, is not only followed by bad luck, but if the breach affects any one else the offender is liable to a fine, to enable the person affected to perform the appropriate sacrifice to ward off the danger.

If a big snake, such as a python or a cobra, gets caught in a man's rat-trap and he tells any one about it, it is very unlucky for the man told, and the teller is fined a fowl and a dog. The belief is that the person who was told about it will fall ill, and is likely to die, and he must sacrifice the fowl and the dog to avert the danger. The accidental killing of a snake in a rat-trap is unlucky for the owner of the rat-trap, and the sacrifice called *Parihrisang* is performed, as it is believed that the owner of the rat-trap will fall ill unless *Parihrisang* is performed to avert the danger. If the snake has not been killed in the trap, it is released, and no sacrifice is then required. Even if the snake has been killed, a sacrifice can be avoided if the owner of the trap cuts off a piece of the snake, roasts it and eats it, as it is believed that the soul of the snake fears a man who has eaten a piece of its body, and so its *hri* will do him no harm.[1]

Parialupa.

It is *ana* to see two snakes copulating, and it is believed that any one who does so will die very soon. The snake is regarded by Lakhers as a sort of evil spirit, and it is thought that the evil spirit becomes very angry and ashamed when it is seen copulating, and therefore takes steps to ensure that the person who has seen it performing this intimate act

[1] An alternative explanation is that to eat part of the victim creates a personal bond with him which prevents revenge or the blood feud. *Cf.* Tremaine, *Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria*, p. 183.—J. H. H.

dies an early death.[1] No sacrifice, however, is performed on this account. Lusheis also believe that any one who sees two snakes copulating will die prematurely.

Salt licks, called by the Lakhers *asi*, are the abodes of evil spirits. It is *ana* to throw any one's hair into a salt lick, as the evil spirit will seize the owner of the hair. If any one spits into a salt lick, the spirit becomes angry, and the spitter will suffer from toothache or his teeth will all fall out. A *jhum* must not be cut above a salt lick, as people while in their fields use the field for purposes of nature, and the filth is carried into the salt lick by the rain. This naturally annoys the spirit, and the owner of the field falls ill. For the same reason it is *ana* to micturate or to defecate near or in an *asi*. It is *ana* to cut off a man's hair in a quarrel, as it is tantamount to taking his spirit's head. A heavy fine is therefore inflicted if any one cuts off another's hair by force.[2] It is *ana* if the lobe of a man's ear is split in a quarrel. The reason for this is that when a man dies, small pieces of bamboo are placed in the holes pierced in his ears, which, when he reaches *Athikhi*, look like flowers. If an ear lobe is split, it is impossible to put the little piece of bamboo into the hole, and when the spirit reaches *Athikhi* it will have a flower in one ear and nothing in the other, and will look ridiculous, so if a man splits another's ear lobe he is fined two gongs of eight spans and seven spans respectively and a

[1] The Chins have the same superstition. *Cf.* Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, Vol. I, p. 199; also Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, p. 44.—N. E. P.

I have met the belief also somewhere in the Naga Hills.—J. H. H.

[2] The same belief is current among the Manipur Nagas. *Cf.* Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 116.—N. E. P.

This belief must be associated with the widespread theory that the hair is a special receptacle of soul matter, or of the vital essence. Apropos of the Biblical story of Samson, a number of cases are quoted by Sir James Frazer in *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, III, ch. vi, including the Nias story, which seems to have inspired the theme of Meredith's *Shaving of Shagpat*. It is probably this belief which is responsible for the use of enemy hair as ornament by Nagas and by Borneo tribes, and the use of the hair of sacrificial victims by the Marquesans for the manufacture of armlets of virtue; and the belief also reappears in the taking of scalps by North American Indians and the preservation of heads with their hair in South America. A belief in the sanctity of the hair is common in South India, and the Chinese pigtail and the Hindu *chhoti* are also to be referred ultimately to the same idea, as also the "shoosheh" of Egyptian Muslims (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. i). See also my note 2 on p. 13 of Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*.—J. H. H.

vopia in Savang, similar or smaller fines being inflicted in the other villages. It is equally an offence to split the lobe of a woman's ear.

The same thing applies if in a drunken quarrel a man cuts off another's thumb or big toe, as people minus thumbs or big toes cannot enter *Athikhi* by the front door, as they would be laughed at, and therefore have to slink round and enter by one of the little pathways used by the pigs. When the Lungleh head clerk's index finger was chopped off by a *chaprassi* recently, the Lakhers were very shocked, as they knew he would have to enter the next world by the pig's run.

It is *ana* for a man to help a woman weave ; it is supposed to lead to consumption, and to make the man who breaks the *ana* unlucky in hunting.

It is *ana* to leave certain articles such as gongs, money, baskets and paddy in other people's houses. As these articles are held to have a *saw*, and to be able to cause disease, the owner of the house in which they are left will go blind or suffer from a sore throat or toothache or rheumatism. The most dangerous thing to leave in another's house is a closed basket containing blue thread or money. When the owner comes to fetch any of the above articles which he has left in another's house, he must give the owner of the house a fowl to sacrifice to avert the danger threatening him. If paddy has been left behind, a little paddy is given instead of a fowl.

Atlong.

An *atlong* is a stagnant pool, such as is sometimes found in the jungle or in a village, and in which animals bathe. The Lakhers are very superstitious about these ponds, and believe that if a person spits into an *atlong* sores will appear on his face, and that if he relieves nature near one sores will appear on his private parts. It is therefore *ana* to spit into an *atlong* or to relieve nature near it. If a child develops sores on his face, and these are believed to be due to his having broken the *ana* regarding an *atlong*, a small white hen must be sacrificed. The hen to be sacrificed is taken to the

atlong and is made to drink a little water in which rice has been pounded. A small bamboo basket is made and fixed upside down on the bank of the *atlong*. The hen is then killed, its tongue is pulled out and left on the place where the sacrifice was performed with the other *phavaw ;* it is plucked and its feathers are placed in the basket. A small piece of the tongue is taken home, and the fowl is also taken home and cooked and eaten. At nightfall, the hen's tongue is roasted and rubbed together with the hands till it makes a kind of ointment with which the sores are anointed. The child is put to bed, and that night its parents are *pana*, and the sick child must not touch any fire. Next day the *pana* ends.

Certain trees are the abode of evil spirits, and are unlucky. There is a tree called *samaraw* (*Careya arborea*, Rosch.) which Lakhers believe can seize their souls if they go near it. To render it innocuous they ring the tree, thrust bamboo spikes in the place ringed and sacrifice a fowl. This makes the tree quite harmless. If the *samaraw* tree catches a man's soul, his eyes and his finger-nails turn yellow. To test whether a man's soul has been caught by the *samaraw*, a piece of his finger-nail is cut off and thrown into a saucer of water. If the nail sinks, the soul has been caught by the *samaraw ;* if the nail floats, the *samaraw* is not guilty, and another cause for the illness must be sought. The *awhmangbeupathang* (*Pithecolobium angulatum*, Benth.) is another dangerous tree. It is *ana* to use it for firewood, as when burnt it causes the chickens to fall ill and die.

On the road from the Lakher country to Arakan there is a stone called *Taolong* by the Zeuhnang and *Longhawkheipa* by the Tlongsai, in which dwells a very powerful spirit. Every one passing *Taolong* must drop a leaf at the foot of the stone and must keep silence until he has passed it. Any one failing to drop a leaf will suffer misfortune, and also get very tired and unable to work. The local missionary passed this stone once on his way to Paletwa. He refused to drop a leaf, and would not allow any of his party to do so. The journey had to be finished by boat on the Kolodyne, the missionary's boat upset and the whole party was nearly

drowned. With the missionary, however, were a certain number of unregenerates who duly dropped leaves at the foot of *Taolong*. They all happened to be in one boat, and their boat sailed down the rapids in perfect safety. The missionary himself is my authority for this story.

This custom of dropping a leaf as an offering at the foot of some peak, stone or tree [1] believed to be a habitation of a spirit is common in the Assam Hills. In the Manipur hills *Taolong* would be known as a *laipham*, which means the abode of god; when marching through these hills with a column of Gurkhas, I have seen each man in turn pick up a leaf as he approached the *laipham* and drop it as an offering as he passed. Among the Mrus in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, on reaching the crest of a hill a man plucks a shoot of young grass and deposits it as an offering to the spirit of the hill.[2] In the Garo Hills in Rabha villages I have found that the people drop leaves at the foot of sacred stones in the same way.

It is *ana* to strike any one with a broom, as it has been used for sweeping up dirt, and a blow from a broom induces consumption. Any one striking another person with a broom is fined a fowl.

It is *ana* to strike a man with a woman's skirt, as it is believed that if a man is struck with a skirt he will become consumptive.[3] The fine varies in different villages. In Siaha it is a fowl, in Tisi a gong of seven spans or 30 rupees, a *vopia*, a *panglukhu* cloth, and a *sisakuchakhi* bead. It is not *ana* for a woman to be struck with a skirt. It is *ana* to pass water on or near a place where a sacrifice has been performed. It is believed that *Khazangpa* or the spirit to whom the sacrifice was made will be displeased and the sacrifice made

[1] Or river. The custom of dropping a leaf when starting to cross a bridge is particularly common in the Naga Hills, wormwood, a favourite spiritual disinfectant is used for this purpose by preference, I think, by Nagas, but any leaf, more or less, will do.—J. H. H.

[2] *Cf.* Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 233.—N. E. P.

[3] It is very much "genna" to strike a man with a woman's skirt (which has once been worn) in the Naga Hills, but I fancy impotence rather than consumption is the result there. If a gun be struck with a petticoat it will never shoot straight again, and I have more than once known of an enraged wife who stripped off her petticoat and beat her husband's gun, much the most highly valued of his possessions, with the fatal cloth.—J. H. H.

useless. Any one committing this offence is fined a fowl to the sacrificer, who then performs the sacrifice again.

Achhisa (*A curse*).

It is *ana* for a *pupa* to curse his *tupapa*, as it is thought that the *tupapa* will in consequence be unable to have any children, and that if he does have any they will die young. If a *pupa* curses his *tupapa* he must pay him a *hmiatla* or atonement price, the amount of which is settled by agreement. The *pupa* must also give his *tupapa* a red hen, which the latter will sacrifice and eat, and the evil omen is then averted.

If a father, losing his temper with his son, shows him his genital organs, it is *ana*, and it is believed that the son will die.[1] To avert this danger the father and son must sacrifice a fowl and eat it together. If a *pupa* insults a *tupapa* in this way it is equally *ana*. The *pupa* must give his *tupapa* a *hmiatla*, and also a fowl to sacrifice to avert the danger of death from him.

It is not *ana* for a man to show his private parts to any one except his son or his *tupapa* (sister's son).

Sometimes a *pupa* gets annoyed with his *tupapa* because the latter is dilatory in paying up his *puma* or some other price. If, however, he goes off to his *tupapa's* house in a temper and upsets the pig-trough or the ladder leading up to his house it is tantamount to his having cursed his *tupapa* and is *ana*. These acts are taken to mean that the *pupa* wishes his *tupapa* and all his family to die and disappear. A *pupa* misbehaving in this way must pay a *hmiatla* and a fowl to his nephew.

Although it is very disrespectful if a man walks across another man who is lying asleep, it is not *ana ;* for a woman to walk over a sleeping man, however, is *ana*, as it is believed that as women have a menstrual flow, if a woman walks across a sleeping man he will develop consumption or be unable to shoot any game. There is no objection to a woman walking across another woman. As explained else-

[1] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 175. Among the Aos also quarrels between blood relations are serious matters.—N. E. P.

where, the souls of animals connect women with blood, and are afraid of them, and so will avoid any man who has been stepped over by a woman.

Spitting is a sign of anger and contempt, and if one man spits at another it generally ends in a fight.

Adults who have less than five molar teeth on each side of the mouth are regarded as inferior in intelligence to the normal person, who has five. The Lakher reasoning on this point is very sound. They say that a person with less than five molars cannot chew his food properly, and so is stunted both physically and mentally.

A mole on the cheek, chin or any part of the body with two or three long hairs growing out of it is called *beu*, and is a sign of good luck and good health. Any one blessed with such an adornment preserves it most carefully. It is *ana* to cut or remove any of the hairs, as to do so would lead inevitably to ill health.[1] The Lakhers have no superstition about treading on another person's shadow; it is a matter of indifference.

There is no objection to a man sitting on the threshold of a house or in a doorway, but it is *ana* for a woman to do so, the belief being that it prevents the householder from shooting game. Wild animals are afraid of women, because they have a menstrual flow.[2] If a woman sits on the threshold of a house, the spirits of the animals as they pass by will see blood, and, thinking that the blood issues from a gunshot wound, the spirit of the animal says to itself, "If I enter that house I shall get shot, and my blood will flow out in the same way as the blood I can see." The animal's spirit passes along and does not enter the house, and tells the other animals what he saw in the house, so that in consequence the householder is unable to shoot any game.

If any one sneezes twice because of a tickling in his right nostril, it means that people are speaking well of him; if, however, any one sneezes because of a tickle in the left nostril, it means that people are speaking ill of him. If a sick man sneezes twice it means that he will get well.

[1] Is not this "the Identical" again? *Vide* note on p. 470.—J. H. H.

[2] This no doubt would account for the effect of a Naga woman's petticoat on her husband's gun, as noted on p. 473.—J. H. H.

It is considered very indelicate to break wind in company. The Lakher word for breaking wind is *parunawtapa*, which means a petty theft, which is also considered a disgraceful act.

Hollow tree stumps are unlucky in certain circumstances. An ordinary hollow tree is harmless, but a hollow tree containing water with frogs or worms in it is called *Nangti*, and is most dangerous, as the water in a hollow tree is the home of a small demon, who causes stomach-ache and many other bowel troubles. Any one coming across a *Nangti*, whether in his *jhum* or in the jungle, cuts it open with an axe to let the water run out. After this a small hen must be sacrificed on the spot and left with a couple of eggs for the devilkin to eat. Unless this is done, the finder of the *Nangti* will assuredly suffer from stomach-ache.

It is unlucky if, when cutting a tree in a *jhum*, one of the prongs of a forked branch buries its tip in the earth. When this happens it is called *thangso*, and the man who cut the tree gets pains in his back and ribs. The fork that has got buried must be cut and taken out of the soil, and eggs are placed near by as an offering to the spirit of the field, who is believed to have been annoyed at the fork of the tree entering the soil.

There is a regular series of superstitions about looped canes or jungle vines found when cutting *jhums*. If the looped cane is hanging one span above the ground, it means that the finder will trap a partridge ; if the loop hangs at the height of a man's calf from the ground, it means that the finder will trap a pheasant ; if the loop is the height of the finder's knee, he will trap a barking deer, if it is hanging at the height of the finder's waist, it means that he will trap a *sambhur ;* while if the loop is hanging above his head, he will shoot an elephant. If, however, the loop is hanging on a level with the finder's neck, it means that the owner of the *jhum* will die an early death, and no Lakher who finds a cane or a vine with a loop in it hanging at the level of his neck will take that place as a *jhum ;* he will abandon the *jhum* and cut another, as it means that the spirit of the mountain side has set the looped vine as a trap to catch the soul of the man using that particular place as a *jhum*.

Zatlei of Saiko found a looped cane in his *jhum* about five years ago. He was very alarmed, and abandoned the *jhum*, which he had half cut, and cut another in a different place. This belief is prevalent among the Tlongsai and the Hawthai, but not among the Zeuhnang and the Sabeu.

Beliefs about Animals.

All animals have souls, and it is this belief that lies at the back of the *Sapahlaisa*, the *Riha*, and the *Ia* ceremonies and most of the sacrifices for sickness. An animal is killed for *riha*, so that its soul may accompany the deceased to *Athikhi*. *Ia* is performed to ensure that a man who has slain a wild animal shall retain its soul for his use in the next world. *Sapahlaisa* is performed every year to call the souls of wild animals to the neighbourhood of the village, so that the villagers may enjoy good hunting. When a man is ill, an animal is sacrificed in the hope that the spirit will accept the animal's soul in exchange for the man's soul that it has imprisoned.

Animals of the same species can talk to each other and can understand each other's calls, but men cannot understand what animals say. Animals like to associate with others of their own kind, and can tell from a distance where their fellows are. That the Lakhers believe that monkeys, at any rate, are not very far removed from men is shown by the story of the girl who married a monkey.

As Lakhers believe that the universe is peopled with spirits ready to harm man or to seize his possessions, they are afraid when travelling or in the jungle to mention the names of any animals they own, lest the evil spirits should hear what they say and, wishing to get possession of the animals, should make the owners ill, in order that the animals may be sacrificed to them. Therefore, when referring to animals anywhere, except inside their own houses, Lakhers refer to them only indirectly. *Mithun* and cows are referred to as grass-eaters or *rabapa*, goats are referred to as medicine or *thanghnapa*, because they are frequently used for sacrifices. Pigs are referred to as *sahrang* (the animal) or *angchahritapa*

(the dwellers below the house), dogs are referred to as *lomang-beupa* or the eaters of scraps that fall from men's meals, chickens are referred to as *pavaw* or birds.

To save themselves from falling into the clutches of a wood or mountain spirit when travelling in the jungle, Lakhers, instead of calling each other by name, say, "*Eu heinaw*," which means "Ho, brother." By such simple devices does the Lakher think to deceive the supernatural powers.

The only animal that is really unlucky is the slow loris,[1] as has been explained elsewhere when dealing with the death due.

Snakes have a *hri*, and tigers and leopards a *saw*, which enables them to cause sickness. Eagles never drink, the reason being that long, long ago all the creatures of the world assembled to make a water supply. The eagle refused to help, and so a curse was laid upon him that if he ever drank any water he would die. Even to-day no eagle ever drinks, as if he did so he would surely die. The brown-toothed shrew called Zeusi[2] is also an unfortunate little beast. When the animals which live underground were building roads, he refused to assist, and so a curse was laid upon him that if he ever crossed a path or a road he would die. Up to the present day if a shrew crosses a path he dies, and one not infrequently sees their bodies on the road.

The bulbul is a vain little bird. Originally he had no red feathers in his tail, and was very jealous of the chickens, who in those days all had little tufts of red feathers under their tails. The bulbul used to fly around in the jungle while the chickens were searching for food, and noticed that they were constantly being carried off by hawks and eagles, so he bethought himself, and went to the chickens, and said, "If you will give me your red feathers, I will act as sentry for you, and warn you whenever hawks are in the offing." The chickens agreed; so the bulbul took their tuft of red feathers and put them under his tail. Being an honest

[1] The Ao Nagas also regard the slow loris as an animal of exceedingly ill-omen. *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 296.—N. E. P.

[2] *Zeusi* is known to the Lusheis as *Chhimtir*, and they relate the same tale about him. His scientific name is *Sericulus caudatus*.—N. E. P.

bird, the bulbul has stuck to his bargain, and whenever a hawk appears he flies round busily, shrieking *phia-bi-pa*, hearing which the chickens scuttle off to cover.

The large grey monkey called *pala* was formerly a woman. While she was dyeing thread black one day, the great darkness fell upon the earth, and she was turned into a grey monkey. As her hands were black with dye when she was transformed, so the monkeys' hands remain black to this day.

There are various superstitions about moles. If a man meets a mole in the morning, it is lucky, and his crops will be good. It is also lucky to see a mole in the evening, as it means that the person who saw it will have many *mithun*. If a man sees a mole at noon, however, it is *ana*, and it means that the person who saw it will die an unnatural death or that a member of his family will die. Fortunately moles very seldom come out in the middle of the day.

It is *ana* if a man's dog pups or a pig farrows in another man's house, and the owner of the house must be given a puppy or a piglet, as it is believed that the owner of the house will fall ill, and the puppy is given to him to sacrifice. In Chapi, when pigs or goats give birth to young under a house other than that of their owner, the owner of the animals must wet an iron hairpin, sprinkle the animals with water, and give the hairpin to the owner of the house. This is done to avert the evil omen and to prevent the householder from going blind, as he is liable to do after this event.

Dreams.

When a man is asleep his soul goes wandering about at the end of a long, invisible string, which connects it with the body, and whatever it sees or does appears to its owner in dreams. Lakhers have a great belief in dreams, and though they will admit that dreams do not always come true, they believe firmly that in the majority of cases they do so, and that the future events portended by dreams will actually occur. When a young man has proposed for a girl in marriage, if the parents have bad dreams on the night that

the *dao* has been given them, they refuse to consent to the marriage.

It is lucky to dream of clear water, as this means good health; to dream of fish is lucky, it indicates good health and good crops. Dreams of maidens, sexual intercourse, corpses, yams, and unborn children of one's own mean that the dreamer will be very lucky at hunting. Dreams of guns, *daos*, spears, beads, ear-rings, hairpins, or combs mean that the dreamer will have many sons and daughters. To dream of paddy or maize portends good crops.

It is unlucky to dream of dirty water, graves, fire, or broken tools. A dream in which dirty water appears portends ill health and failure of crops. The death of the dreamer or of a member of his family follows on a dream about the corpse of a man who has been killed by a wild animal or of a grave or of the theft of the dreamer's domestic animals. To dream of a weapon or a tool that the dreamer broke in the past has the same meaning. A dream about fire means that the dreamer will get fined in a case. A dream about beer means that rain will fall. If a man dreams of one of his teeth falling out, it means that one of his relations in another village will die.[1] It is said that if a man laughs in his dream he will weep when he wakes up, and vice versa. If a Lakher sees an European, or an Indian, whom they call *Via* or a charging *mithun* in a dream, he believes that he has seen a *leurahripa*. This is not in itself a very bad kind of dream, except in so far as the proximity of a *leurahripa* is always to be feared.

The dream where the dreamer flies between the sky and the earth has no particular meaning, whether good or bad. It is commonest among growing boys and girls.[2] Some say that they fall slowly to the earth and then awake, some awake before reaching the earth. Others say that they

[1] For similar beliefs among Ao Nagas, Thado, Chakrima, Angami and Semas, and for existence of similar belief in the British Isles, see Mills, *Ao Nagas*, p. 243, and Dr. Hutton's note No. 1 thereon.—N. E. P.

[2] The statement that it is commonest among growing boys and girls is probably not without significance. The Lhota Sema and Angami Naga all agree that to dream of flying indicates growth, so also the Thado Kuki, and the belief must prevail in the British Isles as I was taught it in my youth.—J. H. H.

gradually rise in the air till they find themselves flying. Dreams of plunging to the bottom of a deep pool, or of swimming, or of bathing are regarded as good or as bad, according as the water is clean or dirty.

If a man dreams that he sees one of his relations dying in another village, it is attributed to the dreamer having dined too well over-night.

A dream about climbing up a high mountain is good; the dreamer will be able to get all he wants. A dream about building a new house means that the dreamer will die shortly, the house that he dreamed of being the house he will have in *Athikhi*.[1]

When a man has had a bad dream, he tells every one about it; if he has had a good dream, he usually keeps it to himself, for fear that if he talks about it his promised good fortune will turn back.[2]

Divination.

Whenever a pig is killed, whether for a sacrifice or merely for a feast, the omens are taken. Omens are also taken from chickens offered for sacrifice, but not from those killed merely for food. All the pigs killed at a wedding are examined, to see what the married couple's prospects are likely to be. The omens as shown by the pigs killed by the bridegroom's party apply to the bridegroom, and those killed by the bride's party apply to the bride. When a man has a visit from a friend living in another village, it is customary for the host to kill a pig for his friend. The omens from this pig apply to the visitor, and not to the man who killed the pig; but when a pig has been killed for a sacrifice, the omens apply to the sacrificer. The portions of a pig used for divination are the liver and gall-bladder. If the liver comes

[1] *Cf.* the Angami belief that to dream of a man and he wearing new clothes is an omen of his imminent death.—J. H. H.

[2] Some of the Lakher beliefs as to dreams are the same as those current in Scotland, where the loss of a tooth means the loss of a friend. To laugh in a dream is to weep on awaking, and to see dirty water in a dream is bad luck, but to see clean water means good luck.—N. E. P.

out absolutely clean and whole, the omen is good, as this portends good health ; if there is a small pimple or eruption on the liver it portends the death of the sacrificer.[1] This eruption is said to be like a human tongue. If there is a small scratch on the liver it means that the sacrificer will cut himself with a *dao* or a sharp bamboo.

Along a pig's liver runs a narrow white line like a road, which ends at the gall-bladder. If this white line has a break in it, the omen is very bad. If this is found on a pig sacrificed for a wedding, it means either that the wedding will not take place, or that if it does one of the parties will die soon after the marriage. Again, if on looking up the liver from the gall-bladder a hole like the scar left by a sore is seen on the right-hand side of the liver, the omen is bad, as this hole represents a grave, and either one of the contracting parties or one of their relations will surely die. If these marks are found on the liver of a pig offered as a sacrifice or killed in honour of a friend, it means that, in the first case, the sacrificer, and in the second the man in whose honour the pig was killed, will die. If the gall-bladder is dark red in colour, it indicates ill health, but not death. If the white line between the bladder and the liver has no break in it, the omen is good. If the gall-bladder is grey in colour, the omen is good, and indicates good crops and good health. If the gall-bladder is full of water, the sacrificer will be rich ; but if there is very little or no water in the gall-bladder, the sacrificer will be poor.[2] If there is a small split on the edge of the liver, the sacrificer will shoot a barking deer or some other small animal ; if there is a comparatively large split, he will shoot a sambhur or other similar large animal.

When a chicken is sacrificed, its tongue is used for divination. If the two bones at the back of the tongue are not joined together by a sinew, it means good luck ; if these bones are joined together by a sinew, the sacrificer will be unfortunate.

[1] Similarly with the Kenyahs of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 62).—J. H. H.

[2] *Cf.* Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 102.—N. E. P. And the Karens (Marshall, *Karen People of Burma*, p. 284).—J. H. H.

The method of taking the omens before going to war has been described elsewhere. When going out hunting, if a bird called *beupi* (the large Indian cuckoo-shrike, *Graucalus Macei*) calls as the hunting-party leaves the village and flies in the direction in which they are going, it is a good omen, and they will surely bag some game; if this bird does the same when people are starting on a journey, it means that they will keep good health; if it calls when a man is starting out to arrange a marriage between a young man of his village and a girl of another village, it means that the marriage proposed will surely take place and will be happy and fertile. If, however, on starting out on any of these occasions a woodpecker (*maai*) calls as they leave the village, it portends ill luck; one of the party will get killed by accident, or it will rain in torrents, or some other misfortunes will happen. Many Lakhers, if they hear a woodpecker call when starting on a journey, turn back. If a man starting out on a journey hears a *kalij* pheasant call just outside the village, it is very lucky; and means that he will return with a heavy load. If a minivet (*beuta*) (*Pericrocotus speciosus*) calls as a man is starting on a journey, it means that he will meet other travellers or some wild animal on the road. When a man is tracking game, if he hears the call of a minivet, it means that the quarry is near. When a boy and a girl are in love, and want to know if they will ever get married, they take the omens by consulting a plant called *keuphia* (*Desmodium gyrans*). One of their friends holds on to the stem of the plant, mentions the names of the lovers, and says, "*Keuphia* leaves close up. Close up." If the lovers are to get married happily, the smallest pair of leaves on the stem close up against each other; if the leaves do not close against each other in this way, the marriage will not take place. If the people consulting the oracle laugh, the plant is said to feel shame, and its leaves refuse to close.

If a boar comes and sits down at the foot of the ladder leading to the house, it means that a chief or a noble from another village will soon come and put up in the house. Lusheis say that a pig which sits down at the foot of the

ladder is destined to be killed by a tiger, and that if a pig scratches up the earth just above the platform of the house, he is looking for a grave for the owner of the house, who will shortly die.

Lakher cooking-pots are never cleaned on the outside, and get covered with soot. Occasionally this soot catches fire; when this happens, it means that the household will soon get meat to eat.

If a white flake appears on a man's nail, it means that before long he will have a meal of pork.

Khazanghneipa or Mediums.

A *khazanghneipa* is a person who has the power of calling down a familiar spirit, which takes possession of him and enables him to cure sickness and make barren women fertile by telling him what sacrifices to prescribe.

Khazanghneipas can also foretell the future, and may be compared with the Lushei *zawlnei*, who throw themselves into trances in a similar way. When a *khazanghneipa* has been summoned to treat a patient, the first thing to be done s to pay him an advance fee, which consists of a cloth, a *pumtek* bracelet, a *dao* and a drinking-cup. Unless this fee is paid, no *khazanghneipa* will attempt to treat. At the same time, an agreement is made that a further definite fee will be payable if a cure is effected, and that if the treatment fails nothing more can be claimed. The patient's friends next say to the *khazanghneipa*, "Now call your familiar spirit." The spirit having been summoned the *khazanghneipa* scatters a little rice to the right and to the left, pours out a libation of beer to the spirit, and begins to yawn, and continues yawning violently while the spirit is taking possession of him.[1] A pig is sacrificed, and the *khazanghneipa* drinks its blood. A *khazanghneipa* never touches any cooked food when possessed, as it is believed that if he does so his familiar spirit will get annoyed. There is no question but that these *khazanghneipa* actually do drink

[1] *Cf.* the Chang Naga expression for yawning—*sou saita*="the ghost is dancing" (presumably, that is, in the mouth).—J. H. H.

the blood of animals, Hrakhong of Chholong village came to Saiko to treat Ingia, the daughter of the chief; a pig was killed, and he drank its blood. Hrakhong ordered Ingia to perform *Khazangpina* and *Tlahawh*. She acted upon the advice and recovered. Saihleu, of Tisi village, also drinks blood whenever he goes to treat a patient. As soon as he has fallen into a trance, the *khazanghneipa* sings chants in Chin, calling upon his familiar to say what sacrifices are required for the particular case. Eventually the *khazanghneipa*, inspired by his familiar, calls out that if such and such sacrifices are performed the patient will be cured. *Khazanghneipas* when possessed always talk Chin. I am told that when not possessed they have some knowledge of Chin, but never use it, reserving it for use when possessed, in order to impress the patient and his friends. Sometimes a *khazanghneipa* gives out that his familiar has ordered him to suck the evil out of the patient. Vatlai, one of the Saiko elders, had pains, probably rheumatics, in his knee-joints, and called in a famous Zeuhnang woman seer, called Ngiachhongmanong, who, after consulting her familiar in Chin, sucked out of Vatlai's knee about two inches of bone, and told him that he had been bewitched and she had cured him.[1] Vatlai rewarded the lady with a fowl, a meagre acknowledgment of her services, especially as he has not suffered from pains in the knees since. Lalthuama, a leading Lushei chief, also called in Ngiachhongmanong when he was suffering from pains in his ribs. When she said that she would suck out whatever was causing him pain, Lalthuama, who was somewhat sceptical, stipulated that she should let him see whatever it was when she had sucked it half out of him, and before letting her start examined her mouth and searched her all over to see that she was not concealing anything.

[1] *Cf. The Sema Nagas*, p. 231, *sqq.*, and Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 244 *sqq.* The practice is widespread. Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, Vol. I, pp. 36–39, gives instances from Guiana, and Baudesson mentions it in the hills of Indo-China (*Indo-China and its Primitive People*, p. 155). The Oraons have the same practice (Roy, *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 109), the Nicobarese (Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands*, pp. 129, 134), the Loyalty Islanders (Hadfield, *Nations of the Loyalty Group*, p. 196), the Malagasy (Osborn, *Madagascar*, p. 314 *sqq.*), the Jivars of the Amazon (Up de Graff, *Head Hunters of the Amazon*, p. 236) and doubtless by many other tribes.—J. H. H.

Ngiachhongmanong set about her job, and sucked a bit of hide half-way out of Lalthuama's side, and left it sticking half in and half out. As this caused Lalthuama exquisite pain, he promised the lady a gun if she would complete her work quickly, which she did, and was duly paid her reward. This gifted lady died some twenty years ago, leaving no worthy successor. Vatlai himself vouches for the truth of the treatments related above, and was the go-between who arranged for Ngiachhongmanong to treat Lalthuama and witnessed the operation.

Patients, of course, sometimes recover, and the *khazanghneipas* make great reputations out of these recoveries, the failures being conveniently forgotten; they make a regular profession out of their so-called gifts, using their alleged power of foretelling the future to induce people to give them large sums by telling them of the dreadful things that will happen to them and refusing to tell them what sacrifices to perform to avert the impending misfortunes until they have been well paid. The Lakhers, however, have a great belief in them, and are very easily swindled.

Among the Pankhos and Bunjogees [1] mediums are known as *koavangs*, and these persons have much the same gifts as the *khazanghneipas*, including the gift of tongues.

Natural Phenomena.

The earth is flat. Some people say that the earth and sky meet at the place where Iaka, the prawn, sits to keep the channel clear for all surplus water to flow away, while others say that they are joined together with cords.[2] As the earth is a woman, sacrifices are never offered to her; to the sky, however, sacrifice is sometimes made, as in the case of the Chapi *Avapalopatla*. The earth is married to the sky, and when they have intercourse earthquakes occur.[3] Earthquakes are known as *alangasi*, and as the sky and the earth

[1] Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, p. 242.—N. E. P.

[2] The Garos share this latter belief. *Cf.* Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 88.—N. E. P.

[3] The Mao Nagas have the same belief. *Cf.* Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.—N. E. P.

have intercourse only just prior to the death of some great chief, earthquakes are believed to portend the death of a chief. Another belief as to the cause of earthquakes given by Mr. Lorrain is that only spirits and the martin and the swallow can fly between the cords attaching the earth to the sky. When a chief dies, his spirit flies through the cords, and as it passes through it cuts one of the cords with a *dao*, which also causes an earthquake.[1] The Lusheis give quite a different reason. They say that the great wood-louse collects dung from the road and rolls it along to take home with him. Sometimes, however, the wood-louse by mistake lets his ball of dung roll over the edge of the world, which causes an earthquake. The sun is a woman [2] who has a house in the east, where she is guarded by a race of dwarfs called *Nangchhikhawpa*, meaning "the guardians of the gateway of the sun," who are very small and black, but very strong.[3] Before dawn the *Nangchhikhawpa* open the door of the sun's house and the sun prepares to come out. The noise of the door opening is first heard by the fleas, who wake up and bite the pigs. The pigs then scratch themselves against the house-posts, which arouses the fowls, who wake up and crow loudly, and awake the men, who get up and cook their food. The sun then comes out of her house and walks along all day, wearing on her head a tobacco bag, such as is worn by Lakher women when going to the *jhum*, and holding in her hand a stick made of solder, called *hawmichongchahrei*.[4] When the day is finished, the sun goes down to *Athikhi* the abode of the dead, and shines there all night, and then goes back to her house and takes her food, and when she has finished, the *Nangchhikhawpa* open

[1] *Cf.* Reginald A. Lorrain, *Five Years in Unknown Jungles*, p. 174.—N. E. P.

[2] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Dr. Hutton's note 3, p. 299.—N. E. P.

[3] The Chang Nagas tell of the same black dwarfs who open the sun's brazen doors. The Changs describe them as having no vent and living on the odours of meat, etc. They are probably to be identified with the *Ἀστόμοι* of Megasthenes and Strabo (XV, 711) and of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* Vol. VII, p. ii) on whom a seventeenth-century commentator notes, in my copy, "Olympiodorus ex Aristotale historiam citat cujusdam, qui aëre tantum *ac sole* nutriretur." The italics are mine, as the sun, in this connection seems to give the necessary link.—J. H. H.

[4] The ancient Egyptians thought that the sun on occasions used a walking stick. *Cf.* Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 312.—N. E. P.

the door for her again, and let her out at the break of the next day. A halo round the sun is called *nangsawchadong*. This phenomenon was believed to herald the capture of a chief by the foreigners. The halo was thought to be the *saw* of the chief who was destined to be made a captive. *Nangsawchadong* appeared only when a chief was about to be captured, never before the capture of a commoner.

An eclipse of the sun is called *onangpala*,[1] and it is caused by a fellow called Nateu, who lives at the place where the sky joins the earth, and keeps dogs. Nateu owns a dog and a bitch, the one red and the other black. When an eclipse of the sun occurs, it is due to one or other of these dogs trying to swallow the sun. As soon as an eclipse begins, therefore, the Lakhers place some water in a saucer and look at the sun's reflection therein. If the sun appears black, it is Nateu's black dog that is trying to swallow it; if red, the culprit is the red dog. According as the sun's reflection in the saucer is black or reddish, they therefore seize a black or red dog and beat it, in the belief that Nateu's dog in the sky, seeing his brother on earth being beaten, will spit out the sun in order to save his brother.[2] While they beat the dog they also beat gongs and drums and shout out to frighten Nateu's dog and make him drop the sun.

A long time ago there was a total eclipse, caused by one of Nateu's dogs swallowing the sun whole and taking a long time to digest it. This lead to the *Khazanghra*, or great darkness, the story of which is as follows :—

Originally all men were immortal, but they increased too much and fought among themselves and were wicked, till one day *Khazangpa* got angry, and said, "Let all the men in the world die." So *Khazangpa* caused Nateu's dog to swallow the sun. At first only part of the sun was swallowed, and there was only a partial eclipse, but after a while Nateu's dog swallowed the whole of the sun, and the whole world

[1] *Onangpala* means literally "*awk* sun swallow." The Lakhers regard Nateu's dogs as *awks*. The Lakher word is the same as the Lushei *awk*, but the Lakhers define its nature more exactly.—N. E. P.

[2] For the Lushei idea about eclipses, *vide* J Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 92.—N. E. P. The old Kukis agree with the Lakhers that it is a dog which eats the sun, *vide* Shakespear, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 *et seq.*, so do the Kabui, the Manipuris and the Karens.—J. H. H.

became dark. During this darkness all the dead beasts except those over which the *Ia* ceremony had been performed came to life again, and the tigers and bears hunted and slew the men, and the deer all ran off to the jungle. Some men were changed into stars and some into monkeys. All dead trees and dry wood and bamboos came to life again, and became green and grew leaves. All baskets and other wooden or bamboo utensils which had not been made smooth by having the rough dust on them burnt off by passing them through fire were turned into small animals and insects. There was therefore great dearth of firewood, and the only thing which could be used for firewood were the dry bones of animals over which the *Ia* ceremony had been performed, and which therefore could not come to life again. These, however, did not last very long, and in a short while, there being nothing at all to burn, all the fires went out. Those men who were able to keep their eyes open survived, but as hardly any one was able to keep his eyes open for seven days, all the men in the world died except one brother and sister, who turned a pig's trough upside down and hid under it so that the wild beasts could not find them and eat them. After some time Nateu's dog, which had swallowed the sun, evacuated, and the sun came out again, light returned to the world, and the brother and sister came out from under the pig's trough and, there being no other human beings left alive, married and became the ancestors of the human race. After this *Khazangpa* said, " If I cause another total darkness, the people in the world will be entirely destroyed. I will therefore not cause another such darkness, but if people are wicked and disobey me, one in every family shall die from time to time, and the family in which the death occurs shall suffer in the same way as all men did during the great darkness." From this vow of *Khazangpa's* came death, which, prior to the great darkness, had never existed.

The Lusheis have a somewhat similar story of the great darkness, which they call *Thimzing*.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 93.—N. E. P. See also Shaw, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, pp. 21 and 28, and my notes on these two pages.—J. H. H.

Some time after *Khazanghra* came the flood, *Tipa ua Tlongpa*. The Lakher story differs from the Lushei, though a lady called Ngaitai figures in both.[1] The Lakhers believe that the sea and all the water on the earth have only one outlet. At the entrance to this outlet a gigantic crab and a gigantic prawn stand as sentries, and sweep away all the debris brought down by the water and keep the channel clear so as to allow all the surplus water from the earth to pass along the channel to where two huge stones, called Hapa and Longlang, stand. Hapa and Longlang are both very hot, and dry up all the water as it comes down, and prevent the world from getting flooded. Now the crab and the prawn grew very old, and lost their claws, and could no longer clear away the debris brought down by the water, so that the channel became blocked and the water could not get down to Hapa and Longlang. The water therefore rose and covered the whole earth, and men, animals, insects, and all living things ran away in front of the flood and took refuge in the mountains, eventually all collecting on the top of Pheupi (the Blue Mountain), which the Lakhers call Lei-parang, or the old earth, because it was never covered by the flood. At first the men and the animals all remained in perfect amity. Then one day while a boy, the son of a widow, was relieving nature, a scorpion stung him on the buttocks, and he was poisoned and died. About the same time a man made a bow and arrows for his son, and the boy in play fired at a barking deer and killed it. As a result of these incidents the men and the animals went to war, and to this day men hunt animals; and tigers and bears hunt men. One day a girl called Ngaitai and her mother were picking fleas out of each other's heads near the edge of the water, and while they were doing so the sound of a voice calling out "Tai, tai," came from the water. An old man who was standing by thought that this must be an evil spirit calling to Ngaitai, and to see what would happen, he

[1] She appears in the Chang Naga version as "Molola" (*vide Man in India*, Vol. II, p. 100) and is married to the "*Ngava*," and had a daughter by him, and the tattoo mark worn on the forehead by Chang women may be seen in markings on that fish's head, which Changs will not eat on that account.—J. H. H.

plucked out a hair from Ngaitai's head and threw it into the water. As soon as the hair fell on the water, the water receded 4 or 5 feet. Then all the old men took counsel, and decided that if for one hair the water fell back 5 feet, if they threw Ngaitai into the water the water might go down altogether, so they threw Ngaitai into the water. As soon as they threw Ngaitai in, the water went right down. Ngaitai was carried off by the water, and her mother followed her, weeping, and wiping her tears and her nose with bamboo leaves. The bamboo leaves became saturated with the salt tears of Ngaitai's mother, and this is why, if dry bamboos are burned and the ashes collected, these ashes can be used instead of salt, bamboos having been made salt by the tears of Ngaitai's mother. Meanwhile Ngaitai went floating on down the stream, and her mother tried hard to catch her up, but was unable to do so, and, meeting the *ngava*, who nowadays is a very flat fish with blotches on his nose, she asked him where Ngaitai had gone. As the *ngava* replied that he did not know, Ngaitai's mother grew very angry, and smacked the *ngava* hard, making him into his present flat shape. She also wiped her hands, on which she had been blowing her nose, on the *ngava's* head, thus making the *ngava's* head very oily. Next she met the *ngalang*, who told her that Ngaitai had gone to Sesilongkhopa, so as a reward for this information she made the *ngalang* round and long. Sesilongkhopa is a cave, and in it was Ngaitai, unable to escape. Her mother tried to help Ngaitai out by pulling her through the entrance by means of a bamboo, but Ngaitai said it hurt too much, and she could not get out, so her mother then called out to Ngaitai, " You stay here in the west and turn into salt, and I will go towards the east and turn into salt, and then later on we shall meet again in one saucer." Accordingly Ngaitai stayed in the west, and her mother went off towards the east, and both turned into salt, as they had agreed, and nowadays if salt from the west and salt from the east are mixed in one saucer, the salt liquefies rapidly, and this is said to be Ngaitai and her mother weeping. The water then receded, and the crab and the prawn having grown new claws, there has been no flood since then.

Zeupaliapa is a very large monkey who was born when the world was made. At the same time as the crab and the prawn lost their claws, Zeupaliapa lost all his fur, and after the flood Zeupaliapa grew his fur again. Since the flood Zeupaliapa has lost only one hair in a generation, and when he has lost all his fur the crab and prawn will lose their claws again, and there will be another flood. It is said that Zeupaliapa now has very little hair left.

The moon is believed to be made of fire. An eclipse of the moon (*ona thlapa apala*),[1] like an eclipse of the sun, is caused by the moon being swallowed by one of Nateu's dogs. If the moon goes quite black during an eclipse, a black dog must be beaten, and the black dog in the sky, seeing its brother on earth beaten, vomits up the moon. The cause of the markings on the face of the moon is believed to be as follows:—

The moon is a man, and is the sun's husband, and had a child by the sun. Originally the moon was bright and hot like the sun. One night a widow put her child to sleep on the platform in front of her house. The moon and its child arose, and their light was so fierce that the widow's child died. The widow became very angry, and slew the moon's child with a spear, and threw the refuse out of her rice beer-pot in the moon's face, and made it dirty and reduced its light. For this reason the moon is less brilliant than the sun.[2] The Ao Naga and Garo stories regarding the marks on the surface of the moon are somewhat similar to the

[1] *Ona thlapa a pala* means "an *awk* has swallowed the moon."—N. E.P.

[2] This story of the change in functions between the sun and moon is very widespread, and is told by the Eskimos on the one hand and in the Loyalty Group of islands in the Pacific at the other extreme. It is particularly prevalent in the Indonesian area, but appears also in Mexico. See *Folk Lore*, XXXVI (June 1925), "Astronomical Beliefs in Assam." The ascription of a feminine sex to the sun appears in Latvia, the Letts, like the Khasis and the Rangpang Nagas, making the sun and moon brother and sister, and so do the Greenlanders, who seem to share the Khasi conception of the moon's having an illicit desire for his sister the sun (Stallybrass, *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II, p. 702). Germans also speak of *Frau Sonne* and *Herr Mond* (*ibid.*, 704), and early Scandinavians made the moon masculine like the Fijians and the Oraons. The Andamanese also make the sun and moon female and male respectively, and in a passage in the *Arabian Nights* the young man is compared to the moon and the maid to the sun (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Vol. III, p. 28)—J. H. H.

Lakher,[1] but the Lushei explanation is different. The Lusheis say that there is a huge Ficus tree (*Bung*) in the moon, and the marks on the moon's face are its branches.[2] In the middle of the tree is a headless monkey. They say that any one who sees the monkey dies prematurely.

The moon is said to exert influence on mad people, who become more violent when the moon begins to wane. The reason for this is that the spirit who drives men mad makes them worse when the moon begins to wane, because he expects that their relations will then offer to him pigs and fowls in the hope that the madmen will recover.[2]

The Lusheis also believe that madmen get worse with the waning moon, and think that as the moon disappears the mental powers of lunatics also disappear.

Nowadays no sacrifices are offered to the sun and moon, but Captain Tickell, writing nearly eighty years ago, says, "They regard the sun (*nye*) and the moon (*khiapa*) as deities, and sacrifice pigs and cattle to them at the commencement of the rains." [3]

Stars.

Not very many of the stars have names. Venus as an evening star is known as *Thlaseu* and as a morning star as *Deiva*. Before the great darkness (*Khazanghra*) both of them were men. *Thlaseu* had one sister. He went to pay her a visit, and his sister killed a pig for him. It did not take very long to get through a feast off one pig only, so *Thlaseu* came out of his sister's house fairly early in the evening. As he came out *Khazanghra* began, and he was turned into a star, and still appears early in the evening. The Lusheis call *Thlaseu Chongmawi*. *Deiva* had many sisters, and when he went to visit them, each of them killed a pig for him, and there was such a huge feast that *Deiva* was very late, and

[1] *Cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 301; Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 85.—N. E. P.

[2] The Angami and some Ao Nagas, the Rangpang Nagas and the Thado Kukis all regard the markings on the moon as a tree, and the Rangpangs have a story of the change in functions between the sun and the moon in which a monkey plays a prominent part.—J. H. H.

[3] Captain S. R. Tickell, *Notes on the Heuma or Shendoos, a tribe inhabiting the Hills North of Arracan*, *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, LIII, No. III, 1852.—N. E. P.

only came out at about 4 a.m., and he continues to come out about this time now that he is a star. The Lakhers do not recognise that *Thlaseu* and *Deiva* are different aspects of the same star.

The Lusheis call *Deiva Hrangchhuana*, and say that *Hrangchhuana* is *Chongmawi's* lover, who is always pursuing her, and that occasionally they sleep together. On the nights when *Hrangchhuana* and *Chongmawi* sleep together, Lushei lovers are sure to attain their heart's desire.

Orion's belt is called *Vothawlapiapa*. Two men were going along carrying a pig; as they were doing so *Khazanghra* began, and they were turned into stars.

Orion's sword is called *Nongsawthaimangchhangpa*. The story is that once upon a time there was a mother and her daughter. The daughter started weaving a cloth, but was not successful, and so her mother sat down by her to teach her to weave. While the women were thus engaged, a tiger came to try and eat them, and the young men of the village gathered round to protect them. At this time the great eclipse took place, and the two women, the tiger and the young men were all turned into stars. The tiger is known as *Awsichakeipa*, and is redder in colour than other stars. *Awsichakeipa* is identified by Savidge as the planet Mars.

The Lusheis call Orion's belt and sword *Chhohreivung*. There are eight stars, representing an owl, a rat's nest and six rat's holes. For a long time the rats used to come out of the holes, above which the owl sat in wait, and always got caught. One day the mouse said to the rat, "You are very foolish. We always have a back door as well as a front door. If you make a back door like we do, the owl will not be able to catch you." The rat took the mouse's advice, but as soon as he had finished his back way out the great darkness fell, and the owl and the rats' holes were all turned into stars. The accompanying diagram shows these stars with their Lakher and Lushei names :—[1]

[1] *Cf.* the Thado version which describes the Belt of Orion as the deep straight hole made by a kind of rat which digs down very straight and then turns off at right angles (Orion's sword).—J. H. H.

* *Chhohreivung*

Vothawlapiapa

* The three new exits made by the rat after the mouse had warned him.

* The rat's nest.

*

Nongsawthaimangchangpa * The rat's original exits.

Awsichakeipa *

The young men. * * The owl.

Lakhers recognise only six [1] of the Pleiades, which are known as *Awsicharu*. There were six men sitting gossiping when *Khazanghra* started, and they were all turned into stars. The Lushei name is *Siruk*, which likewise means the six stars. It is believed that all the stars were men or animals before *Khazanghra*, but they know only the names of a few.

The Milky Way is called *Sonatachhiarari*, meaning literally "rains and dry weather boundary." [2] Lakhers say that when a larger expanse of sky is visible north of the Milky Way the rains are approaching, and that a larger expanse of sky to the south of the Milky Way heralds the cold weather. The Lusheis call the Milky Way *Thlasik Kong*, meaning the cold weather road.

The Plough is called *Keulachongpa*. The story is that *Keulachongpa* got killed in a raid, and his slayers took his head and his left leg, but before his relatives could carry off his corpse the great darkness fell upon the world, and he was turned into a constellation. Four stars form his body, and two his thigh and his knee. The lowest and smallest

[1] The Angami and Mechh recognise seven. The Sema say that there were once seven, but that there are only six now, recalling the Greek story of the lost seventh Pleiad.—J. H. H.

[2] So the Miri of the Brahmaputra valley, and the Abor, and the Ao and Chang Nagas. The Sema Naga, however, regards it as a river of souls, like the Australian aborigines (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, Vol. I, pp. 140, 153), and this, taken with the Angami association of the Milky Way with the Barak River, suggests the Fijian identification of a River of Souls with a now existing river on earth (*ibid.* 462). The Lengua Indians of the Gran Chaco in S. America also regard the Milky Way as an abiding-place of souls (Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, p. 141).—J. H. H.

star is a small chicken that was killed as *riha* to accompany *Keulachongpa's* soul to *Sawvawkhi*. The Lakhers say that as *Keulachongpa*, having been killed in war, is a *sawvaw*, his spirit cannot cross the Kolodyne, and so these stars, instead of completing their orbit, turn back and appear again in the same place as before. The Plough is visible from Saiko in December, January and February. Lusheis call the Plough *Zangkhua*. The Lusheis have the same story, except that all seven stars represent the body and leg of *Zangkhua*, and the small chicken killed for *riha* is omitted. Some stars which have been named by the Lakhers I have not been able to identify. There are two stars called *Latlang* and *Labeu*, who formerly were a man and his wife, who were very devoted to each other. *Labeu* died, and her husband *Latlang* went to visit her in the abode of the dead (in those days mortals were allowed to pay visits to *Athikhi*) ; they found, however, that with one of them alive and the other dead they could not have satisfactory relations with each other, so *Labeu* said to her husband, "Go back home, perform the *Zangda* sacrifice, take some pampas grass for your pillow and place it at the foot of the back post of the house, then take a gourd spoon and break it and lie down at the foot of the post and you will die." *Latlang* did as he was told, and died, as his *zang* was very annoyed at his desecrating the place of sacrifice by lying down on it, and joined his wife in *Athikhi*. After a while they took counsel together, and decided that as they loved each other so very dearly, they would turn into stars, and always be known as *Latlang* and *Labeu*. The Lusheis call these two stars *Nufa thembu in chuh*, and say that they are a woman and her daughter quarrelling over a shuttle.

Aphilu is a constellation of four stars, representing the corners of a piece of bamboo matting, which was being made when *Khazanghra* fell, and the matting was turned into stars. This is possibly the Square of Pegasus.

Sohlu vang araipa is a constellation of five stars formed out of four men and a flying fox's skin which they were stretching out to dry when the great darkness descended on the world. This is possibly Cassiopeia.

Lodo pazo adongpa is a constellation of about ten stars

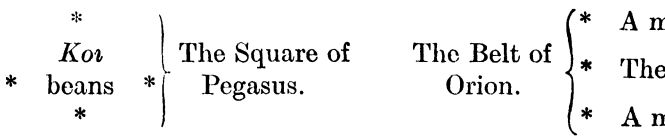
representing men catching rats in a rubbish dump [1] near a *jhum* house. Every Lakher *jhum* house has a small rubbish dump enclosed in a round fence called *lodo*. When *Khazanghra* fell on the earth these men, who were catching rats in the *lodo*, were all turned into stars. This constellation is known to the Lusheis as *Khiangte zong zim*, or the Khiangtes catching monkeys, and is identified by Savidge and Lorrain as a group of stars in Taurus near Aldebaron.

Sahruatong is a constellation of three stars representing a threshing-floor, which was being made when *Khazanghra* fell, and it was turned into these stars.

The Lakhers do not consult the stars in fixing the times for performing sacrifices. After certain sacrifices, however, all *ana* is believed to disappear with the setting sun, and then they look up at the sky, and as soon as the stars are shining the *pana* ceases. The stars are consulted only to decide when the *pana* ends, in *Parihrisang*, *Leuhrangna*, after killing a slow loris in hopes of averting the evil which follows on seeing one, and in *Khisong*. The Lusheis recognise more stars than the Lakhers. The following are a few for which I could find no Lakher names.

Hmar Arsi Sen is the North Star, and the *Sikeisen*, which means the golden cat, is a reddish star in the middle of the sky, probably Mars.

Sikawikap [2] consists of seven stars which represent a chief and two commoners playing at the *kawi* game with creeper beans (*Entada scandens*). While they were playing, the great darkness fell, and they all became stars.



Si Rokhuai is a constellation formed by the conversion into stars at *Thimzing* of a long bamboo with a wild cat's

[1] The Angamis have a constellation called *Zuthekroho*, "the rat-diggersh, which is usually pointed out as the Pleiades, but sometimes also the Ploug," I think. In the Angami version the men were suddenly overwhelmed by raiders.—J. H. H.

[2] *Vide* J. H. H., "Some Astronomical Beliefs in Assam," *Folk Lore*, Vol. XXXVI.—J. H. H.

skin hanging from it, such as is often seen in Lushei villages. *Pukula Thang* [1] is a deer-trap set by a mythical character called Pukula. Cassiopeia is called by the Lusheis *Dingdi-puanta*. Dingdi was a girl who was being taught to weave by her mother, with her lover sitting by her; *Thimzing* started and they were all turned into stars.

Shooting stars are caused by a star defecating and the dung falling to the earth.[2] A shooting star can sometimes be picked up after it has reached the earth. To look at, it is like a water snail, and is green in colour, but no one has ever actually seen one fall to earth, as they always disappear before reaching earth. The finding of a shooting star has no effect on either men or crops. The Lakher name for a shooting star is *Awsi-ih*. Lusheis call shooting stars *Arsi-thlawk*, or flying stars.

The *Sachhipu* is a meteor, and the land it falls on is sure to bear a good crop; it differs from the *Awsi-ih* in that it can be seen to fall to the earth. The Sachhipu is not the same as the Lushei *Chhawifa*: the *Sachhipu* falls from and shoots through the sky, the *Chhawifa* always starts from some man's house.

A comet is known as *Awsithleupa*, and is regarded as a herald of disease and famine. It is believed that *Khazangpa* sends comets as a warning that bad times are coming. The Lusheis call a comet *Simeikhu*.

Thunder (*Tongkalongpa*) is said to be caused by *Khazangpa* rolling stones about; other people say that it is caused by bursting clouds. Others, again, say that thunder is caused by the python, as if a python can succeed in climbing a high hill and standing on its tail on the top of it, *Khazangpa* calls it up to his presence. Having attained to the abode of *Khazangpa*, the python is so pleased that it beats its tail on the floor, and thereby causes thunder.[3]

Lightning is called *Donghla*. The Sabeu and Zeuhnang say that it is *Khazangpa* striking flint and steel. The

[1] *Vide* Lorrain and Savidge, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language*. *Pukula thang* is here identified as the consteliation Grus.—N. E. P.

[2] The Semas speak of shooting stars as "Star-dung," and so, too, do the Chiriguano Indians of the Chaco in S. America (Nordenskiöld, *La Vie des Indiens dans le Chaco*, p. 252).—J. H. H.

[3] *Cf.* R. A. Lorrain, *Five Years in Unknown Jungles*, p. 172.—N. E. P.

Tlongsai and Hawthai say that it is caused by thunderbolts striking against each other in the air. Thunderbolts are caused by a lizard called *Pachichariapa* which always sits straight up on the side of a tree-trunk and looks upwards. This lizard has the habit of swelling out his throat and blowing out the air and letting his throat resume its normal size. It is said that the lizard's breath when he blows the air out goes straight up to the sky, and hits the son of *Khazangpa* on the posterior. This annoys *Khazangpa* exceedingly, and he hurls a thunderbolt at the lizard to try to kill it. The Lakhers say that actually these lizards are very liable to be struck by thunderbolts.

A similar explanation of thunderbolts is found among the old Kuki clans, who say that Wulai, the lizard, climbs a tree and shouts defiance, whereupon God hurls an axe at him.[1]

A rainbow is called *Meisakupa*, and is the tail of a celestial red cock. This cock has the body of an ordinary cock, but a very long red and green tail. After rain has fallen this cock comes down to catch crabs in the streams, and its tail spreads right over the sky and forms a rainbow. The body of this celestial cock has never been seen, only its tail. It is unlucky to point at a rainbow, and it is believed that a finger that points at a rainbow will get chopped off accidentally by a *dao* or a sharp bamboo. To prevent such an unfortunate eventuality, if a Lakher boy inadvertently points his finger at a rainbow he must put it up his anus; there is no other remedy.[2] Lusheis also believe that if a

[1] *Cf.* Shakespear, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, p. 184.—N. E. P. The lizard involved is perhaps the flying lizard called *wuhe* by the Semas, which climbs to the tops of trees and chirrups. The Thado describe God as making stone axes (always regarded as thunderbolts) and, on becoming infuriated by the shrill chirp of the cicada, hurling the unfinished axe at it. A variant version is still nearer the Lakher. *Vide Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 157. *Cf.* also Roy, *The Birhors*, p. 498, for a similar story.—J. H. H.

[2] This superstition about pointing at the rainbow is probably associated with the widespread belief that the rainbow is the bridge or path by which spirits pass to and from the sky, and pointing at it is forbidden by the Angami, Sema and Ao Nagas, the Karens of Burma, the Dusun of Borneo, the Marshall Islanders of Micronesia and the Lifuans of the Loyalty Islands. In the opposite direction it is equally tabu to point at the rainbow in China, in Bohemia and in Germany (Brunswick). In this connection a reference may be made to Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, Vol. III, p. 98, and to *Folk Lore*, Vol. XXXVI, " Some Astronomical Beliefs in Assam," pp. 120 *et seq.*, 129.—J. H. H.

man points at a rainbow his finger will rot away; this can be prevented provided that immediately after pointing at the rainbow he points at a hen's basket. They say that the rainbow is a gigantic spirit who stands up in a river-bed and then bends over to drink. Lusheis call the rainbow *Chhimbal.*

Parhelia are known as *Sawmachupa;* they are very unlucky, and are believed to portend an unnatural death. They are generally seen in the rains, and are equally unlucky whether in the east or in the west. Lusheis call Parhelia *Sarzam.* When seen in the east, *Sarzam* are lucky, and portend the taking of a head or the shooting of some large animal. When seen in the west, *Sarzam,* like the Lakher *Sawmachupa,* are very unlucky and foretell an unnatural death.[1]

Hurricanes are caused by fights between *Khisongs.* Ordinary winds are the breath of the spirits of men and animals.

When an exceptionally high flood occurs in the Kolodyne and its tributaries the Lakhers call it *Tisaitlong.* Such floods are believed to be due to the more important spirits of the mountains and rivers changing their abodes, and causing the Kolodyne and its tributaries to swell, so as to make smooth roads for their progress. Landslips are an inevitable sequel to these floods, and are caused by the lesser spirits of the woods and the hillsides coming to salute their lords, who present the lesser spirits with earrings.

As soon as the flood has fallen, Lakhers go out to inspect the animals' tracks on the sand. If the first tracks they see are those of barking deer and porcupines, they will be lucky and will have good crops; if, however, the first tracks they see are those of a tiger, they anticipate every kind of misfortune.

[1] In the far north of Scotland, Parhelia are regarded as ill-omened and as forerunners of bad weather. I remember noticing them at Haflong just before the Cachar floods in June 1929.—N. E. P. So also in China, and in Assam by the Manipuris and by Sema and Ao Nagas.—J. H. H.

PART V

THE LAKHER LANGUAGE

THE Lakher language has been classified by Sir George Grierson as a member of the central Chin sub-group of the Kuki group of the Assam-Burma branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.[1] In the last census it was shown as a dialect of Lai,[2] a language spoken by the Lais, a central Chin tribe. Sir George Grierson, writing in 1904,[3] says, "The Tlantlangs were first known on the Arakan and Chittagong frontiers, where they were called Shendus. It is not, however, certain whether all the tribes called so were Tlangtlangs. Captain Lewin calls them Shendoos or Lakheyr Poi. His vocabulary seems to be taken from a dialect which in all essentials is identical with that which Major Hughes has used for his list of words in Shandoo. The materials, however, are insufficient for a definite decision. . . . The numerals mainly correspond to those usual in Lai, but also sometimes to the forms occurring in Sho and Kami. It is probable, though it cannot as yet be proved, that the two vocabularies represent one or more dialects intermediate between Lai and Sho."

Lakher has no written language. In the story of Nara it is related how Nara, before he drowned himself in the ocean, threw all his possessions into the water, among them the art of writing, which was picked up by the foreign soldiers, who thus learnt to write, though the Lakhers themselves lost all knowledge of the art. Signs are used freely both to emphasise and to take the place of speech. If a Lakher wants people to sit down, he lowers the outstretched palm of his

[1] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, index of language names.
[2] Census of India, 1921, Vol. III, Assam, Part II, Tables.
[3] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part III, p. 126.

hand downwards two or three times; if he wants people to get up, the motion is reversed, the hand being raised two or three times, with the back of the hand uppermost. To beckon some one to approach, the raised hand is waved twice or thrice towards the beckoner. To indicate the direction in which to go, the right hand is waved in the desired direction. If a man is approaching and it is desired to indicate to him that he should return whence he came, a sign is made two or three times with the back of the hand towards the person being signed to.

A sure sign of anger is for a man to show his teeth over the upper lip. This is called *hapachi*.

If a man who is *pana* on account of a sacrifice and must not speak sees some one coming to speak to him, or preparing to enter the house, or to touch the stone on which the sacrifice has been made, he makes a clicking noise with his tongue, "Cluck, cluck, cluck," on hearing which any one about to break a taboo unwittingly at once realises what he is doing and desists. This noise is called *dapathla*, and is very similar to the noise sometimes made by a barking deer stag when he runs away. The Lakhers say that the noise is due to the stag's testicles rattling together as he runs.

A rude gesture called *Ichhu chai* frequently made by small boys is to place the tip of the middle finger over the tip of the index finger. This gesture always leads to a fight as it is tantamount to telling the person at whom it is made to eat the genital organ of a female dog. Little girls never make use of this form of insult, and it is likewise eschewed by grown-up persons of either sex.

A shake of the head from side to side indicates a negative. For pointing at a person or thing the index finger is always used.

When a whole village is observing an *aoh* and it is *ana* for strangers to enter, branches of trees are planted on the road and a by-pass is made round the village. When an individual is *pana*, he erects crossed bamboos in front of his house. People out hunting whistle to keep each other informed of their positions and to avoid shooting each other. A piercing whistle is made by placing a finger lengthwise across the

mouth, and is used to frighten away hawks that are chasing the chickens. In the jungle, to show any one following the road he has taken, a Lakher breaks off a branch with leaves on it or a twig and lays it across the road he has not taken. This is a practice common to all the tribes in the Lushai Hills.[1] Sometimes, when people have gone together to their fields and their paths have branched off the main road, on the way back the person getting to the road first wishes to show his friend that he has gone on, so he takes a branch, breaks it into small pieces, and places it at the junction of the two paths. When his friend sees this he knows that the other man has gone on ahead.

When a *kapu* or spear trap for large animals has been erected, to warn people against running into it and getting speared, a bamboo post about the height of a man with a sharpened bamboo cross-piece a cubit long, is planted just next to the trap.

When a village was at war, they used to place a sentry post up on the top of some high tree, whence a clear view of the road by which the enemy must come could be obtained. As soon as he caught sight of the enemy, the sentry fired off his gun as a signal to his friends, descended from the tree and made his way as best he could to the village.

Each of the Lakher groups has a dialect of its own, and these dialects differ to a greater or lesser degree from each other. The names of the dialects are Tlongsai, used by the Tlongsais of Saiko, Siaha, and their connected villages; Zeuhnang, the dialect of the Zeuhnangs of Savang, Laki and other villages; Sabeu, the dialect of the Sabeu, and Hawthai, the dialect used by the Hawthais. The dialect spoken by the largest number of persons is Tlongsai, and as this is the dialect used by Mr. Lorrain in his books, and is also the language taught in the Saiko school, it will doubtless before long become the language of all Lakhers, in the same way as Dulien has superseded the other Lushei dialects. It is

[1] It is common to all the tribes down the Assam-Burma divide from the Himalayas to Arakan, I think, and probably extends to a much larger area. It is, for instance, used in Madagascar (Sibree, *Madagascar before the Conquest*, p. 172), and in New Guinea (Pratt, *Two Years among the New Guinea Cannibals*, pp. 316 *et seq*).—J. H. H.

already understood in all the Lakher villages. Alone among the Lakher dialects the Sabeu dialect has an f sound as, *e.g.*,

a fi. He goes.
i fi. My sister or my daughter.
Fahrang. Domestic animals.
Fari. A trap for a barking deer.
I faw. My son.

The f in all these cases replaces an s in Tlongsai and the other dialects. The Sabeu also use the letter s as

Sei. A *mithun.*

The Lakher language is very much poorer in synonyms than Lushei; it cannot express such fine differences of meaning, and is far less musical to the ear. It is more difficult to learn than Lushei, owing partly to its more involved constructions and partly to the difficulty of catching the correct tones. The following list of words compares the Lakher dialects with each other and with Lushei :—

English.	Tlongsai.	Zeuhnang.	Hawthai.	Sabeu.	Lushei.
Cloths basket	*Baiba*	*Beba*	*Baiba*	*Baiba*	*Thul*
House	*Ang*	*Ai*	*Ang*	*Eih*	*In*
Verandah	*Angka*	*Aika*	*Angka*	*Eika*	*Sumhmun*
Courtyard	*Tleuhmia*	*Tlawhme*	*Tleuhmia*	*Tlohmia*	*Tual*
Platform	*Angtla*	*Sava*	*Angtla*	*Sava*	*Leikapui*
Slope of hill	*Tleulia*	*Tlawlia*	*Tleulia*	*Tlaulia*	*Mual*
Open basket	*Dawkia Lawkia*	*Akia*	*Lawkia*	*Dawkia*	*Paikawng*
Brow band	*Seihna*	*Hneri*	*Seihna*	*Seihna*	*Hnam*
Axe	*Ahrei*	*Ehrei*	*Ahrei*	*Ahri*	*Hreipui*
Knife (large)	*Takong*	*Teko*	*Takong*	*Tako*	*Chem*
Small knife	*Chaizong*	*Cheizong*	*Chaizong*	*Chizong*	*Chemte*
Spear	*Asei*	*Ehrei*	*Asei*	*Afi*	*Fei*
Cloth	*Pang*	*Pahauh*	*Pang*	*Pei*	*Puan*
Skirt	*Ahnang*	*Ehnai*	*Ahnang*	*Ahnei*	*Puanfen*
Coat	*Kawhrei*	*Kawhrei*	*Bahrei*	*Kawhrei*	*Kawr*
Puggree	*Khuthang*	*Lubeu*	*Khuthang*	*Duakala*	*Diar*
Bag	*Sahria*	*Zebaw*	*Sahria*	*Fahria*	*Ipte*
Loin cloth	*Dua*	*Dua*	*Dua*	*Dua*	*Hren*
Coat	*Viapako*	*Vekuahrei*	*Viapako*	*Vemakaw*	*Vaikawr*
Umbrella	*Nangtheu*	*Naidipa*	*Nangtheu*	*Neithaw*	*Nihliap*
Hearth	*Chakang*	*Chakang*	*Chakang*	*Chake*	*Tap*
Paddy mortar	*Songkho*	*Sokhu*	*Songkho*	*Sokhaw*	*Sum*
Pestle	*Songkhai*	*Sokhe*	*Songkhai*	*Sokhai*	*Suk*
Water tube	*Tiong*	*Tiong* or *Bawtlaw*	*Lathei*	*Beutleu*	*Tuium*
Wood	*Thang*	*Thai*	*Thang*	*Thai*	*Thing*

English.	Tlongsai.	Zeuhnang.	Hawthai.	Sabeu.	Lushei.
Bamboo	*Ramaw*	*Rameu*	*Ramaw*	*Ramaw*	*Mau*
Bamboos	*Rasang*	*Rachhai*	*Rasang*	*Rasei*	*Rothing*
	Rahniapa	*Rahnepa*	*Rahnia*	*Rahne*	*Ronal*
	Ravaw	*Rava*	*Ravaw*	*Ravaw*	*Phulrua*
	Rangia	*Range*	*Rangia*	*Range*	*Rongal*
	Siari	*Seri*	*Siari*	*Siari*	*Sairil*
	Raka	*Ratla*	*Ratlapa*	*Raka*	*Rothla*
	Ratai	*Rate*	*Achia*	*Rache*	*Chal*
Hen	*Awh*	*Ah*	*Awh*	*Awh*	*Ar*
River	*Chava*	*Chavah*	*Chava*	*Chava*	*Lui*
Mountain	*Tla*	*Tle*	*Tla*	*Tla*	*Tlang*
Boundary	*Rari*	*Reri*	*Rari*	*Rari*	*Ramri*
Stone	*Along*	*Elo*	*Along*	*Aleu*	*Lung*
Earth	*Alei*	*Elei*	*Alei*	*Ali*	*Lei*
Precipice	*Longkapa*	*Longkapa*	*Longkapa*	*Longkapa*	*Kham*
Elephant	*Masia*	*Mase*	*Masia*	*Mase*	*Sai*
Bison	*Chawlia*	*Chualia*	*Chawlia*	*Chawle*	*Sele*
Rhinoceros	*Kawra*	*Kuare*	*Kawra*	*Kawra*	*Samak*
Sambhur deer	*Sasu*	*Chasu*	*Sasu*	*Sasu*	*Sazuk*
Wild boar	*Ngiacha*	*Ngeche*	*Ngiacha*	*Ngeicha*	*Sanghal* [1]
Barking deer	*Sakhi*	*Rakhi*	*Sakhi*	*Fakhi*	*Sakhi*
Serow	*Sawzaw*	*Sazapa*	*Sawzaw*	*Sawzaw*	*Saza*
Gural	*Sathaw*	*Hratha*	*Sathaw*	*Sathaw*	*Sathar*
Tiger	*Keipi*	*Kei-pi*	*Keipi*	*Kipi*	*Keipui*
Leopard	*Keichhang*	*Keichhang*	*Keichhang*	*Kite*	*Keite*
Bear	*Chave*	*Chavaw*	*Chave*	*Chavaw*	*Savawm*
Small bear	*Veti-khawpa*	*Vawti-khupa*	*Veti-khawpa*	*Veti-khawpa*	*Samang*
Porcupine	*Sawku*	*Saku*	*Sawku*	*Saku*	*Sakuh*
Hedgehog	*Sawthai*	*Sathia*	*Sawthai*	*Sawthai*	*Kusi*
Pheasant (*kalij*)	*Vacharipa*	*Vacharipa*	*Vacharipa*	*Vachari*	*Vahrit*
Jungle fowl	*Rahawh*	*Reah*	*Raawh*	*Raawh*	*Ramar*
Partridge	*Beukheipa*	*Bawkeipa*	*Vaparong*	*Vaparong*	*Varung*
Peacock-pheasant	*Varapa*	*Valahuapa*	*Varapa*	*Valahawpa*	*Varihaw*
Mrs. Hume's pheasant (*Syrmaticus Humiae Humiae*)	*Vawvu*	*Vavupa*	*Vawvu*	*Vawvu*	*Vavu* [2]
King crow	*Vathlepa*	*Vazongpi*	*Vathlepa*	*Vathlcupa*	*Vakul*
Babbler	*Vazaw*	*Vaza*	*Vawzaw*	*Vawzaw*	*Vazar*
Great Indian hornbill	*Kawnga*	*Vakuang-apa*	*Kawnga*	*Kawnga*	*Vapual*
Minivet	*Bemai*	*Bawme*	*Benai*	*Bonai*	*Bawng*
Imperial pigeon	*Atuma-nong*	*Atuma-nong*	*Atuvanong*	*Atuvanong*	*Bullut*
Green pigeon	*Vahi*	*Vahi*	*Vahisenong*	*Vahi*	*Vahui*
Bulbul	*Phiabipa*	*Bebiapa*	*Biabipa*	*Phiabipa*	*Tlaiber*
Hoopoe (*Upupa nigripennis*)	*Vatlong-pahripa*	*Matlong-mari*	*Vathlong-hripa*	*Khekaripa*	*Tukkhum-vilik*

[1] The Thado *sagul* means a wild pig as one of a sounder, whereas *ngălchăng* is used for a solitary wild boar. It is possible, therefore, that in this case the contrast between the Lakher and Lushei words is more apparent than real.—J. H. H.

[2] *Vavu* in Thado is used for Mrs. Hume's Pheasant.—J. H. H.

English.	Tlongsai.	Zeuhnang.	Hawthai.	Sabeu.	Lushei.
Dove	*Vachhu*	*Vachhu*	*Vachhu*	*Vachhu*	*Thuro*
Trap	*Sari*	*Sarin*	*Sari*	*Fari*	*Sathang*
Tiger trap	*Kapu*	*Kapu*	*Thei*	*Thi*	*Karh*
Rat trap	*Makheu*	*Hmawkhaw*	*Makheu*	*Makhe*	*Mangkhong*
Bird trap	*Piva*	*Ziahmai*	*Piva*	*Pirisaipa*	*Beai*
Bird snare	*Khangkha*	*Bakhe*	*Khangkha*	*Hipakha*	*Sadal*
Snare set in tree for birds	*Khangpala*	*Heichakipa*	*Khanghela*	—	*Thangthlang*
Squirrel trap	*Leika*	*Heikhai*	*Leika*	*Lika*	*Thangchep*
Rat trap	*Viakhang*	*Merepa*	*Viakhang*	—	*Vaithang*
Bear trap	*Veutla*	*Zawtla*	*Vetla*	*Vongtla*	*Vawmtlak*
Man	*Chapaw*	*Chapa*	*Chapaw*	*Chapaw*	*Mipa*
Woman	*Chanong*	*Chanong*	*Chanong*	*Chanong*	*Hmeichhia*
Young man	*Satlia*	*Aheusuapa*	*Satlia*	*Fatlia*	*Tlangval*
Girl	*Laisa* [1]	*Hehra*	*Laisa*	*Laifaw*	*Nula*
Child	*Hawti*	*Heuti*	*Hawti*	*Hawti*	*Naupang*
Old man	*Pawpi*	*Papipa*	*Pawpi*	*Pawpi*	*Putar*
Old woman	*Nongpi*	*Nuapi*	*Nongpi*	*Nopi*	*Pitar*
War	*Chariapa*	*Charepa*	*Chariapa*	*Chare*	*Ral*
Paddy	*Sa*	*Hre*	*Sa*	*Fa*	*Buh*
Maize	*Chhamei*	*Chhemei*	*Chhavei*	*Chhami*	*Vaimim*
Millet	*Satongpa*	*Hratongpa*	*Satongva*	*Fatongpa*	*Buhtun*
Arums	*Bia*	*Be*	*Bia*	*Be*	*Bal*
Pumpkin	*Thlawhmia*	*Eme*	*Thlawhmia*	*Amai*	*Maipawl*
Cucumber	*Athei*	*Ethei*	*Athei*	*Athi*	*Fanghma*
Melon	*Bangkai*	*Bangke*	*Bangkai*	*Bangkai*	*Hmazil*
Bean	*Biti*	*Biatia*	*Biatia*	*Biti*	*Bete*
Squash	*Mawme*	*Mamaw*	*Mawme*	*Mawme*	*Maian*
Sugar-cane	*Hrasa*	*Hrehrua*	*Hrasa*	*Hrafa*	*Thalvuaifu*
Job's tears	*Sapang*	*Hrapang*	*Sapang*	*Fapang*	*Mim*
Sweet lime	*Theithu*	*Theilath-longpa*	*Beihlei*	*Bihli*	*Sisu*
Lemon	*Isa*	*Isah*	*Isa*	*Thiathu*	*Ser*
Spondias magnifera, Wild	*Dangkaw*	*Theiih*	*Angkcu*	*Eikaw*	*Tawitaw*

In Lakher there is no difference between the language used by men and that used by women. While I was inquiring on this point I received this amusing reply, "Although men and women use the same language, women always talk less than men. Men being much more magnificent than women, the latter honour them, and curb their tongues before them; it is because women talk less than men that a husband and wife are able to live together peacefully." The Lakher language, in spite of the proximity of the Lusheis, whose tongue is rapidly spreading into the Chin Hills, Manipur and even into North Cachar, is not perceptibly changing under Lushei influence. A few words of everyday use have been changed to a Lushei form, but those given in the following

[1] *Cf.* Meithei=*leishabi.*—J. H. H.

list comprise practically all the words that have been thus modified.

Lakher word.	Lushei word.	New Lakher word.	English.
Taikua	*Zu no*	*Neu*	Beer mug
Thati	*Chanchin*	*Chachi*	News.
Vopia	*Salam*	*Sala*	Due payable to chief and elders on trial of cases.
Hneitlakaipa	*Neichhun*	*Hneichhongpa*	Riches.
Viapako	*Kamit*	*Kami*	Shirt.
Vachhi	*Vanduai*	*Vadua*	Unlucky.
Eukheipa	*Awmpui*	*Opi*	Helper.
Phawng	*Dan*	*Dah*	Custom.
Nil	*Chibai*	*Chibai*	Greeting.

As the Linguistic Survey of India gives no Lakher vocabulary, for purposes of comparison the following selection from the standard words and sentences in Lai given by Sir George Grierson in Vol. III, Part III, of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, with their equivalents in the Tlongsai Lakher dialect, of which Lai is said to be the parent tongue may be useful.

English.	Lai.	Lakher (Tlongsai).
One	*Pö-khat*	*Miakha*
Two	*Pö-ni* or *Pö-upit*	*Mianong*
Three	*Po-thum*	*Miathong*
Four	*Pöli*	*Miapali*
Five	*Pö-nga*	*Miapangaw*
Six	*Pö-ruk*	*Miacharu*
Seven	*Pö-sari*	*Miasari*
Eight	*Pö-ryeth*	*Miachari*
Nine	*Pö-kwa*	*Miachaki*
Ten	*Pö-ra*	*Miahraw*
Twenty	*Pö-kul*	*Seunang*
Fifty	*Samnga*	*Seupangaw*
Hundred	*Zakhat, Chuë-kat or Shwe-kat*	*Zakha*
I	*Këma*	*Kei, Keimaci*
Of me	*Kë-ma, kï*	*Keimaci*
Mine	*Ke-ma-sa* or *Kema-i*	*Keimaci*
We	*Kan-ni*	*Keimang*
Of us	*Kan-ni*	*Keimang*
Our	*Kan-ni*	*Keimangei*
Thou	*Nang-ma*	*Na*
Of thee	*Nangma* or *na*	*Nama*
Thine	*Nang-ma-sa* or *Nang-ma-i*	*Nama-ei*
You	*Nan-ni*	*Nama*
Of you	*Nan-ni*	*Namang*
Your	*Nan-ni*	*Namang*
He	*Amma*	*Anang*
Of him	*Amma, An* or *A*	*Anangei*
His	*Amma sa* or *Amma-i*	*Anangei*

English.	Lai.	Lakher (Tlongsai).
They	*Anni*	*Amang*
Of their	*Anni*	*Amang*
Their	*Anni*	*Amangei*
Hand	*Küt*	*Ku*
Foot	*Ke*	*Phei*
Nose	*Nar*	*Hnapasu*
Eye	*Myit*	*Mang*
Mouth	*Kä*	*Paka*
Tooth	*Ha*	*Ha*
Ear	*Na*	*Nako*
Hair	*Süm*	*Sa*
Head	*Lu*	*Lu*
Tongue	*Lë*	*Palei*
Belly	*Pâ*	*Peu*
Back	*Keng*	*Keu*
Iron	*Tirh*	*Thua*
Gold	*Shwi*	*Paku*
Silver	*Ngun*	*Taka*
Father	*Apa*	*Paw*
Mother	*Anu*	*Nong*
Man	*Mipa*	*Chapaw*
Slave	*Shal*	*Sei*
Woman	*Minu*	*Chanong*
Wife	*Nupi*	*Lapinong*
God	*Kö-zin*	*Khazangpa*
Sun	*Nî*	*Nang*
Moon	*Klapa*	*Thlapa*
Horse	*Rang*	*Ara*
Water	*Thi*	*Ti*
Cow	*Zä-pi*	*Viacho*
Cat	*Si-za*	*Chhizo*
Dog	*Ui-so*	*Ih*
Cock	*Ar-chi*	*Awhkheupa*
Duck	*Sompe*	*Teupheu*
Bird	*Av-ăr*	*Pa-vaw*
Go	*Kallo*	*Si*
Eat	*E*	*Ni*
Sit	*Thuko*	*Ateu*
Come	*Hun-thwa*	*Aveu*
Beat	*Vel-lo*	*Tuh*
Run	*Klik-lo*	*Ara*
Stand	*Dir-ko*	*Dua*
Die	*Thi-lo*	*Thi*
Give	*Vun-pe*	*Pi*
Up	*Chö*	*Chongla, Chakha, Machhala*
Down	*Klang-li-za*	*Reula, Mathila* or *Chhutlala*
Near	*Nai*	*Kiapa*
Far	*A-chat*	*A-hla*
Before	*Mhai-la*	*Hmiala*
Behind	*Nhu-lcza*	*Hnangla*
Who	*A-ho*	*Aheumaw* or *Aheu.*
What	*Zada*	*Khapa*
Why	*Ze-za-da*	*Khazia*
And	*Le*	*Nata*
But	*Chun-ma*	*Chahra-sala*
If	*A-chun*	*Khiala*

English.	Lai.	Lakher (Tlongsai).
Yes	*A-shi*	*Eu*
No	*A-shi-lo*	*Chavei*
A father	*Pa-po-khat*	*Paw pakha*
To a father	*Pa-po-khathe*	*Paw pakha hnangta*
From a father	*Pa-pŏ-kat-in*	*Paw pakha hnang-tawta*
Two fathers	*Pa pŏ ni*	*Paw panang*
Fathers	*Pa rwel*	*Paw sahlo*
Of fathers	*Pa rwel*	*Paw sahlo*
To fathers	*Pa rwel he*	*Paw sahlo hnangta*
From fathers	*Pa rwel in*	*Paw sahlo hnang tawta*
A good man	*Mi pa ta*	*Cheusa phapa pakha*
Of a good man	*Mi pa ta*	*Cheusa phapa pakha*
A bad boy	*Pa the a talo*	*Haw ti phalepa pakha*
From good men	*Mi pa ta rwel in*	*Cheusa phapa sahlo hnangtawta*
Good	*A ta*	*Apha*
Better	*A ta deyu*	*Aphavia*
Best	*A ta bizik*	*Aphachai*
A horse	*Rangthum*	*Ara miakha*
A mare	*Rang-pi*	*Arapanong miakha*
Horses	*Rangthum rwel*	*Ara sahlo*
Mares	*Rang pi rwel*	*Arapanong sahlo*
To beat	*Vel*	*Tupa*
Beating	*Velingnang*	*Tunangta*
Having beaten	*Vel nak*	*Tu hawh*
I beat	*Ka vēl*	*I tu*
Thou beatest	*Na vēl*	*Na tu*
He beats	*A vēl*	*A tu*
We beat	*Kan vēl*	*Ima tu*
You beat	*Nan vel*	*Nama tu*
They beat	*An vēl*	*Ama tu*
I beat (past tense)	*Ka vel sang*	*I tu hawh*
Thou beatest (past tense)	*Na vel sang*	*Na tu hawh*
He beat (past tense)	*A vel sang*	*A tu hawh*
We beat (past tense)	*Kan vel sang*	*Ima tu hawh*
You beat (past tense)	*Nan vel sang*	*Nama tu hawh*
They beat (past tense)	*An vel sang*	*Ama tu hawh*
I am beating	*Ka vel leo*	*I tu hai*
I was beating	*Ka vel leo*	*I tu hanata*
I had beaten	*Ka vel diai*	*I tu ha*
I may beat	*Ka vel dik*	*I tu thei aw*
I shall beat	*Ka vel lai*	*I tu aw*
I am beaten	*Amma ne a-ka vel*	*I na tu hawh*
I was beaten	*Amma ne a-ka vel sang*	*I na tu hawh*
A bull	*Zathum*	*Viacho chapawpa miakha*
A cow	*Zapi*	*Viachochanongpa miakha*
Bulls	*Zathum rwel*	*Viachochapawpa sahlo* or *Viachochapawpa zaw*
Cows	*Za pi rwel*	*Viachochanongpa sahlo*
A dog	*Uiso thum*	*Ih miakha*
A bitch	*Uiso pi*	*Ihchanongpa miakha*
A male deer	*Suk-ki sal*	*Zuneipa miakha*
A female deer	*Suk-ki pi*	*Sasupinong miakha*

English.	Lai.	Lakher (Tlongsai).
Deer	*Suk-ki rwel*	*Sasu*
I am	*Kema ka shi*	*Keima na i cha*
Thou art	*Nangma na shi*	*Namana na cha*
He is	*Ama a shi*	*Anangna a cha*
I was	*Kaum sang*	*I cha*
Be	*Shi ka she*	*Cha te*
To be	*Shi*	*Cha*
Being	*Shi ling mang*	*Eu ta*
Having been	*Shi nak*	*Cha hawh*
I may be	*Ka shi dik*	*I eu thei tleu*
I shall be	*Ka shi lai*	*I eu tleu*
I go	*Ka kal*	*I si*
I went	*Ka kal sang*	*I si hawh*
Go	*Ka lo*	*Si*
Going	*Kal ling mang*	*Si nangta*
Gone	*Kal nak*	*Si hawh*
Beat	*Vēl lo*	*Tu*
We are	*Kan ni kan shi*	*Keimangna ima cha*
You are	*Nanni nan shi*	*Namangna nama cha*
They are	*An ni an shi*	*Amangna ama cha*
Thou wast	*Na um sang*	*Na cha*
He was	*A um sang*	*A cha*
We were	*Kan um sang*	*Ima cha*
You were	*Na um sang*	*Nama cha*
They were	*An um sang*	*Ama cha*
I go	*Ka kal*	*I si*
Thou goest	*Na kal*	*Na si*
He goes	*A kal*	*A si*
We go	*Kan kal*	*Ima si hai* (in the act of going)
You go	*Nan kal*	*Nama si hai*
They go	*An kal*	*Ama si hai*
I went	*Ka kal sang*	*I si hawh*
Thou wentest	*Na kal sang*	*Na si hawh*
He went	*A kal sang*	*A si hawh*
We went	*Kan kal sang*	*Ima si hawh*
You went	*Nan kal sang*	*Nama si hawh*
They went	*An kal sang*	*Ama si hawh*
Go	*Kal*	*Site*
What is your name	*Na min ho da shi ?*	*A heu e na mang* or *Na mang aheu e ?*
How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	*Mahin Kashmir ze shanda ka lhat ?*	*He tawna heta Kashmir khacha e a hla.*

The first record of the language was made by Capt. S. R. Tickell, who in 1852 drew up a short vocabulary.[1] He was followed in 1869 by Captain Lewin, who also drew up a list of common Shendu words.[2] It was not, however, till 1908 that a grammar and dictionary of the language was published

[1] Capt. S. R. Tickell, 31st B.N.I., "Notes on the Heuma or Shendoos, a Tribe inhabiting the Hills North of Arracan," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. III, 1852.—N. E. P.

[2] Capt. T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, pp. 146 *et seq.*—N. E. P.

by the Rev. F. W. Savidge, a missionary working at Lungleh,[1] whose grammar remains the best published record of the language that we possess, and I have drawn on it freely in the following pages. The only books published in the Lakher language are some translations from the Bible and a few school books, the work of the Rev. R. A. Lorrain, who conducts a mission to the Lakhers at Saiko. Mr. Lorrain has, I believe, compiled a Lakher Grammar and Dictionary, but has not as yet published it; he has also drawn up an alphabet of his own which he has used in all the books he has published. Mr. Lorrain's alphabet is as follows :—[2]

Lakher.	English.
A	R
Aw	Aw
Y	Er
B	Bi
Ch	Chaw
D	Di
E	A
H	H
I	E
K	K
L	L
M	M
N	N
Ng	Eng
O	Aong
Ô	Aawong
F	Fi
R	R (rolled)
S	S
T	T
U	Oo
V	Vi

[1] F. W. Savidge, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher Language*.—N. E. P.

[2] R. A. Lorrain, *English for the Marapa (Lakher or Shandoo) Tribesmen*, the Preface.—N. E. P.

Lakher.	English.
Z	Z
Ao	Ao
Yu	Er-oo

When a word or syllable is pronounced very abruptly, this is shown by a final " h," *e.g.*

Ra.	Country.
Rah.	To scold.

I give Mr. Lorrain's alphabet, as it has been used in all the books published by him in Lakher, and is also taught in the schools. I have myself, however, in spelling Lakher words found it simpler to use the alphabet drawn up by the Rev. F. W. Savidge and given at pages 1 and 2 of his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher Language*. There are certain Lakher sounds which it is very difficult to reproduce, and which, in fact, can be learnt only by constant intercourse with Lakhers. These Mr. Lorrain has endeavoured to cope with by special symbols. His method doubtless has many advantages, but to any one ignorant of the language who has not studied Mr. Lorrain's alphabet some of the symbols would represent sounds quite other than those for which they are intended. By the use of Mr. Savidge's alphabet the reader is enabled at a glance to attain a very close approximation to the Lakher sounds, so for general purposes this alphabet is to be preferred. The Lakher alphabet as drawn up by Mr. Savidge, and as used in this book, is as follows :—

Lakher Alphabet and Pronunciation.

The Lakher alphabet consists of the following letters :—

Alphabet.		Pronunciation.
A	a	Like u in the English word sun.
*Ā	ā	Like a in the English word father.
A	a	Like ir in the English word fir, without rolling the r.
Aw	aw	Like aw in the English word awl.
B	b	As in English.
Ch	ch	Like ch in the English word chop.

Alphabet.		Pronunciation.
D	d	As in English.
E	e	Like e in the English word tell.
*Ê	ē	Like the first e in the English word there.
F	f	As in English.
H	h	Like h in the English word home. When h is placed at the end of a syllable or word, it denotes that the preceding vowel sound must be abruptly shortened.
I	i	Like i in the English word sit.
*I	i	Like i in the English word police.
J	j	As in English (used only in foreign words).
K	k	As in English.
L	l	
M	m	
N	n	
Ng	ng	When ng comes at the beginning of a syllable or word, it is pronounced like ng in the English word singer. When ng comes at the end of a syllable or word, the pronunciation seems to be made up of a curious combination of a nasal and guttural sound, the true pronunciation of which can be learnt only from a Lakher. The vowel a usually precedes this pronunciation.
O	o	Like o in the English word pot.
*Ô	ō	Like o in the English word dome.
P	p	As in English.
R	r	Like r in the English word rock (this letter is never mute).
S	s	As in English.
T	t	Pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth.
U	u	Like u in the English word full.
*Û	ū	Like u in the English word rule.
V	v	As in English.
Z	z	Sometimes as in English, and sometimes like the s in the English word pleasure.
	eu	Like eu in the French word feu. This is a very common sound.

* The final vowels of words and syllables being generally long, they are not as a rule accented.

NOTE.—When ch, k, p or t are combined with h they are pronounced as follows :—

Chh like ch in the English word church, but distinctly aspirated.
kh like kh in the English word blockhead.
ph like ph in the English word uphill.
Th like th in the English word neatherd.

There must, however, be no hiatus between the k and h, p and h, t and h, as in the English words, but both must be pronounced with one breath.

Sh is pronounced like sh in the English word ship.

When the liquids l, m, n, r are aspirated, they are preceded by the letter h. When the initial ng is aspirated, it is followed by h.

The numbers are represented by the same figures as in English.

Nouns.

There are no case inflexions in Lakher; where necessary post-positions are made use of, as

Give him his pipe. His pipe him to give.
A ongmabei a hnangta pite.

Nouns are declined as follows :—

	Singular	Plural.
Nom.	*Hawti*	*Hawti naw* or *hawti zeu* or *hawti zeuta.*
Voc.	*Hawti*	*Hawti naw u* or *hawti sahlo* or *hawti zeu u.*
Poss.	*Hawti*	*Hawti naw* or *hawti zeu.*
Obj.	*Hawti*	*Hawti naw* or *hawti zeu.*

Gender.

There are three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. Masculine and feminine are sometimes distinguished by different words :—*E.g.*

Satlia. A youth.
Laisa. A girl.
Ngiahrai. A wild boar.
Ngiapinong. A wild sow.

More usually, however, *chapawpa* is affixed for the masculine and *chanongpa* for the feminine, *e.g.*

Sei. A slave.
Sei chapawpa. A male slave.
Sei chanongpa. A female slave.
Awh. A fowl.
Awh chapawpa. A cock.
Awh chanongpa. A hen.

In the case of full-grown animals, the termination *tongpa* is sometimes used to indicate that the animal is both full grown and of the male sex, *e.g.* :—

Setongpa. A bull *mithun.*
Viachhotongpa. A bull.
Mitongpa. A billy goat.

The following irregular terminations indicate the same thing :—

Zuneihpa. A stag (*sambhur*).
Sakhicheipa. A stag (barking deer).
Awkheupa. A full-grown cock.
Vacharihlipa. The word for a cock *kalij* pheasant is also irregular, as it indicates that the bird is a full-grown cock and also that it has white feathers under its tail.
Vothawpa. A full-grown boar.

For females the termination *panong* is used to indicate that the animal is female and full grown.

Vopanong. A sow.
Ipanong. A bitch.
Vacharipanong. A hen *kalij* pheasant.

Some words are the same in both the masculine and feminine, as

Uta. Elder brother or sister.
Nawta. Younger brother or sister.

Numbers.

There are two numbers : singular and plural.

The plural of nouns is formed by adding one of the following terminations to the singular :—

Sahlo. Naw. Zeu. Zeudua. Hlupi. Zaw. Maita.

Sahlo and *naw* are used with human beings and animals, but not for inanimate things.

Hawti sahlo. Boys.
Chanong sahlo. Women.
Vo sahlo. Pigs.
Laisa naw. Girls.
Pavaw naw. Birds.

Zeu is used for animals and inanimate things, and may also be used for human beings :—

Thang zeu. Trees.

In reference to human beings *zeu* is generally used, as in the following example :—

Zahia zeu a ma vaw tlong ma ? Have Zahia and his companions arrived ?

zeu here indicating that the question refers not only to Zahia, but also to the people who went with him.

Zeudua and *hlupi* can be used with human beings, animals and inanimate objects. *Zeudua* means all—

Ang zeudua. All the houses (meaning all the houses in the village).

Na sei zeudua. All your *mithun.*

Awsi zeudua. All the stars.

Hlupi means many, as

Cheusa hlupi. Many people.

Ang hlupi. Many houses.

Zaw can be used to indicate plurality in anything, but is especially used for animals, *e.g.*—

Ngiazaw. A sounder of pig.

Azeuzaw. A crowd of monkeys.

Viachhozaw. A herd of cows.

Vahizaw. A flight of green pigeons.

Beukheipazaw. A covey of partridges.

Zawpi means a crowd of people.

Maita can be used for human beings and for certain inanimate objects, and bears much the same meaning as *zeudua* :—

Thang maita thlu te u. Cut all the trees.

Ramaw maita chhaw kha u. Do not cut all the bamboos.

Tura village from kala azar patients all

Tura khi liata kala azar aveipa maita

medicine house to go to are

thangna angla sipa a cha.

—All the Tura kala azar patients must go to hospital.

Nouns are not inflected for the plural number when they are qualified by adjectives denoting plurality, *e.g.*—

Ang sapali i hneih. I have four houses.

Pang mianang na pi te. Give me two cloths.
Lukhu heukha a hneih. He has several hats.
Along eu ve. There are no stones.

Cases.

There are no case inflexions except in the vocative plural, when the termination u is added, *e.g.*

Hawti naw u. Hi, boys.
Macha naw u. Hi, you old men.

All other cases are the same as the nominative. When the subject of a sentence is followed by a transitive verb in the active voice, it usually takes the termination *ta*, *pata* or *na* to distinguish it from the object.

Viachota sipangpa a ba. The cow ate the grass.
Hawtipata i a tuh. The boy beat the dog.
Chanongta sachha a zua. The woman sells rice.

The noun in the objective case is generally placed immediately before the transitive verb which governs it, *e.g.* :—

Na nawtapa along cha leipata Tlabola a zu.
Your younger brother has gone to Tlabung to buy salt.
I ta pazu a patu-dai ma.
The dog is about to seize the rat.

The noun denoting the possessor is generally placed immediately before the noun denoting the thing possessed, and is used adjectivally without any inflexion :—

Chhali hnapasu a pazo. Chhali's nose is sharp.
Chanong pang i zua hawh. I have sold the woman's cloth.
Zahia ra a phei a seu. Zahia's horse is lame.

Sometimes *ei* is added after the noun to denote the possessor :—

He sei he aheu ei maw ? Whose *mithun* is this ?
I na ei. My mother's.

Adjectives.

Adjectives are placed after the words they qualify, they are not inflected, *e.g.* :—

Cheusa phapa. A good man.
Chava laipa. A big leech.
Ti cheu. Shallow water.
Pawpi saipa. A red flower.

All adjectives when used to qualify nouns take the ending *pa*, as shown in the examples above.

When an adjective is used to complete the predicate of a sentence, a pronominal particle agreeing with the subject is placed before the adjectives, *e.g.* :—

He pang he a pha na. This cloth is good.
He pawpi he a sai na. This flower is red.

When a noun is used as an adjective, it precedes the noun it qualifies, *e.g.* :—

I sahma beirai a lei. My zu pot is best.
I song thang song na cha. My mortar is a wooden mortar.

Comparison of Adjectives.

The comparative degree is formed by adding the adverb *via*, meaning "more," to the positive and inserting *hlata*, meaning "than," after the object of comparison, *e.g.* :—

Theutu hlata Chhali a manglei via.
Chhali is wickeder than Theutu.
I leu na leu hlata a pha via.
My field is better than yours.
Sawzaw hlata sathaw azaw hla via.
Serow than gural jumps far more
The *gural* jumps farther than the *serow.*

When *hlata* is used with the demonstrative it is combined thus :—

Hei-hi hlata becomes *he hlana he ta.*
Haw-hu hlata becomes *haw hlana haw ta.*
Kha-khaw hlata becomes *kha hlana kha ta.*

Khu-khu hlata becomes *khu hlana khu ta.*
Khi-khi hlata becomes *khi-hlana-khi ta.*
Cha-chu hlata becomes *cha-hlana-cha-ta.*

E.g. :—

He chapaw hlana heta, kha sathlia kha a thatlong via.
That youth is stronger than this man.
Khi vacharipa hlana khita, khu varapa khu a ngia via.
The polyplectron down there is more beautiful than the kalij pheasant up there.

When the object of comparison is not mentioned *hlata* is not used, *e.g.* :—

Na ara a pha via. Your horse is better.

Superlative Degree.

The adverb "*chai*," meaning "most," is added to the positive, and either "*hlata*" ("than"), or "*hreuta*" ("among"), is added after the object of comparison, *e.g.* :—

He masia he, masia hrangpa zeudua hlata a lai chai.
This elephant is the largest of all elephants.
Marapa khi zeudua hlata, Savang khi a pha chai.
Savang is the best of all the Lakher villages.

When there is no object of comparison *hlata* is not used :—

He khi hmang he a pha chai.
This is the best village site.
He tikho he a pathai chai.
This is the purest water supply.

The Cardinal numbers.

Four different prefixes are used with the cardinals, varying according to the words the cardinals qualify :—

Pa is used for human beings only, *e.g.* :—

Chanong panang. Two women.

Mia is used for anything else except human beings.

Pong is used for *mithun*, cattle, goats, pigs, fowls, dogs, bamboos, fruit.

Sa is used for anything except human beings.

The numbers are as follows :—

1 *Miakha.*
2 *Mianang.*
3 *Miathong.*
4 *Miapali.*
5 *Miapangaw.*
6 *Miacharu.*
7 *Miasari.*
8 *Miachari.*
9 *Miachaki.*
10 *Miahraw* or *seukha.*
11 *Miahraw hlei kha* or *miahraw nata miakha* or *seukha nata sakha.*
12 *Miahraw hleinang* or *miahraw nata mianang* or *seukha nata sanang.*
13. *Miahraw hlei thong* or *miahraw nata miathong* or *seukha nata sa thong.*

And so on up to 20, which is *seuhang.*

Nata means and. *Hlei* means plus.

The cardinals from 20 to 90 are formed by adding to *seu* the numbers without their prefix.

20 *Seunang.*	60 *Seucharu.*
30 *Seuthong*	70 *Seusari.*
40 *Seupali.*	80 *Seuchari.*
50 *Seupangaw.*	90 *Seuchaki.*

The cardinals 21, 22, etc., are formed by adding *miakha*, *mianang*, etc., to *seunang*, *seuthong*, etc., and inserting the conjunction *nata*, *e.g.* :—

21 *Seunang nata miakha.*
32 *Seuthong nata mianang.*
43 *Seupali nata miathong.*
54 *Seupangaw nata miapali.*

One hundred is *seuhraw*—ten tens, or *za kha.* Either term can be used.

One thousand is *sa kha.*

Ten thousand is *theu kha.*

Both these terms are really indefinite, as no Lakher can count up to a thousand, and few to as much as a hundred.

Hundreds, thousands, etc., are formed in the same manner as the multiples of ten, as :—

200 *Za nang.*
4000 *Sa pali.*
30,000 *Theu thong.*

Nata (and) is also inserted between the thousands, hundreds and tens, as :—

843 *Za chari nata seu pali nata sathong.*
1907 *Sa kha nata za chaki nata sasari.*
1929 *Sa kha nata za chaki nata seunang nata sachaki.*

When the cardinals from 1 to 9 are used to qualify nouns, the prefix *pao* is sometimes omitted, as :—

Nang charu=six days ; but *se pong charu*=six *mithun.*
Thang miapali=four trees ; but *thla charu*=six months.
Khi nang. Two villages.

The prefix is generally retained when human beings are spoken of, and then *pao* becomes *pa*, as :—

Laisa pa-chaki. Nine maidens.

When any numeral above 10 qualifies a noun, the noun is usually repeated after each recurrence of the conjunction *nata*, and the prefix *pao* is omitted. With words of two or more syllables this rule does not generally apply.

Examples :—

Phia hraw nata phia pangaw. 15 rupees.
Cheusapa za kha nata seupali. 140 men.

Ordinal Numbers.

Ordinals are formed by affixing *na* to the cardinals, *e.g.* :—
Chabu bu miapalina vaw chei te. Fetch the fourth book.
Sei pong charuna ka te. Shoot the sixth *mithun.*

In speaking of the order of time, the ordinal numbers may

also be expressed by repeating the noun after the cardinal, as :—

Nang charu nang. The sixth day.
Za pangaw za I tlong hawh. I arrived on the fifth night.
Every other day. *Nang kha padaita.*
Every third day. *Nang nang padaita.*
Every fourth day. *Nang thong padaita.*

Distributives are formed by doubling the cardinal and adding the affix *saita, e.g.* :—

Panang panang saita. Two at a time.

Numeral Adverbs.

These are formed by prefixing *ei* to the cardinals and omitting the prefix :—

Once. *Ei-kha.*
Twice. *Ei-nang.*
Thrice. *Ei-thong.*
Four times. *Ei-pali.*

In compound numbers *ei* is repeated after each recurrence of the conjunction *nata,* thus :—

1928 times. *Ei sakha nata ei za chaki nata ei seunang nata ei chari.*

The Lakhers do not make use of double adverbs in the way that is done in Lushei to indicate both the manner in which something is done and the appearance of the agent.

Demonstrative Adjectives.

These are as follows :—

He he or *he hi.* This.
Ho hu. That over there.
Kha khaw. That near you.
Khu khu. That down there.
Khi khi. That up there.
Cha cha or *cha chu.* That.

The plural forms are :—

He zeu hi or *He zeu he.* These.

Ho zeu hu. Those over there.
Kha zeu khaw. Those near you.
Khu zeu khu. Those down there.
Khi zeu khi. Those up there.
Cha zeu chu. Those.

The noun which the demonstrative qualifies is placed between the two words forming the demonstrative, *e.g.* :—

He khi he a kaw na. This village is extensive.
Cha parangpa cha na pahnang ma ? Did you hear that noise ?
Khi ang zeu khi ei na. Those houses up there are mine.
Khu vo khu-ta a lo a ni. That pig down there is eating food.

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

First person *Keima.* I.

Singular.

Nom.	*Keima, kei ei.*	I.
Poss.	*Keima, ei.*	My.
	Keima ei, kei ei.	Mine.
Obj.	*Na, kei na.*	Me, to me, for me.

First Person.

Plural.

Nom.	*Keimang, ima.*	We.
Poss.	*Keimang, ima.*	Our.
	Keimang ei, ima ei.	Ours.
Obj.	*Keimang mania, mania.*	Us, to us, for us.

Second Person. *Nama.* Thou.

Singular.

Nom.	*Nama, na.*	Thou.
Poss.	*Nama, na.*	Your.
	Nama ei, na ei.	Your.
Obj.	*Nama, na.*	Thee.

Plural.

Nom.	*Namang, nama.*	You.
Poss.	*Namang, nama.*	Your.
	Namang ei, nama ei.	Yours.
Obj.	*Namang, nama.*	You.

The third person *anang* or *a* is similarly declined. Its plural form is *amang.*

Reflexive Pronouns.

To express a reflex action the pronouns *keima*, *nama*, *anang*, etc., are used as follows :—

He hit himself. *Anang sa seuta a tu.*
I shot myself. *Keima sa seuta ei ka so.*
You will cut yourself. *Nama saseuta na chhaw aw.*
He blames himself. *Anang saseuta a mochhi.*

In the plural, *cheu*, each, or *rairi*, each of two, is inserted between the personal pronoun and its nominative ending or placed after the verb.

Keimang cheuta ima chhaw. We cut ourselves.
Namangta nama ka so rairi aw } You will each
Namang panang nama ka so rairi aw } shoot yourself.

Relative Pronouns.

These are :—

Kha, *Cha* } Who, which, what, that.

Zeudua, *Zeuduacha*, *Zeuduakha* } Whoever, whatever, whichever.

Kha is used when the antecedent is known to the speaker, and *cha* when the antecedent has been heard of only by the speaker, but is known to the person addressed.

The relative pronoun follows the verb of the relative sentence, *e.g.* :—

Where is the man who came yesterday ?
Azahia ta cheusa a veu pa kha khataitama a eu.

The man who is coming to-morrow is lame.
Meula cheusa a veu pa cha a phei a seu.
Call whichever man you like.
Cheusa na khang pa maita aw te.

Sometimes the relative pronoun is omitted, and then the verb becomes a participle or adjective qualifying the noun.

Examples :—

The letter which I have written is good.
I cha i rang-pa a pha na.
The house which you have built is too large.
Na ang sa-pa a lai-tu haw na.

Interrogative Pronouns.

The interrogative pronouns are *aheuma ? aheu ? aheumaw ?*
Who ?
Who came ? *Aheuma a veu ?*
Who hit you ? *Nama aheuma chatu ?*
He has sold his horse. Who ?
A ra a zua hawh. Aheumaw ? or *Aheu-ei-maw ?*

When *aheuma* is used adjectively, the noun it qualifies is placed between the two parts which make up the word, *e.g.* :

Whose fowl did you buy ? *Aheu awh ma na cha-lei ?*
In whose house are you stopping ? *Aheu ang liata ma na eu ?*

When *aheuma* qualifies a noun which is the subject of a transitive verb in the active voice, the verb does not take the usual pronominal prefix, *e.g.* :—

Whose dog bit you ? *Aheu i ma cha si.*
Aheu can be used by itself as follows :—
A pang a lei hawh. Aheu pang ?
His cloth is lost. Whose cloth ?
Aheuma na hmong ? Whom did you see ?
Aheuma can be split up by a post position as :—
For whom are you making it ?
Aheu chata ma na to ?
What ? *Khapa-ma, khapa, khapamaw, khamaw ?*
What do you want ? *Khapa-ma na khang ?*

When *khapa-ma* and *khapamaw* are used adjectively, they are split up by the nouns they qualify, *e.g.* :—

Khapa ti ma i thai aw ? What water shall I draw ?

Khapa is used by itself as follows :—

Na hmong ma ? Khapa ? Have you seen it ? What ?
Khei-ha-ma ? Which ?

Tapa or *ta* may be used with an interrogative pronoun to give it the force of a relative :—

Aheuma tapa na pahnang ma.
Do you know who it was ?
Khapa-ma ta pahnang va na.
I do not know what it was.

Possessive Pronouns.

Singular.

Keima, i.	My.
Keima ei, kei ei.	Mine.
Nama, na.	Thy.
Nama ei, na ei.	Thine.
Anang, a.	Him, her, it.
Anang ei, a ei.	His, hers, its.

Plural.

Keimang, ima.	Our.
Keimang ei, ima ei.	Ours.
Namang, nama.	Your.
Namang ei, nama ei.	Yours.
Amang, ama.	Their.
Amang ei, ama ei.	Theirs.

The demonstrative pronouns are the same as the double forms of the demonstrative adjectives.

There are many indefinite pronouns, *e.g.* :—

Khapamatavei.	Nothing.
Khaparai.	Anything.
Atang.	Everything.
Khapaleipa.	Something.

Khapama.	Something or other.
Aheumatavei.	Nobody.
Aheurai.	Any one.
Aheu-tleuma.	Some one, a certain one.
Akhangpi-akhangpi.	Some . . . others.
Ahrangpa.	Another, others.
Ama zeuduata.	All.

Verbs.

The conjugation of the verb in Lakher is simple. It has the same form throughout the tense, and it is the pronominal particle which alone determines the person and number.

The pronominal particles are as follows :—

Singular.		Plural.	
First person, *i.*	I.	First person, *ima.*	We.
Second person, *na.*	Thou.	Second person, *nama.*	You.
Third person, *a.*	He. / She. / It.	Third person, *ama.*	They.

The pronoun proper is generally omitted, except when emphasis is required, but the pronominal particle must always be used whether the pronoun proper is present or not.

The conjugation of the verb *cha*, " to be," is as follows :—

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.

1. *Keima i cha.*	I am.
2. *Nama na cha.*	Thou art.
3. *Anang a cha.*	He is.

Plural.

1. *Keimang ima cha.*	We are.
2. *Namang nama cha.*	You are.
3. *Amang ama cha.*	They are.

Past Tense.

Singular.

1. *Keima i cha.*	I was.
2. *Nama na cha.*	Thou wast.
3. *Anang a cha.*	He was.

Past Tense.

Plural.

1. *Keimang ima cha.*	We were.
2. *Namang nama cha.*	You were.
3. *Amang ama cha.*	They were.

Perfect Tense.

Singular.

1. *Keima i cha hawh.*	I have been.
2. *Nama na cha hawh.*	Thou hast been.
3. *Anang a cha hawh.*	He has been.

Plural.

1. *Keimang ima cha hawh.*	We have been.
2. *Namang nama cha hawh.*	You have been.
3. *Amang ama cha hawh.*	They have been.

Future Tense.

Singular.

1. *Keima i cha aw.*	I shall be.
2. *Nama na cha aw.*	Thou wilt be.
3. *Anang a cha aw.*	He will be.

Plural.

1. *Keimang ima cha aw.*	We shall be.
2. *Namang nama cha aw.*	You will be.
3. *Amang ama cha aw.*	They will be.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present and Past Tense.

Singular

1. *Keima i cha khiata-la.*	If I be or if I were.
2. *Nama na cha khiata-la.*	If thou be or if thou wert.
3. *Anang a cha khiata-la.*	If he be or if he were.

Plural.

1. *Keimang ima cha khiata-la.* If we be or if we were.
2. *Namang nama cha khiata-la.* If you be or if you were.
3. *Amang ama cha khiata-la.* If they be or if they were.

Khiata-cha may also be used instead of *khiata-la.*

or

Singular.

1. *Cha aw sala.* If I be or if I were.
2. *Cha la.* If thou be or if thou wert.
3. *Cha sala.* If he be or if he were.

Plural.

1. *Cha ei sala.* If we be or if we were.
2. *Cha ula.* If you be or if you were.
3. *Cha sala.* If they be or if they were.

Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

1. *Cha hawh sala.* If I had been.
2. *Cha hawh la.* If thou hadst been.
3. *Cha hawh sala.* If he had been.

Plural.

1. *Cha hawhei sala.* If we had been.
2. *Cha hawh ula.* If you had been.
3. *Cha hawh sala.* If they had been.

Imperative Mood.

Singular.

2. *Cha te.* Be thou.
3. *Cha sa.* Let him be.

Plural.

2. *Cha-ta u.* Be ye.
3. *Cha-na na ei sa.* Let them be.

Imperative Mood.

Negative Form.

Singular.

2. *Cha kha.*	Be not thou.
3. *Cha kha sa.*	Let him not be.

Plural.

2. *Cha kha u.*	Be ye not.
3. *Cha kha ei sa.*	Let them not be.

The verb "*eu*," "to be," "to exist," is conjugated in the same manner as *cha*.

The verb "to have" is represented by using *eu* in the following manner :—

Kei hnangta a eu.	I have (*lit.* It is to me).
Nama hnangta a eu.	Thou hast (*lit.* It is to thee).

etc., etc.

Conjugation of the verb *Si*, "To go."

NOTE.—In the following conjugation the first person singular of each tense only will be given, as the verb remains unchanged throughout the tense, and the other persons can easily be formed by substituting for *keima i* the pronouns and particles *nama na, anang a*, etc.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tenses.

Indef.	*Keima i si, keima i si teu.*	I go, I do go.
Imperf.	*Keima i si hai.*	I am going.
Perfect.	*Keima i si haw.*	I have gone.

Past Tenses.

The same as the present tenses.

Future Tenses.

Indef.	*Keima i si aw.*	I shall go.
Imperf.	*Keima i si hai aw.*	I shall be going.
Perfect.	*Keima i si haw aw.*	I shall have gone.

Conditional Mood.

Present Tenses.

Keima i si aw pa-tlai.	I would go.

Past Tenses.

Keima i si hawh aw pa-tlai. I would have gone.

The above tenses also express the meaning I should or ought to go.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present and Past Tenses.

Keima i si khiata-cha. If I go, went, have gone or had gone.

Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

1. *Si hawh aw sala.* If I had gone.
2. *Si hawh la.* If thou hadst gone.
3. *Si hawh sala.* If he had gone.

Plural.

1. *Si hawh ei sala.* If we had gone.
2. *Si hawh ula.* If you had gone.
3. *Si hawh sala.* If they had gone.

NOTE.—If *hra* be inserted between the verb and the subjunctive ending of any of the persons in the second form of the present and past tenses, or of the pluperfect, the meaning becomes "although" or "even if," as—

Si hra aw sa la. Although I go, even if I go.

The negative forms of the above are as follows :—

Singular.

1. *Si vei sala.* If I go not, etc.
2. *Si vei la.* If thou go not, etc.
3. *Si vei sala.* If he go not, etc.

Plural.

1. *Si vei sala.* If we go not, etc.
2. *Si vei ula.* If you go not, etc.
3. *Si vei sala.* If they go not, etc.

Singular.

1. *Si hawh vei sala.* If I had not gone.
2. *Si hawh vei la.* If thou had not gone.
3. *Si hawh vei sala.* If he had not gone.

Plural.

1. *Si hawh vei i sala.* If we had not gone.
2. *Si hawh vei ula.* If you had not gone.
3. *Si hawh vei sala.* If they had not gone.

If *hra* be inserted between the verb and the subjunctive ending the meaning becomes " although," or " even if," as :—

Si hra vei sala. Even if I do not go.

Imperative Mood.

Singular.

2. *Si-te.* Go thou.
3. *Si-na na sa.* Let him go.

Plural.

1. *Si i sa u.* Let us go.
2. *Si ta u.* Go ye.
3. *Si-na na ei sa.* Let them go.

Other forms of the imperative are :—

Si ma eu, si la va chi. Go thou.

Negative Forms.

Singular.

2. *Si kha.* Go not.
3. *Si kha sa.* Let him not go.

Plural.

1. *Si kha su u.* Let us not go.
2. *Si kha u.* Go ye not.
3. *Si kha ei sa.* Let them not go.

Other negative forms are :—

Si kha eu, si haw kha cha. Do not go.
Infinitive Mood.—*Si.* To go.
Participles.—*Si-ta, si-pata.* Going.
Gerunds.—*Si-pa, si-pata, si-naw-pata.* For going.

Causative Verbs.

Causative verbs are formed by prefixing *pa* and affixing *sa* to the verb and adding the tense endings as required, *e.g.* :—

Si, to go ; *pa-si-sa*, to cause to go, *i.e.* to send.

In interrogative sentences the particles *ma*, *maw*, *khiamaw*, *tleuma* are placed at the end of the sentence, *e.g.* :—

Will you go ? *Na si aw ma ?*
Is it good ? *A pha ma ?*
Have you seen ? *Na hmong haw ma ?*
Is it raining or not ? *Ava sua khiamaw ?*
Do you want to go or not ? *Na si khang tleuma ?*

When a verb is used negatively the adverb *vei* or *vana*, meaning " not," is placed after the root verb, *e.g.* :—

My father does not wish to give me a gun.
I pata meithei na pi a khang vei.

Vei sometimes becomes *vana* at the end of a sentence :—

Who wrote this ? *Anang-he aheuma a rang ?*
I do not know. *Pahnang vana.*

Va and *vaw* are verbal prefixes. *Va* indicates motion from, generally on the level ground, while *vaw* indicates motion towards the speaker, *e.g.* :—

Go and tell. *Va chhang te.*
Come and give it to me. *Na vaw pi te.*

Adverbs.

I give below a few examples of adverbs of place :—

Above.	*Chongliata.*	Above (higher up).	*Machhata.*
Underneath	*Reulata.*	Below(lower down).	*Mathila.*
Outside.	*Khongthangla.*	Here.	*Heliata.*
		There.	*Holiata.*
Inside.	*Chhonglata.*	Up there.	*Khiliata.*
		Down there.	*Khuliata.*
In front.	*Hmiala.*	Where.	*Khatailiata.*
		Anywhere.	*Khatailarai.*
Behind.	*Hnangta.*	Nowhere.	*Khatailiahmata.*

The following are examples of adverbs of time :—

Now.	*Atahma.*	In the early morning.	*Meuta.*
Quickly.	*Patang.*	To-morrow.	*Meula.*
		The day after to-morrow.	*Hanang.*
Late.	*Tlia.*	Last night.	*Zahia.*
This year.	*Atakong.*	To-night.	*Ataza.*
Last year	*Azakong.*	To-day.	*Atanang.*
Daily.	*Nangtang.*	Yet.	*Atahmatai.*
Formerly.	*Azachhanang.*	The day before yesterday.	*Zakhahniapa.*

The following are some adverbs of manner :—

How ?	*Kheitamaw ?*	Certainly.	*Hmci-sei-tatai.*
Slowly.	*Dusawta.*	Quickly.	*Para.*
Very.	*Kawna.*	Also.	*Hra.*
How much ?	*Khazima ?*	Accidentally.	*Pathlei.*

Many adverbs are placed between the root verb and its inflexion :—

Hria para te. Work quickly.
Na vaw tlia tu. You have come too late.

Adverbs can be made by affixing *patata* to an adjective, *e.g.* :—

Pha.	Good.	*Aphapatata.*	Well.
Adang.	Correct.	*Adangpatata.*	Correctly.

The comparative degree of adverbs is formed by adding *rili* to the positive and the superlative by adding *chai* :—

Si para rili te. Go more quickly.
Na si para chai. You go the quickest.

Prepositions.

Prepositions govern the possessive case and follow the noun or pronoun they govern, and should more correctly be referred to as post positions, *e.g.* :—

Hnangta	To, with, from.
Hmateuta / *Hmiata*	Before.
Kiapata.	Near.
Lata	Towards.

Likawta *Lalita.*	Between.
Hreuta.	Among.
Chata.	For.
Lichita.	Close to.
Chhong.	Within.
Leipacha.	Except.
Khongthangta.	Outside of.
Tawta.	From.
Khongla.	Beyond.

Panang kei hnangta ama si.
Two men went with me.
Lapi lichita a-teu kha.
Do not sit in the middle of the road.
Na khi tawta hmong thei va na.
I cannot see from your village.

Conjunctions.

The most usual conjunctions are :—

Cha-hra-sala. Nevertheless, still, yet, but.
Chata-na-chata. Therefore, than, so, so that.

Khiatala.	If.	*Chavata.*	Because.
Nata.	And.	*Ma.*	Or.
Hlatala.	Until.	*Tleumacha.*	Whether.

Na tlong hlatala paheu kha. Do not open it until you arrive.
Na si aw ma si aw vei ? Will you go or not ?

Interjections.

Eu.
A veu ma eu ! Come here !

Angpa eu.
Angpa eu ! Thang na chalei khang ma ?
I say ! do you want to buy wood ?

Aze-aze. An expression of pain or fatigue.
Aze-aze i chaina a pasa ! Oh, oh, my back hurts !

Examples of Sentences.

Clear the jungle quickly.	*Chhaw para te.*
Come again to-morrow at noon.	*Meula nangchhongpatinitita aveu hei te.*
I will not allow the giving and receiving of bribes.	*Arulata ano pasaivana.*
Unless your chief is present I cannot decide your case.	*Na beipa a euve khiatala na biachho parai theivana.*
Why did you not tell your chief ?	*Nama beipa khazia na chhang ve ?*
Each take it in turns to carry this.	*A pho pari cheu muveu.*
Why have you divorced your wife ?	*Na lapinong khaziama na ma ?*
Because she always cooked my rice badly.	*Bei pakhata a chang lei vata.*
How many men did your father kill ?	*Cheusa pakhazima na pawta a thi hawh ?*
Five men, three women and a child.	*Chapaw papangaw, chanong patong, hawti pakha a thi.*
Did he perform the *Ia* ceremony over them all ?	*Ama zeuduata a ia ma ?*
Yes, as he feared their *saws* would harm him unless he performed the *Ia* ceremony.	*Eu, a ia veisela a saw a chaaw tapavata.*
Who is the most beautiful girl in your village ?	*Nama khiliata laisa hmiphachaipa aheumaw ?*
Do they brew better beer in Savang or in Saiko ?	*Saiko khia nata Savang khi aheuma sahma thlongpa a to thei via ?*
They brew better beer in Savang, as in Saiko they drink so much that they cannot brew it carefully.	*Savang mang sahma a thlong via, Saiko mang sahma ama dangtuvata sahma thlonghma vei.*
In addition to your wife, how many concubines have you?	*Nonghrang reileipata nongthang pakhazima na hneih ?*
Zahia shot a bull rhinoceros with an arrow.	*Zahiata khoratongpa chataita a ka.*

How much did you receive for your sesamum crop this year ?	*Atakong na chihriata taka khazima na hmong ?*
Why do you not grow oranges and sugar-cane for selling to the Arakanese.	*Khaziama theithu nata basu chiteula Matula zua pata nama chheivei ?*
Lakhers sometimes go to Paletwa and sometimes to Tlabung to buy salt.	*Along chaleipata Marapenaw sahlo a chata Philala ama chalei a chata Tlabongla ama chalei.*
I am very thirsty, give me some beer to drink.	*I da phi nga sa kawta, i dang pata sahma na pi te.*

I give below a short story about the pig, the jungle fowl and the monkey, and an extract from a long story about a poor man called Korabaibu who married a king's daughter, with the Lakher words in original and an English translation of each word written above it, the translation being as literally correct as possible.

Pig Jungle fowl and Monkey Story.
Vothawpa Raawh nata Azeu phawng.

Pig jungle fowl monkey field weed shared. Pig
Vothawpa, Ra-awh, Azeu leu thleu areita. Vothawpa

field weed day on fish they ate. Jungle fowl field weed
leu thleu nangta ngasa ama ni. Raawh leu thleu

day on eggs they ate. Monkey field weed day on eat to
nangta awhti ama ni. Azeu leu thleu nangta nipa

was not. Monkey water only he hot made. Pig and
euleipata. Azeuta ti deitapa ei ta. Vothawpa nata

Jungle fowl our field weed day on fishes eggs
raawhta keimang leu thleu nang ta ngasa-zeu awhti-zeu

ate, your field weed day on food you consider
nipita, nama leu thleu nangta nipa na pacha

refuse they said. Water hot the monkey they poured.
khang vei ta eita. Ti ei cha azeu ama bo hawh.

Therefore monkey angry pig and jungle fowl field
Chavata azeu shihata vothawpa nata raawh leu
from rice steal he eats always.
liata sa paruta a ni teu.

The following is a free translation of the above :—

Once upon a time, a pig, a jungle fowl and a monkey agreed to join together to weed each other's fields. On the day they weeded the pig's fields, the pig provided fish for his helpers to eat. On the day they weeded the jungle fowl's fields, eggs were provided for a meal ; the day, however, on which they weeded the monkey's fields, the monkey provided no food at all, but merely warmed some water. The pig and the jungle fowl were very indignant, and said, " The day we all weeded our fields we had fish and eggs to eat, but the day we come to weed your field you do not provide any food at all." So saying they poured the hot water over the monkey. The monkey got very angry at this, and ever since he has always stolen the rice from the pig's and the jungle fowl's fields.

Korabaibu Story.

Korabaibu Phawngpa.

Formerly chief one Palia was his child female
Hla-nang-ta abeipa pakha Palia euta, a saw-chanong
girl face good very very had. Then poor man
laisa hmi pha ngaita kawh-pa hnei-ta. Chatawcha machhi
one his name Korabaibu face bad very very, household
pakha a mang Korabaibu hmichhi ngasa kawpha, deu
poor very being also. Korabaibu however Palia child
chhi chaipa eu hrata. Korabaibu chata Palia saw
female female girl that wife for have able to his
chanong nong laisa cha lapinong ta hnei thei pata a
strength with he considered. Korabaibu however rat his
thata pachata. Korabaibu chata pazu a
friend for rat to therefore, my friend kind being,
viasa ta pazu kheina cha-ta, ka dua-pa ngia-chhipatata,

Palia child female girl I have able to ness consider
Palia saw chanong laisa i hnei thei naw-pa-zi- napa-cha
carefully do. Rat all right I will consider for you
kheite ta-ta. Pazuta eu cha pacha khei la-va-na
however arum stalk and crab one catching
a-nang-deikua dia-deu kong nata chaia sakha vapatula
then I able as possible envoy I acting will said.
chatanachata i thai theipahawta leu i cha-chapa aw tata.
Korabaibu the he pleased very very much arum
Korabaibu cha a leu ngai-ta kawh pata diadeu
stalk and crab one the quickly caught rat
kong nata chaia sakha cha achatlipata pa-tu-ta pazu
the gave. Rat arum stalk and crab the cooked
cha pi-ta. Pazu-ta diadeu kong nata chaia cha paseuta
arum cooked as soon as took out brought. Palia he
diadeu azo nata tho- ta cha-ba-ta. Palia a
asleep is thinking time at night at Palia house
mong hawh a taw na ta a zang ta Palia ang
towards went very quietly door opened. Palia he
la vawta a rula tata ang-chi pa-heu-ta. Palia cha
asleep fast was rat then Palia ear hole at
a-vaw-mong thla haw-ta, pazu chata Palia nakho lianacha
whiskers tickled oh Palia, oh Palia, your daughter girl
ahmo paphata eu Palia, eu Palia, na sawchanong laisa
this Korabaibu give you give not if crab split you split
he Korabaibu pite, na pi vei khiatala chaia ei ta na ei
shall, arum soft you soft shall he said crab the
awh, diadeu zo-ta na zo awh ta ta chaia cha
split arum soft with Palia head above placed.
ei-chhei-ta diadeu zopa na-cha-ta Palia lu chongta sangta.
he himself he ran off did. Rat's speech that
a-nang cha a ra seuleu hawta. Pazu bi-rei pa-cha
Palia his dreams in had he woke up his wife
Paliata a mala- ta sata a vaw hrata a lapinong
aroused, my dreams in tale I heard strange it is very,
pa-theuta, i malata bi i thei a rarong a eu kawh.

Ho Palia your daughter girl this Korabaibu give you
eu Palia, na saw-chanong laisa he Korabaibu pi te na
give not if crab split you split will be arum soft
pi- vei khiatala chhaia ei-ta na ei awh diadeu zota
you soft will me said.
na zo awh i nata-ei.

Proverbs.

The Lakher language is not rich in proverbs, like Lushei, but there are a certain number, of which I give a few examples :—

Ka lei hreuta, dawchheutu. Means " playing on the drum while a case is being tried," and is used with reference to an unseemly interruption or remark.

A chong chaki zang, areu viasi lai. This proverb is almost impossible to translate literally ; its nearest equivalent in English is " running with the hare and hunting with the hounds " ; it is also used in reference to any man who, while extremely friendly to your face, slanders you behind your back

Zabi pawkia pakiasa. This means " to make a mole climb trees," and is used with reference to people who attribute acts or motives to others without any just ground, or who make impossible accusations which can be as little true as it can be that a mole climbs trees.

Tipang pala tla. Literally " throwing cotton into water," best translated as " blood is thicker than water." Used with reference to any outsider foolish enough to interfere between a married couple or two relations who are quarrelling. The idea is that as raw cotton cannot sink in water however you may try to make it, so the words of the would-be peace-maker and his good intentions count for nothing, and the parties to the quarrel merely turn on him and rend him when they make it up.

Chanong chhi keu vei, dawkia chhi keu vei. Freely translated this means, " Even an ugly woman gets a husband, as an old basket finds a user."

Mangchopa sahpatu. Means, literally, " a blind man catches game." This is said of a man who refuses to change any request he has made or any order he has passed on any ground whatever, as he is like a blind man who, having caught hold of an animal, hangs on to it tight without knowing what it is.

Longchong tama a su awh, thang chong tama a su awh, cheusapa ta thleu. This means, literally, " it will not end upon a stone, it will not end upon a tree, it will end upon a man." This saying is often used by chiefs, when trying suits, when it is a case of one man's word against another and one of the two must be lying. The chief tries to induce them to speak the truth by pointing out that the results of whatever they have done or said will ultimately fall upon themselves. The litigious nature of the Lakher is shown by the way in which most of the proverbs have a bearing on cases.

PART VI

Folklore

The stories which follow are typical examples of Lakher folklore. Most of them are about animals, which are moved by the same feelings and impulses as human beings, and testify to the simple nature of the people among whom they are current. The miraculous way in which a small pregnant monkey on two occasions escapes the fate of all her relations to perpetuate the monkey race, once by escaping through the hole in the floor through which the rubbish is thrown, and once by hanging on to a creeper as she was hurled over a cliff, is a delightfully naïve method of accounting for the survival of the monkey race in spite of dreadful catastrophes. Most of the stories are characterised by a very broad form of humour. The story of Nara is particularly interesting, as it contains the only reference I have found among the Lakhers to tiger men. At present, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the Lakhers do not believe in tiger men, but it is clear from this story that a belief in tiger men was current in the past. The story of Pala Tipang shows how among a primitive people the folklore is constantly growing. This tale contains a reference to Sahebs, of whom the Lakhers can only have had any knowledge for at the most a hundred years. The story about the Saheb who came with soldiers and fired into the lake must have been a comparatively recent addition to the original tale about the origin of the lake. Lakher folklore clearly grows in the same way as Lakher songs, by the addition of stories about current events of topical interest. The stories thus continue to be of actual interest to the people of the day, as they are formed and modified by events that occur in the lifetime of the people who relate them, whether as new stories or as modified forms of older tales.

Awti-pong Palong.

The Story of the Wild Cat, the Hen, and the Egg.

A wild cat once pretended to make friends with a hen, but all the time really he intended to eat her. "Where will you sleep to-night?" he once asked her. To which the hen replied, "I shall sleep in the *awhchari* (the hen's basket)." But when night fell she slept in the *awhdua* (the place where the water-tubes are kept). The wild cat came in the night expecting to find the hen in the *awhchari*, but as she was not there, he returned home again. On meeting the hen the next day, the wild cat asked her, "Hen, where did you sleep last night?" and the hen replied, "I slept in the *awhdua*." So he asked her again, "Where will you sleep to-night?" "I shall sleep in the *awhdua*, where I have laid my egg," said the hen; but actually she slept in the *awhchari*. So the wild cat came again during the night, and not finding the hen in the *awhdua* he returned home very angry. He happened to meet the hen on the next day, and again asked her where she had slept, and the hen replied, "I slept in the *awhchari*." So a third time he asked her, "Where will you sleep to-night?" "I shall sleep in the *awhchari*," said the hen, but when evening came she slept in the *awhdua*. The wild cat came in the night and looking in the *awhchari* and finding it empty he went to the *awhdua* and, finding the hen, he killed her and ran away with her body. But the hen had laid ten eggs. They decided to revenge their mother's death, and tried to leave the *awhdua*, and in doing so they all were broken except one, who happened to be the youngest. The little egg decided to revenge its mother alone, but on the road it met the Spirit of Cold, who asked it where it was going. The egg replied, "I am not going anywhere in particular"; but the Spirit of Cold said, "I know that you are going to revenge your mother's death. Let me come too, as I may be able to help you." So the Spirit of Cold went along with the egg. A little while later they met a rat-trap, who asked them where they were going, but as they did not answer him, he said, "I know that you are

going to revenge the death of the egg's mother. I will accompany you, and perhaps help you." So the three went on together and met one after the other, a pestle, a red ant, some chaff and a *dao*, who all insisted on accompanying the egg. Soon they reached the wild cat's house, but he was away in his *jhum*. So the Spirit of Cold went to the *jhum* and found the cat was weeding, so he went close to him and caused him to shiver and tremble with cold. While this was happening, the rat-trap set itself under the wild cat's house, the pestle hid above the door, the egg went on to the hearth beside the fire, and the red ant and the chaff remained on the floor near the egg. The *dao* climbed up on to the wall.

Presently the wild cat came home, very cold, and sat down by the fire, when suddenly the egg burst, which frightened him so much that he moved away and lay down on the chaff, but was immediately bitten by the red ant. He moved again, and started to rub himself against the wall, but there the *dao* cut him. He decided to leave the house, but as he went out of the door, the pestle fell on him, and he went underneath the house, but there the rat-trap caught him and held him tightly until he died. And thus was the egg able to take revenge for the death of its mother.

The Story of the Dog and the Goat.

Long, long ago the dog had horns.[1] One day a woman was pounding a piece of meat in a mortar. When she had finished, the dog came along and tried to lick up what remained. But finding he could not do so because of his horns, he took them off and, laying them beside him, he found that he was able to eat in comfort. While he was eating, a goat passed by, and, seeing the horns, put them on its own head. The dog at once chased the goat to recover his horns, but he was unable to recapture them. Ever since that day the dog always barks whenever he meets a goat, because he remembers that the goat stole his horns.

[1] This story occurs among the Chang Nagas, in whose version, however, the dog gave his horns to the barking deer to hold. The deer made off with them, and that is why dogs always hunt barking deer.—J. H. H.

Seilakangpa.

The Story of the Tortoise and the Monkeys.

Once, long ago, a tortoise went to a strange village to buy some salt. On his return he saw many monkeys up in a big tree eating the fruit. He asked them to throw some down to him, which they did. Having eaten it, he called out, "Throw me down some more," but the monkeys refused to throw down any more, and said, "Climb up the tree and fetch some more if you want it." Seilakangpa said, "I cannot climb trees." So the monkeys said, "If you like, we will carry you up," and as the tortoise agreed, they carried him up and put him in a forked branch. But when they had eaten as much fruit as they wanted, the monkeys left the tree without helping the tortoise down again, and went and carried off all his salt. He dared not jump, and, being afraid that he would die, he began to weep bitterly, and tears streamed from his eyes, and his nose began to run so fast that a small stream was formed near the foot of the tree. Presently a barking deer came by and, drinking from the stream, said, "How very nice the water from this stream is." The tortoise from up the tree immediately called out. "This is not a stream at all: it is my tears." He told the deer why he was weeping, and the deer said, "Jump down on to my back." The tortoise replied, "Your back is only four fingers in width, I am afraid to jump." Presently a *sambhur* stag came by, and also exclaimed at the excellent quality of the water. The tortoise again said, "It is not a stream, but my tears," and told the *sambhur* why he was weeping. The *sambhur* said, "Jump down on to my back," but the tortoise replied, "Your back is only two hands-width across, I am afraid to jump." However, soon an elephant passed by. He drank from the water and said, "What a very nice spring this is." "It is not a spring," said the tortoise, "it is my tears," and told the elephant why he was weeping. On learning what had happened, the elephant said, "My back is as broad as a sieve. Jump on me, it will be quite safe." So the tortoise jumped, and landed sideways on the elephant's spine, which at once

broke, so that the elephant died. The tortoise ate as much as he could of the elephant's meat, and presently he went near the monkeys' village to defecate. A little later the monkeys came out to go to their fields, and, thinking the dung was meat, ate it all up. The tortoise then said, "A little while ago you left me in a tree, and now you have eaten my dung." The monkeys were very angry on hearing this, and ate some *Chaaw* [1] and then all went and defecated near the house of the tortoise, after which they all hid in a basket. The tortoise came out, and, finding the dung, searched for the monkeys, and found them all hiding in the basket. So after tying them up in the basket he threw them over a precipice, where they all died except one female monkey, who was pregnant, and who was able to catch hold of a creeper hanging over the precipice. This monkey had many young ones, and it is said that all monkeys are descendants of this survivor.

Nonghmei nong.

The Widow's Son.

A certain very old widow had a son, who one day went to a stream and caught a prawn. His mother was very pleased, and started to cook the prawn in a large pot. When the water commenced to boil, the prawn, dancing about in the bubbling water, made it appear as if there were many prawns in the pot. The widow was watching it boil, and said to herself, "That one is for me and that one is for my son, that one is for me and that one is for my son, that one is for me and that one is for my son, that one is for me and that one for my son, and we shall each be able to have five prawns." Saying which, she took out a prawn and, having eaten it, she was very sad to find nothing more in the pot. Presently her son came home, and said to his mother, "I am hungry; let us eat now." The widow brought food, but her son, failing to see his prawn, at once asked what had become of it, and was very angry to learn that as his mother had eaten it, he would not be able to have any meat with his food. His

[1] *Parkia Roxburghii*, Don, which bears a very evil smelling fruit.—N. E. P.

mother was very sad, and she took a red seed and, fastening it with a piece of beeswax to her buttock, she bent over near the spring where the animals came to drink. A barking deer presently came to drink, and, seeing the red seed, became afraid and ran away. He passed a stag on the way, and told the stag what he had seen, but the stag did not believe what the barking deer told him, and so they both went back to look again, but as soon as they saw the red seed they ran away. Soon many other animals—wild boars, bears, tigers, monkeys, elephants and *mithun*—came to drink, and they held council to decide what to do about the red seed which the widow had fixed to her buttock. It was decided that the monkey should go and take the red seed away, and accordingly he approached the widow by climbing down a dangling cane. As he was trying to take away the seed, his hand stuck on the widow's buttock, and, crying out loudly, he frightened all the other beasts, who stampeded and were all crushed to death by the elephant, who in his turn caught his leg in the root of a tree. His leg broke, and the elephant died like all the other animals. Then the widow went and invited all her neighbours to come and eat the meat. Thus her son became pleased again.

Now it was agreed among the animals who were sharing the meat that the oldest animal present should have the elephant's foot. After some consideration, it was decided that Chhangbai, the tiniest of the mice, was the oldest. So the foot of the elephant was given to him. Chhangbai put on his carrying-band and tried to carry it away, but finding himself unable to lift it, he called to his sister's son, Zabi, the mole, to help him. But even with his nephew's help he was unable to move it, and all his exertions only caused him to break wind, at which his nephew Zabi laughed and laughed. The red mouse Chhangbai became so angry that he slapped Zabi on his buttock, and, making a hole near by, decided to make his home near the elephant's foot. It is said that the eyes of Zabi are narrow through too much laughing, and that his head is larger than his buttocks because the mouse slapped him so hard behind.

Sawku nata Sakhi phong.

The Story of the Porcupine and the Barking Deer.

One day, a long while ago, a porcupine and a deer were cutting their *jhums*, the former very carefully cutting the roots of the trees with his teeth, and the latter cutting them with his shin. When they burnt their *jhums*, the porcupine's *jhum* burnt very well, for he had worked hard, but the deer, who had been careless and lazy, found that his *jhum* burnt badly. When the time came for sowing the paddy, the deer put his seed into the porcupine's ground, and when the porcupine said, "Why have you planted your seed in my *jhum?*" the barking deer replied, "I have planted my seed in my own *jhum*. Your *jhum* is the bad *jhum*." They argued for a long while until the deer said, "It is no use quarrelling like this; let us wrestle, and the good *jhum* shall go to the winner." The porcupine agreed—convinced that, though he was smaller, he would win, because it really was his *jhum*. So they wrestled, and the porcupine won, whereupon the deer pleaded that his shin-bone was sore and that he wanted to fight again. He wrapped up his shin in a piece of cloth, but the second time the porcupine again won. A third time the deer wished to wrestle, as he said that his neck hurt him. So they contested a third time, and again the porcupine won, but the deer still refused to let him have the *jhum*, and would not yield his claim, and made another proposal, saying, "Let us each call all our friends, and then we will all fight a battle." So when the porcupine agreed, the deer called all his friends together, but the porcupine had no friends. On the deer's side were many animals—elephants, wild *mithun*, tigers, bears, boars, monkeys and tortoises—but the porcupine could only call the bees to help him. He placed all the bees in beer-pots, which he stood on the rack above the hearth. Soon afterwards a monkey came to his house and wanted to know if the porcupine was now willing to give the field to the deer or not. The porcupine said he would not yield his claim to the field, but gave the monkey a cup of honey, at which the monkey was very pleased, and promised to try and make peace between them.

The monkey then went back and related the results of his mission to the deer, who immediately sent another emissary to ask a second time if the porcupine was really unwilling to give up the field. This time the porcupine challenged the deer and all his forces to come and fight him, but he asked them all to have some beer first. He invited them to come inside his house, and when they had all entered he shut the door, and, tying it firmly, said to the monkey, "Monkey, you were the envoy and should drink first. Open the big beer-pot and put your head inside it at once, lest the fine aroma of the beer should escape." So saying, he climbed up on to the rack above the hearth. The monkey did as he had been told, and the bees all flew out and stung him so often that he died. The bees stung the other animals and caused them to break up all the *sahma* pots in their confusion, and so released many more bees. The porcupine ran out of a hole which he had made in the roof of his house, but all the other animals were stung to death. Afterwards the porcupine went back into his house, and found that all the animals were dead, excepting one tortoise, whose back the porcupine used for a table upon which to cut up all the animals' flesh. Then he said to the tortoise, "You poor thing, I will give you one of my old quills, and you may return to your home." The tortoise put the quill in his hair and went home, but on the way, passing the lairs of the tigress and the she-bear, he made a noise on a hollow tree. The noise brought out the animals, who said, "Where are our husbands? Why have they not come with you?" To which the tortoise replied, "They are all dead—I alone am left. I have killed the porcupine, and here is one of his quills." The tigress and the she-bear, however, refused to believe the tortoise, and ran off to ask the porcupine. "Did the tortoise kill you?" they said on meeting him. "No," said the porcupine, "I gave him the quill he was wearing and used his back to cut up the meat, and if you look on the back of the tortoise you will be able to see the marks made when I chopped up the meat." The tigress and the she-bear went back to the tortoise. They examined his back, and saw the marks which had been made on it by the

porcupine when he cut up the meat of the animals that had been killed. They became very angry, and said to the tortoise, "You have cheated us." So they seized the tortoise and put him up in a tree. The tortoise found this very painful and said, "This hurts too much; hit me hard upon my tail, and when my head comes out in front bite me to death. It is better for me to die." The tigress and the she-bear did as the tortoise told them. To this day there are cuts on the back of the tortoise, which show how he was used by the porcupine to cut up his meat.

Tlauaphong.

The Story of Tlaua.

One day a man called Tlaua and his wife went to their field to plant arum bulbs. The monkeys saw them, and, wishing to steal the fruit, they said, "You are not planting the bulbs properly. First of all you should cook the arum, and wrap each bulb up in a leaf, and place a bamboo cup full of water near each one. If you do this, and leave them for a night, and then return, you will find that the arum has grown knee-high." Tlaua did what the monkeys advised, and on his return after a day's interval was dismayed and angry to find that the monkeys had eaten all his bulbs. He wished to revenge himself on the monkeys, so he covered his body with rotten beans, which smell very badly, and he then lay down on the floor of his house and pretended to be dead. His wife lifted up his body, and, placing it on a raised platform near the wall, began to weep as if he were really dead. The monkeys, of course, heard about Tlaua's death, and at once came to comfort his wife. The biggest of them cried out, saying, "*Mapaw Tlaua ahrang nang khala biapanawng tawng hmiakhu ti ha*" ("When my father Tlaua was alive he gave me very good vegetables"). Tlaua's wife also cried and said, "*Tlaua veu, Tlaua veu, asei napa dua pama eu ata pa kha veu*" ("Tlaua, O Tlaua, before you died you told me to place a spear by your side"). The monkey laid Tlaua's sword beside him, and as his wife cried very bitterly, they also placed near him his spear and his gun. The

smallest of all the monkeys, who happened to be pregnant, was sitting near the body, and she saw Tlaua open his eyes to see if all the monkeys were present. She told all her friends that Tlaua was not dead, as she had seen him move his eyes. The largest of all the monkeys refused to believe her, saying, "Tlaua must be dead; we can all smell his body decomposing." The little monkey, however, went and sat close to the hole in the floor through which rubbish is thrown out. Tlaua's wife then stopped weeping, and said to the biggest monkey, "Close the door and fasten it firmly." The monkey obeyed, thus shutting all the monkeys inside the house. Tlaua then arose and killed all the monkeys except the smallest one, who was pregnant, and who escaped by falling through the hole in the floor. That is why there are so many monkeys to-day, the little monkey had young ones and they multiplied very quickly.

The Story of Nara.[1]

Once upon a time a young man called Liatha married, and after a little while it appeared that his wife was going to have a child. While she was in this state she used to work in the paddy-fields, and one day, while she was working, the baby inside her cried out, "Mother, it will rain to-day; you had better pick a palm leaf to protect you from the rain." The mother replied, "You are still in my womb; you cannot know anything about rain." Not heeding the baby's advice, she went to the paddy-field, and it rained heavily and she became very wet. Next morning the baby said, "It will be very hot to-day, mother; bring some water with you to the fields." But the mother again replied, "There was a heavy shower yesterday. How can you, who are still inside my womb, know anything about it?" So she went to the fields without any water, taking the palm leaf instead, which was useless, as it became very hot, and she returned home very thirsty. A little later the child

[1] The Lushei equivalent to this tale is the story of Lalruanga, who also made friends with a tiger man called Keichala and had a series of adventures, some the same as those experienced by Nara and some different.—N. E. P.

was born, and was called Nara, and as it was the time for the harvest, his parents took the baby with them to the fields and laid him on the balcony of a *jhum* house while they went away to work. Nara saw a kite hovering above him, and crying, so he said to it, " Kite, why are you crying ? Do you mean that it will rain, or that it will be very hot ? " The parents, who were only a little way away, heard the noise of a man speaking, and thinking that someone was in the house they said, " Do not make such a noise, or you will awaken our baby." The baby repeated his question, and Nara's father, hearing the noise again, said, " Who are you in our *jhum* house making a noise and not taking any notice when I ask you to be quiet ? " He then went into the house, and, seeing nobody but the baby, he concluded that the man, whoever he was, had run away. Next day Nara again spoke to the kite, and his father, again hearing the noise, crept up to the house quietly, and discovered that it was his son talking, at which he was very sad, for he feared lest one day Nara should take away his magic powers from him—for he was a very skilful sorcerer. To prevent this, he cut off a small portion of Nara's tongue.[1] His own magic he kept in a big tumour on his back just below his shoulder-blade. When Nara was about twelve years old, big enough to hunt for birds, he was one day passing down a street where a girl sat weaving a cloth. He started to tease and annoy her—throwing away her shuttle. The girl said to him," Do not be so annoying ; if you stop teasing me I will tell you what you really are." As Nara promised to stop, the girl

[1] The tongue is often regarded as the seat of the Life principle to cut which involves death. This is believed by most, probably by all, Nagas (Mills, *Lhota Nagas*, p. 176), and one may compare the Santal story of the killing of the tiger (Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 157), and the frequent tales of suicide committed by biting the tongue, *e.g.* Caron's *Account of Japan* (Pinkerton's Travels, Asia, I, 620), Mackintosh, *Account of the Ramoosies* (p. 69), and Gaster, *Roumanian Bird and Beast Stories*, p. 159, where even a bullfinch " bites " its tongue and dies. It is probably the same underlying idea which ascribes magical properties to the tongue, the tip of which was cut off and brought back by reivers in Ireland and Scotland (Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, pp. 146 *et seq.*) ; similarly enemies' tongues are eaten in Nagir Island in the Torres Straits (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. VIII, p. 153), while those of animals are variously treated by N. American Indians and others (*ibid.*, 269 *et seq.*, Vol. VI, p. 251), and in West Africa a king must eat the tongue of his predecessor (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 203).—J. H. H.

said, "Your father cut off a portion of your tongue when you were a little boy, so as to take away your magic." Nara at once went home and pretended that he was very ill with stomach-ache, and in spite of all the sacrifices his parents performed to cure him he became no better. One day Nara said to his father, "Father, if you carry me on your back, my pain may be cured." So his father picked him up, but as he feared that Nara would steal away his magic, only carried him on his thigh, but Nara said, "Carry me higher," and when his father carried him above his head, he said, "Carry me lower." At last his father carried him on his shoulder, when Nara immediately bit the tumour on his father's back and swallowed it all up, and although his father protested and begged to be allowed to retain some of his magic, Nara merely replied, "My father, I have swallowed it all." When Nara grew up he wished to make use of his wisdom and power, so one day he said to his father, "Which do you think will fetch more money, pork or *chaaw?*"[1] His father said, "Of course pork will be the dearer." So Nara, to prove to his father that *chaaw* was the more expensive, carried the *chaaw* through the streets, while his father carried a pig. The people dared not ask for the pig, but as many of them saw the *chaaw*, which is very common, they all wanted a little, and it was soon finished. Then Nara said, "Now, father, am I right or are you?" His father replied, "My son, you are quite right; you are a *Tawsaw;* you were full of wisdom even before you left your mother's womb." Nara again asked his father, saying, "If a deer and a rat come together into a street, which do you think the people will chase?" His father replied, "Of course the people will all chase the deer," and Nara, in order to prove his father wrong, loosed a rat in the street and made his father loose a deer. As soon as the deer was free, it ran away before any one had time to notice it, but when they saw the rat, they all ran after it, and, chasing it, caught and killed it. Thus Nara again proved his father to be wrong, and his father answered him as before. Nara had now become a very skilful magician, and feared nobody in the world. One day

[1] *Parkia Roxburghii*, Don, which has long, bean-like fruit.—N. E. P.

Nara's father visited the village of the chief Nasaipaw, who was also very skilled in wizardry. Nasaipaw said to Nara's father, "You have come to this place by the river of death, have you not?" Nara's father replied, "Yes, I have come by the river of death." Whereon Nasaipaw made beer and held a drinking party. As soon as Nara's father tasted the beer he fell dead, Nasaipaw having previously put some magic into it. Nara was very angry when he heard of his father's death, and determined to be revenged on Nasaipaw. He set out for the latter's village, but Nasaipaw saw him coming, and, calling up all his magic, he cast spells on the food and all over the house and by the door to prevent Nara from overcoming him. Nara had seen all these preparations from afar, and, changing himself into a rat, he was able to enter the house by night through a hole near the hearth. While Nasaipaw was on guard outside the house, Nara changed himself back into a man, and when Nasaipaw came inside the house he was very astonished to find Nara there. "How did you come here?" he asked—"by the river of death?" "No," said Nara, "I came by the river of life to eat your rice and meat." Next morning Nasaipaw gave a beer party in Nara's honour, but he put a large snake into the tube with which Nara was going to drink. Nara, however, knew it was there, and, making Nasaipaw look at two mountains which appeared to be fighting, he turned himself into an eagle and, picking out the snake, threw it away. He then drank the beer, and in his turn cast a spell over Nasaipaw's beer, so that when the latter put his mouth to the reed his lips became firmly fastened to the side of the reed and his stomach stuck to the pot. He was unable to move, and died quickly. Nara then took all his property and all his *mithuns* and slaves and returned safely home. Once when Nara was fishing, he cast his net up-stream, where it became entangled with the net of a tiger man, who had cast his net down-stream. Nara tried to kill the tiger man, and the tiger man tried to eat Nara, but both failed. They asked each other their names, and Nara found out that the tiger man was called Kiatheu, and they agreed to become friends. As a token of friendship they exchanged their fish.

Now Kiatheu's fish had no heads, for as soon as he caught them Kiatheu ate their heads, as he was a tiger man. Nara therefore had to take home fish without any heads. Kiatheu was also a great magician. He turned himself into a bee and followed Nara, who knew the bee was Kiatheu. When Nara reached home, his mother said, "How is it that all the fish you have caught to-day have no heads." Nara replied, "I have cut off the heads, and I have already cooked and eaten them." When Kiatheu heard that Nara did not disclose the fact that he was friendly with a tiger man, he was very glad and flew away towards his house.

A little while afterwards Kiatheu sent word to Nara that he wanted to see him, and invited him to come and stay in his village. Nara replied that he would come, and fixed the date of his arrival. All Kiatheu's villagers were also tiger men, so he told them that when Nara was present they were all to appear as men, and not as tigers. On arriving at Kiatheu's village, the first question that Nara asked was "Where are your parents my friend?" But Kiatheu replied, "My parents are very poor, and it is not worth while to waste time seeing them." Nara said, "It is not possible that anyone's father and mother should be unworthy to be seen. I should like to see them." As Nara insisted, Kiatheu told him where they were, but when Nara looked into the basket where they were lying, he only saw two tigers, who at once tried to bite him; but as he exclaimed, "What beautiful parents you have, Kiatheu," they were both very pleased, and turned themselves back into a man and a woman and sat with Nara. Nara gave them some cloths, and in return they made a feast and killed a pig for him, to show how pleased they were at his visit.

Kiatheu had a tree which bore all kinds of beads instead of fruit, and he told Nara to take as many as he wanted. Nara took ten loads, and magically turned them into a few beads and put them into his tobacco box, where they could be carried easily. He remained five days with Kiatheu, and then returned home. Before leaving, he was warned by Kiatheu that he must not halt on the way home for five days, and that if he relieved nature he was to cover his excrement

with yeast, "Because," he said, "I shall tell my villagers that you are still here, and I shall beat my drum for five days. If they hear that you have gone away, they will follow you and eat you." Nara thanked him for the advice, but he was foolish enough to halt one day on the road.

Five days after Nara had departed Kiatheu told his villagers that Nara had gone, and they immediately ran after him, but Kiatheu, fearing lest Nara should have halted by accident, ran along with them. They soon overtook Nara, because he had halted one day on his way, but fortunately he heard them coming, and hid under a heap of leaves which had been piled together by a wild boar. On reaching the spot Kiatheu sat on the pile of leaves and ordered the other villagers to rest for a little while. Kiatheu then said, "My brothers, what do you fear most?" They replied, "We all think what you think, we all fear what you fear." "Speaking for myself," said Kiatheu, "I think that I should be terrified if we were all surrounded by a cloud, and a loud voice came out of the pile of leaves on which I am sitting; that would be a very terrible thing." Nara, of course, heard all their conversation, and with his magic caused clouds to appear all round the place, and shouted as loudly as he could. The tiger men all ran away excepting Kiatheu, who said, "Nara, why have you been so foolish as to halt on the road?" Nara said, "I have been very foolish. Please forgive me." He then left Kiatheu, and returned safely to his village, where he changed his few beads back into ten loads, which he distributed among his friends.

After this Nara's elder brother, who was rather stupid, thought that he too would go and fetch back beads like Nara, and went off on a visit to Kiatheu's village. When he arrived he, like Nara, asked to see Kiatheu's parents. Kiatheu replied, "My parents are very poor, and are not fit to be seen." Nara's brother, however, replied, "There is no one whose parents are not fit to be seen. I should like to see them." Accordingly he was shown Kiatheu's parents, and when he saw they were two tigers, he called out, "I am very afraid." Kiatheu's parents pretended to bite him, but,

knowing how stupid he was, they forgave him. Kiatheu showed Nara's brother the tree which bore beads instead of fruit, and told him to take as many beads as he liked. Nara's brother, however, was no magician, and could not take very many, but carrying as many as he could manage, he went off home. Then Kiatheu said, "You must go straight home, and must not halt on the road, else my villagers, who are tigers, will pursue you. I will play on my drum for five days, and that will give you time enough to get home." Nara's brother, however, halted two days on the road looking for thread to string his beads, and Kiatheu's villagers, who were all tiger men, pursued him, caught him up and ate him. After this Kiatheu came up and said, "You have eaten my friend's brother. Nara will be very angry with me. You must vomit him up again." All the tigers obeyed Kiatheu's order, and vomited up the remains of Nara's brother, and Kiatheu pieced the remains together, but a part of Nara's brother's body had stuck in the teeth of a very old tiger, and so it was not quite complete, and there was a hole under the armpit, which they filled in with beeswax. Nara's brother then went off home to his village, and when he arrived he said, "Look! I, too, have brought back some fine beads." But Nara said, "No, the tigers have eaten you; it is only your corpse that has come home." Nara's brother said, "Nonsense! I am still alive. Why should I die?" Nara said, "Look under your armpit. It is filled in with wax. Pull out the wax." Nara's brother pulled out the wax and fell dead on the spot. Then Nara was very angry, and sent to Kiatheu, saying, "Why have you killed my brother? We shall have to fight about this." Kiatheu replied, "I gave him beads and treated him well. Your brother's death was his own fault, but if you want to fight, I will accept your challenge." Before going to war, Nara and Kiatheu made a compact that if either of them should be killed, the other should not hang up his opponent's head with the other trophies in the verandah, though he might perform the *Ia* ceremony over his dead foe. So they set to war. Kiatheu could not see Nara, and Nara could not see Kiatheu, so Nara made a waxen image of

himself and laid it down on the platform of a *jhum* house. Nara himself sat inside the *jhum* house with his bows and arrows. Kiatheu had followed Nara, and mistook the image on the platform for Nara, and leapt upon it to devour it. As he did so Nara shot him twice with his arrows and wounded him mortally. As he lay dying, Kiatheu spoke to Nara, saying, "My friend, you have been stronger than me, and I have been defeated," and then he died. Nara took Kiatheu's head and killed a *mithun*, and did the *Ia* ceremony over it; but, according to the agreement made with Kiatheu, he did not hang his head up with the other trophies. For this reason even to-day Lakhers never hang up the heads of tigers or of men in their houses.

After this Nara unknowingly married a tiger woman named Vawri, who used to eat his friends while he was away. His friends said to Nara, "Your wife Vawri is a tiger woman; when you are away she kills and eats us. You must kill her, or she will eat us all." At this Nara was very sad, as he did not wish to kill her himself, but at the same time he did not like being married to a tiger woman. So one day he made a hole in the bottom of a bamboo water-tube, and, having cast a spell upon his wife, he told her to go and fetch some water from a stream. Being bewitched, she was unable to see the hole in the water-tube, and commenced to fill it. While she was still trying, Nara cast a spell upon the river, and made a flood rush down the stream and carry away his wife. While he was waiting for the flood he wept. His wife said, "Nara, why are you crying?" So Nara replied, "It is raining hard. Be quick and fill your water-tube." Then, as he uttered some magical words, the water and wind and rain all rushed down together and carried away Vawri. Nara went home feeling very sad, and did not eat anything for ten days. His relations realised that he was becoming ill for want of his wife, and they suggested that he should find out the place where she died and go and die there himself. Nara was very pleased at this, and, taking a gourd and a spindle, went down to the river. He threw in the spindle and the gourd, calling out as he did so, "Spindle and gourd, float down and rest over the place where my wife

lies." The spindle and the gourd floated down-stream until they came to the ocean,[1] where they rested, and Nara knew that his wife lay there. Just before he threw himself into the water he saw many soldiers on the shore, and he called out, "You short-haired foreigners, you may have my sword," and, so saying, he threw his sword into the water. The soldiers caught the sword and kept it, saying, "Oh, son of Liatha, your strength is like lightning." Then Nara called out again, "I am now going underneath the water, but I will first throw in all my possessions. My wisdom, my power and my magic may be taken by any one who wants them." It is said that the soldiers caught with their turbans all Nara's property, and that wisdom, power, magic, and even the art of writing, came from Nara.[2]

Azeu Phongpa.

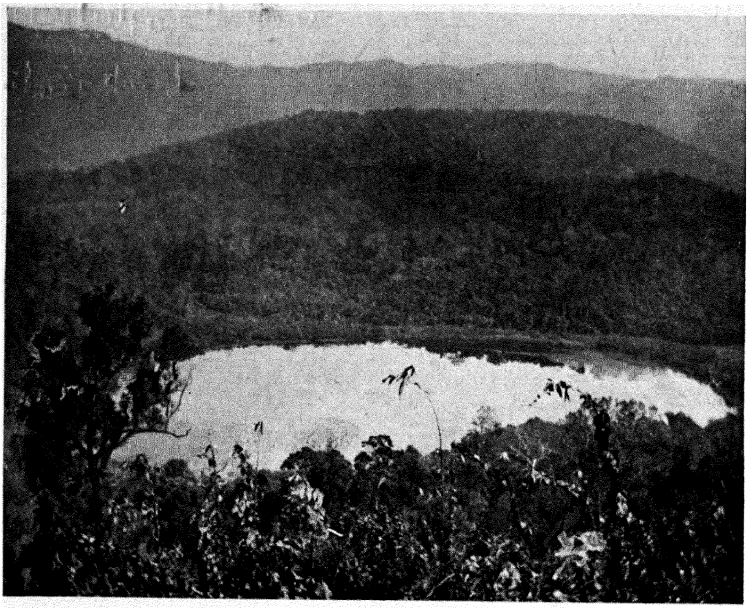
The Girl who Married a Monkey.

Once upon a time a girl went down to draw water at a stream. As she wanted to bathe, she took off her cloth and coat and laid them on the bank and went into the river. While the girl was bathing, a he-monkey came down and seized the girl's clothes and carried them off. The girl pursued the monkey, crying out, "Monkey, give me back my clothes." The monkey replied, "If you marry me I will give you them back." The girl called out, "What nonsense! I am not going to marry you." "Very well," said the monkey, "if you will not marry me, I most certainly shall not give you your clothes." The girl, in great trouble, eventually agreed to marry the monkey, and after the monkey and the girl had slept together, the monkey carried the girl off to his home. Meanwhile the girl said to the monkey, "What are you going to feed me on?" and he replied, "I will steal paddy for you from men's fields." So the girl dwelt with the monkey, who stole paddy and maize from

[1] The Lakhers call the ocean *Tilaipi*, and believe that it lies to the west of their country, and is the place where all the waters of the world meet.—N. E. P.

[2] The tradition is that Nara used to write on skins.—N. E. P.

men's fields to feed her. All this time the girl was thinking how she could escape from the monkey, and one day, when her monkey husband was out, she killed his mother, an old monkey who lived in the house, skinned her, and put on the old monkey's skin and remained sitting in the house. When the monkey returned home he said, "Mother, where is my wife?" and his wife, dressed in his mother's skin, replied, "My son, I do not know where your wife is. She must have run away." The monkey grew angry, and saying, "You do not know where my wife has run away, you had better run away too," beat her three times with a stick. The girl, secretly rejoicing, replied, "Very well. If you do not want me I will go away as you tell me." So she went off, at first very slowly, and then, as soon as she was out of sight of the monkey and near to the entrance to the village, she ran as fast as she could to her brothers' house. She told her brothers all that had happened to her, and they were very angry, and went to try and shoot the monkey, but could not find him. In due course the girl found that she was with child by the monkey, and a child was born, which was exactly like a monkey. The girl's brothers disliked her monkey son intensely, and wanted to kill him, but she would not let them. When her monkey son became a youth, his mother said, "My son, you had better go to the jungle and join your father and live with him." So the monkey son went off to the jungle, rested on the hillside, climbed up into the trees, and said nothing. That day his mother was cleaning cotton in a cotton gin, and, hearing the noise of the gin, the monkey son said, "My mother is ginning cotton," and, feeling very sad, he returned in the direction of his village and rejoined his mother. His mother also was longing very much for her monkey son, but for fear of her brothers did not dare keep him with her, so she took him away to the jungle again. That day the mother did not work her cotton gin, and when the monkey son climbed up into a tree he did not hear the sound of his mother at work, so he did not return to his village again, but went off to join his father in the jungle.



PALA TIPA, THE HAUNTED LAKE

MEMORIALS TO THE DEAD OUTSIDE CHAPI

The Story of the Pala Tipang.[1]

Formerly the Pala lake was a village with 300 houses. In the middle of the village was a huge stone, and underneath the stone a cave in which dwelt a large snake, which, every night, seized one of the village children and ate it. The villagers were in despair at the depredations committed by the snake, so they made a strong hook, tied it on to a rope, impaled a dog on the hook and threw it to the snake, which swallowed the dog and with it the fish hook. The villagers then tried to pull out the snake, but with all their efforts they could not do so, and only succeeded in pulling out enough of the snake to go five times round the rock at the mouth of the hole, and then, as they could not pull out any more of the snake, they cut off the part they had pulled out, and the snake's tail and the rest of its body fell back into the deep cave with a fearful noise. From that night water began pouring out from the snake's hole and covered the whole village and formed the present Pala lake. The story goes that there is still a village below the lake, and that once upon a time a Saheb came with many soldiers and dropped his sword into the lake. The Saheb sent a soldier to dive in for his sword, and the soldier stayed under the lake for three days, and when he came up again he said that he had found a large village below the lake, and that the inhabitants had feasted him, and he had become very drunk, and so he was late. The soldiers believed his story, and fired their cannon and rifles into the lake, and a hurricane arose, and great hailstones fell, and half the people who had been firing at the lake were killed. On their way to the lake the soldiers had cut bamboo sticks, which they planted in the earth on the Mauli Tla. The sticks planted by the people who had been killed were left standing where they had planted them, and to this day the bamboos on Mauli Tla grow with their joints and leaf buds upside down.

The Lakhers still believe that Pala Tipang is the abode of spirits, and will not bathe in it, as they are afraid of being

[1] *Tipang*=a lake. The lake is known to the Lusheis as Palak Dil.—N. E. P.

caught by the spirits. The lake is a small, nearly circular lake which looks as though at some time it might have been the crater of a volcano. Colonel Shakespear gives a description of a visit to the lake which holds good to-day.[1] The people of Tongkolong will not cut *jhums* anywhere on the banks of the lake for fear of the spirits.

Pona nata Tlaikopa.

How the Pona separated from the Tlaikopa.[2]

The Pona or Pualnam are a tribe who live in the Arakan Hill Tracts, who resemble the Lushei in their speech and also in the dress of their women. The Lusheis and the Pualnams are said to have been formerly one tribe, and the cause of their separation was as follows :

Tlaikopa and Pona were two brothers. Tlaikopa was the legitimate son of his father, and Pona was his half-brother by a concubine. Tlaikopa shot an elephant, and gave a large share of the meat to his brother Pona. Pona afterwards trapped a porcupine, and ate all the meat without giving any to Tlaikopa. Tlaikopa then went to Pona and said, " How is it that you have not given me any of the meat of the animal you trapped ? Its quills are much larger than the hair of the elephant I shot. As you did not give me any meat, we must separate, and cease to be brothers." So saying, Tlaikopa turned out Pona, who had to leave Tlaikopa's country and go and live beyond the Rai [3] mountain near the source of the Awksarang River.

Pawsai Phong,

The Story of the Cockscomb Flowers.

Once upon a time a man planted some red and yellow cockscombs near his *jhum* house, and while he was in his *jhum* house an evil spirit came to try and kill him, but, on seeing the bright-coloured cockscombs, was afraid and

[1] " Lushai Reminiscences," *Assam Review*, July 1929.
[2] *Tlaikopa*=Lushei.—N. E. P.
[3] The Lakher Rai Tla is the same as the Lushei Muallet and the Khumi Mephrutong.—N. E. P.

said, "But for these many-coloured flowers I should have killed the people in that *jhum* house." The words of the evil spirit were overheard by the people in the *jhum* house. The spirit then moved off to another field which belonged to a widow who had not planted any flowers round her *jhum* house, and went in and killed the widow. When the people in the neighbouring field heard of this, they told every one else what they had heard the evil spirit say; and since then all Lakhers have always planted cockscombs round their *jhum* houses to keep away evil spirits.[1]

Atlang.[2]

An *Atlang* is a white ants' nest, which is regarded by the Lakhers as the abode of a spirit. It is *ana* to micturate or to spit on an *Atlang*, and any one committing such acts on an *Atlang* is punished with sores on his lips and body.

When the people are engaged in erecting fish weirs in the rains they generally have to stop for several nights near the river where there are many mosquitoes and sandflies. To get rid of the mosquitoes they set fire to an ants' nest, the smoke from which drives the mosquitoes away. This, however, must be done with due ceremony. An ants' nest is procured and placed under the sleeping *machan* in the shelter. At dusk the boys set fire to the ants' nest, and say, "Hush! do not speak. The Queen is going to smoke." Every one has to keep silence, as the belief is that if any one speaks the mosquitoes will not go away.

Tleulianong nata Tisi Khupi.

Tleulianong and Tisi Khupi are two Khisong. Tleulianong is in the Pala River and Tisi Khupi in the Tisi River. Tleulianong and Tisi Khupi were sister and brother, and Tleulianong was the elder. The Hmocheu villagers poisoned the fish in

[1] The Semas and, I think, other Naga tribes say that it keeps away the wild pig. Anyhow, all Naga tribes and the Khyoungtha of the Chittagong Hill Tracts plant it. *Cf.* the Ao story given by Mills (*The Ao Nagas*, p. 127), to account for its use in their case.—J. H. H.

[2] Lusheis call these ants nests *Tarpilu*, "the old woman's head," but have no superstitions about them.—N. E. P.

the pool in which Tleulianong lives, and they caught a large number of fish. The villagers distributed these fish in equal parts, without giving the usual extra share to the elders. This made the elders very angry, and they made up a mixture of pepper and soot and threw it into the pool where Tleulianong lives. Tleulianong was blinded, and came out of the pool and lay down on her back on a rock. As soon as she did this a fearful hailstorm and tempest arose, and the people who were poisoning fish were all killed. Tleulianong caught the souls of all the people who had been killed and collected them in the pool above the pool in which she lives. The Lakhers say they can hear the sound of gongs and drums and of guns being fired off from the pool where the spirits live. The pool in which Tleulianong lives is said to be full of fish, which can be easily caught on a rod if a sacrifice is first made to Tleulianong.

Why there is no Mist on the Tisi River.

Once upon a time a chieftainess called Tlaipeu wanted to establish a village on the banks of the Tisi River. There was always so much mist that it was impossible to see the small hills round about. Tlaipeu took a pair of eagle's wings and fanned away the mist with them. She also called two hoolucks, who made the country clean and protected it from small-pox, and their descendants have remained in the Lakher country to this day. Since Tlaipeu drove away the mist there has never been any mist on the banks of the Tisi River.

The Story of Saku Village.

Once upon a time there was a village called Saku near the junction of the Kao River with the Beinong. This village was inhabited by people of the Iana clan. One day the Zeuhnang raided the village and killed all the inhabitants, one baby alone surviving. The Zeuhnang took this baby and tied it up alive on the top of a tree, and practised shooting at it with bows and arrows. The baby cried for some time, and then died, and its spirit became an eagle, whose cry was

exactly like that of a baby. The name of this eagle is Ianarawpa, and eagles of this kind are always found flying around near the junction of the Kao and the Beinong, and their cry still resembles the cry of a baby.

The Story of Korabaibu.

Once upon a time there was a chief called Palia, who had a very beautiful daughter, whom a commoner called Korabaibu very badly wanted to marry. Korabaibu, however, was very poor, and extremely ugly, but he had a rat as his friend, and so he went to the rat and asked for his advice as to how he should proceed so as to marry Palia's daughter. The rat said, " All right, I will do my best for you, but you must go and find a stalk of the snake-stemmed arum and a crab, and then, as well as I can, I will act as your envoy." Korabaibu was very pleased, and quickly obtained an arum stalk and a crab and gave them to the rat. The rat cooked the arum stalk and the crab, and as soon as the arum stalk was soft, he took it out, and at an hour at which he thought Palia would be asleep, took it to Palia's house, stealthily opened the door, found Palia fast asleep, and went up and tickled Palia's ear-hole with his whisker, whispering, " Palia, Palia, give your daughter to Korabaibu. If you do not do so, your body will be split as a crab is split, and you will become soft like an arum stalk," saying which, he split the crab, and, laying it and the arum stalk close to Palia's head, ran away. In his dreams Palia heard what the rat said. He awoke and roused his wife and said to her, " I have had a most extraordinary dream. I dreamt that some one said to me, ' Palia, Palia, unless you give your daughter to Korabaibu you shall be split like a crab and shall soften like an arum stalk,' but whose voice it was I do not know." Palia and his wife were much distressed. The next night the rat again came to Palia's house with a crab and an arum stalk, and repeated what he had said before. Next morning Korabaibu sent an envoy to ask Palia if he would agree to let him marry his daughter. Palia and his wife were much disturbed. If they gave their

daughter to Korabaibu, they gave her to a very poor man of low birth. When they thought of refusing they could not but consider Palia's dream, and were afraid. Eventually, most unwillingly, Palia and his wife told the envoy that the marriage might take place, and the envoy went and told Korabaibu. The marriage was fixed for the next day, and as soon as it was light Korabaibu prepared one pot of *sahma*, which was all that he had in his house, invited two or three elders and sent an envoy to Palia. Palia said, " My daughter's price is 700 rupees or its equivalent, and 100 rupees must be paid down in cash, and the rest may be paid gradually." The envoy returned and informed Korabaibu and the elders of what Palia had said. Korabaibu, however, had no property except a brass pot of four spans. The three elders said, " Korabaibu has no property at all, and we really do not know what to advise, but let the envoy go and give Palia the brass pot of four spans, and see whether he accepts it." The envoy went and told Palia what Korabaibu and the three elders had said. Palia was very angry indeed, but, being mindful of his dream, was much afraid, and so gave his daughter to Korabaibu without any marriage price. The bride was taken in procession to Korabaibu's house, but he was so ugly that she flatly refused to sleep with him, so Korabaibu, in great distress, wondered what he could do to please his wife. Thinking that she would be pleased if he brought her fish to eat, he went to the river to net fish. When he reached the river he started casting his net, and threw it three times without catching any fish. At the fourth cast he netted a water fairy, who struggled to get out of the net, but was held fast by Korabaibu. The water fairy said to Korabaibu, " If you will let me go I will cure your ugliness for you." Korabaibu agreed, and the fairy made him lie down on a large flat rock, rolled him about with her feet, and slapped him on the cheeks. Korabaibu was very short, so she pulled him out to make him the right height, altered all his features so that they became beautiful, washed him in water, and changed his dusky complexion, making it fair and lovely. When the fairy had finished with him, Korabaibu returned home, and his wife, seeing him, thought he was a

stranger, and said to herself, "If only I had a man like that for a husband, I should be very happy." Korabaibu related to his wife all that had happened, and from that night on she always slept with him. Now Palia, Korabaibu's father-in-law, said to him, "My son-in-law, tell me, who was it who made you so beautiful, as I want to have myself made beautiful also." Korabaibu told him about the water fairy and where he had caught her, so Palia in his turn went out to fish, and also netted the water fairy. Before the fairy could speak, however, Palia said to her, "Make me beautiful." This greatly enraged the fairy, who made Palia lie down on a rough stone and made him much uglier than he was before. From being tall she made him short; she plastered his body with mud and bathed him so that his complexion became dark, after which she said, "You are now very handsome. Go back home." When Palia reached home he was so ugly that the dogs, the pigs, the *mithun* and all his animals were afraid at the sight of him, and ran away; even his wife and his slaves were frightened and deserted him. Palia, in dire distress, looked at his face in the glass, and when he saw how hideous he was he started with horror. Then Palia took counsel with himself and said, "It is no longer any use my living" so he called his son-in-law Korabaibu and his daughter and said to them, "It is useless my living any longer; you two must rule my kingdom and inherit my lands and villages, as I have no son." So saying, Palia went out and hanged himself, so ending his line. After this, the very poor man Korabaibu inherited his father-in-law's lands and village and ruled over them as king.

Rita nata Vachhu.

The Munia and the Dove.

Long, long ago, Rita [1] and Vacchu [2] made each other beaks. Vachhu, having finished Rita's beak first and made it very beautifully and ornamented it with brass, said to Rita, "Now you must make me a beak." Rita set to work

[1] Hodgson's Munia, *Uroloncha Striata Acuticauda*.—N. E. P.
[2] The turtle dove.—N. E. P.

and made Vachhu a beak and covered it with beeswax. Vachhu said, "This is a very bad beak; it is much too soft." Rita said, "Well, if you do not like the beak, you need not have it." At this Vachhu grew very angry, and said, "I made you a beautiful brass beak, and now you will not take the trouble to make me a proper beak," and the two birds fell a fighting in the tree top. In the course of the fight a small twig was broken and fell on to a jungle fowl. The jungle fowl started to run, and scratched up a large ant. The ant ran off and bit a wild boar in the testicles. The wild boar rushed away and knocked over a wild plantain tree. As the plantain fell a bat who lived in its leaves flew out and flew into an elephant's ear. The elephant became angry, and stamped on a white ants' nest. The white ants came out and ate the ladder leading up to a widow's house. The widow's daughter came out to draw water and stepped on to the ladder. The ladder broke, the widow's daughter fell to the ground, the widow in a rage shouted out, "Ladder, why did you break?" The ladder replied, "Because the white ants ate me." So the widow said, "White ants, why did you eat the ladder?" And the white ants replied, "Because the elephant stamped on us." So the widow said, "Elephant, why did you stamp on the white ants?" And the elephant replied, "Because the bat flew into my ear." So the widow said, "Bat, why did you fly into the elephant's ear?" And the bat replied, "Because the wild plantain tree I lived in fell down." So the widow said, "Plantain, why did you fall down?" And the plantain replied, "I was knocked down by the wild boar." So the widow said, "Wild boar, why did you knock down the plantain?" And the wild boar replied, "Because the ant bit me in the testicles." So the widow said, "Ant, why did you bite the wild boar in the testicles?" And the ant replied, "Because the jungle fowl scratched me up." So the widow said, "Jungle fowl, why did you scratch up the ant?" And the jungle fowl replied, "Because a twig fell on to me." So the widow said, "Twig, why did you fall on to the jungle fowl?" And the twig replied, "Because Rita and Vachhu knocked me down while fighting about the beaks

they had made each other." So the widow said, "Rita and Vachhu, why did you knock down the twig?" Vachhu replied, "I made Rita a beautiful brass beak, and he only made me one out of beeswax, and I do not want it." So the widow said, "Rita, you are a very wicked bird. Why did you not make Vachhu a proper beak? Henceforth you shall wear your crop at the back of your neck." And this is why Rita's crop is to this day at the back of his neck.[1]

[1] This story may be compared with the Thado story, "The Dao-Sharpening," recorded by Dr. Hutton at p. 108 of William Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*. The Lusheis have a similar story called *Chemtatrawta*, which means the dao-sharpener.—N. E. P.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

Abanasong. Lit. retaining price. The price to be paid when a man marries his deceased brother's widow.
Achhisa. Oath, curse.
Adeuna. An additional due payable when a woman marries into a strange village.
Ahmaw. A vampire soul, similar to the Lushei *khawhring.*
Aitla. A platform outside a house.
Alangasi. An earthquake.
Amakia. A marriage procession.
Ana. Forbidden.
Anahmang. The forbidden things, the sacred vessels used for the *Khazang-pina* sacrifice.
Angiapatli. Eavesdropping.
Angkia. Lit. house enter. The most important part of a marriage price.
Angtong. House posts.
Angveu. Bamboos run over the rafters the length of a house.
Aoh. Rest, a holiday in consequence of a sacrifice, remaining within the house.
Aparupa. Theft.
Apatai. Lit. granary cut. The custom under which the chief and villagers are entitled to buy half the paddy of an emigrant.
Aphei. Adultery.
Arakhei. Elopement.
Asi. A chestnut tree.
Asi. A salt lick.
Asia. Oath, curse.
Asu. House post supporting the ridge pole.
Athikhi. Lit. dead men's village. Hades.
Atlong. A wild animal's wallow.
Atu. A hoe.
Awhbeu. A hen basket.
Awrua. A pig killed by a man who has to pay certain marriage prices and the death due, and given by him to the man to whom he has to pay the price. This is done in order to please the man who has to get the price.
Awruabawna. A small price which has to be paid by a person from whom a price is due to the recipient of the price. Until this price is paid the recipient refuses to eat the *awrua* pig.
Awsithleupa. A comet.
Bai. The basket used for measuring paddy, short for *tlabai.*
Barongthu. Rotten pulse.
Batla. Beam of loom.
Beibei. Lit. Chief chief. The name of one part of the series of *Khangchei* feasts.
Beiphia. A potter's mallet.

Beu. A mole on the face.
Biatai. A promise. An agreement to copulate, an agreement to pay.
Bongchhi. The sacred tree at the foot of which the Tleulia sacrifice is performed.
Bupa. The beer provided for a funeral feast.
Chahri. Rafters supporting the floor.
Chaka. Famine.
Chakei. A threshold ; a tiger.
Chakhaw. A shuttle.
Chanong chaichhi. A dowry.
Chawmman. A Lushei word meaning board and lodging charge.
Cheisia. A pellet bow.
Cheusapathaipa. Lit. the pure man. The man who assists at a chief's *Khazangpina.*
Chha. A fish weir.
Chheutheu. The *pana* day after *Khisongbo* and *Tleulia* when all the villagers go out to hunt.
Chheutlia. The red plume worn by a man who has taken a head.
Chhihrang. Green beads.
Chhongchhireu. Lit. clan leave instead of. The death due payable on unmarried persons.
Chhongki. The name given to a man who has shot a prescribed number of wild animalsa nd has thereby qualified to enter Paradise.
Chhongpang. Solid.
Chhuahri. Planks.
Chiami. A bugle.
Chilong. Flint.
Chipaleipa. An imbecile, a village idiot.
Chongtlapa. A cook. The man who kills, cuts up and cooks pigs used for a feast.
Dao. A kind of bill. See *takong.* The same as the Lushei *chem.*
Dawbei. A brass pot.
Dawchakopa. A brass bead.
Dawchheu. A pair of small gongs.
Dawkhang. A large gong.
Donghla. Lightning.
Dua. A loin cloth.
Hawleupaka. The dead men's gate. The path taken by the spirits of the dead to *Atikhi.*
Hawmi. Solder.
Hawmichongchahrei. Solder walking-stick.
Hawmikah. A sacrifice to stop excessive rain.
Hladeu. Songs sung by successful warriors who have taken heads and by hunters who have bagged big game.
Hleiri. A cane suspension bridge.
Hmiachipaipa. The people with tattooed faces. Probably the Khyengs.
Hmiatla. Lit. face happy. Compensation, peace offering, atonement price. A small amount payable in lieu of a fine in minor offences.
Hneuthli. An archer's bracer.
Hrahrachahno. Rape.
Hraisong. The post to which a *mithun* is tied up for sacrifice.
Hrangzonghna. Lit. the long life plant. A plant the root of which is eaten by women to enable them to rear their children.
Hrapaki. A man who has earned a place in Paradise by killing certain animals.
Hri. An evil spirit which causes disease, the ability to cause a disease, might almost be translated as a disease germ.
Hrilh. Lushei equivalent of the Lakher *Aoh.* Period during which no work may be done.
Hrokei. A woman's hairpin.

Jhum. A hill field, made by cutting the forest, leaving it to dry, and then burning it.
Kadua. A friend.
Kahmi. A ladder.
Kalasapa. Lit. the long-haired foreigners. The Mughs.
Kalei. A case (in court or before the chief).
Karo. A woman's pipe.
Karolusong. Small stick on which pipe bowls are shaped.
Kawngngiareu. Lit. year wait instead of. A sum of interest paid to induce a creditor to allow a debt to run on.
Kei. A friend.
Khabeirai. A brass beer pot.
Khangchei. Lit. drum lift. The series of feasts performed by the Khichha Hleuchhang clan.
Khapia. Cross beams supporting the floor of a house.
Khazanghneipa. A diviner, a person who cures disease by divination.
Khazanghra. Lit. God's darkness. The legendary darkness which fell upon the world, the Lushei *Thimzing*.
Khazangpa. God.
Khazangpina. The sacrifice to God.
Kheitiri. A yellow bead.
Khisong. Lit. village magnificent. An important spirit and its abode. Mountain peaks, caves, precipices, deep pools in rivers are Khisong.
Khitiawnah. Lit. rain calling. Sacrifices for rain.
Khuthang. A puggree.
Khuthi. Impotence. The Lushei *Zangzaw*.
Kiali. A brass basin.
Kihlong. A conch shell.
Kihlong. A thread winder.
Kohrei. A woman's coat.
Kumasaparu. Theft of an animal from another's trap.
Laba. A thread holder.
Ladaw. A pair of brass gongs.
Lahmi. A spindle.
Laisa. A girl equivalent to the Lushei *nula*.
Laisacharei. Courting.
Laitleu. A spinster.
Lakah. The bow used for flicking cotton.
Lakhang. A girl's headdress worn at dances and weddings.
Lakhu. A rain hat.
Lari. A cotton gin.
Lasawng. A spindle and thread.
Lavaong. A quiver.
Lawbu. Bar of loom.
Lawhna. Heddle.
Lawngna. A diamond.
Leichhang. A case before the chief.
Leu. A fine inflicted on any one refusing to do village work.
Leuchapa. An envoy. A go-between.
Leurahripa. A spirit of the mountains, woods or streams.
Lianeu. Murder.
Liari. The umbilical cord.
Litang. Lit. bow swing. A method of finding out what sacrifice to perform to cure a sick man.
Litangthaipa. A man who is able to ascertain the right sacrifice to perform to cure a sick man.
Lodo. A dustbin. A fenced-in place near a *jhum* house for depositing rubbish.
Longbeu. Edible clay. There is also a game bearing this name.
Longpa. A stone trap.

Longrai. A beer pot.
Longtang. A marriage memorial.
Luteu. Lit. head price. The compensation payable to the relations of a murdered man.
Macha. A village elder, a chief's councillor.
Maichhangna. Lit. name remembrance. The Zeuhnang term for the death due on unmarried persons.
Malusong. A woman who has survived two or three husbands.
Matlei. Lit. price divided. The term applied when a man divides up his daughter's price with his sons or brothers.
Matu, Khumi. A tribe of Northern Arakan.
Nangcheu. The portion of a marriage price taken by the bride's paternal aunt.
Nangchhikhawpa. Lit. sun door shutter. The black dwarfs who open and close the doorway of the sun.
Nanghlo. A present payable to the persons, accompanying a man collecting a debt in another village.
Nangti. A little demon who lives in a hollow tree stump full of water, such as are found occasionally in the fields.
Narongsakeu. Lit. sister wild animal loin. The meat due payable by a man to his wife's sister; it consists of the tail and the meat round its base.
Nawdong. Lit. baby soft. A child that dies within two or three days of birth.
Nawkhutlong. The ten days after childbirth, during which neither the mother nor the child may leave the house except for *Radeido.*
Ngazuasaphei. Lit. niece's hind leg. The meat due payable to a man's sisters and sister's daughters.
Ngiapareu. Courting after marriage.
Nongcheu. The portion of a marriage price taken by the bride's mother or by the bride's mother's sister.
Nonghia. Marriage.
Nonghmei. Widow.
Nonghrang. Wife.
Nongthang. Concubine.
Onangpala. An eclipse of the sun.
Ongmabei. Man's pipe.
Pachi. Steel.
Pachong. The rack above the hearth in a Lakher house.
Pakong. A syphon.
Pakong. Beam.
Palai. A wall plate.
Palaphei. The weft.
Palatong. The warp.
Puna. Sacred, holy, taboo, the condition of a man who has just performed or is performing a sacrifice.
Panglukhu. Cloth to cover the head, payable to a cuckold by the man who has debauched his wife.
Parunawtapa. Lit. a little theft. Breaking wind.
Pathlong. Ridge pole.
Patho. Reed for sucking up rice beer.
Peira. Paradise.
Peuchi. Dark blue thread.
Phavaw. The parts of a sacrifice set aside for the god.
Phiatla. A gourd spoon.
Phipahripa. Flying white ants.
Photla. Cymbals.
Piali. Courtyard fencing.
Puma. The maternal uncle's portion of a marriage price.
Pumtek. A black-and-white bead much valued by Lakhers.
Pupa. Maternal uncle or any one standing in that relationship.

Rabong. Plume of scarlet horse tail worn by a man who has taken a head.
Racha. Beer pot.
Raha. Spinning wheel.
Rahathua. Spindle.
Rahong. Brass basin.
Raitapa. Small beer pot.
Rakhong. Bed, the big bed equivalent to the Lushei *khumpui*.
Rapaw. Due payable to chief for cultivating his land.
Reipaso. Courting, seduction.
Reubeunatawh. Lit. grazing price. The fee levied in Savang on each *mithun* left behind by a migrant.
Reutang. Inheritance.
Riasaw. Lit. scabies son. A bastard.
Riathama. Lit. scabies price. The bastard's price.
Riha. Lit. corpse for. The animal killed to accompany a dead person to the abode of the dead.
Rithu. A chaperon. The man who has to look after the young girls attending a wedding to see that they behave.
Sabai. Rice due payable to chief.
Sachakeu. Lit. the beating of the paddy. The Lakher method of harvesting by knocking off the grain with a stick into the basket.
Sachipa. Seeds of wild millet.
Sahaw. The meat due payable to a chief on all wild animals killed by his subjects.
Sahma. Rice beer.
Sahmaphopa. A cupbearer. The man who carries the beer pot in a Lakher wedding procession.
Sahria. A bag.
Sahrualua. A winnowing platform.
Sahu. The breath of a large animal.
Sakia. Man's brass hairpin.
Sapahlaisapa. The person who performs a sacrifice to call the spirits of wild animals.
Sapala. A loan on interest.
Sapalong. The chest of a wild animal, always given to the shooter's maternal uncle.
Sarang. The last time a boy's hair is cut before it is tied up in a top knot.
Satlia. A young man, equivalent to the Lushei *tlangval*.
Saw. A dangerous property attaching to the ghosts of people dying unnatural deaths whether in war or by accident and also to certain living persons such as captives and persons in jail.
Sawkahrong. Bamboo or wooden hairpin.
Sawvaw. An unnatural death.
Sediachahreuma. Lit. *mithun* fence erecting price. The fee levied on each *mithun* left behind in his village by a migrant.
Seichhi. The butt of a spear.
Seiha. Rafter.
Sepi. A cow *mithun*.
Seu. A sharpened bamboo stake used as a defence in war.
Sikhai. A wooden wedge used for splitting tree trunks.
Siphia. The floor of a house.
Sisakuchakhi. A pumtek bead bracelet payable to a cuckold by the man who has debauched his wife.
Sochiphang. A netting spool.
Songkho. Paddy mortar.
Sokaw. A fishing net. This net is always cast.
Sopi. A large fishing net.
Takangpa. The Chakmas. The first Chakma seen by the Lakhers was standing on the bank of a river breaking water snail's shells, and the name is derived from the noise made by the shells breaking.

Takong. A *dao*, a kind of bill used for woodcutting, carpentry and as a weapon.
Tangta. A one-stringed violin.
Tatangteuleupa. Lit. the ghosts earrings. Artificial flowers made out of bamboo and many coloured threads and used when dancing the Rakhatla dance at a funeral.
Thai. Loom.
Thaipho. Leather belt worn by women weaving.
Thaipahniapa. Sharp-edged split bamboo used for shaping pipe bowls.
Thaisapa. Weaver.
Thapachhi. Defamation.
Theipipakia. A poisoned arrow.
Thlachhi. A mischievous soul.
Thlapha. A good soul.
Thlathleu. Lit. soul hold. A sacrifice performed to prevent a man's soul from wandering, generally performed for persons who have been in trouble.
Thuasang. A *dao* sent to a woman's parents by her suitor when proposing marriage.
Thupahama. Lit. smell breathe price. The reward payable to a woman who opens a vault and makes it ready for the next occupant.
Tieipaei. Ordeal by boiling water.
Tikupa. Lit. the men with large testicles. The Tipperahs.
Tilaipi. The sea.
Tini. The paternal aunt's portion of a marriage price.
Tipang. A lake.
Tipani. Lit. water to drink. The ceremony of giving rice beer to the bride and bridegroom at a wedding.
Tipauatlong. The great flood.
Tlahno. Trespass.
Tlaikopa. Lit. the naked men. The Lusheis.
Tlaraihria. Village work.
Tlaraipasi. Village sacrifice to prevent epidemics.
Tlawmngaihna. A Lushai word for the Lushei code of morals. Perseverance, unselfishness.
Tleuhmia. The ground just in front of a house.
Tleulia. The open place in the centre of a village where sacrifices are performed.
Tlongang. Lit. reach house. Hospitality.
Tongkalongpa. Thunder.
Tupapa. Sister's son. *Tunongnong.* Sister's daughter.
Uka. Iron pot.
Vaina. A war and ceremonial *dao* used only as a weapon, not as a tool.
Vawdia. Bird lime.
Veupho. Shield.
Viachaw. Lit. dry flour. The name of the *pana* held after Laliachhia.
Viadaw. A small gong.
Viasa. Friend.
Vopia. The due paid to the chief and elders by the loser in a case. The derivation is from *vo*=pig, *pia*=carry. The pig is killed, its fore- and hind-feet are tied together, and it is carried on a stick.
Zaiong. Powder flask.
Zakhapa. A short form of *Khazangpina.*
Zawlbuk. The Lushei word for a bachelor's house.
Zawnga. Lit. flying messenger. The blunt-headed arrows fired off in Chawngva.
Zideu. Due payable to the *tleuliabopa.*
Zizapuapa. A swing.
Zozi. A sword.
Zu. Lushei rice beer the same as the Lakher *sahma.*
Zuri. Spirit made of fermented rice.

APPENDIX II

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Numbers 1 and 2 are particularly interesting, as from the customs described it would seem that the Cucis dealt with in both articles must have been close relations of both Lakhers and Lusheis. The words contained in the list given by Macrae in No. 2 are practically the same as the present Lushei words. No. 5 contains an excellent picture of a Lakher chief, a list of villages and a brief vocabulary. Nos. 8 and 9, both by Lewin, are the best early accounts of both Lakhers (Shendus) and Lusheis. No. 23, Reid's *Chin-Lushai Land*, gives excellent accounts of the 1871–72 Lushai Expedition and of the Chin-Lushai Operations in 1889–90, and contains maps and a few illustrations. No. 27, Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, gives full accounts of the Lais, Hakas and Klangklangs, all of whom are closely related to the Lakhers, especially the latter, who are known to the Lakhers as Thlatla. Number 41, Shakespear's *Lushei Kuki Clans*, contains a special chapter on the Lakhers with illustrations. Some of the books dealing with the Lushai Hill district are not directly concerned with the Lakhers, nor indeed are Nos. 6 and 52, but all the Lushei Kuki Clans are so closely connected that it seems desirable to include them. No. 44, Head's *Haka Chin Customs*, is important, as the Haka Chins are very closely allied to the Lakhers. *J.A.S.B.* = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF LAKHER CLANS

Royal Clans. *Abeiphang.*

Bonghia.
Chhachhai.
Changza.
Hleuchhang or Mara Hleuchhang.
Khichha Hleuchhang.
Nonghrang.

Patrician Clans. *Phangsang.*

Khuhleu.
Mathipi.
Nongthlia.
Hnaihleu.
Mangtuchhong.
Tlapeu.
Seuhlong.
Seuhleu or Hrawhlaw (Savang).
Thleutha or Thlotheu (Savang).
Kibeu or Khihaw (Savang).
Sanglang, or Feilei (Chapi).
Khaimeichhong.
Khule or Khuliah (Chapi).
Awbichhong.
Zawhleu or Zahlawh (Savang).
Laihleu.
Sachong.

Plebian Clans. *Machhiphang.*

Hloveu.
Khailongchhong.
Longcheichhong.
Seuthleu or Hrathlaw (Savang).
Beita.
Khithi.
Tluma.
Hiahleuchhong.
Hlasai.
Hleuri.
Hralongchhong.
Kathi or Kathih (Chapi).
Khaila.
Alapi.
Lava.
Leunang.
Leika.
Lithang.
Matipi.
Mihlong.
Ngalongchhong.
Phiapi.
Pisa.
Raila.
Ralo or Ralua (Savang).
Sathang.
Siakhai.
Siangeu.
Thaeichhong or Thangarchho (Savang)
Thangi.
Thana.
Tichhang.
Tongpa.
Zahu.
Zangtheu.
Sangaichhong.
Changri or Chairi (Savang).
Hiahlongchhong.
Lawngdua.
Lachhong.
Hlithapi or Hlitapi (Savang).
Phutang or Phutai (Savang).
Zawrongchhong.
Lachhong.
Lailung.
Hliphang.
Hichhing.
Chhaihlong.
Laichhangchhong.
Iahling.
Longseng.
Vatipi.
Hlawngchhang.
Hlikhang.
Hranglang.
Darrua.
Thlana.
Thlulang.
Hrasai.
Mohlong.
Longbeu.
Thattong.
Leita.
Azeu.
Zawtha.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF LAKHER VILLAGES AND CHIEFS

Chief's Name.	Clan Name.	Village Names.	
		Lakher.	Lushei.
Chhongmong	Mara Hleuchhang	Saiko	Serkawr.
		Longphia	Lungpher
		Haba	Haba.
Ngongchhong	Khuhleu	Kiasi	Kaisi.
Deutha	Azeu	Vahia	Vahai.
Hniachai	Bonghia	Laikei	Laikei.
		Laki	Laki.
Taiveu	Bonghia	Savang	Zongling.
		Chheihlu [1]	Khuhlu.
		Khongpai	Khopai.
Rachi	Changza	Chapi	Chapui.
		Mawhreu	Mawhre.
Ngongkong	Changza	Chakhang	Chakhang.
Vialang [2]	Changza	Iana	Ainak.
		Siata	Siata.
Bisa [3]	Changza	Chholong	Chhuarlung.
		Longbong	Lungbun.
		Nangotla	Niawtlang.
Chhonglang	Nonghrang	Tisi	Tuisi.
Raneu	Mara Hleuchhang	Theiva	Theiva.
		Theiri	Theiri.
Thachhong	Khichha Hleuch-hang	Siaha	Saiha.
		Thangsai	Thingsen.
Lailang	Khichha Hleuch-hang.	Tisongpi	Tuisumpui.
Thidaw	Khichha Hleuch-hang.	Thiahra Among-beu	Romi bawk.
Tlaiko	Khichha Hleuch-hang.	Thiahra	Phalhrang.
Siatu	Mara Hleuchhang	Amongbeu	Maubawk.
Zahia	Mara Hleuchhang	Paitha	Paithar.
		Saizaw	Saizaw.
		Tipa	Tuipui.

[1] So called because of the numerous plum trees, *Phyllanthus Emblica*, L.

[2] Vialang is not a real Changza. His father Zato was a slave of Lalluai, chief of Thlatla, and adopted his master's clan. Zato was placed in charge of Iana by Lalluai, and eventually managed to appropriate it.—N. E. P.

[3] Of somewhat doubtful descent, but claims to be a genuine Changza.—N. E. P.

Chief's Name.	Clan Name.	Village Names.	
		Lakher.	Lushei.
Hramchhuma [1]	Changza	Tipa	Tuipang.
		Tipa miavai	Tuipang melveng.
Iakhai	Mara Hleuchhang	Longba	Lawngban.
Zabeu	Mara Hleuchhang	Tongkolong	Tawngkalawng.
		Longmasu	Lawngmasu.
Chiatheu	Nongthlia	Muabu	Mualbu.
Vasai	Changza	Khihlong	Sebawng khawhlui.
		Sabeukhi	Sebawngkhua.
		Hlongma	Hlongma.
Vahu	Changza	Ngiaphia	Ngaphai.
Riachang	Chhachhai	Longchei khihlong	Lungchawi khawhlui.
		Longchei khithi	Lungchawi khawthar.
Ngonglang	Changza	Heima	Heima, Vaki.
Chhakha	Changza	Lialai	Lailen.
Awkhong	Alapi	Patheitla	Pathiantlang.
Laidang	Changza	Para	Para.
Tanglai	Nongthlia	Kumai	Kumai.
Raphang	Chaaw Hleuchhang	Rabu	Rabu.
Tiasa	Mathipi	Zeucha	Zocha.
Zatlei	Mathipi	Diku	Sekullui.
Laikia	Lava	Diku	Sekullui.

[1] A bastard of Ngunlinga, chief of Bualpui, not a Lakher at all, though the villagers are Lakher.—N. E. P.

APPENDIX V

LIST OF CEREALS AND VEGETABLES GROWN IN LAKHER *JHUMS*

Liavawnong. A rice with a small, fine, long, white grain, grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *leva.*

Batanong. A rice with a round grain, white or red in colour, grown on either tree or bamboo ground. The Lushei *buh bial.*

Botinong. A rice with longish grain, white or red in colour, grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *farel.*

Bupinong. A rice with a roundish grain, white or red in colour, grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *buhpui.*

Chairo. A rice with long grain, usually red in colour, grown on tree forest land. The Lushei *chiaru.*

Zaibenong. A rice with very dark ear and very white, long-shaped grain, grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *hmawr hang.* Grows well on rocky soil.

Saibinong. The ear is red, the grain white and long. Grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *ui tho buh.*

Savenong. The ear is dark in colour with faint stripes, the grain is long and white. Grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *buh sanghar.*

Sapazupa. Both ear and grain are red, in shape long, somewhat sticky to touch. Used chiefly for making *sahma.* Grown on bamboo ground or low-lying tree forest. The Lushei *fazu.*

Tlaikokeuleu. Grain round and rather large. The ear is bearded, the grain white, grown on bamboo ground. Good for *sahma* and for making rice flour. The Lushei *konglong.*

Matukeuleu. Grain smaller and longer in shape than *tlaikokeuleu.* Grain white. Grown on bamboo ground. Good for *sahma* and for making flour.

Sasaipa. The ear is red, the grain is white and roundish in shape. Grown on either bamboo or tree ground. Good for *sahma* and flour. The Lushei *lianran.*

Sacharapa. Very small, longish-shaped white or red grain. Grown on bamboo ground. Ripens earliest of all hill paddys. The Lushei *tai.*

Iakasa. Very sweet medium-sized white grain. Grown on bamboo ground. The Lushei *kaikuang buh.*

Chhamei. Maize. The Lushei *vaimim.*

Chhameithawpa. Red maize. After cooking it is much stickier than the ordinary maize.

Mawmeu. Pumpkin (*Cucurbita moschata,* Duch.).

Hmiakhu. Hibiscus sabsariffa, L.

Ahra. Brassica campestris, L.

Pahei. Mustard.

Bia. Arum. Colocasia antiquorum. The Lushei *bal.* A staple food of all the Lushei, Chin and Kuki tribes.

Bii. Small bean (*Phaseolus calcaratus,* Roxb.).

Bahleu. Long beans. (*Vigna catiang,* Endl.).

Abi. Pulse (*Cajanus indicus,* L.).

Abia. Very large beans (*Dolichos lablab,* L.).

Viabahra. Sweet potatoes.
Sapang. Job's tears.
Maiteu. Egg fruit.
Labua. A squash.
Athei. Cucumber.
Bangkai. Musk melon.
Awsithei. Small cucumbers.
Ahia. Chili.
Thawpupa. Large chilis (*Capsicum annuum*, L.).
Thlohmia. Pumpkin (*Benincasa cerifera*, Savi.).
Sahra. Sulphur beans.
Iasang. Ginger (*Zinziber officinale*, Roscoe).
Avi. Solanum indicum, L.
Hrasa. An inferior kind of sugar-cane. The Lushei *Thalvuaifu.*
Asah. An edible plant with yellow flowers.
Bahlah. Plantains.
Iamaipa. Turmeric.
Satongpa. Millet.
Achhi. Perilla ocimoides, Linn.
Chhihri. Sesamum (*Sesamum indicum*).
Balu. Yam.
Sekathu. An aromatic plant.
Asapa. An aromatic plant.
Sesadi. A plant very like parsley. The Lushei *Pardi.*
Leile. Aerial rooted yams.
Basu. Sugar cane.
Awhhniong. Snake gourd (*Tricosanthea cucumerina*, L)
Opeu. Loofah gourd.
Rangtu. Pine-apple.
Maiih. Jack fruit.
Koa. Guava.
Theithu. Sweet limes.
Miteu. Peach.
Thangbahlah. Papaya.
Khachhu. Onion.
Tiong. A gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Seringe).
Biakopeipa. An edible root.
Barong. A hairy bean.
Iphong. Mango.
Uma. Tobacco.
Pala. Cotton.
Ongveu (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Seringe).

APPENDIX VI

NOTES ON CHHALI'S PEDIGREE, ILLUSTRATING THE MUTUAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF RELATIONS

Chhali will receive the *puma* of the following women when they marry: Viathlei, Saikhai, Dawhlua, Ngongzang, in his own right. After the death of his father, Vatlai, he will receive all the *pumas* that would have been paid to his father had he been alive, as he is Vatlai's heir.

Chhali will receive the *ru* of Cheitha, Khailang and Hrakhu when these persons die in his own right, and after his father's death the *ru* of Zateu, Dongmeu, Laihleu, Leilang and Zahu. Chhali received 10 rupees *chhongchhireu* when Zongmeu died.

Chhali's *ru* will be taken by Laitlei.

As regards the marriage prices of sisters and daughters, Chhali's father and Laihi are close enough to *matlei*. As Chhali has no brothers, Laihi actually received the *seipihra* of Chhali's sister Ngiapaw. Tiadong and Chhali's father are also close enough to *matlei*, and Tiadong was given the *seipihra* of Chhali's sister Rongki. Had Chhali had one or two brothers, these distant relations would probably not have received shares. Laihi and Tiadong are expected to reciprocate when occasion arises, but if they do not do so the matter would not go to a case before the chief.

Tangri received Rongki's *nangcheu*, and Beuzang received Ngiapaw's *nangcheu*.

Rongki's *nongcheu* was taken by Viakha, as Vatumanong is dead. Viakha was not allowed Ngiapaw's *nongcheu*, so Ngiapaw's husband profited. If the bride's mother is not on good terms with her sister she not infrequently refuses to let her get her daughter's *nongcheu*.

Chhali must pay *ngazuasaphei* to Rongki, Ngiapaw, Dawneu, Pawngia, Nangsong, Nanghnai, Dawkai, Nongtlei. This pedigree does not show the persons to whom Chhali must pay *narongsakeu*, but his father Vatlai must give it to Vatumanong, his wife's sister.

The following persons shown in the pedigree have married their mother's brother's daughter, Leilang and Zateu.

None of the couples shown in the pedigree have been divorced, none of the women have committed adultery, there are no lunatics and no impotents.

The Mathipis are found in Saiko, Longban, Tongkolong and in two villages of North Arakan, Zeucha and Diku.

Leilang, Zahu, Dongmeu, Laihleu, Cheitha, Khailang and Hrakhu, Chhali's *tupapas* will pay *antongnai* to him when they enter a newly-built house.

Chhali must pay *sapalong* to Laitlei.

Chhali receives *sapalong* from Leilang, Zahu, Dongmeu, Laihleu, Khailang, Hrakhu, Cheitha.

It may be noted that while Zateu and Leilang, who are Hnaihleus, are allowed to take part in Chhali's *Khazangpina*, Vatu and his father Leutong, though likewise Hnaihleus, are not allowed to do so, the reason for this being that Leutong's wife Pachei belongs to the Khiti clan, which is very plebeian. As a rule, in fact, people of a different clan cannot take part in a man's Khazangpina, but Zateu's mother and wife are Mathipis,

and Leilang's grandmother, mother and wife are Mathipis, hence the affinity with the Mathipis is very close.

Chhali's heir is his son Thachhong.

Hnaitha captured six slaves in war from North Arakan. One Tara he sold back to Arakan. This man was adopted as a Mathipi, and his children still call themselves Mathipi. Hnaitha gave two female slaves as part of the price of his wife Rongki. Two slaves died three years after capture. One slave married, but died childless. Her name was Nongkhang. Katha was a man of peace, who refused to go on raids, and busied himself with his cultivation.

Zateu captured one slave from Leuhu in North Arakan, but it was released by Captain Shakespear.

Hlithlia is said to have saved the Tlongsais long, long ago, when they were at war with the people of Phiapi in the Chin Hills. The Tlongsais mustered only thirty warriors, while the Phiapi had 100. The Tlongsai chief could not face the odds and fled to Tlari, where his *papu* was the chief. Hlithlia carried on the war, slew the Phiapi chief, forced the Phiapi people to pay an indemnity of a *mithun* and made peace. After this the Tlongsai chief returned, and since then the Mathipis have always been among the chief's advisers. At this time the Tlongsai main village was at Chakang.

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF SOME TREES AND PLANTS FOUND IN THE LUSHAI HILLS DISTRICT WITH LUSHEI AND LAKHER NAMES WHERE AVAILABLE

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
DICOTYLEDONES.		
1. RANUNCULACEAE		
Clematis acuminata, D.C., 543 .	—	—
Clematis acutangula, Hook. f. & T., 377, 561.	—	—
Clematis gouriana, Roxb., 372	—	—
Clematis grewiaeflora, D.C., 382	—	—
Clematis tortuosa, Wall. ex Fischer, 505.	—	—
Clematis Buchananiana, D.C.	—	*Hruipanruang*
Clematis smilacifolia, Wall. .	—	—
Ranunculus pennsylvanicus, L.	—	—
Ranunculus hirtellus, Royle, 243	—	—
Thalictrum rotundifolium, D.C., 17.	—	—
Thalictrum punduanum, Wall. .	—	*Hrat*
2. DILLENIACEAE		
Dillenia pentagyna, Roxb., 213, 513.	—	*Kaizawl*
Dillenia indica, L. . . .	—	*Kawrthindeng*
3. MAGNOLIACEAE		
Kadsura Roxburghiana, Arn., 426.	*Theiawbeupa*	*Theiarbawn*
Michelia Champaca, L. . . .	—	*Ngiau*
Michelia Doltsopa, Ham., 144 .	—	—
Schizandra propinqua, Hook. f. & T., 296.	—	—
Talauma Hodgsonii, Hook. f. & T., 316	—	*Thingtumbu*
Talauma Rabaniana, Hook. f. & T.	—	*Thingtumbu*
4. ANONACEAE		
Cyathocalyx martabanicus, H. f. & T.	—	*Hreirawt*
Dasymaschalon longiflorum, Fin. & Gagnep., 177, 396, 657A.	—	—
Goniothalamus sesquipedalis, H. f. & T.	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
4. ANONACEAE—*cont.*		
Miliusa Roxburghiana, H. f. & T.	—	—
Polyalthia simiarum, Benth. & Hook.	*Theimeumaw*	*Hreirawt*
Sp. ?	*Ratleu*	—
Unona discolor, Vahl. . . .	—	—
5. MENISPERMACEAE		
Cissampelos Pareira, L. . .	—	—
Tinospora cordifolia, Miers. .	—	*Theisontlung*
6. BERBERIDACEAE		
Mahonia borealis, Tak., 149, 149A.	—	*Pualeng*
Mahonia nepalensis, D.C. . .	—	—
7. CRUCIFERAE		
Brassica campestris, L. . .	—	*Antam*
Cardamine hirsuta, Linn., 586	—	*Phai antam*
8. CAPPARIDACEAE		
Capparis viminea, Hook. f. & T., 211.	—	—
Capparis tenera, Dalz. . . .	—	—
Roydsia suaveolens, Roxb., 219	—	—
9. VIOLACEAE		
Viola distans, Wall., 4 . .	—	—
Viola Patrinii, D.C., 5, 224 .	—	—
10. BIXACEAE		
Bixa orellana, Linn., 317 . .	—	*Rongsen*
Gynocardia odorata, Roxb. .	—	*Saithei*
Taraktogenos Kurzii, King, 656, 677.	—	*Khawitur*
11. PITTOSPORACEAE		
Pittosporum glabratum, Lindl., 145.	—	—
12. POLYGALACEAE		
Polygala arillata, Ham., 576 .	—	—
13. CARYOPHYLLACEAE		
Brachystemma calycinum, D. Don, 151.	—	—
14. HYPERICACEAE		
Cratoxylon neriifolium, Kurz, 284.	—	—
Hypericum cernuum, Roxb., 62A	—	—
Hypericum elodioides, Chois., 63	—	—
Hypericum japonicum, Thumb., 62.	—	—
Hypericum gracilipes, Stapf., 74.	—	—
Hypericum nepalense, Choisy .	—	—
15. GUTTIFERAE		
Garcinia Cowa, Roxb., 661. .	—	*Chengkek*
Garcinia lanceaefolia, Roxb. .	—	—
Mesua ferrea, Linn. . . .	—	*Herse*
16. TERNSTROEMIACEAE		
Camellia caudata, Wall., 450 .	—	—
Camellia drupifera, Lour., 145A, 530.	—	*Lallai*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
16. TERNSTROEMIACEAE—*cont.*		
Camellia theifera, Griff. . .	*Thangpi*	*Thingpui*
Eurya symplocina, B., 412 .	*Hiarangpa*	*Sihneh*
Saurauja nepaulensis, D.C., 384	—	—
Saurauja punduana, Wall. .	—	*Tiar*
Schima Wallichii, Choisy .	*Khaimei*	*Khiang*
17. DIPTEROCARPACEAE		
Dipterocarpus turbinatus, Gaertn. f., 657.	—	*Lawngthing*
18. MALVACEAE		
Bombax insigne, Wall. . . .	*Apha*	*Pang*
Bombax malabaricum, D.C., 622	—	*Phunchawng*
Gossypium arboreum, Linn., 368	*Pala*	*La*
Hibiscus macrophyllus, Roxb. .	*Pazo*	*Vaiza*
Hibiscus surattensis, L. . .	—	—
Urena lobata, Linn. . . .	—	*Sehnap*
19. STERCULIACEAE		
Buettneria pilosa, Roxb. . .	—	*Sazukhnawnghlap*
Firmiana colorata, R. Br., 637	—	*Khaukhim*
Sterculia coccinea, Roxb., 266 .	—	—
Sterculia Roxburghii, Wall.. .	—	*Tlingi leh Ngama inchawltuaina*
Sterculia ornata, Wall. . .	—	—
Sterculia urens, Roxb. . . .	—	*Pangkhau*
Sterculia villosa, Roxb. . . .	*Khawpong*	*Khaupui*
20. ELAEOCARPACEAE		
Elaeocarpus lanceaefolius, Roxb.	—	*Kharuan*
Elaeocarpus prunifolius, Wall., 99.	—	—
Elaeocarpus Varunna, Ham. .	—	—
21. GERANIACEAE		
Geranium nepalense, Sw., 263 .	—	—
Geranium, sp.? 263A . . .	—	—
Impatiens chinensis, Linn., 36 .	—	*Hawilo*
Impatiens drepanophora, Hook. f., 324	—	*Nuaieng*
Impatiens porrecta, Wall., 32, 33	*Radong*	*Hmehzial*
Impatiens pulchra, Hook. f. & T. 34, 34A, 35.	*Radong*	*Hmehzial*
Impatiens tropaeoliflora, Griff., 376.	*Radong*	*Hmehzial*
Impatiens laevigata, Wall. . .	—	*Nuaieng*
Impatiens sp.? 674, 674A . .	—	—
Oxalis corniculata, Linn. . .	*Raahpa*	*Siakthur*
22. RUTACEAE		
Atalantia caudata, Hook. . .	—	*Lallaithing*
Atalantia monophylla, Corr. .	—	—
Boeninghausenia albiflora, Reichb., 531.	—	—
Citrus medica, Linn. . . .	*Isa*	*Serh*
Citrus aurantium, Linn., 78 .	—	*Serh*
Clausena heptaphylla, W. & A., 117.	*Hriseupakong*	—
Clausena Willdenovii, W. & A.	—	—
Glycosmis pentaphylla, Corr. .	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
22. RUTACEAE—*cont.*		
Murraya exotica, Linn. . .	—	*Mungthi*
Micromelum pubescens, Bl. . .	—	*Naoterimnan* or *Kumtintua*
Zanthoxylum alatum, Roxb. .	—	*Arhrikreh*
23. BURSERACEAE		
Bursera serrata, Cole b. . .	*Theira*	*Bil*
24. MELIACEAE		
Dysoxylum binectariferum, Hook. f.	—	*Sahatah*
Dysoxylum pallens, Hiern. . .	—	—
Dysoxylum procerum, Hiern .	—	—
Munronia Wallichii, Wight, 210	—	—
25. OLACACEAE		
Cardiopteris lobata, R. Br., 367	—	—
Lepionurus oblongifolius, Mast.	—	*Anpangthuam*
Schoepfia fragrans, Wall., 295	—	—
26. ILICACEAE		
Ilex, sp., 616.	—	*Vokpuitaisen*
27. CELASTRACEAE		
Celastrus paniculatus, Roxb. .	—	—
Euonymus glaber, Roxb. . .	—	*Hangsen*
Euonymus theaefolius, Wall., 566	—	—
Euonymus, sp., 95	—	—
Gymnosporia Thomsoni, Kurz .	—	—
Microtopis discolor, Wall., 471.	—	—
28. AMPELIDACEAE		
Cayratia mollis, Gagnep., 472 .	—	*Remte*
Cayratia obovata, Gagnep., 447	—	*Puarpeng*
Leea acuminata, Wall. . . .	—	—
Leea sambucina, Willd. . .	—	—
Tetrastigma dubium, Planch., 225	—	—
Tetrastigma bracteolatum, Planch.	—	*Hruithet*
Tetrastigma serrulatum, Planch.	—	*Remte*
Vitis obtectum, Planch. . . .	—	*Remte*
29. SAPINDACEAE		
Acer laevigatum, Wall. . .	—	—
Allophylus Cobbe, Bl. . . .	—	—
Nephelium Longana, Camb., 287	—	—
Sapindus attenuatus, Wall., 618	—	*Zutul*
Sapindus Mukorossi, Gaertn., 629.	—	*Hlingsi* [1]
Turpinia nepalensis, Wall., 619	—	—
30. SABIACEAE		
Sabia parviflora, Wall., 475 .	—	—
Sabia limoniacea, Wall. . .	—	—
31. ANACARDIACEAE		
Rhus semialata, Murr., 387. .	*Thohmaw*	*Khawmhma*
Rhus succedanea, L. . . .	—	—
Spondias mangifera, Willd. .	*Dangko*	*Tawitaw*
32. CONNARACEAE		
Connarus paniculatus, Roxb. .	—	—

[1] The berries are used by the Lusheis for soap.—N. E. P.

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
33. PAPILIONACEAE		
Butea minor, Ham., 304 . .	—	*Thualthu*
Clitoria mariana, Linn., 76. .	—	—
Crotolaria capitata, Benth., var. 577.	—	—
Crotolaria juncea, Linn., 604 .	—	—
Crotolaria retusa, Linn., 486 .	—	—
Crotolaria tetragona, Roxb.. .	—	*Tumthang*
Dalbergia tamarindifolia, Roxb.	—	—
Derris thyrsiflora, Benth., 652	—	—
Derris polystachia, Benth. 390A	—	—
Derris Wallichii, Prain. . .	—	*Hulhlo*
Desmodium gyrans, D.C., 560 .	*Keuphia*	—
Desmodium laxiflorum, D.C., 230	—	—
Desmodium repandum (Vahl), D.C.	—	—
Desmodium Cephalotes, Wall. .	—	—
Desmodium parvifolium, D.C.	—	—
Desmodium gyroides, D.C. . .	—	—
Dysolobium grande, Prain . .	—	*Hruichun*
Erythrina arborescens, Roxb., 617.	*Chiachi*	*Nganbawn*
Erythrina indica, Lam. . . .	—	*Fartuah*
Flemingia fluminalis, C. B. Cl. ex Prain.	—	—
Flemingia stricta, Roxb., 667 .	—	—
Millettia cinerea, Benth., 409 .	—	—
Millettia pachycarpa, Benth., 206	—	—
Millettia piscida, Wight ? 390 .	—	*Ruteng*
Millettia pulchra, Benth., 160.	—	—
Mucuna exserta, C. B. Cl. ex Fischer, 651.	*Itamei*	*Hruiduk*
Pueraria Thomsoni, Benth, 202	—	*Kaikuangru*
Pueraria Wallichii, D.C., 446 .	—	—
Rhynchosia sp. near *himalensis*, Benth., 227.	—	—
Wistaria floribunda, D.C., 214 .	—	—
? , 627 .	—	—
? , 630 .	—	—
34. CAESALPINIACEAE		
Acrocarpus fraxinifolius, Wight	—	—
Bauhinia purpurea, Linn. 231	—	*Vaobe*
Bauhinia tenuiflora, Watt, ex C.B., Cl.	—	*Hruivaobe*
Bauhinia variegata, Linn., 119.	—	*Vaofavang*
Cassia fistula, Linn., 607 . .	—	*Makpazangkang*
Cassia Sophera, L.	—	—
Cassia timoriensis, D.C., 389 .	—	*Luahmur*
Cynometra polyandra, Roxb. .	—	*Kawrhreiha*
Mezoneuron cucullatum, W. & A., 400.	—	—
Saraca indica, Linn. . . .	—	—
35. MIMOSAE		
Acacia oxyphylla, Craib . .	*Rukhaw*	*Khangngo*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
35. MIMOSAE—*cont.*		
Acacia pennata, Willd. . . .	*Maza*	*Khangsen*
Albizzia odoratissima, Benth. .	—	*Thingri*
Albizzia procera, Benth. . .	*Viaru*	*Khangtek*
Albizzia, sp. near *Thompsoni*, Brandis, 388.	—	*Thingri*
Albizzia, sp.	—	*Thingchawke*
Albizzia stipulata, Boiv. . .	*Pava*	*Vang*
Entada scandens, Benth. . .	*Seuleu*	*Kawi*
Pithecolobium angulatum, Benth. 428.	*Awhmangbeu-pathang.*	*Ardahpui*
Pithecolobium bigeminum, Mast.	—	*Ardahte*
Pithecolobium montanum, Benth. 499.	—	—
Parkia Roxburghii, Don. . .	*Chaaw*	*Zongtah*
36. ROSACEAE		
Eriobotrya bengalensis, Hook. f.	—	*Hnalchun*
Fragaria indica, Anders. . .	—	*Vaitheihmu*
Photinia integrifolia, Lindl., 532	—	—
Potentilla fragarioides, Linn., 187	—	—
Potentilla fulgens, Wall., 570 .	—	—
Potentilla Kleiniana, W. & A., 465.	—	—
Prunus Puddum, Roxb., 103, 520.	—	*Paivun* or *Tlaizong*
Pyrus Pashia, Ham., 676 . .	—	*Chalthei*
Rosa longicuspis, Bertol., 139 .	—	—
Rubus acuminatus, Sm., 491 .	*Seisahmangpa*	*Theihmu*
Rubus ferox, Wall., 299. . .	—	—
Rubus rosaefolius, Smith. . .	—	*Hmupa*
Rubus assamensis, Focke . .	—	—
Rubus ellipticus, Smith . . .	—	*Hmutau*
Rubus birmanicus, Hook. f. .	—	*Siallinuchhu*
Rubus moluccanus, L. . . .	—	—
37. SAXIFRAGACEAE		
Bergenia ligulata, Engl., 137 .	—	*Pandamdawi* or *Khamdamdawi*
Dichroa febrifuga, Lour. . .	—	*Khawsikdamdawi*
Parnassia mysorensis, Heyne, 18	—	—
38. CRASSULACEAE		
Kalanchoe floribunda, W. & A..	—	—
Kalanchoe spathulata, D.C., 480	—	—
Sedum Griffithii, Clarke, 406 .	—	—
Sedum multicaule, Wall. . .	—	—
39. HAMAMELIDACEAE		
Loropetalum chinense, Oliv., 176	—	—
40. RHIZOPHORACEAE		
Carallia integerrima, D.C., 644.	*Theichavapa*	*Theiria*
41. COMBRETACEAE		
Anogeissus acuminata, Wall., var. *lanceolata*, Wall., 597	—	*Zairum*
42. MYRTACEAE		
Careya arborea, Roxb. . . .	*Samaraw*	—
Eugenia claviflora, Roxb. . .	—	*Lenhmui*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
42. MYRTACEAE—*cont.*		
Eugenia operculata, Roxb., var. *obovata.*	—	*Hmuizubel*
Jambosa diospyrifolia, Wall., 184.	—	—
Jambosa polypetala, Wall., 167	*Rabu*	*Tuipui sulhla*
Jambosa vulgaris, D.C., 659 .	—	—
43. MELASTOMACEAE		
Melastoma normale, D. Don, 668	—	—
Memecylon celastrinum, Kurz. .	—	*Theikawrak*
Osbeckia chinensis, Linn., 343 .	—	*Builukham*
Osbeckia crinita, Benth. . .	—	*Builukham*
Oxyspora vagans, Wall. . . .	—	*Khampar*
Oxyspora paniculata, D.C., 325, 526.	—	*Khampar*
Sarcopyramis nepalensis, Wall., 54.	—	—
Sonerila maculata, Roxb., 48 to 53, 65, 701.	—	—
Sonerila khasiana, C. B. Clarke	—	—
Sonerila tenera, Royle, var.. .	—	—
44. LYTHRACEAE		
Ammannia baccifera, Linn., 88.	—	—
Crypteronia glabra, Bl., 443. .	—	—
Duabanga sonneratioides, Ham., 642	*Azeu*	*Zuang*
Lagerstroemia flos reginae, Retz.	*Patawngpa*	*Thlado*
Rotala rotundifolia, Koehn, 86.	—	—
Woodfordia fruticosa, Kurz, 185, 605.	—	—
45. ONAGRACEAE		
Epilobium trichoneuron, Hask, 362.	—	—
46. SAMYDACEAE		
Casearia tomentosa, Roxb., 223	—	—
47. PASSIFLORACEAE		
Modecca trilobata, Roxb. . .	—	—
Passiflora nepalensis, Wall., 75	—	*Nauawimu*
Passiflora incarnata, L. . . .	—	—
48. CUCURBITACEAE		
Hodgsonia heteroclita, Hook. f. & T., 234.	—	*Khaum*
Melothria heterophylla, Cogn., 470.	—	*Zongawmpawng*
Thladiantha Hookeri, C. B. Clarke	—	—
49. BEGONIACEAE		
Begonia amoena, Wall., 45, 46, 47.	*Seimakhupa*	*Sekhupthur*
Begonia barbata, Wall., 40, 41	—	*Lalruangadar-nawna*
Begonia Beddomei, Hook. f. ? 306.	—	*Lalruangadar-nawna*
Begonia sp. near *inflata*, Clarke, 430	—	*Sekhupthur-a-hmul*
Begonia laciniata, Roxb., 77 .	*Seimakhupa*	*Sekhupthur*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
49. BEGONIACEAE—*cont.*		
**Begonia lushaiensis*, Fischer, 39.	*Seimakhupa*	*Sekhupthur*
Begonia picta, Sm.	—	—
Begonia pedunculosa, Wall., 43, 44.	—	—
Begonia ovatifolia, A. D.C.. .	—	*Lalruangadar-nawna*
Begonia Roxburghii, A. D.C., 186, 264.	—	*Sekhupthur*
Begonia Rex, Putz, 253A . .	—	*Lalruangadar-nawna*
Begonia rubro-venia, Hook., 90	—	—
Begonia sikkimensis, A. D.C., 253	—	*Lalruangadar-nawna*
Begonia Wattii, C. B. Clarke, 42, 699, 700.	—	—
Begonia, spp. 249, 250, 252.	—	—
Begonia Thompsoni, A.D.C. .	—	*Labruanga darnawna*
50. FICOIDAE		
Mollugo stricta, L. . . .	—	—
51. UMBELLIFERAE		
Eryngium foetidum, L. . . .	—	*Bakhur*
Heracleum burmanicum, Kurz, 527.	—	—
Hydrocotyle javanica, Thunb., 143.	—	*Hlovaidawr*
Pimpinella diversifolia, D.C., 24	—	—
52. ARALIACEAE		
Aralia foliosa, Seem, var. *sikkimensis*, C. B. Clarke, 476, 594.	*Chichupa*	*Chimchawk*
Aralia Thomsoni, Seem. . .	*Chichupa*	*Chimchawk-hmulmi*
Aralidium, sp., 687	—	—
Hedera Helix, Linn., 133 . .	—	—
Schefflera hypoleuca, Harms., 104, 148.	—	—
Schefflera venulosa, Harms., 511	*Sakhitibu*	*Kelbu*
Schefflera, sp., 660 . . .	—	—
Trevesia palmata, Vis., 105, 595	—	*Kawhtebel* or *Vombal*
53. ALANGIACEAE		
Alangium begoniaefolium, Wang.	—	—
54. CORNACEAE.		
Cornus capitata, Wall. . .	—	—
55. CAPRIFOLIACEAE		
Lonicera japonica, Wall., var. 12	—	*Leihruisen*
Lonicera, sp., 451	—	—
Viburnum coriaceum, Bl., 386 .	—	*Lalruanga hnahezut*
56. RUBIACEAE		
Adenosacme longifolia, Wall. .	—	*Vatezuk*
Adina polycephala, Benth., 441	—	—
Anotis Wightiana	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
56. RUBIACEAE—*cont.*		
Argostemma sarmentosum, Wall.	—	—
Argostemma verticillatum, Wall. 279.	—	—
**Chasalia lushaiensis*, Fischer, 180.	—	—
Chasalia curviflora, Wall. . .	—	*Hmuamsen*
Coffea bengalensis	—	*Pararsi*
Galium rotundifolium, Linn., 175	—	—
Gardenia campanulata, Roxb. .	*Piavi*	—
Hedyotis connata, Wall., 232 .	—	—
Hedyotis scandens, Roxb. . .	—	—
Hedyotis vestita, R. Br.. . .	—	—
Hymenopogon parasiticus, Wall. 254.	—	—
Ixora subsessilis, Wall., 379 .	—	—
Knoxia brachycarpa, Br., 339 .	—	—
Knoxia corymbosa, Willd. . .	—	—
Lasianthus near *Biermannii*, King, 361.	—	—
Lasianthus lucidus, Bl., 544 .	—	—
Luculia gratissima, Sweet, 417.	—	—
Luculia Pinceana, Hook. . .	—	—
Morinda angustifolia, Roxb. .	—	*Kawrpel*
Mussaenda glabra, Vahl., 600 .	—	*Vakep*
Mussaenda macrophylla, Wall., 274.	—	*Vakep*
**Mussaenda Parryorum*, Fischer, 359.	—	*Vakephrui*
**Mussaenda pentasemia*, Fischer, 275.	—	*Vakep*
Mussaenda Roxburghii, Hook. f., 276.	—	*Vakep*
Mytragyne diversifolia, Havil, 593.	—	*Lungkhup*
Ophiorrhiza Harrisiana, Heyne, var. *argentea*, Wall.	—	*Lamba*
Pavetta indica, Roxb. . . .	—	—
Paederia foetida, Linn. . . .	*Veihna*	*Voihuihrui*
Psychotria calocarpa, Kurz, 96, 442.	—	—
Psychotria fulva, Hook. f., var. *monticola*, Clarke	—	—
Psychotria Thomsonii, Hook. f., 510.	—	—
Psychotria, sp., 569. . . .	—	—
Psychotria erratica, Hk. f. . .	—	—
Randia dumetorum, Lamk.. .	—	*Sazukthei*
Randia fasciculata, D.C. . .	—	*Chhawntan*
Randia Wallichii, H. f., 182 .	—	—
Rubia sikkimensis, Kurz, 641 .	—	*Hruisen*
Saprosma ternatum, Hook. f. .	—	—
Silvianthus bracteatus, Hk. f. .	—	—
Uncaria crinita, Desv. . . .	—	*Ruteng*
Uncaria sessilifructus, Roxb. .	—	*Ralsamkuai*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
56. RUBIACEAE—*cont.*		
Wendlandia tinctoria, D.C., 601	—	—
Wendlandia Wallichii, W. & A., 354.	—	—
57. DIPSACEAE		
Dipsacus asper, Wall., 347 .	—	—
58. COMPOSITAE		
Ageratum conyzoides, Linn. .	—	*Vailenhlo*
Ainsleya pteropoda, D.C., 474 .	—	—
Anaphalis adnata, D.C., 351. .	—	—
Artemisia vulgaris, Linn., 565 .	—	*Sai*
Blumea chinensis, D.C. . .	—	—
Blumea glomerata, D.C., 584 .	—	—
Cirsium involucratum, D.C., 291, 557.	—	—
Cirsium sinensis, Gard & Champ, 328	—	*Lenhling*
Conyza viscidula, Wall., 494 .	—	*Buar*
Cyathoeline lyrata, Cass. . .	—	—
Dichrocepala minutiflora, Van., 583.	—	—
Eupatorium cannabinum, Linn., 345.	—	—
Eupatorium odoratum, Linn.,434	*Tlasapa*	*Tlangsam*
Gerbera piloselloides, Cass., 161	—	—
Gnaphalium luteo-album, Linn., var. *multiceps*, Hook. f, 229.	—	—
Guizotia abyssinica, Cass. . .	—	—
Gynura auriculata, Cass, var. *puberulosa*.	—	*Buar*
Gynura nepalensis, D.C., 456,646	—	*Buar*
Inula rubricaulis, Benth. . .	—	—
Inula eupatarioides, D.C., 427 .	—	—
Inula nervosa, Wall. . . .	—	—
Lactuca graciliflora, D.C., 407 .	—	—
Laggera alata, Sch.-Bip., 344, 495.	—	*Buar*
Leucomeris decora, Kurz, 122 .	—	—
**Senecio lushaiensis*, Fischer, 574	—	—
Senecio saxatilis, Wall., 342 .	—	—
Senecio triligulatus, Ham.,var.84	—	—
Spilanthes Acmella, Linn., var. *oleracea*, C. B. Clarke, 115.	—	—
Vernonia blanda, D.C., 585. .	—	—
Vernonia extensa, D.C., 556 .	—	—
**Vernonia Parryae*, Fischer, 507	—	—
Vernonia subsessilis, D.C., 493.	—	—
Vernonia teres, Wall., 349, 567, 582.	—	—
Vernonia divergens, Benth.. .	—	—
59. CAMPANULACEAE		
Campanula fulgens, Wall., 25 .	—	—
Campanumaea celebica, Bl. .	—	—
Campanumaea javanica, Bl., 315	—	*Naolain*
Campanumaea parviflora, Benth.	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
59. CAMPANULACEAE—*cont.*		
Lobelia affinis, Wall., 170 . .	—	—
Lobelia pyramidalis, Wall., 489	—	*Berawchal*
Lobelia pyramidalis, Wall., var. 490.	—	*Berawchal*
Lobelia pyramidalis, Wall., var. 539.	—	*Berawchal*
Pratia begonifolia, Lindl. . .	—	*Choakathi*
60. VACCINIACEAE		
Agapetes saligna, Hook. f., 120	—	—
Vaccinium Donianum, Wight, 157, 300.	—	*Sirkham*
Vaccinium exaristatum, Kurz, 15	—	*Sirte*
Vaccinium serratum, Wight, 140, 297.	—	—
Vaccinium Griffithianum, Wight	—	—
61. ERICACEAE		
Pieris ovalifolia, D. Don, 109 .	—	*Tlangham*
Rhododendron Veitchianum, Hook, 1, 146.	*Pawchha*	*Chhoklei*
Rhododendron arboreum, Sm. 2	*Pawchha*	*Chhoklei*
62. MONOTROPACEAE		
Monotropa uniflora, Linn., 357	—	—
63. PRIMULACEAE		
Lysimachia evalvis, Wall., var. *sessiliflora*	—	—
Lysimachia japonica, Thbg. .	—	—
64. MYRSINACEAE		
Ardisia neriifolia, Wall. . .	—	—
Ardisia, near, *attenuata*, Wall., 98.	—	—
Ardisia Griffithii, Clarke, 404 .	—	—
Ardisia macrocarpa, Wall., 97, 538.	—	*Vahritthei*
Ardisia solanacea, Roxb., 162 .	—	*Zernal*
Ardisia Thomsonii, Mez., 478 .	—	—
Ardisia oblonga, D.C. . . .	—	—
Ardisia colorata, Roxb. . . .	—	—
Ardisia paniculata, Roxb., var. *Hooker*, C. B. Clarke.	—	—
Embelia Nagushia, Don. . .	—	*Tling*
Embelia robusta, Roxb. . . .	—	—
Maesa Chisia, Don.	—	—
Maesa indica, Wall., 615 . .	—	—
Maesa montana, A. D.C., 663 .	*Siahria*	*Arngen*
Maesa ramentacea, A. D.C., 106	—	—
65. SAPOTACEAE		
Sarcosperma arboreum, Benth., 624	—	—
Sideroxylon tomentosum, Roxb.	—	*Maudo*
66. STYRACEAE		
Styrax serrulatum, Roxb., 222 .	—	*Thingthiang*
Symplocos crataegioides, Ham., 173.	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
66. STYRACEAE—*cont.*		
Symplocos spicata, Roxb., var. *attenuata*, Wall.	—	—
Symplocos racemosa, Roxb., var. *khasiana*, C. B. Clarke.	—	—
67. OLEACEAE		
Jasminum anastomosans, Wall., 152, 598.	—	—
Jasminum attenuatum, Roxb., 6, 673.	—	—
Jasminum caudatum, Wall. .	—	—
Jasminum Listeri, King . .	—	—
Jasminum coarctatum, Roxb., 159	—	—
Jasminum coarctatum, Roxb., var *Hookeriana*, Clarke, 13	—	—
Jasminum flexile, Vahl, var. *Hookeriana*, C. B. Clarke, 320, 558.	—	—
Jasminum glandulosum, Wall., 61.	—	—
Jasminum laurifolium, Roxb., 169.	—	—
Jasminum scandens, Vahl, 425, 608.	—	—
Jasminum subglandulosum, Kz.	—	—
Jasminum, sp. 169 . . .	—	—
Ligustrum robustum, Bl., 188, 542.	—	*Chawmzil*
Linociera terniflora, Wall. . .	—	—
68. APOCYNACEAE		
Anodendron paniculatum, A. D.C.	—	*Theikelki*
Chonemorpha macrophylla, G. Don, 233.	—	—
Holarrhoena antidysenterica, Wall., 503	—	*Thlengpa*
Melodinus khasianus, Hook. f., 596.	—	—
Melodinus monogynus, Roxb. .	—	—
Tabernaemontana coronaria, Br.	—	*Pararsi*
Rhynchodia Wallichii, Benth., 183	—	—
Willughbeia edulis, Roxb., 294	—	*Vuakdup*
? 322, 411 . . .	—	—
69. ASCLEPIADACEAE		
Hoya lanceolata, Wall., 488 —	—	*Hnacha*
Hoya longifolia, Wall., 26, 27, 28	—	*Hnacha*
Hoya parasitica, Wall., 207 .	—	*Hnacha*
Hoya burmanica, Rolfe, 136 .	—	*Hnacha*
Hoya Griffithii, Hook. f. . .	—	*Hnacha*
Heterostemma alatum, Wt. . .	—	—
Marsdenia, sp., 285	—	—
Toxocarpus himalensis, Falc. .	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
70. LOGANIACEAE		
Buddleja macrostachya, Benth., 124, 466, 552, 553.	—	*Nuaiphawn*
Buddleja paniculata, Wall., 125	—	—
Buddleja asiatica, Lour. . .	*Napichatana*	*Serial*
Gelsemium elegans, Benth. . .	*Chamai*	*Hnamtur*
Fagraea obovata, Wall., 487 .	—	—
71. GENTIANACEAE		
Canscora andrographioides, Griff., 599.	—	*Keitur*
Canscora diffusa, Br. . . .	—	—
Crawfurdia japonica, Sieb. & Zucc., var. 575.	—	—
Exacum tetragonum, Roxb., 81	—	*Parkhawdur*
Gentiana Loureirii, Griseb., 179	—	—
Gentiana napuligera, Franch, 21, 22.	—	—
Gentiana nudicaulis, Kurz, 138	—	—
Gentiana pedicellata, Wall., 153	—	—
**Gentiana Parryae*, Marquand, 168	—	—
Swertia pulchella, Ham., 346	—	*Khawsikdamdawi*
Swertia nervosa, Wall. . . .	—	—
72. BORAGINACEAE		
Cordia fragrantissima, C.B., Cl.	—	—
Cynoglossum furcatum, Wall. .	—	*Kelchabet*
Trichodesma khasianum, Clarke, 508.	—	—
Tournefortia Candollei, Clarke.	—	—
73. CONVOLVULACEAE		
Argyreia Wallichii, Choisy. .	*NauhriThanghna*	—
Argyreia sp. 517.	—	—
Calonyction Bona-nox, Boj, var. *grandiflora*.	—	—
Ipomaea cymosa, R. & S. . .	—	*Voktesentil*
Ipomaea vitifolia, Sw. . . .	—	—
Ipomaea hederacea, Jacq., 321 .	—	—
Lettsomia strigosa, Roxb., 592 .	—	—
Lettsomia sp. prox. *Mastersii*, 455.	—	*Hneminuchhu*
Porana racemosa, Roxb., 393 .	—	—
Quamoclit phoenicia, Chois, 431	—	*Nipuipar*
74. SOLANACEAE		
Capsicum frutescens, Linn. .	—	*Anhling*
Lysianthus subtruncata, Bitt., 282, 405.	—	*Vanian*
Lysianthus pachypetala, Bitt., (*S. crassipetalis*).	—	—
Physalis minima, Linn. . .	*Shie*	*Kelasariphit*
Solanum ferox, Linn. . . .	—	—
Solanum indicum, Linn. . .	—	*Satawk*
Solanum macrodon, Wall., var. *lysimachioides*.	—	—
Solanum Melongena, L. . .	—	*Rulpuk*
Solanum torvum, Sw. . . .	—	*Tawkpui*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
75. SCROPHULARIACEAE		
Alectra indica, Benth. . . .	—	—
Bonnaya reptans, Spreng . .	—	—
Buchnera cruciata, Ham., 338 .	—	—
Centranthera grandiflora, Benth., 242.	—	—
Centranthera hispida, R. Br., 341	—	—
Hemiphragma heterophyllum, Wall., 141.	—	—
Limnophila hypericifolia, Benth.	—	—
Limnophila hirsuta, Benth. .	—	—
Limnophila sessiliflora, Bl.. .	—	—
Lindenbergia urticaefolia, Lehm., 329, 515, 540.	—	—
Mazus rugosus, Lour. . . .	—	—
Pedicularis corymbosa, Prain., 340.	—	—
Sopubia trifida, Ham., 350. .	—	—
Torenia peduncularis, Benth., 37	—	—
Torenia vagans, Roxb., 38 . .	—	—
Vandellia mollis, Benth,. 166 .	—	—
Vandellia, sp., 334, 335 . .	—	—
Wightia gigantea, Wall., 101 .	—	*Chongtlai*
76. OROBANCHACEAE		
Aeginetia indica, Roxb., 256 .	—	*Zawktevaibel*
77. LENTIBULARIACEAE		
Utricularia bifida, Linn., 332 .	—	—
Utricularia brachiata, Oliv., 326	—	—
Utricularia racemosa, Wall, 331	—	—
Utricularia striatula, Sm., 255 .	—	—
78. GESNERACEAE		
Aeschynanthus acuminata, Wall.	—	—
Aeschynanthus gracilis, Parish.	—	—
Aeschynanthus maculata, Lindl., 257.	—	*Bawltehlantai*
Aeschynanthus Mannii, Kurz., 142.	—	—
Aeschynanthus superba, Clarke, 323.	—	—
Boea hygrometrica, R. Br., 14 .	—	—
Chirita acuminata, R. Br., 327.	—	—
Chirita pumila, D. Don., 31 .	—	—
Didymocarpus Mortoni, Clarke	—	—
**Didymocarpus Parryorum*, Fischer, 7.	—	—
Didymocarpus Rodgeri, W. W. Smith & Banerji, 16	—	—
**Didymocarpus Wengeri*, Fischer, 452.	—	—
Didymocarpus, spp. 251, 259, 440	—	—
Lysionotus serrata, D. Don, 29,30	—	—
**Petrocosmea Parryorum*, Fischer, 8.	—	—
Rhynchoglossum obliquum, Bl. .	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
78. GESNERACEAE—*cont.*		
Rhynchotechum ellipticum, A. D.C.	—	*Tiarep.*
Stauranthera grandiflora, Benth.	—	—
Stauranthera umbrosa, Clarke, 239.	—	—
**Trisepalum lineicapsa*, Fischer, 79, 262.	—	—
79. BIGNONIACEAE	—	—
Spathodea stipulata, Benth. .	—	*Zihhaw*
Stereospermum chelonoides, D.C.	*Pazi*	*Zihnghal*
Stereospermum glandulosum, Miq.	—	—
Stereospermum neuranthum, Kurz.	—	*Zihhaw*
80. ACANTHACEAE		
Acanthus leucostachyus, Wall., 623.	—	*Lamba*
Adhatoda Vasica, Nees, 492 .	*Kodia*	*Kawldai*
Andrographis paniculata, Nees	—	—
Andrographis tenuiflora, T. And.	—	*Hlochangvom*
Asystasia pusilla, Clarke, 381 .	—	—
Asystasiella Neesiana, Lind., 302	—	—
Barleria cristata, Linn., 336 .	—	—
Barleria strigosa, Willd. . .	—	—
Codonocanthus pauciflorus, Nees	—	—
Colquhounia coccinea, Wall. .	—	—
Colquhounia elegans, Wall., var. *pauciflora.*	—	—
Daedalacanthus purpurascens, T. And., 156.	—	—
Daedalacanthus strictus, T. And., 3.	—	—
Daedalacanthus tetragonus, T. And.	—	—
Daedalacanthus tubiflorus, T. And., 92.	—	—
Dicliptera Roxburghiana, Nees, var. *bupleuroides*, Nees, 464.	—	—
Echinacanthus Andersonii, Clarke, var. *viscosus*, C. B. Clarke, 421.	—	—
Echinacanthus attenuatus, Nees, 248.	—	*Vangvatthur*
Eranthemum lateriflorum, Cl. .	—	—
Eranthemum palatiferum, Nees, var. *levicapsa*, C. B. Clarke, 11.	—	—
Justicia khasiana, Clarke, 352.	—	—
Justicia vasculosa, Wall., 580 .	—	—
Justicia procumbens, L., var. *latispica*, Clarke.	—	—
Justicia, vasculosa, Wall., var. 579.	—	—
Lepidagathis hyalina, Nees, 432	—	—
Nelsonia campestris, R. Br., 226	—	—
Peristrophe tinctoria, Nees, 638	—	—
Phlogacanthus curviflorus, Nees	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
80. ACANTHACEAE—*cont.*		
Phlogacanthus tubiflorus, Nees .	—	*Vatezuk*
Phlogacanthus Wallichii, Clarke, 467, 655.	—	*Vatekhawizu*
Phlogacanthus guttatus, Nees .	—	—
Rhinacanthus calcaratus, Nees, 102.	—	—
Staurogyne argentea, Wall., 56, 57.	—	—
Strobilanthes anisophyllus, T. And., var. 395, 415.	—	—
Strobilanthes auriculatus, Nees, 514.	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes capitatus, T. And. 319	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes discolor, T. And. .	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes boerhavioides, T. And.	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes Helictus, T. And. .	—	*Ramting.*
Strobilanthes flaccidifolius, Nees, 394, 416, 497.	*Amo*	*Ting*
Strobilanthes glomeratus, T. And. 463.	—	*Ramting.*
Strobilanthes macrostegius, Clarke, 578.	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes maculatus, Nees, 319, 414.	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes (near *pectinatus*), T. And.	—	*Ramting*
**Strobilanthes Parryorum*, Fischer, 155, 398, 449.	—	*Ramtinghmulmi*
Strobilanthes recurvus, Clarke, 413, 546.	—	*Ramting*
Strobilanthes Simonsii, T. And., 203.	—	*Ramting*
Thunbergia coccinea, Wall., 278.	—	—
Thunbergia grandiflora, Roxb., var. *axillaris*, Clarke, 369.	—	—
? 114 . . .	—	—
81. VERBENACEAE		
Callicarpa arborea, D.C. . .	*Laki*	*Hnakia*
Callicarpa rubella, Lindl. . .	—	—
Caryopteris paniculata, Clarke, 551.	—	*Lalruangabchethel*
Caryopteris grata, Benth. . .	—	—
Clerodendron infortunatum, Gaertn., 654.	—	—
Clerodendron nutans, Wall., 672	—	—
Clerodendron serratum, Spr. .	—	*Lcidumsuak*
Congea tomentosa, Roxb., 609 .	*Pamipaw*	*Sahuaihrui*
Gmelina arborea, Linn. . . .	*Aveu*	*Thlanvawng*
Gmelina oblongifolia, Roxb. .	—	*Vawngthla*
Verbena officinalis, Linn., 228 .	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
82. LABIATAE		
Ajuga macrosperma, Wall., 523	—	—
Anisochilus pallidus, Wall., 373, 403.	—	*Phulhlo*
Colebrookia oppositifolia, Sm., 518.	—	*Kawithuangsuak*
Dysophylla auricularia, Bl., 267	—	—
Dysophylla crassicaulis, Benth.	—	—
Dysophylla quadrifolia, Benth.	—	—
Dysophylla cruciata, Benth., 355	—	—
Dysophylla linearis, Benth., 337	—	—
Elsholtzia polystachya, Benth. .	—	—
Elsholtzia communis, Diels, 462	—	*Lengmaser*
Gomphostemma Mastersii, Benth. 58.	—	—
Gomphostemma parviflorum, Wall., var. *farinosum*, Prain, 283.	—	—
Gomphostemma Wallichii, Prain, 85.	—	—
Leucas ciliata, Benth., 353 . .	—	—
Leucosceptrum canum, Sm., 506	—	*Kawithuang*
Ocimum canum, Sims, 457 . .	—	*Runhmui*
Orthosiphon incurvus, Benth., 165.	—	—
Orthosiphon, sp. near *O. Parishii*, Prain.	—	—
Orthosiphon stamineus, Benth., 238.	—	—
Orthosiphon Wattii, Pr. . .	—	—
Plectranthus Coetsa, Ham., 399	—	—
Plectranthus, sp. *Kurzii*, Prain, ? 397.	—	—
Plectranthus striatus, Benth. .	—	—
Plectranthus ternifolius, D. Don, 348.	—	—
Pogostemon parviflorus, Benth.	—	—
Pogostemon elsholtziodes, Benth. 445.	—	*Sakhichildiah*
Pogostemon fraternus, Miq. . .	—	—
Scutellaria discolor, Coleb., 356	—	*Phurthaklo*
Scutellaria khasiana, C. B. Cl.	—	—
Scutellaria violacea, Heyne, 163	—	—
Teucrium laxum, D. Don, 453	—	—
83. AMARANTACEAE		
Achyranthes bidentata, Bl., 248A	—	*Vangvatthur*
Aerva scandens, Wall., 468. .	—	—
Deeringia celosioides, R. Br., 408	—	—
84. POLYGONACEAE		
Fagopyrum cymosum, Meissn., 280, 383.	—	—
Polygonum barbatum, Linn., 271	—	*Anbong*
Polygonum chinense, Linn., 370	*Phiahapa*	*Taham*
Polygonum paleaceum, Wall., 135	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
84. POLYGONACEAE—*cont.*		
Polygonum plebejum, R. Br., var. 87.	—	—
Polygonum stagninum, Ham., 89	—	—
Polygonum glabrum, Willd. .	—	*Chakaifu*
85. PIPERACEAE		
Houttuynia cordata, Thunb. .	—	*Vaithinthing*
Piper munypoorense, Clarke .	—	—
Piper, sp., 385	—	—
Piper nigrum, Linn. . . .	*Pairi*	—
Piper pedicellosum, Wall. . .	—	—
Piper Thomsoni, Hook. f., var. *puberula*, Clarke.	—	—
86. MYRISTACEAE		
Myristica longifolia, Wall. . .	—	*Thingthi*
87. LAURACEAE		
Actinodaphne macroptera, Miq.?	—	—
Alseodaphne petiolaris, Hook. f., 541.	—	*Khuangthul*
Cinnamomum caudatum, Nees	—	—
Cinnamomum cecicodaphne, Meissn.	—	*Saper*
Cinnamomum glanduliferum, Meissn.	—	*Khiangzo*
Cinnamomum impressinervium, Meissn.	—	—
Cinnamomum obtusifolium, Nees	—	*Thakthingsuak*
Cinnamomum zeylanicum, Breyn	*Longiasangpa*	*Thakthing*
Lindera bifaria, Benth., 665 .	—	*Saper*
Lindera Meissneri, King, 625 .	—	—
Litsea chartacea, Wall., 422. .	—	—
Litsea citrata, Bl., 469 . . .	*Hiarangpa*	*Sernam*
Litsea laeta, Wall.	—	—
Litsea semecarpifolia, Hook. f., 437.	*Thlabei*	*Nauthakpui*
Litsea, sp., 10	—	—
? 83, 519. . . .	—	*Sialhmapa*
? 602	—	*Pasaltakaza*
Phoebe attenuata, Nees . . .	—	—
88. PROTEACEAE		
Helicia excelsa, Bl.	—	*Sialhma*
89. THYMELIACEAE		
Daphne cannabina, Wall., 289 .	—	—
Daphne Sureil, W. W. Sm. & Cave, 121	—	—
Edgeworthia longipes, Lace, 375	—	—
Linostoma decandrum, Wall., 410	—	—
90. ELAEAGNACEAE		
Elaeagnus latifolia, Linn., 82 .	*Chara*	*Sarzukpui*
91. LORANTHACEAE		
Loranthus pulverulentus, Wall., 500.	—	—
Viscum articulatum, Burm., 555	—	*Lenpat*
92. SANTALACEAE		
Osyris arborea, Wall. . . .	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
93. EUPHORIACEAE		
Baccaurea sapida, Muell Arg. .	*Theipawkiapa*	*Pangkai*
Breymia patens, Benth. . .	—	—
Glochidion lanceolarium, Dalz .	—	—
Homonoia riparia, Lour. . .	*Rabeu*	*Tuipui-Sulhla*
Mallotus philippinensis, Muell.-Arg., 613.	—	*Thingkhei*
Ostodes paniculata, Bl., 678 .	—	*Beltur*
Phyllanthus Emblica, L. . .	*Chheihlu*	*Sulhlu*
Phyllanthus Hamiltonianus, Muell.-Arg, 292.	*Chheihlu*	*Sulhlu*
Ricinus communis, Linn., 626	*Pahmawngpatang* or *Keilachhupa*	*Mutih*
94. MORACEAE		
Artocarpus Chaplasha, Roxb. .	—	*Tatkawng*
Artocarpus Lakoocha, Roxb. .	*Theita*	*Theitat*
Balanostreblus ilicifolia, Kurz .	—	—
Ficus cunia, Ham., 653. . .	*Theita*	*Theitit*
Ficus clavata, Wall. . . .	—	—
Ficus bengalensis, Linn. . .	*Ahmeu*	*Hmawng*
Ficus geniculata, Kurz. . . .	*Bongchhi*	*Rihmim*
Ficus gibbosa, Bl., 444 . . .	—	*Zamanhmawng*
Ficus glomerata, Roxb. . . .	—	*Chhoke*
Ficus hirta, Vahl.	—	*Sazutheipui*
Ficus elastica, Roxb. . . .	*Hari*	*Thialret*
Ficus, sp.	*Abong*	*Hnahlun*
Ficus, sp.	*Bongpi*	*Bung*
Morus indica, Linn. . . .	—	*Lungli*
Morus laevigata, Wall., 181 .	—	*Hmubelbing*
95. URTICACEAE		
Boehmeria malabarica, Wedd. .	—	—
Boehmeria rugulosa, Wedd., 1349	*T'eicho*	*Lenlang*
Debregeasia velutina, Gaud. .	—	—
Elastostemma dissectum, Wedd.	—	—
Pilea bracteosa, Wedd. . . .	—	—
Pilea umbrosa, Wedd. . . .	—	—
Procris laevigata, Bl. . . .	—	—
96. JUGLANDACEAE		
Engelhardtia spicata, Bl., 658 .	—	*Hnum*
Juglans regia, Linn. . . .	—	*Khawkherh*
97. MYRICACEAE		
Myrica Nagi, Thunb., 147 .	—	*Keifang*
98. CUPULIFERAE		
Betula cylindrostachya, Wall. .	—	*Hriangzau*
Betula alnoides, Ham., 123. .	—	*Hriangpui*
Castanopsis Hystrix, A. D.C. .	—	—
Castanopsis tribuloides, A. D.C., 371, 419, 420.	*Asi*	*Thenngo*
Castanopsis, sp., 360, 662 .	*Asi*	*Thensen*
Corylus Colurna, Linn. . . .	—	*Hnum*
Quercus dealbata, Hook. f. & T., 391.	*Keuko*	*Fah*
Quercus dilatata, Lindl., 134 .	—	*Thal*
Quercus Griffithii, Hook. f. & T., 71, 72 ?	—	*Sasua*

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
98. CUPULIFERAE—*cont.*		
Quercus Helferiana, A. D.C., 69	—	*Hlai*
Quercus incana, Roxb., 70 . .	—	*Phen*
Quercus pachyphylla, Kurz., 73	—	*Thil*
Quercus polystachya, Wall. . .	—	*Thil*
Quercus serrata, Thunb., 68 .	—	—
99. SALICACEAE		
Salix tetrasperma, Roxb. . .	—	*Tuipuisuthlah*
100. GNETACEAE		
Gnetum Gnemon, L.	—	—
101. CONIFERAE		
Cephalotaxis Griffithii, Hook. f., 107.	*Meisa*	*Tufar*
Podocarpus neriifolia, D. Don, 108.	—	—
Pinus Khasya, Royle, 702 . .	—	*Far*
Taxus baccata, L.	—	—
102. CYCADACEAE		
Cycas pectinata, Griff., 100 .	—	*Alian* or *Kokpui*
MONOCOTYLEDONES		
103. BURMANNIACEAE		
Burmannia coelestis, D. Don, 333	—	—
Burmannia disticha, Linn., 20 .	—	—
104. ORCHIDACEAE		
Acampe dentata, Lindl., 204, 681.	*Maitao*	*Naoban*
Aerides odoratum, Lour., 288 .	—	—
Aerides vandarum, Reichb. f., 522.	—	—
Agrostiphyllum callosum, Reichb. f., 568.	—	—
Anaectochilus Griffithii, Hook. f., 272.	—	—
Anaectochilus grandiflorus, Lindl.	—	—
Anaectochilus sikkimensis, King & Prantling.	—	—
Anaectochilus, sp. ?, 93. . .	—	—
Anthogonium gracile, Lindl., 318	—	—
Arundina chinensis, Bl. . . .	—	—
Arundina graminifolia, Hochr., 247.	—	*Lailen*
Bulbophyllum Careyanum, Spreng., 647.	—	—
Bulbophyllum gymnopus, Hook. f., 484.	—	—
Bulbophyllum hirtum, Lindl., 436	—	—
Bulbophyllum Lobbii, Lindl., 621	—	—
Bulbophyllum odoratissimum, Lindl., 174.	—	—
Bulbophyllum polyrhizum, Lindl., 633.	—	—
Bulbophyllum reptans, Lindl., 132.	—	—
**Bulbophyllum Parryae*, Summerh., 220.	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
104. ORCHIDACEAE—*cont.*		
Calanthe gracilis, Lindl., 485 .	—	—
Calanthe Masuca, Lindl., 277 .	—	—
Calanthe veratrifolia, Br. . .	—	—
Calanthe, sp., 482	—	—
Camarotis purpurea, Lindl., Hook. f., 237.	—	—
Camarotis Manni, K. & P.. .	—	—
Ceratostylis himalaica, Hook. f., 563	—	—
Cirrhopetalum picturatum, G. Lodd., 197.	—	—
Coelogyne elata, Lindl., 190. .	—	—
Coelogyne flaccida, Lindl. . .	—	—
Coelogyne fimbriata, Lindl., 423, 435.	—	—
Coelogyne flavida, Wall., 150 .	—	—
Coelogyne graminifolia, Pax. & Reichb. f., 221, 512.	—	—
Coelogyne Huettneriana, Reichb. f., 636.	—	—
Coelogyne micrantha, Lindl., 645	—	—
Coelogyne praecox, Lindl. . .	—	—
Coelogyne fuscescens, Lindl., 564	—	—
**Coelogyne pendula*, Summerh., 241	—	—
Cymbidium cyperifolium, Wall., 573.	—	—
Cymbidium giganteum, Wall., 402	—	—
Cymbidium longifolium, D. Don, 562.	—	—
Dendrobium anceps, Sw. . .	—	—
Dendrobium acinaciforme, Roxb., 290.	—	—
Dendrobium aggregatum, Roxb., 198, 666.	—	—
Dendrobium arachnites, Reichb. f., 191.	—	—
Dendrobium bicameratum, Lindl., 261.	—	—
Dendrobium capillipes, Reichb. f., 679.	—	—
Dendrobium chrysanthum, Wall., 293.	—	—
Dendrobium crepidatum, Lindl., 205.	—	—
Dendrobium densiflorum, Wall., 212, 685.	—	—
Dendrobium denudans, D. Don, 111.	—	—
Dendrobium fimbriatum, Hook., var. *oculata*, Hook. f., 199	—	—
Dendrobium formosum, Roxb., 639.	—	—

Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
104. ORCHIDACEAE—*cont.*		
Dendrobium heterocarpum, Wall., 521.	—	—
Dendrobium longicornu, Lindl., 528.	—	—
Dendrobium moschatum, Sw., 265	—	—
Dendrobium ochreatum, Lindl., 178.	—	—
Dendrobium pendulum, Roxb., 94	—	—
Dendrobium aphyllum, (Roxb.) Fischer, 216.	—	—
Dendrobium primulinum, Lindl., 218, 680.	—	—
Dendrobium near *pycnostachyum*, Lindl., 112.	—	—
Dendrobium pygmaeum, Lindl., 129.	—	—
Dendrobium, sp. ? 178 . . .	—	—
Dendrobium, sp. ? 682 . . .	—	—
Dendrobium, sp. ? 189 . . .	—	—
Dendrobium, sp. ? 205 . . .	—	—
**Dendrobium Parryae*, Summerh., 269.	—	—
Eria Andersonii, Hook. f. . .	—	—
Eria amica, Rchb., f., 640 . .	—	—
Eria bambusifolia, Lindl. . .	—	—
Eria coronaria, Lindl., 481 .	—	—
Eria flava, Lindl., 215 . . .	—	—
Eria paniculata, Lindl., 554, 670	—	—
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Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
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Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
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Botanical Name.	Lakher Name.	Lushei Name.
120. FILICES—*cont.*		
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All the plants in the above list were collected by the author's wife.

The vernacular names vary to some extent in different parts of the district, so not infrequently the same plant has two or more names. It is interesting to find, however, that in many instances plants belonging to the same family bear the same name in the vernacular. New species found in the Lushai Hills have been marked with an asterisk. These were all first found by the author's wife except the *Didymocarpus Wengeri*, which was found by the Rev. W. J. L. Wenger, of Lungleh. The numbered plants were all identified at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew.

This list of course does not pretend to be exhaustive and a number of plants not included here were collected in the South Lushai Hills between Demagiri and Lungleh by Lt. A. T. Gage, I.M.S. in 1901. A list of this collection will be found in Records of the Botanical Survey of India, Vol. I, No. 13, *A Botanical Tour in the South Lushai Hills*, by Lt. A. T. Gage, I.M.S.

LIST OF SOME MISCELLANEOUS PLANTS HAVING VERNACULAR NAMES, BUT NOT ACCURATELY IDENTIFIED.

Lushei Name.

Changel, the wild plantain.
Rairuang, elephant grass.
Di, thatch.
Rua, bamboos in general.
Pardi, an aromatic plant like parsley.
Lungsam, moss.
Lenpat, tree moss.
Hlozakthei, the small creeping sensitive plant.
Haidai and *haifavang*, wild mangoes.
Hlobet, grass.
Chabet, burrs.
Chong, a cactus, euphorbia
Tum, the sago palm.
Anchiri, an arum-like plant whose leaves taste of celery.
Charpui, *Terminalia bialata.*
Beraw, *Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.
Banphar, *Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Miq.
Beraw, *Canarium sikkimense.*
Hnahkhar, *Macaranga pustulata*, King.
Hnaibung, *Isonandra polyantha.*
Thingsia, *Kayea assamica.*
Thingrai, *Aquilaria agallocha.*
Zawngtei, *Cedrela toona.*

Changkor, Tricosanthes anguina.
Changkor, staghorn moss.
Zamzo or *Zoarchhuang,* the cockscomb plant.
Thalthing, lemon grass.
Lakhuih, the pandanus tree.
Mualhawi, Saraca indica.

LIST OF FUNGI WITH VERNACULAR NAMES.

Lushei Name.	Lakher Name.
Pasaibeng.	*Athipalukhu.*
Pazawngbeng.	
Paardang.	
Pachang.	
Changhang.	*Pawmaa.*
Changeng.	
Changsethao.	
Maopa.	
Pasontlung.	
Pahnakhar.	*Seithaw.*
Pasi.	
Papar.	
Pamal.	
Paluang.	*Ipathi.*
Bawngekpa.	
Farpa.	
Puthianabeng.	
Pachhia, a toadstool.	
Phukphuhlum, a puffball.	

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED.
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.