



CENSUS OF INDIA, 1931

VOLUME XI

BURMA

PART I.—REPORT

BY

J. J. BENNISON, I.C.S.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BURMA

---

RANGOON

Office of the Supdt., Government Printing and Stationery, Burma

1933

## LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

### IN BURMA.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, Rangoon.  
BISWAS & Co., 226, Lewis Street, Rangoon.  
BRITISH BURMA PRESS (branch), Rangoon.  
BURMA BOOK CLUB, LTD., Post Box No. 1068, Rangoon.  
INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST BOOK DEPÔT, 51, Maung Khine Street, Rangoon.  
NEW LIGHT OF BURMA PRESS, 26 and 26A, Phayre Street, Rangoon.  
PROPRIETOR, THU DHAMA WADI PRESS, 16—80, Maung Khine Street, Rangoon.  
RANGOON TIMES PRESS, Rangoon.  
THE CITY BOOK CLUB, 280, Phayre Street, Rangoon.  
MESSRS K. BIN HOON & SONS, Nyaunglebin.  
MAUNG LU GALE, Law Book Depôt, 42, Ayo-o-gale, Mandalay.  
CONTINENTAL TRADING Co., 363, Lower Main Road, Moulmein.

### IN INDIA.

BOOK CO., LTD., 4/4A., College Square, Calcutta.  
BUTTERWORTH & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.  
S. K. LAHIRI & Co., 56, College Street, Calcutta.  
W. NEWMAN & Co., Calcutta.  
THACKER, SPINK & Co., Calcutta and Simla.  
D. B. TARAPOREVALA, SONS & Co., Bombay.  
THACKER & Co., LTD., Bombay.  
CITY BOOK Co., Post Box No. 283, Madras.  
HIGGINBOTHAM & Co., Madras.  
MR. RAM NARAIN LAL, Proprietor, National Press, Katra, Allahabad.

### IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The publications are obtainable either direct from THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,  
Public Department, India House, Aldwych, London, W.-C. 2 or through any  
book-seller.

# GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

## OF THE THREE PARTS OF VOLUME XI.

### PART I.—THE REPORT.

#### INTRODUCTION.

#### CHAPTER I.—Distribution and Variation of the Population.

II.—Towns and Villages.

III.—Birth-place.

IV.—Age.

V.—Sex.

VI.—Civil Condition.

VII.—Infirmities.

VIII.—Occupation.

IX.—Literacy.

X.—Language.

XI.—Religion.

XII.—Race.

#### APPENDIX A.—Burma Linguistic Map.

B.—Burma Racial Map.

C.—A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma.

D.—Notes by the Special Census Enumerators on the Manners and Customs of the Tribes inhabiting certain Hill-Tracts in the Akyab District.

E.—Naga Tribes and their Customs.

F.—Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th—13th Century A.D.

### PART II.—THE TABLES.

#### IMPERIAL TABLES.

I.—Area, Houses and Population.

II.—Variation in Population during last fifty years.

III.—Towns and Village-Tracts classified by Population.

IV.—Towns classified by Population with variation for fifty years.

V.—Towns arranged territorially with Population by Religion.

VI.—Birth-place.

VII.—Age, Sex and Civil Condition by Race.

VIII.—Civil Condition by Age for Selected Races.

IX.—Infirmities.

X.—Occupation or Means of Livelihood.

XI.—Occupations by Race.

XII.—(*This table was not compiled.*)

XIII.—Literacy by Race and Age.

XIV.—Literacy by Selected Races.

XV.—Language.

XVI.—Religion.

XVII.—Race.

XVIII.—Variation of Population of Race-groups.

XIX.—European and Allied Races and Anglo-Indians by Race and Age.

XX.—(*This table was not compiled.*)

## GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## PROVINCIAL TABLES.

- I.—Area and Population of Townships, States and Hill-Tracts.
- II.—Population of Townships, States and Hill-Tracts classified by Race.
- III.—Towns arranged territorially with Population by Race.
- IV.—Christians classified by Sect and Race.
- V.—Indians by Religion, Race and Birth-place.
- VI.—Race and Economic Function.

## PART III.—ADMINISTRATIVE VOLUME.

- CHAPTER I.—Enumeration.
- II.—Tabulation.
- III.—Cost of the Census.

# DETAILED TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PART I.

## INTRODUCTION.

PARA.	PAGE
I.—Introductory ... ..	vii
II.—Arrangements for the Enumeration ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
III.—Provisional Totals ... ..	viii
IV.—Tabulation ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
V.—The Report ... ..	ix
VI.—Cost of Census ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
VII.—Acknowledgments ... ..	<i>ib.</i>

## CHAPTER I.

### *Distribution and Variation of Population.*

1. Area ... ..	1
2. Meaning of "Population" ... ..	2
3. Method of Enumeration ... ..	3
4. Natural Divisions ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
5. Characters of the Natural Divisions ... ..	5
6. Statistical References ... ..	7
7. Variation in Population ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
8. Diagrammatic Representation of Variation in Population ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
9. Variation since 1872 ... ..	8
10. Variation since 1891 ... ..	9
11. Variation since 1901 ... ..	12
12. Some factors affecting the growth of the population during 1921—1931 ... ..	14
13. Vital Statistics ... ..	17
14. Effect of Migration upon the Increase of Population ... ..	18
15. Variation since 1921 ... ..	20
16. Variation by Natural Divisions and Smaller Areas ... ..	21
17. Houses ... ..	30
18. Calculation of Areas ... ..	31
19. Density of Population ... ..	32
20. Pressure of Population ... ..	33
Subsidiary Tables ... ..	35

## CHAPTER II.

### TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

#### *A.—Towns.*

21. The Selection of Towns ... ..	44
22. Statistical References ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
23. Description of Towns ... ..	45
24. Variation in Urban Population ... ..	46
25. Urban Population by Religion and Race ... ..	49
26. The Sex-ratio in Towns ... ..	52
27. Rangoon City ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
28. Mandalay City ... ..	54

#### *B.—Villages.*

29. Village Population ... ..	55
Subsidiary Tables ... ..	56

## CHAPTER III.

### *Birth-place.*

30. Statistical References ... ..	59
31. Sources of Immigrants ... ..	60
32. Immigrants from India ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
33. Indian Immigrants by Race and Religion ... ..	61
34. Immigrants from China ... ..	63
35. Immigrants from Nepal ... ..	64
36. Immigrants from Siam ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
37. Immigrants from Europe ... ..	65
38. Emigrants ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
39. Migration between Burma and Indian provinces ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
40. Internal Migration ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
Subsidiary Tables ... ..	67

CHAPTER IV.							
PARA.							PAGE
							<i>Age.</i>
41.	Enumeration	...	...	...	...	...	73
42.	Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
43.	Accuracy of the Age Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	74
44.	Age distribution of Indigenous Races	...	...	...	...	...	75
45.	Age distribution of Indians	...	...	...	...	...	77
46.	Age distribution of Chinese	...	...	...	...	...	78
47.	Mean Age	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
48.	Vital Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
	Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	81
CHAPTER V.							
							<i>Sex.</i>
49.	Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	86
50.	Definition of Sex-ratio	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
51.	Comparison with Other Countries	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
52.	Sex-ratios by Natural Divisions	...	...	...	...	...	87
53.	The Sex-ratio at different ages	...	...	...	...	...	88
54.	Sex-ratios for Races	...	...	...	...	...	89
55.	Sex-ratios in Towns	...	...	...	...	...	91
56.	Fertility	...	...	...	...	...	92
	Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	95
CHAPTER VI.							
							<i>Civil Condition.</i>
57.	Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	98
58.	Accuracy of the Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
59.	Proportion of Population Married	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
60.	Marriage and Age	...	...	...	...	...	99
61.	Widows and Widowers	...	...	...	...	...	100
62.	Marriage and Race	...	...	...	...	...	101
63.	Marriage Customs	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
	Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	108
CHAPTER VII.							
							<i>Infirmities.</i>
64.	Enumeration	...	...	...	...	...	113
65.	Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
66.	Accuracy of the Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
67.	Insanity	...	...	...	...	...	114
68.	Deaf-Mutism	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
69.	Blindness	...	...	...	...	...	115
70.	Leprosy	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
	Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	118
CHAPTER VIII.							
							<i>Occupation.</i>
71.	Introduction	...	...	...	...	...	122
72.	Scheme of Classification	...	...	...	...	...	123
73.	Comparison between the Classification Schemes for 1921 and 1931	...	...	...	...	...	124
74.	Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	125
75.	Accuracy of the Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	126
76.	Proportion of Workers and Dependants	...	...	...	...	...	127
77.	Distribution of the Working Population by Occupation	...	...	...	...	...	128
78.	Agricultural Occupations	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
79.	Other Occupations	...	...	...	...	...	130
80.	Occupation and Race	...	...	...	...	...	133
81.	Race and Economic Function	...	...	...	...	...	135
82.	Occupations of Females	...	...	...	...	...	137
83.	Subsidiary Occupations	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
84.	Urban Occupations	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
85.	Unemployment of Educated Persons	...	...	...	...	...	138
86.	Post Office and Telegraph Department, Irrigation Department and Railways	...	...	...	...	...	139
	Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	140

CHAPTER IX.

PARA.							PAGE
	<i>Literacy.</i>						
87. Enumeration ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	159
88. Statistical References ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
89. Accuracy of the Statistics ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
90. Standard of Literacy ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	160
91. Comparison between Burma and India	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
92. Literacy by Natural Divisions	...	...	...	...	...	...	161
93. Literacy by Race	...	...	...	...	...	...	162
94. Literacy in Towns	...	...	...	...	...	...	163
95. Literacy in English	...	...	...	...	...	...	164
96. Educational Institutions	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
97. Books	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	...	166

CHAPTER X.

	<i>Language.</i>						
98. Enumeration ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	173
99. Classification Scheme	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
100. Accuracy of the Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	...	174
101. Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	...	175
102. Language Distribution by Natural Divisions	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
103. Indigenous Languages and Races	...	...	...	...	...	...	176
104. Burma Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	177
105. Lolo-Muhso Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	182
106. Kuki-Chin Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	183
107. Naga Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	186
108. Kachin Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
109. Sak Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
110. Mishmi Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	187
111. Mro Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
112. Tai Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	188
113. Malay Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	190
114. Mon Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
115. Palaung-Wa Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	191
116. Karen Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	192
117. Man Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	193
118. Chinese Languages	...	...	...	...	...	...	194
119. Indian Languages	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
120. The Pau Chin Hau Script	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
121. Bilingualism	...	...	...	...	...	...	196
Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	...	198

CHAPTER XI.

	<i>Religion.</i>						
122. Enumeration ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	206
123. Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
124. Accuracy of the Statistics	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
125. Distribution by Religion since 1891	...	...	...	...	...	...	207
126. Buddhists	...	...	...	...	...	...	208
127. Animists	...	...	...	...	...	...	209
128. Hindus	...	...	...	...	...	...	210
129. Muslims	...	...	...	...	...	...	211
130. Christians	...	...	...	...	...	...	212
131. Religion and Race	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
132. Christian Sects	...	...	...	...	...	...	214
133. Sects peculiar to Burma	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
134. Animists and the Supreme Being	...	...	...	...	...	...	215
135. The Pau Chin Hau Movement in the Chin Hills	...	...	...	...	...	...	217
Subsidiary Tables	...	...	...	...	...	...	219

CHAPTER XII.

	<i>Race.</i>						
136. Enumeration ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	223
137. Statistical References	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
138. The Classification Scheme	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>
139. Omitted Areas	...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>ib.</i>

PARA.	CHAPTER XII—concluded.	PAGE
140.	Variation in Population of Race-Groups ... ..	224
141.	Indians ... ..	225
142.	Indian Races ... ..	228
143.	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	230
144.	Chinese ... ..	231
145.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians ... ..	232
	Subsidiary Tables ... ..	234

## APPENDICES.

A.	Burma Linguistic Map ... ..	235
B.	Burma Racial Map ... ..	240
C.	A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma ... ..	245
D.	Notes by the Special Census Enumerators on the Manners and Customs of the Tribes inhabiting certain Hill-Tracts in the Akyab District ... ..	248
E.	Naga Tribes and their Customs ... ..	267
F.	Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th—13th Century A.D. ... ..	296

## MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

1.	Burma Racial Map * ... ..	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2.	Administration Map of Burma ... ..	<i>Facing page 1</i>
3.	Enumeration Map of Burma ... ..	3
4.	Diagram showing the Variation in the Population of Districts and Natural Divisions. Part A ... ..	22
5.	Diagram showing the Variation in the Population of Districts and Natural Divisions. Part B ... ..	24
6.	Map of Burma showing the Percentage Variation of Population by Townships and States ... ..	26
7.	Map of Burma showing Density of Population by Townships and States ... ..	32
8.	Map of Burma showing Density of Population by Districts ... ..	<i>ib.</i>
9.	Age Distribution of indigenous females since 1901 ... ..	76
10.	Percentage Age Distribution by five-yearly groups of Selected Racial Classes by Sex ... ..	77
11.	Percentage of the Population of Selected Racial Classes under different ages by Sex ... ..	78
12.	Burma Linguistic Map * ... ..	173

## PLATES.

(See Appendix C.)

I.—Maru from Nmai Valley	Facing page 244.
II.—Maru Girls from Nmai Valley	
III.—Kachin Girls from Shan States	
IV.—Nung High Priest	
V.—Young Nungs from Upper Nmai Valley	
VI.—Padaungs from Karenni	
VII.—Brek Youth	
VIII.—Wa	
IX.—Miaos from Southern Shan States	
X.—Miaos from Indo-China	
XI.—Kaws (Kengtung State)	
XII.—Kaw Girl	
XIII.—Lahu Girl (Kengtung State)	
XIV.—Black Lisu (Lisaw)	
XV.—Yawyin (Lisaw) from Hpimaw	
XVI.—Black Lisu (Lisaw) from Ahkyang Valley	
XVII.—Yawyin (Lisaw) from Bhamo Hills	
XVIII.—Lisaws from Southern Shan States	
XIX.—Kuki Chin	
XX.—Ngorn Chin Girl	
XXI.—Haka (Lai) Chin	
XXII.—Hkahku Kachin from Triangle	
XXIII.—Hkahku Kachin Girl	
XXIV.—Pwo Karen Girl	
XXV.—Hkun (Tai)	
XXVI.—Shan	

\* Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected appendix, is Rs. 1 per copy.



## INTRODUCTION.

---

**I. Introductory.**—The first Census of Burma as part of the Census of India was taken in 1872 and covered that portion of the province which was then under British administration. The next census was in 1881 and covered the same area. Particulars of the extensions of the limits at subsequent censuses, which have been taken regularly at intervals of ten years, are given in paragraph 7 of Chapter I. This Report therefore embodies the results of the seventh census of Burma. The changes that were made in the method of enumeration adopted in 1921 are described in paragraph 3 of Chapter I.

In India proper the date of the final enumeration was the 26th February 1931. This date was not suitable for Burma since the holidays in connection with the full moon of Tabaung would have interfered with the preparation of the provisional totals. The final enumeration in Burma was therefore carried out two days earlier, on the 24th February 1931. Owing to the traffic between the Akyab and Chittagong districts, special arrangements had to be made to prevent any person being omitted or counted twice.

**II. Arrangements for the Enumeration.**—With the exception of East Manglun in the Northern Shan States, the population of which was estimated and not actually enumerated, the population of Burma was enumerated either *synchronously* or *non-synchronously*. The Enumeration Map facing page 3 shows the method of enumeration adopted in different parts of the province and it will be noticed that in the regularly administered areas the enumeration was usually synchronous. In the synchronous areas each village-tract was divided into a number of blocks. The block was the enumerator's charge and usually contained between 30 and 40 houses. The blocks were then formed into circles, in charge of supervisors; a circle usually contained between 10 and 15 blocks, and between 400 and 500 houses. The circles were then grouped into domains, in charge of controllers, the size of the domain depending rather upon the area to be covered than upon the number of people or of houses. Each township consisted of one or more complete domains. Having divided up the district into domains, circles and blocks, the next duty was the numbering of the houses and the training of the controllers, supervisors and enumerators. The numbering of the houses not only facilitates the enumeration but also enables an estimate to be made of the number of forms required. In the actual enumeration there were two stages: there was first the *Preliminary Enumeration* in which the enumerator entered in his enumeration book particulars for all persons who were likely to be present in each house on the night of the census (24th February in Burma); the next stage was the *Final Enumeration* on the night of the 24th February, when the preliminary record was corrected so as to represent the persons actually present on that night. The size of the block was such that the final enumeration could be completed in a single evening.

In remote or sparsely populated areas, where it would have been difficult or impossible to carry out a final check in one single evening, the enumeration was non-synchronous and was carried out between October 1930 and February 1931. Each village or village-tract was made into a separate block, and the persons enumerated were the permanent residents, whether actually present or not. In order that the populations of the synchronous and non-synchronous areas could be combined into a valid total, precautions were taken to prevent any person from being omitted or counted twice. This was not a difficult matter as there was usually very little traffic across the boundaries between synchronous

and non-synchronous areas. Special arrangements had, of course, to be made for the census of railways, steamers, boats, pagoda festivals and other assemblies of people.

The attitude of the public was, on the whole, one of indifference. In one or two districts a few criminal cases had to be instituted. In the disturbed areas it was, of course, impossible to enumerate the rebels. In the Tharrawaddy district, the disturbed areas covered an area of more than a thousand square miles; the enumeration was carried out non-synchronously and all who took part are to be congratulated on the very efficient manner in which they carried out a dangerous as well as difficult piece of work.

**III. Provisional Totals.**—On the morning of the 25th February in synchronous areas the enumerators in each circle met their supervisor at some convenient place and a summary of the number of houses and persons (males and females) was prepared and despatched to the domain controller with all possible speed; the controller compiled a similar summary for his domain and sent that to the district office where a District Summary was compiled. The totals of the District Summary were called the Provisional Totals and were telegraphed by Deputy Commissioners to the Census Commissioner for India and the Provincial Superintendent before the 5th March. In non-synchronous areas, the work was so arranged that it was completed in time for the figures to be included in the provisional totals.

In only one district, Henzada, did the provisional total for the population differ appreciably from the final figure. The difference was 19,267 and was due to the fact that the rebellion broke out in that district shortly before the final enumeration and several enumeration books were lost. In most districts the error was less than one per thousand and in no district, except Henzada, was it as large as one per cent.

**IV. Tabulation.**—The record for each person was then copied from the enumeration book on to a separate slip of paper. For Rangoon the work of slip-copying was done by the Provincial Superintendent; for other districts it was done at the headquarters of the district and on completion the slips were sent to Rangoon together with the prescribed registers. The work of slip-copying was completed in most districts by the end of April.

In 1921 the slips were of six different colours, representing religions, and six different symbols were printed on the slips, representing the sex and the civil condition, making altogether 36 different kinds of slips. In 1931 only 12 different kinds of slips were used; six colours represented racial classes but only two kinds of symbols were printed on the slips: a rectangle for males and a circle for females. The civil condition was entered in the slip by the copyist, the figures "1", "2", or nothing at all, being written in the space inside the sex symbol according to whether the person was married, widowed or unmarried. The colours of the slips represented racial classes and not religions, as in 1921, owing to the substitution of race for religion in Imperial Tables VII and XIII.

Before being despatched from district headquarters to Rangoon, the slips for each circle were sorted according to colour and sex. On arrival in Rangoon the slips were made into sorting units and the remainder of the work consisted of sorting the slips according to the various entries in them, counting the numbers in each class and compiling tables to show the results. The sorting was commenced in May and for most tables was completed by the end of September 1931. The sorting of the slips for the Occupation Table took almost as long as all the other tables put together, and it was not till March 1932 that the sorting for this table was completed. The compilation began in July 1931 and the process of checking and re-checking the figures continued almost to the close of the operations; some additional Provincial Tables were compiled in addition to those prescribed by the Government of India. When the work was

heaviest in the Compilation office as many as 350 sorters, supervisors, compilers, etc., were employed. In the work of compilation, calculating machines such as the Dalton, Monroe and Comptometer were employed and they reduced the amount of work considerably.

**V. The Report.**—The writing of the Report was commenced towards the end of October 1932 and the last chapter was completed during the first half of March. During this period a large portion of the time was taken up with other matters, such as the arrangement of the Imperial and Provincial Tables, the preparation of the Subsidiary Tables appended to the chapters of the Report, and the writing of the Administrative Volume. Like the two previous Reports it has been written hurriedly, and apologies are due for lack of style, defective arrangement and repetitions. Many of the statistics are unreliable and it is often a very difficult matter to account for the variations from one census to another. On the rare occasions when I have ventured to express an opinion on the trend of events—a very rash thing to do in these uncertain times, when one can hardly see beyond tomorrow—it will be realised that the opinions are my own and not necessarily those of Government.

**VI. Cost of Census.**—The cost of the Census is approximately Rs. 3,85,672. This figure is only an estimate since certain charges for printing are not yet known, but the final figure will not differ appreciably from this. The cost of the 1921 census, according to the Departmental Accounts was slightly larger than this, namely Rs. 3,88,896. The figures are, however, not strictly comparable, since many charges were debited to the Census budget in 1931, which were not so debited at the previous census. The reduction, in spite of the increase in population, is mainly due to the measures of economy which were adopted.

**VII. Acknowledgments.**—In the taking of the census so many persons are employed that it is impossible to mention by name all those who have co-operated in the various stages of the operations. In the districts the work of enumeration fell largely on the Land Records Department, and I am particularly grateful to all members of that department for the very efficient manner in which they carried out their duties in connection with the census. The date was most unsuitable but they all accepted it cheerfully and did what was required of them. Reference has already been made to the dangerous and difficult task of enumerating the disturbed areas of Tharrawaddy district and in this connection I should like to mention the names of U Kyaw, A.T.M., Additional District Magistrate, U Mya, A.T.M., Superintendent of Land Records, and U Kin, Township Officer, Tharrawaddy. The names of other officers in the Land Records Department who did good work have been sent to the Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records, and it is hoped that this will prove more to their advantage than the mention of their names in this volume.

Mr. C. B. Rennick, F.S.I., F.L.G.A., was in charge of the enumeration in Rangoon and I am indebted to him for the extremely able manner in which he carried out a very difficult task. This is the first census of Rangoon for which the staff can be said to have been properly organised. I am also indebted to Mr. H. C. G. Brown for the smoothness and efficiency with which the enumeration of the Rangoon Port population under his charge was carried out. As at previous censuses the Agents of the Burma Railways and of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company spared no pains to make the enumeration under their respective control a complete success.

To Mr. S. G. Grantham, I.C.S., I owe more than I can say for his valuable advice and guidance at all stages of the operations. Mr. Grantham was at all times most willing to help me in every possible way. Many of the improvements

that have been made in this census are the result of his suggestions. My thanks are also due to U Tun Ya, K.S.M., A.T.M., who has given me the benefit of his advice on many occasions and to Mr. A. K. Potter, I.C.S., for having supplied me with information at different times.

I am indebted to Captain J. H. Green, I.A., for much valuable information regarding the tribes and races of Burma and, in particular, for the Appendix which he has contributed. The Reverend W. Sherratt has also very kindly given me the benefit of his knowledge and experience on many occasions. Mr. G. H. Luce, I.E.S., has contributed a valuable Appendix on the peoples of Burma in the 12th—13th century, and my thanks are also due to U Ba Thin, U Ohn Pe, U Sein Ogh and U Tha Doe Aung for their Notes on the manners and customs of the tribes in the hill tracts of the Akyab district, which will be found in Appendix D. I am also grateful to the Reverend J. H. Telford for allowing me to quote from a paper he has written on the tribes in Kengtung State. To Captain V. Wainwright of the Rangoon Development Trust I am indebted for his help and advice in connection with the preparation of the Racial and Linguistic Maps.

As regards my immediate staff I was fortunate in being able to secure the services of U Lat as Deputy Superintendent and of Ko Ko Gyi as head clerk. U Lat deserves the same high praise as was given him at the two previous censuses. He was particularly helpful in maintaining order and discipline among the large temporary staff of about 350 and it was entirely due to the great care he took in their selection that the work was not interrupted by strikes, as it was in 1921. Mention must be made of the valuable services rendered by Maung Hla Maung, the Chief Inspector. He was in immediate charge of all the compilers, sorters, classifiers, etc., and I cannot speak too highly of the efficient manner in which he carried out all the work that was entrusted to him. In the calculation of the areas of districts, townships and states and in the preparation of the maps and diagrams for the Report I was fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. A. V. Dickson. Mr. D. M. Nayagam, the accounts clerk, was obtained from the Accountant-General's office and fully justified his selection. Maung Tin also gave entire satisfaction both as tour clerk and typist. Among many clerks who did good work in the Compilation office I should like to mention Maung Ba Thaw, Maung Hla Ngwe, Maung Ba Kyaw and Maung Ba Shin.

Practically all the printing in connection with the census was done at the Government Press and I am very grateful to Mr. W. G. Alder, the Superintendent, for the interest he has taken in the preparation of the Report and the promptitude with which the volumes have been printed.

Finally, I should like to place on record my appreciation of the help and advice which I have received from Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner. It has been a pleasure to work under him.

J. J. BENNISON.

# APPENDIX A.

## Burma Linguistic Map.†

The total population of each district is represented on the Linguistic Map at the beginning of Chapter X by a rectangle, on the scale of 500,000 persons to a square inch. The scale of the map is 50 miles to the inch. The original statistics on which this map is based are given in Part II of Imperial Table XV and for the purposes of that table selected indigenous languages were formed into five classes (see Note 8 on page 219 of the Tables Volume). The language recorded at the census was the mother tongue and the total number of persons who returned a mother tongue in one of these classes is represented by a strip of the rectangle drawn parallel to the base. These five classes are distinguished on the map by different kinds of hatching. Where the number of persons in one of these classes is numerically too small to be shown on the map, its figures are included in those for the remainder class "Others"; in some districts the class "Others" is itself too small to be shown on the map. The proportion speaking subsidiary languages in these classes has been shown by superimposing the appropriate hatching of the required length; in many cases the proportion is too small to be shown on the map. Only subsidiary languages belonging to the five classes of indigenous languages have been taken into account and no subsidiary languages have been shown for the remainder class "Others". The figures represented on the map are given in the Schedule below.

### Schedule for Linguistic Map.

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Akyab ...	All Languages ...	637,580	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	329,028	51·6	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	47,973	7·5	Languages of the Burma Group.	36·9
	Others ...	260,579	40·9	...	...
Arakan Hill Tracts.	All Languages ...	21,418	100	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	18,665	87·1	...	...
	Others ...	2,753	12·9	...	...
Kyaukpyu ...	All Languages ...	220,292	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	196,061	89·0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	18,203	8·3	Languages of the Burma Group.	45·8
	Others ...	6,028	2·7	...	...
Sandoway ...	All Languages ...	129,245	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	118,090	91·4	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	8,381	6·5	Languages of the Burma Group.	63·3
	Others ...	2,774	2·1	...	...
Rangoon Town	All Languages ...	400,415	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	139,826	34·9	...	...
	Others ...	260,589	65·1	...	...
Pegu ...	All Languages ...	489,969	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	381,326	77·8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	36,252	7·4	Languages of the Burma Group.	78·4
	Others ...	72,391	14·8	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

† Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected Appendix, is Re. 1 per copy.

## Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Tharrawaddy ...	All Languages ...	508,319	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	461,446	90.8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	26,232	5.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	68.2
	Others ...	20,641	4.1	...	...
Hanthawaddy ...	All Languages ...	408,851	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	306,692	75.0	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	26,672	6.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.5
	Others ...	75,467	18.5	...	...
Insein ...	All Languages ...	331,452	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	237,621	71.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	36,802	11.1	Languages of the Burma Group.	88.2
	Others ...	57,029	17.2	...	...
Promé ...	All Languages ...	410,651	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	376,795	91.8	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	14,017	3.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	83.7
	Others ...	19,839	4.8	...	...
Bassein ...	All Languages ...	571,043	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	409,498	71.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	128,060	22.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.2
	Others ...	33,485	5.9	...	...
Henzada ...	All Languages ...	613,280	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	534,202	87.1	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	59,269	9.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	72.8
	Others ...	19,809	3.2	...	...
Myaungmya ...	All Languages ...	444,784	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	292,990	65.9	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	117,242	26.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	83.1
	Others ...	34,552	7.8	...	...
Maubin ...	All Languages ...	371,509	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	240,394	64.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	113,476	30.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	90.4
	Others ...	17,639	4.7	...	...
Pyapôn ...	All Languages ...	334,158	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	273,180	81.8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	20,780	6.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.3
	Others ...	40,198	12.0	...	...

## Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Salween ...	All Languages ...	53,186	100	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	45,737	86.0	...	...
	Others ...	7,449	14.0	...	...
Thaton ...	All Languages ...	532,628	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	163,133	30.6	...	...
	Languages of the Môn-Khmer Groups.	56,775	10.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	77.0
	Languages of the Karen Group.	265,622	49.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	55.2
	Others ...	47,098	8.8	...	...
Amherst ...	All Languages ...	516,233	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	103,951	20.1	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	16,818	3.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	52.0
	Languages of the Môn-Khmer Groups.	235,614	45.6	Languages of the Burma Group.	47.3
	Languages of the Karen Group.	106,544	20.6	Languages of the Burma Group.	44.0
	Others ...	53,306	10.3	...	...
Tavoy ...	All Languages ...	179,964	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	154,908	86.1	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	13,458	7.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	47.5
	Others ...	11,598	6.4	...	...
Mergui ...	All Languages ...	181,987	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	107,761	66.5	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	12,420	7.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	16.8
	Languages of the Karen Group.	21,734	13.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	69.9
	Others ...	20,072	12.4	...	...
Toungoo ...	All Languages ...	428,670	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	288,640	67.3	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	87,891	20.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	54.6
	Others ...	52,139	12.2	...	...
Thayetmyo ...	All Languages ...	274,177	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	247,577	90.3	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	22,374	8.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	77.8
	Others* ...	4,226	1.5	...	...
Minbu ...	All Languages ...	277,876	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	253,980	91.4	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	19,359	7.0	Languages of the Burma Group.	74.6
	Others* ...	4,537	1.6	...	...
Magwe ...	All Languages ...	499,573	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	478,480	95.8	...	...
	Others ...	21,093	4.2	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

## Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percent- age of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speak- ers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Pakòkku ...	All Languages ...	499,181	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	474,650	95.1	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	21,522	4.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	84.1
	Others * ...	3,009	0.6	...	...
Chin Hills ...	All Languages ...	171,237	100	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	169,243	98.8	...	...
	Others * ...	1,994	1.2	...	...
Mandalay ...	All Languages ...	371,636	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	316,593	85.2	...	...
	Others ...	55,043	14.8	...	...
Kyaukse ...	All Languages ...	151,320	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	148,379	98.1	...	...
	Others * ...	2,941	1.9	...	...
Meiktila ...	All Languages ...	309,999	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	303,817	98.0	...	...
	Others * ...	6,182	2.0	...	...
Myingyan ...	All Languages ...	472,557	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	468,332	99.1	...	...
	Others * ...	4,225	0.9	...	...
Yamethin ...	All Languages ...	390,820	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	370,647	94.8	...	...
	Others ...	20,173	5.2	...	...
Bhamo ...	All Languages ...	121,193	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	32,142	26.5	Languages of the Tai Group.	18.9
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	48,180	39.8	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	34,550	28.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	32.2
	Others ...	6,321	5.2	...	...
Myitkyina ...	All Languages ...	171,524	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	38,991	22.1	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.*	7.6
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	49,507	28.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	11.8
	Languages of the Tai Group.	62,126	36.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	61.6
	Others ...	20,900	12.2	...	...
Shwebo ...	All Languages ...	446,790	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	439,834	98.4	...	...
	Others * ...	6,956	1.6	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.



## Schedule for Linguistic Map—concl'd.

District or State.	Mother tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Sagaing ...	All Languages ...	335,965	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	331,790	98.8	...	...
	Others* ...	4,175	1.2	...	...
Katha ...	All Languages ...	254,170	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	165,213	65.0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	26,162	10.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	75.6
	Languages of the Tai Group.	48,037	18.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	81.6
	Others ...	14,758	5.8	...	...
Lower Chindwin	All Languages ...	383,434	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	380,183	99.2	...	...
	Others* ...	3,251	0.8	...	...
Upper Chindwin	All Languages ...	204,982	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	98,340	48.0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	14,296	7.0	Languages of the Burma Group.	16.7
	Languages of the Tai Group.	86,672	42.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	76.2
	Others* ...	5,674	2.7	...	...
Northern Shan States.	All Languages ...	616,458	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	47,474	7.7	Languages of the Tai Group.	9.7
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	73,593	11.9	Languages of the Tai Group.	22.2
	Languages of the Tai Group.	289,132	46.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	7.2
	Languages of the Mon-Khmer Groups.	122,934	19.9	Languages of the Tai Group.	43.9
	Others ...	83,325	13.5	...	...
Southern Shan States.	All Languages ...	870,230	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	143,926	16.5	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	75,473	8.7	Languages of the Tai Group.	28.0
	Languages of the Tai Group.	408,706	47.0	Languages of the Burma Group.	3.8
	Languages of the Mon-Khmer Groups.	47,831	5.5	Languages of the Tai Group.	75.1
	Languages of the Karen Group.	177,935	20.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	6.6
	Others ...	16,359	1.9	Languages of the Tai Group.	8.4
Karenni ...	All Languages ...	58,761	100	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	11,384	19.4	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	43,077	73.3	...	...
	Others ...	4,300	7.3	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

## APPENDIX B.

### Burma Racial Map.†

The total population of each district is represented on the Racial map at the beginning of this Report by a rectangle which has been subdivided into smaller rectangles of different colours representing the population of the different race-groups. As far as possible, the rectangles have been placed within the boundaries of the districts to which they refer. The scale of the map is 50 miles to the inch and the population scale is 500,000 persons to the square inch. Under "Key to Race-Groups," a list is given of the race-groups which are represented on the map. Where the population of a race-group was too small to be shown on the map, its figures were included in the remainder group "Others." The smallest population that is shown on the map is about 600, which is represented by a rectangle '03" by '04". In two districts, Kyaukpyu and Thatôn, the group "Others" is too small to be shown on the map. The figures represented on the map are given in the Schedule below.

#### *Schedule for Racial Map.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100.)

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Akyab ... ..	All Races ... ..	637,580	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	327,872	51·4
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	29,516	4·6
	Sak Group ... ..	7,048	1·1
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	49,745	7·8
	Indian Races ... ..	210,990	33·1
	Others ... ..	12,409	1·9
Arakan Hill Tracts ... ..	All Races ... ..	21,418	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	2,251	10·5
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	16,245	75·8
	Others ... ..	2,922	13·6
Kyaukpyu ... ..	All Races ... ..	220,292	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	194,723	88·4
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	17,935	8·1
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	3,141	1·4
	Indian Races ... ..	4,321	2·0
	Others * ... ..	172	0·1
Sandoway ... ..	All Races ... ..	129,245	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	113,526	87·8
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	8,425	6·5
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	5,066	3·9
	Others ... ..	2,228	1·7
Rangoon ... ..	All Races ... ..	400,415	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	122,961	30·7
	Chinese Group ... ..	30,626	7·6
	Karen Group ... ..	3,226	0·8
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	12,560	3·1
	Indian Races ... ..	212,929	53·2
	Others ... ..	18,113	4·5
Pegu ... ..	All Races ... ..	489,969	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	366,691	74·8
	Tai Group ... ..	5,870	1·2
	Chinese Group ... ..	7,552	1·5
	Mon Group ... ..	18,292	3·7
	Karen Group ... ..	37,292	7·6
	Indian Races ... ..	50,726	10·4
	Others ... ..	3,546	0·7

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

† Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected Appendix, is Re. 1 per copy.

## Schedule for Racial Map—continued.

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Tharrawaddy	All Races	508,319	100.0
	Burma Group	459,348	90.4
	Tai Group	3,050	0.6
	Chinese Group	2,687	0.5
	Karen Group	26,702	5.3
	Indian Races	13,740	2.7
	Others	2,792	0.5
Hanthawaddy	All Races	408,831	100.0
	Burma Group	297,222	72.7
	Tai Group	3,068	0.8
	Chinese Group	5,352	1.3
	Mon Group	2,453	0.6
	Karen Group	29,754	7.3
	Indo-Burman Races	3,422	0.8
	Indian Races	66,573	16.3
Others	987	0.2	
Insein	All Races	331,452	100.0
	Burma Group	232,929	70.3
	Tai Group	6,283	1.9
	Chinese Group	5,413	1.6
	Karen Group	37,630	11.4
	Indian Races	44,032	13.3
	Others	5,165	1.6
Prome	All Races	410,651	100.0
	Burma Group	374,755	91.3
	Kuki-Chin Group	13,951	3.4
	Chinese Group	2,371	0.6
	Karen Group	4,629	1.1
	Indian Races	12,239	3.0
	Others	2,706	0.7
Bassein	All Races	571,043	100.0
	Burma Group	405,378	71.0
	Chinese Group	6,280	1.1
	Karen Group	129,114	22.6
	Indo-Burman Races	3,662	0.6
	Indian Races	24,096	4.2
	Others	2,513	0.4
Henzada	All Races	613,280	100.0
	Burma Group	531,600	86.7
	Kuki-Chin Group	4,528	0.7
	Chinese Group	2,624	0.4
	Karen Group	60,189	9.8
	Indian Races	12,029	2.0
	Others	2,310	0.4
Myaungmya	All Races	444,784	100.0
	Burma Group	289,555	65.1
	Chinese Group	7,330	1.6
	Karen Group	118,425	26.6
	Indian Races	27,442	6.2
	Others	2,032	0.5
	Maubin	All Races	371,509
Burma Group		238,550	64.2
Chinese Group		3,610	1.0
Karen Group		113,758	30.6
Indian Races		13,471	3.6
Others		2,120	0.6
Pyapán	All Races	334,158	100.0
	Burma Group	270,850	81.1
	Chinese Group	6,106	1.8
	Karen Group	21,572	6.5
	Indian Races	34,236	10.2
	Others	1,394	0.4

## Schedule for Racial Map—continued.

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Salween	All Races	53,186	100.0
	Burma Group	2,071	3.9
	Tai Group	4,119	7.7
	Karen Group	45,753	86.0
	Others	1,243	2.3
Thaton	All Races	532,628	100.0
	Burma Group	136,540	25.6
	Tai Group	7,363	1.4
	Chinese Group	4,982	0.9
	Mon Group	62,090	11.7
	Karen Group	281,232	52.8
	Indo-Burman Races	6,483	1.2
	Indian Races	33,697	6.3
	Others *	241	...
Amherst	All Races	516,233	100.0
	Burma Group	74,179	14.4
	Tai Group	17,236	3.3
	Chinese Group	11,287	2.2
	Mon Group	246,871	47.8
	Karen Group	106,957	20.7
	Indo-Burman Races	17,239	3.3
	Indian Races	40,602	7.9
	Others	1,862	0.4
Taygy	All Races	179,964	100.0
	Burma Group	152,834	84.9
	Chinese Group	3,741	2.1
	Mon Group	2,717	1.5
	Karen Group	13,426	7.5
	Indian Races	5,615	3.1
	Others	1,631	0.9
Mergui	All Races	161,987	100.0
	Burma Group	100,478	62.0
	Tai Group	10,432	6.4
	Chinese Group	3,835	2.4
	Karen Group	21,990	13.6
	Indo-Burman Races	7,094	4.4
	Indian Races	9,257	5.7
	Others	8,901	5.5
Toungoo	All Races	428,670	100.0
	Burma Group	283,725	66.2
	Tai Group	16,633	3.9
	Chinese Group	3,582	0.8
	Karen Group	88,093	20.6
	Indo-Burman Races	4,176	1.0
	Indian Races	30,109	7.0
	Others	2,352	0.5
Thayetmyo	All Races	274,177	100.0
	Burma Group	246,126	89.8
	Kuki-Chin Group	22,803	8.3
	Indian Races	3,271	1.2
	Others	1,977	0.7
Minbu	All Races	277,876	100.0
	Burma Group	251,983	90.7
	Kuki-Chin Group	20,961	7.5
	Indian Races	3,968	1.4
	Others	964	0.3
Magwe	All Races	499,573	100.0
	Burma Group	476,878	95.5
	Kuki-Chin Group	2,348	0.5
	Indian Races	16,710	3.3
	Others	3,637	0.7

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

## Schedule for Racial Map—continued.

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Pakökku ... ..	All Races ... ..	499,181	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	473,622	94.9
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	22,149	4.4
	Indian Races ... ..	2,367	0.5
	Others ... ..	1,043	0.2
Chin Hills ... ..	All Races ... ..	171,237	100.0
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	169,243	98.8
	Others ... ..	1,994	1.2
Mandalay ... ..	All Races ... ..	371,636	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	299,011	80.5
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	4,507	1.2
	Tai Group ... ..	4,608	1.2
	Chinese Group ... ..	3,153	0.8
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	16,459	4.4
	Indian Races ... ..	37,725	10.2
	Others ... ..	6,173	1.7
Kyaukse ... ..	All Races ... ..	151,320	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	141,692	93.6
	Indo-Burma Races ... ..	6,667	4.4
	Indian Races ... ..	2,372	1.6
	Others ... ..	589	0.4
Meiktila ... ..	All Races ... ..	309,999	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	300,188	96.8
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	2,969	1.0
	Indian Races ... ..	5,999	1.9
	Others ... ..	843	0.3
Mingyan ... ..	All Races ... ..	472,557	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	467,843	99.0
	Indian Races ... ..	3,551	0.8
	Others ... ..	1,163	0.2
Yamethin ... ..	All Races ... ..	390,820	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	357,133	91.4
	Karen Group ... ..	4,534	1.2
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	12,730	3.3
	Indian Races ... ..	12,138	3.1
	Others ... ..	4,285	1.1
Bhamo ... ..	All Races ... ..	121,193	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	31,502	26.0
	Kachin Group ... ..	46,727	38.6
	Tai Group ... ..	34,569	28.5
	Chinese Group ... ..	2,545	2.1
	Indian Races ... ..	3,136	2.6
	Others ... ..	2,714	2.2
Myitkyina ... ..	All Races ... ..	171,524	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	37,697	22.0
	Lolo-Muho ... ..	5,949	3.5
	Kachin Group ... ..	39,964	23.3
	Sak Group ... ..	3,339	1.9
	Tai Group ... ..	62,622	36.5
	Chinese Group ... ..	4,112	2.4
	Indian Races ... ..	16,721	9.7
	Others ... ..	1,120	0.7

## Schedule for Racial Map—concluded.

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Shwebo ... ..	All Races ... ..	446,790	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	431,816	96.6
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	7,939	1.8
	Indian Races ... ..	6,015	1.3
	Others ... ..	1,020	0.2
Sagaing ... ..	All Races ... ..	335,965	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	328,794	97.9
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	2,538	0.8
	Indian Races ... ..	3,669	1.1
	Others ... ..	964	0.3
Katha ... ..	All Races ... ..	254,170	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	134,501	52.9
	Sak Group ... ..	39,125	15.4
	Tai Group ... ..	61,750	24.3
	Chinese Group ... ..	2,715	1.1
	Palaung-Wa ... ..	4,751	1.9
	Indian Races ... ..	6,889	2.7
	Others ... ..	4,439	1.7
Lower Chindwin ... ..	All Races ... ..	383,434	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	379,753	99.0
	Indian Races ... ..	2,570	0.7
	Others ... ..	1,111	0.3
Upper Chindwin ... ..	All Races ... ..	204,982	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	97,745	47.7
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	8,589	4.2
	Tai Group ... ..	86,546	42.2
	Indian Races ... ..	5,329	2.6
	Others ... ..	6,773	3.3
Northern Shan States ... ..	All Races ... ..	616,458	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	47,249	7.7
	Lolo-Muhsa Group ... ..	9,562	1.6
	Kachin Group ... ..	63,229	10.3
	Tai Group ... ..	288,659	46.8
	Chinese Group ... ..	60,550	9.8
	Palaung-Wa ... ..	123,277	20.0
	Indian Races ... ..	21,253	3.4
	Others ... ..	2,679	0.4
	Southern Shan States ... ..	All Races ... ..	870,230
Burma Group ... ..		143,274	16.5
Lolo-Muhsa ... ..		74,859	8.6
Tai Group ... ..		408,758	47.0
Chinese Group ... ..		3,899	0.4
Palaung-Wa ... ..		47,824	5.5
Karen Group ... ..		177,831	20.4
Indian Races ... ..		11,351	1.3
Others ... ..		2,434	0.3
Karenni ... ..	All Races ... ..	58,761	100.0
	Burma Group ... ..	2,220	3.8
	Tai Group ... ..	11,383	19.4
	Karen Group ... ..	43,081	73.3
	Others ... ..	2,077	3.5



PLATE I.  
MARU FROM NMAI VALLEY.  
Shows Indonesian Strain. (Not typical.)

PLATE II.  
MARU GIRLS FROM NMAI VALLEY.





PLATE III.  
KACHIN GIRLS FROM SHAN STATES.  
Typical of Bhamo and Lashio Kachins.



PLATE IV.  
NUNG HIGH PRIEST,  
Upper Nmai Valley.



PLATE V.



YOUNG NUNGS FROM UPPER NMAI VALLEY.

PLATE VI.



PADAUNGS FROM KARENNI.



PLATE VII.  
BREK YOUTH.

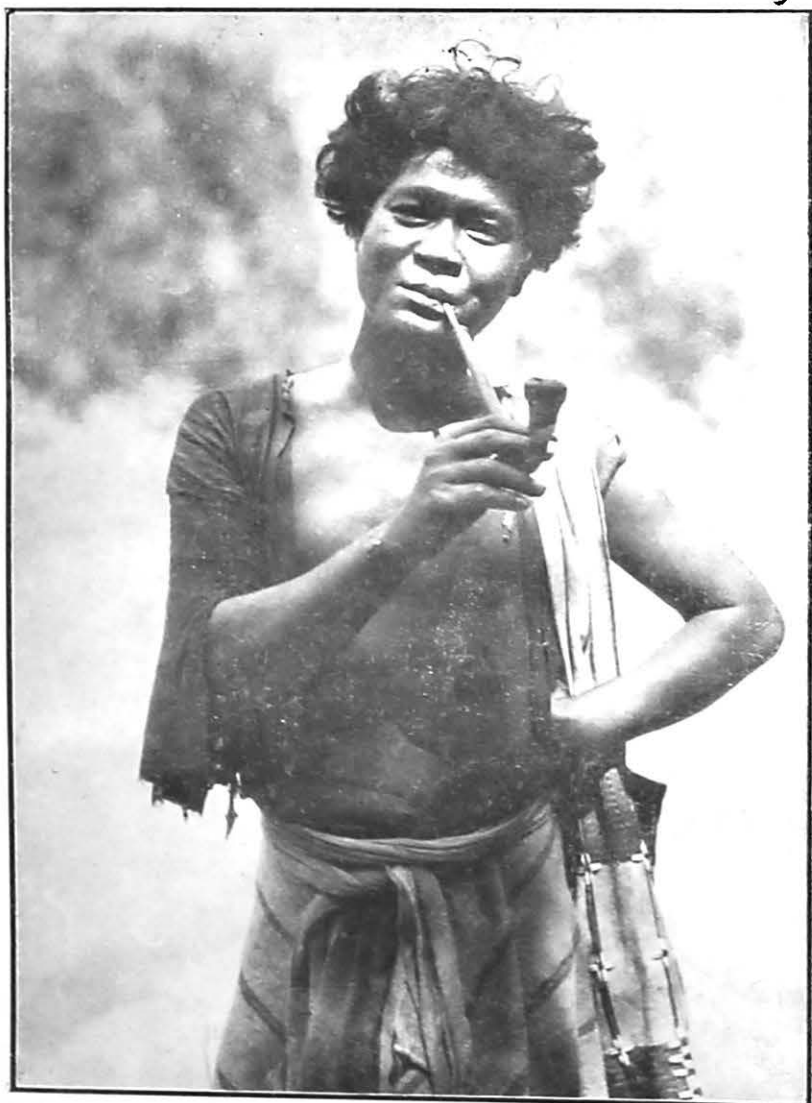


PLATE VIII.  
WA.

PLATE IX.  
MIAOS FROM SOUTHERN SHAN  
STATES.



PLATE X.  
MIAO FROM INDO-CHINA.



PLATE XI.  
KAWS (KENG TUNG STATE).



PLATE XII.  
KAW GIRL.

PLATE XIII.  
LAHU GIRL (KENG TUNG STATE).



PLATE XIV.  
BLACK LISU (LISAW).  
From Ahkyang Valley.



PLATE XV.  
YAWYIN (LISAW) FROM HPIMAW.  
Shows Caucasian Strain.



PLATE XVI.  
BLACK LISU (LISAW) FROM AHKYANG  
VALLEY.  
Shows Caucasian Strain.



PLATE XVII.  
YAWYIN (LISAW)<sup>n</sup> FROM BHAMO  
HILLS.

PLATE XVIII.



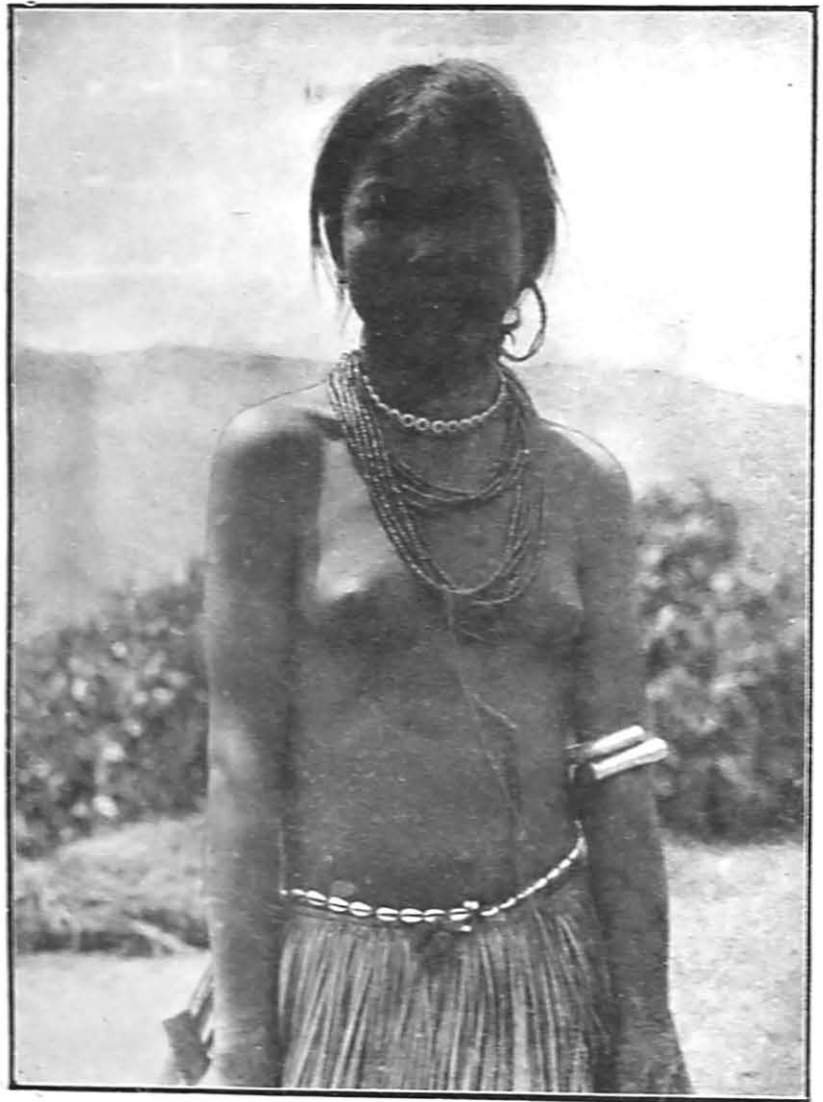
LISAWS FROM SOUTHERN SHAN STATES.

PLATE XIX.



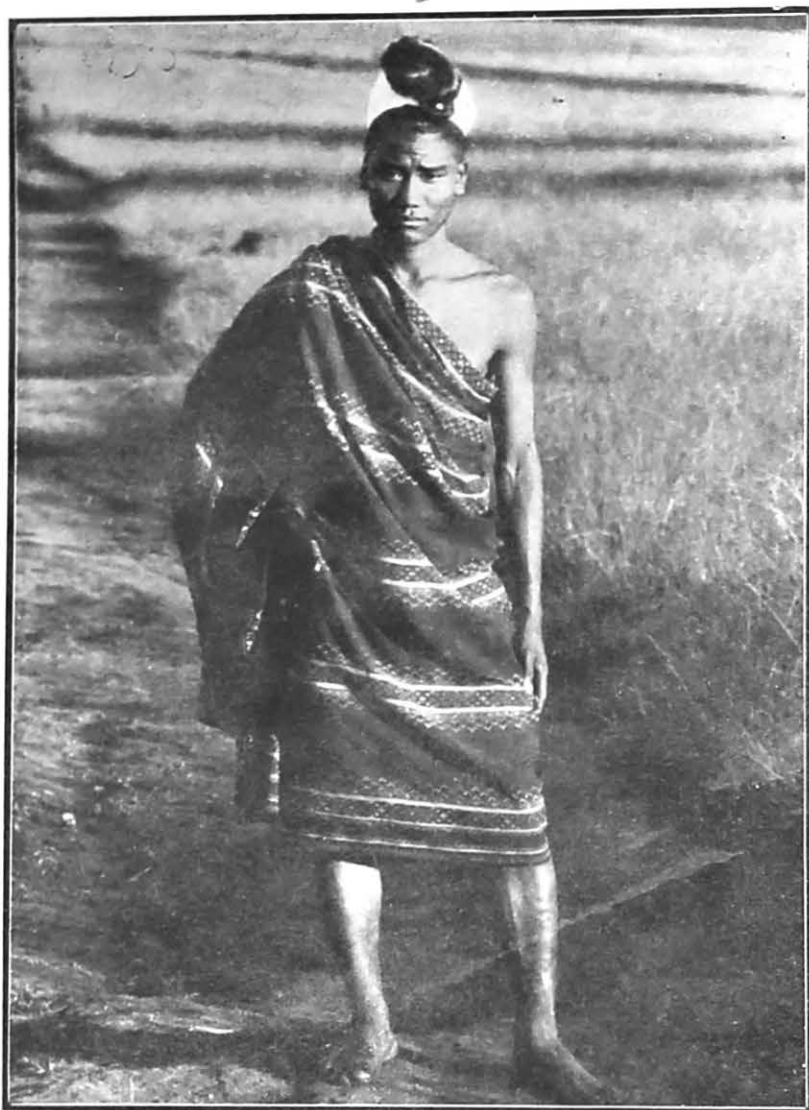
KUKI CHINS.

PLATE XX.  
NGORN CHIN GIRL.





**PLATE XXI.**  
**HAKA (LAI) CHIN.**



14



**PLATE XXII.**  
**HKAHKU KACHIN FROM TRIANGLE.**



PLATE XXIII.  
HKAHKU KACHIN GIRL.



PLATE XXIV.  
PWO KAREN GIRL.

PLATE XXV.  
HKUN (TAI).



PLATE XXVI,  
SHAN.

## APPENDIX C.

### A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma

BY CAPTAIN J. H. GREEN, F.R.A.I., I.A.

Up to the present time, language has been the only basis of classification of the races and tribes of Burma. Linguistic evidence, valuable as it is, when used as the sole basis is liable to lead, and in the case of the races of Burma, has, I think, led, to many errors in our racial classification. A linguistic connection definitely proves only a contact between the races, or the ancestors of the races in question or a contact between them and a third race. Language, however, does give us a hint regarding the probable migration of races as migrations of people and cultural waves are normally inclined to follow the paths of least resistance which are so often the paths of language affinities.

Some of the races or tribes in Burma change their language almost as often as they change their clothes. Languages are changed by conquest, by absorption, by isolation and by a general tendency to adopt the language of a neighbour who is considered to belong to a more powerful, more numerous or more advanced race or tribe.

To obtain more accurate knowledge of the inter-relationship and culture of our tribes, a study of ethnology, anthropology, and folk lore is of the greatest importance. Unfortunately, practically nothing, so far, has been done in this respect, and races are becoming more and more mixed, and the threads more and more difficult to disentangle.

The large number of languages and dialects has, I fear, frightened would-be students. The variety of dialects and the resultant complex classification have tended to exaggerate our difficulties. If instead of searching for language similarities we had concentrated upon searching for similarities in body measurements, customs, laws, arts, and religious beliefs, etc., we would find that the classification of our tribes into stages of cultural evolution would be considerably simplified. Such a classification would help the administrator and might indirectly save considerable friction and some punitive expeditions which are so often due to misunderstandings. For the administrator, a general knowledge of the culture of the people is, perhaps, of even greater importance than a knowledge of their language. I know of at least two cases where officers, who spoke the language of the people, got into trouble which finally necessitated punitive expeditions. Had an officer been transferred direct from the Colonial Service in Africa—where a training in anthropology is compulsory—and had he realised what state of culture the people had reached, such misunderstanding would probably not have occurred, although he knew not a word of the language.

The unreliability of the language test for race has again become apparent in this census. Atsis, Lashis and Marus appear to have decreased, whereas it is more probable that they have declared themselves to be Kachins. The Hkamti Shans who have migrated from Hkamti Long to Myitkyina have declared themselves as Shans. Many small tribes of the Shan States are recorded as Shans.

The classification of the indigenous races has been further complicated as the names now applied to them are not their own names, but those given to them by their neighbours. In many cases these originated as terms of abuse. The words "Kachin", "Chin", and "Karen" appear to be derived from three different pronunciations of the original Burmese word for the wild hill tribes "Kakhyen".

The Shans, in the presence of the hill tribes, often politely call them "Tai-Loi" or "Hkun-Loi"—which means "Hill Shan". They refer to the Kachins, however, behind their backs as "Kang"—Savages. The Kachin passes the same word "Kang" on to the Chins. The Kachins call the Lachikaw "Lashi"—which name we have adopted, whilst the Nungs call the Yawyin "Lashi". The Nungs call the Shans "Muwa", whilst the Kachins call the Chinese "Muwa", and so it goes on. In hardly any case are the people called by their own generic names. Generic names in some cases, however, do not exist.

*Racial Classification.*—During the last fourteen years, I have spent considerable time studying and living amongst the wild tribes of Burma. On our eastern frontier, I have visited almost all the tribes from Tibet to Tenasserim and on the west many of the tribes on the Assam border. I have measured several thousand tribesmen and have particularly interested myself in their customs, arts and crafts and their physical peculiarities. I realise that I have been merely scratching the surface: for what is fourteen years' spare time amongst about seventy tribes where one hundred and forty years' whole time employment would be none too much?

All along the eastern frontier, I have been impressed by the Indonesian character of the people (see Plates V and VIII) with undulating black hair often tinged with red, and with many cultural connections with the tribes of the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Indo-China, Melanesia and the Philippines. So strong has been the evidence, that I doubt if Southern Mongol blood does preponderate in Burma, although it is certainly a strong element. I think it probable that at any rate, the tribes of the Shan States, the Nmai Valley, the Salween Valley and the Naga Hills are far more closely connected with the people of the south-east than has hitherto been considered to be the case.

The Nagas, the Nungs (Lolo-Muhso Group), the Nmai Valley tribes (Burma Group), the Bhamo and Shan States Kachins appear to me to be all related (*see* Plates I to XVIII). They all lie along a line of cultural migration. The House Horns, Types of Dance Poles, the Indonesian Loom, the Neck-tie Hoe, the Thorn-lined fish trap are prominent amongst many peculiar connecting links. Their physical characteristics are similar. They are all light-hearted people and very different from the Chins and Hkahku Kachins (*see* Plates XIX to XXIII), who are inclined to be sullen and are totally different in appearance. Culturally, I would also put them into the same category as the Kaws, Lahus, Was, Palaungs and Hill Karens.

In the case of the Kachins, I am of the opinion that the Hkahku Kachins from the Triangle, the Hukong Valley and from west of the Irrawaddy are a very different people from the Bhamo and Lashio Kachins although they all speak the same language. The two types of Kachins have often been described; one as being markedly Mongoloid, the other a taller type with long oval face, pointed chin and aquiline nose. These types are to some extent mixed south of Myitkyina but are separate further north. The former are the tribes of the Nmai Valley and the latter the Hkahku Kachins (*compare* Plates III and XXII).

The Nung is, in appearance and character, identical with the Maru. The Maru has been put in the Burma Group because his language shows a close connection with Burmese; few tribes are, however, less alike.

The Hill Karens are another group which, I suggest, has been misplaced (*compare* Plates XII and XXIV). Again in appearance, physique, and character they are very different from the Sgaw and Pwo, and, I think, are related to the Yangsaks and Yanglams with whom they are probably survivals of the Lawa tribes which once peopled the Shan States. Mr. Taylor's explanation—that both the Brek Karens and the Was have possibly absorbed a pre-Dravidian stock represented by the Veddas of Ceylon and the Sakai of Malaya—would also meet the case. The fact remains that, in spite of any small language connection with the plain Karens, for all practical purposes the majority of the small Hill Karen Tribes appear to be more closely related to the Palaung-Wa Group.

There also appears to be a close connection between the Nmai Valley people, the Bhamo and Shan States Kachins, and the Palaung-Wa Group and also some of the tribes of the Lolo-Muhso Group, such as the Kaw and the Lahu. This connection, which is to me obvious, may also be accounted for by the same explanation—that they have all absorbed elements of another stock, possibly pre-Dravidian.

A Caucasic strain appears amongst some of the Lisus and the Nungs (*see* Plates XV and XVI).

In the case of Chins, a distinct change in appearance and general characteristics appears to take place south of the Haka Subdivision.

To sum up, I think the following classification would be nearer the true racial classification judged by physical appearance, body measurements, culture, customs, technology and the temperament of the tribesmen. Language connections have been considered and have been rejected only when, in my opinion, other evidence is overpowering.

## Suggested Grouping of some of the Indigenous Races of Burma.

- There is a strong element in common between all these races.
- D.—Naga Group.
  - G.—Mishmi Group.
    - Nmai Valley Group—
      - Dara.
      - B8 Nung (Plate V).
      - B9 Tangsir.
      - B12 Khwinpang.
      - A13 Atsi.
      - A14 Lashi.
      - A15 Maru (Plate II).
      - E1 Bhamo District Kachins.
      - E1 Shan States Kachins (Plate III).
  - L.—Palaung-Wa Group (Plates VI to VIII).
    - Add N4 to N8, N10 and N12 to N16, Hill Karen Tribes.
    - B5 Pyin.
  - J.—Malay Group.
  - K.—Mon Group.
  - O.—Man Group (Plates IX and X).
  - B.—Lolo-Muhso Group.
    - B7 Kaw (Plates XI and XII).
    - B6 Kwi.
    - B4 Ako.
    - B3 Lahu (Plate XIII).
    - B1 Lisaw.
    - B2 Lolo (Plates XIV to XVIII).
- Some connection is apparent.
- (E) } Kachin-Chin Group—
    - (C.) } E1 Dulengs.
    - E1 Hkahku Kachins (Plates XXII and XXIII) Kachins from west Irrawaddy, Singbpos.
    - E2 to E9 Tribes.
    - C1 to C29 Chins (Plates XIX to XXI).
  - Southern Chin Group—
    - C30 to C45 Chins.
  - N.—Karen Group—
    - N2 Sgaws.
    - N3 Paka.
    - N9 Pwo (Plate XXIV).
    - N11 Taungtha—Doubtful. They may belong to the Palaung-Wa Group.
  - I.—Tai Group (Plates XXV and XXVI)—
    - Some of the Tai races show a connection with the groups D, G, etc., bracketed above.

NOTE.—The letters and the numbers given above refer to the racial classification given on pages 242 to 245 in Part I of Imperial Table XVII.

## APPENDIX D.

NOTES BY THE SPECIAL CENSUS ENUMERATORS ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES INHABITING CERTAIN HILL-TRACTS IN THE AKYAB DISTRICT.

**PART I.—The Awa Khamis, Ahraing Khamis, and Mros in the Chin Hill Area (Saingdin), Buthidaung Township, by U Ba Thin, Assistant Township Officer, Buthidaung.**

**Region.**—Buthidaung Chin Hill Area, which is generally known as Saingdin, is a hilly region, having a population of about 3,390, of which 1,729 are males. The principal races are: (1) Awa Khami, (2) Mro, (3) Ahraing Khami (or Aphyia Khami as they are generally known in the Arakan Hill Tracts), (4) Chaungthas and (5) Daingnets. The first two races appear to be the oldest tribes inhabiting this region but the Ahraing Khami, who are generally found in the northern part, are the emigrants from the Arakan Hill Tracts. After the migration of the Ahraing Khami, came that of the Chaungthas and Daingnets. The Awa Khami, Mro, and Ahraing Khami form the bulk of the population of Saingdin, which has an approximate area of about 230 square miles. The boundary may be described as follows:—

**North.**—The hilly region which forms the southern boundary of the Arakan Hill Tracts.

**South.**—A straight line drawn from Buthidaung towards the east reaching to the Tawphya Range of Ponnagyun Township and intercepting the Saingdin Range and Saingdin Chaung near its waterfall.

**East.**—The Tawphya Range which forms part of the western boundary of Ponnagyun Township.

**West.**—The Saingdin Range which lies a few miles west of the Kalapanzin river.

The Saingdin area contains 90 hamlets and each hamlet contains 2 to 20 bamboo houses. Almost all the hamlets lie on the high levels along the banks of two main streams and their feeders. The chief occupation of the inhabitants is *taungya* cultivation. Generally the villagers do not settle long in one place as the tribes have to move their hamlets in search of new hills for *taungya* cultivation. The old *taungyas* are abandoned for a period of 5 to 10 years after one year's cultivation. For this reason it is not surprising for one to find a prospering hamlet dwindled away in a few years' time and a new one established elsewhere.

The two main streams watering this Chin Hill Area are the Re Chaung and the Sit Chaung; the former lying on the west and the latter on the east. Both the streams take their sources from the northern hilly region which forms the boundary between Buthidaung Township and the Arakan Hill Tracts and meander southwards for about 30 miles between the cliffs and ranges before they finally meet near a village, called Tharungchaung. During the rainy season, both the streams flood very considerably and, not infrequently, the water reaches the tops of the trees growing on their banks, but after the rains, the water gradually subsides and in summer only shallow pools of water are left behind in the stream beds, especially at their sources. Besides, there are huge pieces of rock here and there in both the streams, making communications rather difficult in some parts. Canoes and bamboo rafts are the only means of conveyance for travel into the interior, either by paddling or dragging over the shallow water and rocks. The conditions of the feeders of these streams are still worse. They generally get dried up soon after the rains, leaving scanty pools, which supply water to the hamlets situated upon them. To reach these hamlets lying in the interior, one has to follow the beds of the streamlets generally and sometimes one has to wade through icy pools and frequently walk up hill and down dale until the barking of dogs and the crowing of cocks inform one that a hamlet is close by before it actually comes in sight. The sloping banks of the two streams and their main feeders are generally covered with *kaing* grasses; and the primitive tribes, especially the Ahraing Khami, the Mro and the Awa Khami, cultivate tobacco in the alluvial deposit, after clearing the *kaing* grass. Below their confluence, near Tharaungchaung, the main stream, under the name of Saingdin Chaung, flows southward between two hills for about a mile when it flows over five rocky terraces and thus forms a picturesque waterfall, which attracts a good number of visitors yearly for its delightful scenery. The last terrace being precipitous, prevents the tide coming up from the stream below. After leaving the waterfall, the Saingdin Chaung flows in a south-easterly direction and falls into the Kalapanzin river. Just near the waterfall a private bazaar is held on every Friday, when Indian Shopkeepers and Chaungtha miscellaneous goods-sellers assemble for the sale of dried fish, *ngapi*, salt, miscellaneous goods, etc., their customers being neighbouring villagers of the Saingdin area; but the majority of the tribes go over to Kundaing, Phaungdawbyin, Yinma, Kyaingdaung and Panze bazaars, walking over the hills for their supplies of *ngapi*, salt, etc.; this usually takes them four days. The exports, which chiefly consist of surplus paddy, tobacco, cotton, canes, and bamboos, generally pass through the bazaar near the waterfall.

4. According to the legend of the tribes inhabiting the Saingdin area, this hilly region was once reigned over by one Nga Maung Kadon, a giantlike man, and all streams and their tributaries had high and low tides, being connected with the Kalapanzin river until Nga Maung Kadon built up barricades of rocks and thus formed the present-waterfall. It is said that Nga Maung Kadon built up the barricades of rocks in order to prevent the escape of a crocodile which had carried away his wife during his absence. No one could tell what had become of Nga Maung Kadon afterwards.

**Exogamous Clans and Classes, etc.**—The primitive tribes of Saingdini can be classed as follows :—

- (1) Awa Khamis.
- (2) Mros.
- (3) Ahraing Khamis.

The *Awa Khami* are divided into the following exogamous clans :—

- (1) Khatak, (2) Tanhtin, (3) Khaline, (4) Htala, (5) Kha Boeshai, (6) Wadinak, (7) Khattu, (8) Bawshin, (9) Lakhana, (10) Wakun, (11) Ladinak, (12) Shainak, (13) Khrainak, (14) Rashunak, (15) Khatu, (16) Salawnun, (17) Kawkyaing, (18) Ahsun, (19) Lun, (20) Pachanak, (21) Khwepi, (22) Ashaina, (23) Sakhin Tatin, (24) Salwenak, (25) Aungla, (26) Labtaw, (27) Sakhitan, (28) Milona, (29) Mina, (30) Ləpuna, (31) Laisurana, (32) Htaloenaw, (33) Sakkhi Khetu, (34) Htala Twi Ab, (35) Wakun Tribisaku, (36) Minaye.

*Mro*.—There is no exogamous clan among them though they are divided into four classes, *viz.*, (1) Thwapetha, (2) Mwayzinthā, (3) Tincheinthā, (4) Kraitha.

*Ahraing Khami* are divided into five exogamous clans, *viz.*, (1) Lettantha, (2) Kraitha, (3) Abhaungtha, (4) Saingmalwaytha, (5) Linkhuktha.

*Awa Khamis* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Kalapanzin river (Buthidaung Township), the Lemro Chaung (Myohaung Township), the Tawphya Chaung and the Yo Chaung (Ponnagyun Township), the Myothit Chaung (Maungdaw Township), the Mi Chaung (Kyauktaw Township), the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District) and Seindetmaw (Pauktaw Township), Akyab District.

*Mros* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District), the Kalapanzin Chaung (Buthidaung Township), the Myothit Chaung (Maungdaw Township), the Lemro Chaung (Myohaung Township), and the Tawphya Chaung (Ponnagyun Township), Akyab District.

*Ahraing Khamis* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District), the Pi Chaung, the Kaladan and the Mi Chaungs (Arakan Hill Tracts), the Yo Chaung and the Tawphya Chaung (Ponnagyun Township) of Akyab District.

There is no definite order of social precedence among the different clans and individuals of the Awa Khami, Mro and Ahraing Khami tribes in a strict sense; a man generally becomes a leader because of his wealth and of his constant contact with Government officials and civilized people.

**Existence of Traditions of Origin.**—Very few could tell the traditions of origin of these tribes, but according to one or two of the oldest clans found here, it appears that the Awa Khami and Mro were the inhabitants of the hilly regions at the sources of the Kaladan, the Pi Chaung and the Mi Chaung streams in the Arakan Hill Tracts, while the Ahraing Khami were living further north at Saphodaung, which, it is said, forms the boundary between the Arakan Hill Tracts and the Shandu country. About 50 or 60 years before the conquest of Arakan by the British, the Ahraing Khami, owing to frequent invasions by the Shandu people, migrated to a hilly region, Pimmudaung, supposed to lie between the Michauung and the Kaladan rivers, and later about 30 years after the conquest of Arakan by the British, the security prevailing under the British administration having impressed itself on them, the Ahraing Khami again migrated to the sources of the Pi Chaung, the Mi Chaung and the Kaladan river, which were then inhabited by the Awa Khami and Mro. The majority of the two latter tribes, in fear of the Ahraing Khami, in turn left their habitat to settle down in other hilly regions of the Akyab and Chittagong Districts (hilly regions of the Kalapanzin and Saingdin Chaungs in Buthidaung Township; hilly regions of the Lemro Chaung in Myohaung Township; hilly regions of Tawphya stream and Yo Chaung in Ponnagyun Township; hilly regions of Myothit Chaung in Maungdaw Township; hilly regions of Ragri Chaung and Marit Chaung in Chittagong District).

**Existence of Terraced Cultivation.**—There is no terraced cultivation in Saingdin.

**Existence of Megalithic Monuments.**—After leaving the waterfall and about 100 yards away from the confluence of the Re Chaung and the Sit Chaung streams, there is on the Re Chaung stream a megalithic stone, in the shape of a person in a recumbent posture, attached to a huge flat rock. It is said to have been erected by Nga Maung Kadon in memory of his wife who was traced there after being killed by a crocodile. In the Re Chaung and at a distance of about 24 miles from the waterfall, there are two pieces of rock in the shape of boxes resting on a huge mass of rock. This place is known as *Natseik*, and the people passing through, especially strangers to Saingdin, are in the habit of paying their respects by placing presents on these boxes, which lie close to each other. All the above three stones are single upright stones.

**Use of Stone for Seats.**—There are no stones used for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—There are 737 houses in Saingdin, but none of them has any wall or roof of stone or wood. Almost all the houses are chiefly built of bamboos as these are easily available and less expensive. Very few houses have even got wooden posts. The hill tribes never think of having houses built of durable materials because they do not settle in any place permanently, as I have explained before. Moreover, in order to build a wooden house, it is customary among the Awa Khami and Ahraing Khami to hold propitiatory ceremonies of cattle-sacrifice for the evil spirits that are supposed to reside in wooden houses, and the people do not care to incur the ceremonial and building expenses, the latter being high. The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear. The majority of the men have partly adopted the costume of the Arakanese men.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon, Stars and Comets, etc.**—The Mro regard the sun as female and the moon as male. The Ahraing Khami and Awa Khami have no different



genders for them. All three tribes have very little or no knowledge of the different constellations, except Orion's Belt and the Great Bear and the star Sirius.

*Orion's Belt.*—The Awa Khami call this constellation, *Kalapapo*, because it resembles a man carrying two baskets on his shoulder. The Mro call it *Uraitikedaung* (3 steps of a stair). It is so named because it resembles 3 steps of a stair. The Ahraing Khami call it *Aycolokinyauk* (2 men carrying a hog). It is so named because it resembles 2 men carrying a hog.

*Great Bear.*—The Mro call this constellation, *Tabrikkare* (tiger), because it resembles a tiger, 4 stars forming the 4 legs and 3 other stars forming a tail. The Ahraing Khami call it *Kachidaung*. It means a square formed by 4 stars with a tail of 3 stars. The Awa Khami call it a Naga because it turns its head according to the seasons.

*Sirius.*—The Awa Khami call this star *Achimanye* (burning charcoal). It is so named because it resembles a burning charcoal. The Mro have no name for it. The Ahraing Khami call it *Kachitakike* (tiger's eyes). It is so named because it sparkles like the eyes of the tiger.

*Markings on the face of the Moon.*—The Awa Khami regard these markings as shadows cast by a banyan tree, which is supposed to grow around the moon. According to the Mro and the Ahraing Khami, the moon was brighter than the sun before, and the moon by its scorching heat had once killed a man, whose son in revenge defeated her (moon) in a duel and then besmeared her with the juice of the banyan tree. Thus the moon lost her power and heat. They regard markings on the face of the moon as juices of the banyan tree.

*Earthquake.*—According to the Mro, the earth is carried on the shoulders of a Naga residing underneath this earth and a beetle\* reports to the Naga that the human beings are no longer in existence and the Naga, in order to verify the report of the beetle, shakes the earth, thus causing an earthquake. Awa Khamis and some Ahraing Khamis stated that the earth is shouldered by 2 or 4 giants and that when they feel tired, they change shoulders and thus cause the earthquake. Some Ahraing Khamis said that there exists another world under the present world and that a post resting upon the nether world supports this upper world. The people living in the lower world, in order to find out if the people living in the upper world are living or dead, shake the post and cause the earthquake. It is customary among the three tribes to respond to an earthquake by saying "We are alive."

*Eclipses.*—According to the Awa Khami, the sun and moon had once borrowed rice from a "nat" called Sa Aung and they could not repay the rice; for this debt Sa Aung, when he finds an opportunity, seizes the sun and moon and swallows them. This causes an eclipse. During an eclipse, the Awa Khami beat gongs and scatter rice on the ground by way of helping the sun and moon to repay their debt and they also do not pound rice or do any other work, save household affairs, for a couple of days. A story given by some Mro and Ahraing Khami is that the sun and moon could not pay their taxes to the king of "nats," who arrests and keeps them in a dungeon for some time and thus causes an eclipse.

*Rainbow.*—The Awa Khami explain that once upon a time a boy, who was ill-treated by his grandmother, left her house for heaven and when he reached his destination, he spread out his loin cloth just to show his power to the old lady. The Awa Khami regard the rainbow as the loin cloth of the grandson in the heavens. The Mro regard the rainbow as a bridge by which the "nats" from the heavens descend to the earth. The Ahraing Khami explain that the rainbow is a fairy who had a lover on earth before she became a fairy and that she appears in the sky as a rainbow to show herself to her lover.

*Thunder.*—It is explained by the Awa Khami that thunder is the beating of the drums of heaven. The Mro explain that it is the roaring of a cannon on the mountain in a competition between earthly and heavenly "nats." But some Ahraing Khami stated that it is the roaring of a heavenly gun by which the wicked on the earth are shot.

*Sheet Lightning.*—All three tribes explain that lightning is caused by the flashing of the darts of the "nats" in the heavens during the course of dances.

**Method of Disposal of Dead.**—Among the three tribes, the dead are disposed of either by burning or by burial. All persons who die of contagious or infectious diseases, particularly small-pox and cholera, are buried immediately and no form of shelter is erected over the grave. There is no practice among any of the tribes of erecting a stone cairn over the grave of the dead, and no custom prevails among them of disposing of the dead in trees, cliffs or *machans*. No tribe separates the head from the body. All three tribes cremate the corpses of those who have died of ordinary diseases and, after the burning ceremony, they collect the bones and ashes and store them up in a small hut built over the burning place, but certain clans of the Mro build the small hut, not over the burning place, but at the village landing-stage and store the bones and ashes for about 2 or 3 months. After this period, the bones and ashes are carried back to the original burning place where a fresh hut is erected for keeping the bones, etc. It is also customary among the Ahraing Khami to give a feast in honour of the dead at the grave after the harvest of *laungya* crops.

*Form of Coffin.*—All the tribes make the coffin with split coloured bamboos. It is rectangular in shape with a separate lid of the same materials but the Mro and certain Awa Khami, instead of a bamboo lid, use cotton rugs or blankets.

**Beliefs as to the ultimate Abode of the Dead.**—There is no belief among the Awa Khami regarding transmigration, the soul disappearing after death, but the Ahraing Khami and certain clans of the Mro believe in the transmigration of the souls of the dead into living beings, but certain Mros believe that there is no transmigration and that the souls of the dead disappear after death. There is no belief among any tribe here as to the transmigration of the dead into butterflies or other insects.

**Appearance.**—Generally the Awa Khami and Mro are of brown complexion, while the Ahraing Khami have a sallow appearance. All three tribes have straight hair. The Awa Khami generally crop their hair and few have got hair knots among the males. The females have their hair parted in the middle of the head, like the Hindu women, and they knot

\* According to Captain J. H. Green a similar belief exists among the Nungs of the Myitkyina District. [Census Superintendent.]

their hair at the back of the head. Males of the Mro and Ahraing Khami generally have their hair knot over the middle of the head, while the females tie up their knots at the back of the head.

*Eyes, Nose, Head and Physique in general.*—The eyes of the Awa Khami, Mro, and Ahraing Khami are generally straight and are black. The Awa Khami generally have flattened noses. The noses of the Mro and Ahraing Khami are chiefly straight. The heads of all the tribes, except the Awa Khami, are generally round with protruding foreheads. The heads of the Awa Khami are slightly oblong in shape with flat (receding) foreheads. Both sexes of all the three tribes are physically strong in general.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—As stated above, the occupation of the hill tribes is *taungya* cultivation. They cultivate the hillsides by clearing the jungle, which takes them about a month. This is usually done in the month of January or February. About the month of March they generally burn the jungle they have felled on the hillsides and about the end of April they start sowing, placing the seeds separately in pits dug by spades which they usually make with a long handle from an old unserviceable *taungya*-cutting dah. The pits are then filled in with earth. About the months of June and July, the hill tribes, by means of adzes, have to weed grasses that grow near or around the paddy plants on 2 or 3 occasions in order to help the growth of the plants. The paddy generally ripens about the month of September, and the reaping is done by means of a small hand-sickle. The *taungya*-cutting dah has a cutting edge only on one side.

**Dancing.**—Both the sexes of the three tribes are accustomed to drinking *khaung* before or during their dances, which are performed to music. The chief musical instruments are the gong, cymbal, drum, brass plate, *nhyin* and *baw*. The musicians are all males, but in the dance both the sexes may join.

The Mro dancers, hand in hand, form a circle around the musicians and, to the strains of the music, they all dance round and round till they are tired. The movements of their dance are as follows :—

- (1) Feet kept together while in a standing position.
- (2) Half a step backward with the right foot, the left foot follows the right foot and thus both are together again as in (1).
- (3) Half a step forward with the left foot, forming an angle of about 70 degrees with the right foot.
- (4) Right foot moved to join the left foot and, when they are together, both the knees are half bent.

Again (2), (3) and (4) are followed.

Dancers and musicians of the Awa Khami and Ahraing Khami generally form a circle during the course of their dances, and to the sound of the music they dance round hand in hand. The movements of their dances are generally as follows :—

- (1) Feet together while in a standing position.
- (2) Right or left foot moves one step sideways and the other foot moves towards the first and when they are together the knees are half bent.

Again (2) is followed.

**Musical Instruments.**—The following is a list of musical instruments used by the three primitive tribes living here :—

1. Drums (big and small). These are just like Burmese drums.
2. Gongs.
3. Cymbals (big and small).
4. Brass plate.
5. *Nhyin*.—This is made of a dried gourd with one to seven bamboo pipes attached and it resembles the mouth-organ. The *Nhyin* is sub-divided into four kinds, namely :—

- (1) *Nhyingri* with 2 bamboo pipes.
- (2) *Nhyinlat* with 4 bamboo pipes.
- (3) *Nhyinnye* with 7 bamboo pipes.
- (4) *Nhyinto* with a single bamboo pipe.

The last is only used at funerals.

*Baw*.—This is like a *nhyin*, with one or two long bamboo pipes.

Almost all the above instruments, except the *nhyinto*, are used on the following occasions :—

1. Marriage ceremony.
2. Ear-boring ceremony.
3. *Taungya-pwe*.

**Weapons.**—The only weapons used at present are dahs and spears. The tribes seldom use bows; no custom exists at present of taking the heads of enemies as trophies.

**Dress.**—The original dress of the male Awa Khami, Mro and Ahraing Khami consists of a loin cloth, a white turban and a white shirt with short sleeves. Awa Khamis wear black loin cloths while Mros and Ahraing Khamis have white loin cloths.

The females of these races wear knee-length skirts or "longyis" and the majority of them, that I have seen, wore jackets while others did not; Awa Khami women wear a scarf instead over their breasts like a *Salwe* (scarf).

The men of these tribes have practically adopted the male dress of the Arakanese though there are a few still attiring themselves in the costume of their forefathers.

**Tattooing.**—No tattooing custom prevails among any of the tribes but persons of both sexes, who have the fancy, tattoo the arms and backs of the hands with one or two tattoo marks.

**Religion, Religious Rites and Sacrifices.**—All the three tribes are animists and they hold "nat-pwes" in honour of their "nats" at various times of the year. The chief occasions on which the "nat-pwes" are held by each tribe are described below :—

#### AWA KHAMIS.

*Before cutting new Taungyas.*—All the residents of a hamlet collectively buy a goat before any one commences *taungya*-cutting which is once a year; they also collect a fowl or two from each household. The fowls and the goat are gathered together in a house, the owner of which is called an *Indin*, and all the villagers, old and young, assemble in the house of the *Indin* and pray before the goat and the fowls for an abundance of crops and the good health of the community during the coming season. When this is over, the goat and the fowls are taken to a small hut (ခဲ) built specially for the occasion on the bank of the stream. On the hut a bamboo tray with baked rice (ခဲလှော်ခဲ) and flowers is placed, and around the hut are put up numerous bamboos. The fowls are cut over the hut allowing the blood to fall on the contents of the tray. The head of the goat is cut off and placed in the tray in honour of the "nats." The goat and the fowls are then cocked near the hut and an offering made to the "nats" with the head of the fowl, some goat flesh, and a plate of rice, by placing them inside the hut. The remaining meat and fowls are carried back to the house of the *Indin*, where all the villagers assemble again to enjoy the feast with *khaung* (liquor). After this ceremony the village is closed for 3 days, *i.e.*, no villager is allowed to go out of the village and no outsider is permitted to enter it, and on the paths entering the village lengths of bamboo are stuck into the ground at both ends, forming arches. This is to remind outsiders that they are prohibited from coming into the village. If any one violates the custom by entering or leaving the village within these 3 days, he has to make good the expenses incurred for the "Nat-pwe." During this period of 3 days, the villagers should not do any but necessary household work. Three days after the feast, each household can start clearing a new *taungya*.

*Before sowing seeds.*—When the *taungya* burning is over, each household collects the different kinds of seed and grain to be sown in the new *taungya*. These are generally collected in a basket and a fowl killed over it, allowing the blood to fall on the contents. The liver of the fowl, after being cooked, is taken to the *taungya* with this basket. On arrival at the *taungya*, a big pit, surrounded by many smaller ones, is dug and the seed and grain are put into the pits. Then *khaung* and pieces of the cooked liver are spat out from the mouth over the seeds, etc., by saying *Phyo*, and all the members of the house make a prayer to the "nats" for a good harvest. The pits are then filled in with earth. After this ceremony, all the members of the house are seen busily sowing seeds and grain in various parts of the *taungya*. (A post, called *Ahbaungma*, is erected over the big pit—see following paragraph).

*Before plucking vegetables.*—Before any fruit or vegetable is gathered from the new *taungya*, each household has to slaughter either a fowl or a pig or a goat, according to their means, in the house and after cooking the same, the liver, a bottle or a gourd of *khaung* and a plate of rice are taken over to the *taungya* where all the members of the house pour *khaung* and pieces of liver from their mouths over the *Ahbaungma* post which is erected over the big pit at the time of seed-sowing.

A prayer is then made to the "nats" for a good paddy crop. A small hut is at the same time erected near the *Ahbaungma* post and an offering of rice, *khaung* and meat is made in the hut in honour of the "nats." After this offering, all the members of the house start gathering vegetables from the *taungya*, spitting out *khaung* and pieces of liver over the vegetables and fruits as they are plucked. They then return home with their baskets of vegetables and fruits, but, before entering the house, they have to bathe in the stream and on getting home they dress in their best clothes and cook the vegetables, etc. An offering is then made to the "nats" in the house. No one can eat any produce from his *taungya* before the performance of the above ceremony. Generally all the households in a village arrange to collect crops and vegetables from the *taungya* on the same day, and they are to be seen drinking *khaung* and feasting from house to house during this occasion. From this day, the owner can eat and sell his *taungya* produce.

*Reaping of Taungya Paddy.*—Before the reaping of *taungya* paddy is commenced, each household has to slaughter a fowl or a pig, according to their means, in the *taungya* hut and the chief member of the house sprinkles the blood of the animal killed over the paddy plants in honour of the "nats" and at the same time prays to them for a good yield of paddy from the *taungya* and for the good health of the members of the house. After this ceremony, the reaping of *taungya* paddy is started.

*Eating of new Taungya Paddy.*—Before the new *taungya* paddy is eaten, each household slaughters a fowl or a pig or a goat and a pot of rice is also cooked, the new paddy from the *taungya* being used. With the rice and the cooked meat, an offering is first made to the various "nats" in the *taungya* hut and a prayer, as before, is then made.

*Ya Pyapwe or abandoning the Taungya.*—When the reaping of the paddy crop has been completed, the paddy is stored up in the hut and from *taungya* rice *khaung* is brewed. Each household has to slaughter at least a fowl and a pig or more, if possible, and the blood is collected in different cups. Then all the members of the house join in pouring over the granary a mouthful of *khaung*, mixed up with pieces of the livers of the animals killed. They also sprinkle the bins and various baskets with the blood in honour of the "nats" and the usual prayer follows. This ceremony is done at the time of abandoning the *taungya*. (The granary remains in the disused *taungya*, until exhausted.)

#### MROS.

*After Birth.*—Soon after the birth of a child, four short bamboos, each measuring about a cubit, are fixed up on the bank of the stream, and a chicken is killed in honour of the "nats" and the blood poured over the bamboos which are set close together. A prayer is then made for the welfare of the child. The chicken is then thrown away.

*New Taungya Cutting.*—Before the cutting of a *taungya* is undertaken, all the residents of a hamlet collectively buy two goats in addition to two fowls gathered from each household. The villagers then build two small huts, one on the bank of the stream and the other inland. One goat is tied up near the hut on the bank of the stream and the other near the second hut. The fowls are kept in line between the two huts. All the villagers then pray to the "nats" to keep them in sound health and to give an abundance of crops during the coming *taungya* season. After this prayer, the goats and fowls are slaughtered one after another, starting from the bank of the stream. Their blood is sprinkled over the small huts and the water of the stream. The village is then closed for three days by fixing up bamboo arches over the village paths; the Mros, like the Awa Khami do not allow any one to enter or leave the village for a period of three days. If any one violates the rule, he has to pay compensation for all the expenses incurred. The goat meat is jointly cooked in the village, while the fowls are taken away by their respective owners. With the meat and *khaung*, they make an offering to the "nats" in the village before they commence feasting. This ceremony is done once in the year. After the performance of this annual ceremony, a household can start *taungya* cutting.

*Beginning of eating Taungya Vegetables.*—When the *taungya* vegetables and fruits have ripened, members of each household go over to their *taungya* and collect the different vegetables and fruits together with a few plants of paddy. On their return home, the paddy is put into the *khaung* pot while the vegetables and fruits are kept in a big basket. A fowl is then slaughtered and its blood sprinkled over the *khaung* pot and the vegetable basket. The fowl is then cooked with rice flour mixed with some salt and ginger. This rice is then mixed up with the *khaung* and, with this rice and fowl, an offering is made to the various "nats" supposed to reside at the staircase of the house and in the various baskets. When the offering to the "nats" is over, all the members put on their best clothes and empty the *khaung* pot and enjoy the rest of the meat and the fowl together with their neighbours. This "natpwe" is held on the same day by the different households in the village. A *taungya* hut is then erected in the *taungya*. After this ceremony, the villagers are free to gather the produce.

*Ya Pyapwe or leaving the Taungya.*—After the *taungya* crop has been reaped, members of each household kill a pig or more in the house and cook some pieces of pork in a bamboo tube which is taken over to the *taungya* together with some rice and *khaung*. On arrival at the *taungya*, all are then mixed up and offerings are made to various "nats" supposed to exist in the streams near the *taungya*, and at the same time members of the house pray to the "nats" for good health. On their return home, a feast is held with the remaining pork and *khaung*. Generally most of the residents of the village hold this "pwe" on the same day.

#### AHRAING KHAMIS.

*Beginning of Taungya Cutting.*—The Ahraing Khami, once in three years, buy a goat and a fowl with a subscription raised among the villagers and build a small hut near the river bank. An elder, chosen from among the villagers, prays to the "nats" for the good health of the community. The goat and the fowl are then slaughtered near the hut. A few pieces of mutton and fowl, after being cooked, are placed in the hut with a plate of rice in honour of the "nats" and the usual prayer for abundance and health follows. The village is closed for a day by placing bamboos arched across the paths leading to the village, and, like the Awa Khami and Mro, no villager may leave the village or no outsider may come into it on that day. If any one violates the rule, he has to compensate the village for all the expenses incurred.

*Beginning of eating Taungya Vegetables.*—Before any vegetable is plucked from a *taungya*, the members of each household should go over to their *taungya* and make a sacrifice of either a fowl, a goat or a pig in honour of the "nats"; the blood is sprinkled over the paddy plants and vegetables in the *taungya*. They then pluck the vegetables, pouring, at the same time, pieces of ginger and *khaung* from their mouths. The vegetables collected are brought home. This is done on the same day by all the households in a village. On their arrival at home they further sprinkle the vegetables with *khaung* and on the following day the village is closed for two days and no villager or outsider is allowed to leave the village or enter it during that period, as before. During the period of two days, the chief member of the house generally abstains from *ngapi* (dried fish) and fish. After this ceremony, people may make use of the vegetables from their *taungyas*.

*At the time taungya plants blossom.*—Generally rich Ahraing Khamis celebrate a feast in honour of the "nats" when the *taungya* plants blossom; numerous fowls, goats and pigs are slaughtered in the house, and, after being cooked, a few pieces of meat from each kind are taken to the *taungya* with a plate of rice and an offering to the "nats" is made accompanied by the usual prayer. They also perform a dance in the *taungya* and on return to the village they all gather around the *Khonedaing*, a post where cattle are tied up for sacrifice. A man, generally selected from among the relations of the *taungya* owner, spears the animals as the villagers dance under the influence of *khaung* around the *Khonedaing*. The relation, who spears the cattle, usually gets rewards of a gong, silk turbans and "loongyis" from the *taungya* owner. A good number of people and relations are invited from different villages to enjoy the feast and drink *khaung*. The heads of the cattle, goats and pigs slaughtered are preserved in the house for show.

#### AWA KHAMIS, MROS AND AHRAING KHAMIS.

They make sacrifices of fowls, pigs, goats, and cattle during the sickness of any member of the house. It is customary among the Awa Khami and Mro to consult a *Wephalisaya* or, in other words, a *Natsaya* (witch doctor) when any member of the house falls sick or gets hurt. *Wephali* is a piece of bamboo tied at both ends with a piece of string. When the *Wephalisaya* is consulted he puts up the *Wephali* on his fingers several times and finally declares that the sacrifice of a fowl, pig, goat or a cow, as the case may be, is required to propitiate the evil

spirit, which, it is said, has afflicted the sick person. People, according to their means, make sacrifices of the animals declared by the *Wephalisaya*. For the sacrifice, the Awa Khamis build a small hut near the bank of the stream and slaughter the animal or animals, and the blood is sprinkled over the baked paddy (ခေါ်ခေါ်) and other food prepared for the occasion and placed on the hut. The blood is also then put into the stream. The liver and the intestines of the animal killed are cooked in a bamboo tube and an offering to the "nat" is made with a plate of rice in the hut, accompanied by a prayer for the speedy recovery of the sick. Mros usually make a sacrifice of the animals either at the bank of the stream or near the hill as advocated by the *Wephalisaya*. They do not build a small hut when the sacrifice is to be made with fowls and pigs, but they do build the hut when the sacrifice is made with goats or cattle or with both. These people do not make any further offerings to the "nats" with the cooked meat but the blood is sprinkled over the hut or at the bank of the stream, a prayer being said for early recovery. In the case of the Ahraing Khami, there is a similar belief in consulting a *Wephalisaya* for sickness. When any member of an household gets sick, an egg is broken at the staircase of the house to propitiate the evil spirit supposed to have caused the sickness and, if this does not give any relief, a small hut is generally built on the bank of the stream, and either a fowl, pig or a goat, according to the means of the family, is slaughtered and the blood, after being collected, is sprinkled over the rice brought for the purpose and this is kept in the house in honour of the "nats." After this ceremony, a dance is held in the verandah of the house of the sick, and an offering of cooked meat, together with rice, is made to the "nats" in the house, accompanied by a prayer for the immediate recovery of the patient. When this sacrifice does not give a satisfactory result, the slaughtering of cattle and other animals follows; the cattle are generally tied to a post in the village, called *khonedaing*, and speared to the accompaniment of hilarity and dancing. All three tribes take to medical treatment as a last resort when they do not obtain a cure by means of their various customary sacrifices.

*Ear-boring Ceremony*.—No custom prevails among the Ahraing Khami to hold an ear-boring ceremony for their children, as the ear-boring of the children is done soon after birth, but the Mro and the Awa Khamis perform an ear-boring ceremony for their children by slaughtering cattle in honour of the "nats." The cattle intended for slaughter are tied up to a post in front of the house of the parent, who, carrying the child in one hand, spears the animal with the other hand and many villagers, who are present on the spot for this occasion, put the animal to death by cutting its head with axes. Mros dance around the carcass on the ground after drinking *khaung* but Awa Khamis carry the carcass up to the verandah of the house and perform their dances around it. It is customary among both races to sprinkle the walls of the house with a yellowish substance found in the intestine and to make an offering to the "nats" with the meat, liver, lungs, and intestines, cooked separately. The ear-boring ceremony is done soon after the dances. The children of the poor people in the village are allowed to do the ear-boring ceremony when a rich man celebrates the ear-boring ceremony for his children. Generally all the friends and relations are invited to enjoy the feast.

Almost all the "natpwes" of these three races are accompanied by dances in which both sexes, particularly bachelors and spinsters of the villages, join. Their amusements and social functions may be said to consist entirely of the "natpwes" described above.

**Marriage Law**.—It is the custom for the spinsters of a village to collect together in a house to sleep and the lads to come at night to make love and win their hands. Most of the marriages are arranged by the young couples themselves, and the parents or relations of the girl are kept in the dark. The girls generally follow their lovers at night and the parents seldom interfere, though a girl's parents may later make a demand for the dowry from the father or relations of the bridegroom. All the races, except the Ahraing Khami, are monogamous. Very few, ever, of the Ahraing Khami keep two wives. They may marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first wife, when the latter gives her consent. Apart from this, the husband has to pay a penalty to the father or brother of the first wife on his second marriage.

It is only when a girl refuses to follow her lover, that the parents of the girl are approached for the marriage. Among the Awa Khami, the man informs his prospective father-in-law, either personally or through a go-between, about marriage with the daughter and fixes a date for betrothal. The father of the girl may then consult his daughter and get her consent. If she raises no objection, the *khaung* pot and pigs are kept ready in the girl's house for the occasion. On the appointed day, the bridegroom's party, which generally consists of the bridegroom, his father, and a village elder, approaches the bride's father with a dah, 3 gourds of *khaung* and 3 fowls, one of which should be a crowing cock. On reaching the house of the bride, the crowing cock is set free to be kept as a pet in the house and, with the remaining 2 fowls and the *khaung*, a feast offering is given to the relations of the bride. The dah is handed over to the father of the bride. The bride's party then in turn offer pork and *khaung* to the bridegroom's party. The fowl should not be eaten by the bridegroom's party, and the bride's party should refrain from eating pork. If the bride's or bridegroom's party, through mistake, partake of the pork or the fowl, respectively, they are liable to pay a penalty of from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. During the feast, the marriage dowry, which at a minimum consists of Rs. 30, 15 dahs, an axe and a spear, is asked for by the girl's father and the bridegroom's father has no option to bargain but to accept the dowry asked for. The bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days in the house of the bride and fix a date for the marriage, and on the day appointed, the bridegroom's party, with 30 fowls, 20 gourds of *khaung*, and the dowry, should visit the house of the bride. The fowls and the *khaung* are intended for a feast for the bride's party. The bride's party should slaughter a pig to feed the opposite party, and neither should eat what has been offered to the opposite party. The dowry, dahs, the axe and the spear, together with at least Rs. 10 in cash, should be brought and handed over to the bride's father. The payment of the balance of the money may be promised later. The bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days drinking *khaung* and feasting. On the fourth day, the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom together with 2 pigs, given by the father-in-law to the bridegroom as a present. The new couple should stay for 3 days in the house of the bridegroom

and on the following day they go to the house of the bride's father, where they stay for a day and then return to the house of the bridegroom.

In the case of the Mro, the bridegroom generally informs his father about the intended marriage, and the father, in company with his son and a few villagers, visits the house of the prospective bride with 3 fowls, a spear, and a dah. On their arrival, the spear and the dah are handed over to the bride's parents as presents and the fowls are given as food to the family of the bride. The bride's parents, in return, slaughter a pig and give a feast to the bridegroom's party. The pork should not be eaten by the bride's party and the fowls should not be eaten by the bridegroom's party. The father consults his daughter and gets her consent to the proposed marriage. After obtaining the girl's consent, the father demands a dowry. This consists of, at least, Rs. 100, a dah, and a spear. The two latter are payable on the spot but the money can be promised later if it cannot be paid immediately. The bridegroom's father may not bargain over the dowry asked for. After the settlement of the dowry terms, the bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days in the house of the bride, drinking *khaung* and enjoying the feast, and, on the 4th day, the bridegroom's party, together with the bride, leave for the bridegroom's house.

Among the Ahraing Khami, the boy informs his father about his marriage with the girl he has selected and his father, accompanied by two village elders, should approach the girl and get her consent first. The father of the girl is then consulted about the proposed match and he generally does not interfere, if the girl consents. He then demands a dowry, which at least consists of Rs. 100, 30 spears, 15 fowls, and 6 bottles of country spirit, and the opposite party, without bargaining, must promise to pay the dowry asked for. Both the parties in consultation fix a date for the marriage. On the day fixed, the bridegroom, together with his parents and some villagers, go to the house of the bride, taking at least 15 spears, 15 fowls, and 6 bottles of spirit. The remaining dowry can be promised to be paid later if the bridegroom is unable to afford to pay immediately. On their arrival at the house of the bride, a pig is slaughtered by the bride's party to give them a feast and the fowls brought by them are also killed to furnish a banquet for the bride's family and relations. Like the other two races the Ahraing Khami are also prohibited from eating what has been offered to the other party. The bridegroom's party stays for two days drinking *khaung* and feasting, and, on the third day, the bride is taken away to the house of the bridegroom.

The dowry, demanded by the father on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, is solely enjoyed by the girl's parents or her relations. On full payment of the dowry, the bridegroom gets presents of spears, gongs, silk turbans, and "loongyis," in proportion to the dowry paid, from the father-in-law. Generally it takes years for the bridegroom to pay back the balance of the marriage dowry, and in this case the bride's parents and relations have to wait until the others are in a position to pay. The liability for payment of the dowry to the girl's parents or relations descends from father to son, according to the custom of these tribes.

*Right and claim as to the property and children of a married couple on their separation, either by death or by mutual consent.*—On separation, either by death or mutual consent, the women of these tribes, according to their customs, cannot make claims on the estate or the children born of a marriage. All the property and the children, except the suckling baby, have to be left behind with the husband or the husband's close relations. The suckling baby is generally taken away by the woman at the time of her departure from her husband's house, but, as soon as the baby attains the age of about 3 or 4 years, it has to be returned to the father or his relations on payment of feeding expenses. The Awa Khami and Mro generally pay Rs. 10 for this, but in the case of the Ahraing Khami, the amount varies from Rs. 60 to Rs. 70. On separation by mutual consent or otherwise, it is customary for the married couple of the Awa Khami and Mro to exchange small branches of trees as tokens of their separation, but no such practice exists among the Ahraing Khami. They divorce each other in the presence of village elders. After the separation the married couple may re-marry if they like.

*Separation of husband and wife due to the fault of the wife before full settlement of the dowry.*—It is customary among the Ahraing Khami to forfeit the dowry promised to the father of the girl, but she will be entitled to Rs. 50 from the husband for the children, if any, left with the husband. If it is only one child, she is entitled to Rs. 30 or Rs. 35. In the case of the Mro and the Awa Khami, the women are not entitled to any money for the children left with the husband, but on the contrary, they have to pay a compensation of Rs. 30 to the husband. If the separation is due to the fault of the husband, the Ahraing Khami women get a compensation of Rs. 15, and they are also entitled to Rs. 100 if they leave behind, with the husband, 2 or more children. If they leave behind only one child, they are entitled to Rs. 60 to Rs. 70. The Awa Khami and Mro women are not fortunate enough to enjoy the same privileges as the Ahraing Khami women. They are only entitled to a compensation of Rs. 30 even if half a dozen children are left behind with the husband.

*Separation of husband and wife after part or full payment of the dowry.*—If the separation is caused by the fault of the woman, she, or her relations, have to return the dowry paid in the case of the Ahraing Khami. But, according to the customs of the Mro and the Awa Khami, the women have to pay a penalty of Rs. 60 and Rs. 30, respectively, apart from repayment of the dowry paid. If the separation is due to the fault of the man, the dowry paid is forfeited by the Ahraing Khami, but the Mro and Awa Khami, in addition to the forfeiture of the dowry, have to pay a penalty of Rs. 30 to the woman.

*Separation on the death of one of the married couple before full settlement of the dowry.*—On the death of the woman, before full settlement of her dowry, the man has to pay the unpaid dowry to the parents or relations of the woman. This custom prevails among the three tribes. If the man dies before the settlement of the dowry, the woman's parents do not get the unpaid balance of the dowry as it is considered that a fresh dowry can be demanded for their daughter on her next marriage. On the death of the father, the children remain with the relations of the father, but, in the case of the Ahraing Khami, the woman gets money from the relations of her deceased husband if any children are left behind with them.

**Enquiry on the Effect on Primitive Tribes of Contact with Civilization.**—The only primitive tribes here, as stated before, are the Awa Khami, the Ahraing Khami and the Mro. They have come into contact with the civilization of the Arakanese, both Buddhist and Mohamedan. But this contact does not appear to be as frequent as may be expected, because of the lack of good communications. To reach their villages, one has to engage a sampan or the like kind of conveyance specially for the purpose, and proceed by water part of the way, and then either walk across country or travel in canoes or rafts which have to be dragged through shallow water and rocky stretches in many places. During this irksome journey, which generally lasts for days, one is often liable to be infected by malaria unless one takes precautions particularly with regard to drinking water.

Disease and crime, which are common among the Arakanese, are at present alien to them. But it is sad to note that many of the men of these tribes have become victims of the opium habit. It is, I think, due to frequent visits paid by the Arakanese traders, who bring in opium just for the sake of alluring these tribes to work for them. Consequently, these people are prone to be lethargic and their natural incentive for work has deadened. Most of them are no longer possessed of ambition. They usually grow paddy, tobacco, and cotton. The paddy they grow is just enough for their own consumption. They do export tobacco and cotton but they are hampered by debt. Most of them have become indebted to the Arakanese people of Ponnyoleik, Pyare, and Lemro villages. When they grow their tobacco, cotton, and paddy, their creditors usually come and take away almost all their produce in settlement of debts and they are left with no option in the matter of disposing of their produce for a better price. They are a happy-go-lucky people. If they are in need, they approach their neighbours, the Arakanese people, and raise loans or *Dadaung* as they generally call them. They pay back to the Arakanese in kind with exorbitant interest. They do not care to come to the law courts to have the Usurious Loans Act applied to their cases. Probably they have the no idea of the existence of this Act.

These tribes do not leave their houses for the purpose of working as labourers and have to eke out a living in some way or another. Very few of them care to leave their hill tracts unless compelled by necessity. I have come across immense forests and land fit for cultivation which have practically remained untouched. Occasionally, these people cut bamboos and canes from the forests to meet contracts placed with them by the Arakanese people. Very few of them have cattle. I have seen 2 or 3 families using cattle for ploughing. Up to date, there is no indication of any minerals and no outsiders have applied for licenses for prospecting for minerals. I understand that an English firm has the intention of starting a mill for manufacture of pulp from bamboo which abounds in the area.

Each tribe speaks its own dialect. Most of them, I mean among the men, are acquainted with Arakanese, which is used for inter-tribal conversation. I have also noticed that some of them speak Chittagonian. Almost all are illiterate. Their region is conspicuous by the absence of schools for imparting any sort of education among them. It appears that no civilised people have attempted to introduce education among these tribes, but some of the Awa Khami and Mro show an inclination to acquire a knowledge of the Burmese language. Signs are not wanting to show that they soon will have a vernacular school of their own.

Most of the males of these tribes have given up the loin cloth of their ancestors and have practically adopted the dress of male Arakanese Buddhists. This is due to their contact with the male Arakanese Buddhists. The females have less opportunity of meeting the female population of Arakanese Buddhists, and hence they have not adopted the full dress of the Arakanese women but the majority of them have started imitating the Arakanese female in wearing a jacket over their bodies. Their *Thameins* (skirts) which are of knee length, still remain unchanged. This imitation of dress, I think, will be rather detrimental to their health as most of them are not in the habit of washing their clothes. If the washing habit is not acquired, I am afraid that the dirt will accumulate in their clothes and will cause ill-health.

In the days gone by, the people had no rooms and compartments in their houses and all the inmates ate, lived, and slept in one big room, which formed the house. At present, the majority of them have changed their ideas due to their contact with the Arakanese people. They have seen the Arakanese people with compartments in their houses and they have copied these. This is evident from the good number of new pattern houses in existence at present. The majority of people, who have constant contact with the Arakanese, have different rooms in their houses, which are generally small in size. These small and often congested rooms are destitute of ventilation generally, as the primitive tribes have no idea of sanitation and ventilation.

All of these tribes are Animists and, as such, they have celebrations on many occasions in honour of various "nats" which they believe to exist. They are still imbued with the idea that the incidents and events, whether good or bad, of their lives are willed by the "nats." They regard "nats" as omnipotent. In cases of illness, they take to medical treatment as a last resource. Their social functions and amusements are mainly connected with "nat-pwes." No missionaries or civilised people have settled in this region and so their beliefs and practices have not as yet undergone any drastic change. No doubt, some of them have notions of Buddhism and it is likely that they will be converted to Buddhism gradually in the near future. I have actually met some of them styling themselves Buddhists.

In former days, they followed the principle of "Might is Right" and "Tit for Tat" and they had no security and protection. Since the introduction of Penal Law by the British Government, they have gradually abandoned their old ideas. It is gratifying to note that they express a feeling of satisfaction with the advantages of protection and security afforded by the British Government, and that they are glad that their ancient customs have dwindled.

On the whole, the people do not seem to be discontented with the life they lead. They all appear to be optimistic. They are keen on having large families as they look towards their issue for support in their old age.

**PART II.—The Awa Khamis, Ahraing Khamis, and Mros in the Ponnagyun Chin Hills, Ponnagyun Township, by U Ohn Pe, Assistant Township Officer, Ponnagyun.**

**Region.**—The census operations were started on the 28th December 1930, along the Yo Chaung watercourse commencing from Taungminkala village. The last village along the Yo Chaung and the remotest at its source is Baidaug-khein-nan village. The operations at the last village were completed on the 12th January 1931. As it would have taken at least a fortnight to go back to Taungminkala on the Yo Chaung to start operations from Awrama village along the Tawpya Chaung watercourse, I crossed over Khaungdaing, which is the mountain barrier between these two chaungs (streams), to the source of the Taw-pya Chaung by the pass, which is locally known as the Khaungdan Pass. It is between Baidaug-u-taw and Baidaug-bo-lein villages. As the steepness of the mountain is just about the same as that of the funnel of a steamer, as the name of the mountain implies, and also because it is very high, my coolies and I had to sleep a night at the foot of the pass in a temporary shed built by us and to start ascending the mountain after an early breakfast at 6 a.m. next morning. The route on either side of the pass is very rugged, being strewn with stones and boulders of big and small sizes, very slippery, and sharp-pointed. On reaching the base of the mountain on the far side of the pass, the way lay through high elephant grass, which grows so thickly that it blocks and obscures the footpath. We did not encounter any wild elephant or tiger, though we saw the fresh foot-prints of several elephants, probably a herd of 30 to 40, and also tiger pug marks. It took from morning to night to reach Kyeni-in, which was the first village to be enumerated on the following morning, *via* Khaungdaing village, which belongs to Buthidaung Township. The operations along the Tawpya Chaung were started on the 15th January 1931 at Kyeni-in village. The operations along this chaung were completed at Awrama village on the 25th January 1931.

The country, both along the Yo Chaung and the Tawpya Chaung, is also very rugged and mountainous. The foot-path along the Yo Chaung lies on level ground only up to Thalu chaung village. Thence up to Baidaug-khein-nan village the foot-path is difficult. It is a hill track, at times not far from the water in the chaung below and at others very high up above it. A false step or a stumble might easily cause a fall over a precipice down into the water in the chaung below. Occasionally, the way lies along the dry stream-beds, where jumbled rocks necessitate jumps from rock to rock, which make the knees ache. The conditions of the path along the Tawpya Chaung are similar to the above from Kyeni-in to Kyanksaraung. Thence up to Awrama the path lies on even ground. On the mountains and in the valleys, bamboos of the smaller kind grow profusely. The "Wabo" bamboo does not grow there. Very rarely did I come across reserved trees, such as "Pyinma."

**Winter.**—It was so bitterly cold (in January) that we were unable to get a sound sleep at night. Europeans would probably appreciate the winter up here. In the morning, the sun was seen only at about 8 o'clock and its light disappeared at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. I even doubted the correctness of the time shown by my wrist watch.

**Waterfalls.**—On the way from Tandin-Mrochaung village to Agri village, both of which are situated on the Yo Chaung, there is a big waterfall. The water falls over a rock ledge, which is about 80 cubits high, to a lower ledge. Both are in the bed of the watercourse, which runs through rocks between hills. The fall of water is perpendicular. On the advice given me at Ponnagyun by U Aung Hla, Opium Licensee of Ponnagyun, before I set out on this long tour, and on further information from the Mros, who inhabit the neighbourhood of the waterfall, I worshipped the "nat" of the waterfall by sticking some gold-leaf on the rock and invoking the "nat" to look after us on our journey. I noticed a large amount of gold-leaf stuck on the rock.

There is a waterfall also between Wanway and Dapruchaung, which villages are situated on the Tawpya Chaung, but this waterfall is not as steep as the one in the Yo Chaung. Empty dugouts even can be dragged up this waterfall.

**People.**—Most of the inhabitants of the villages along both Chaungs are : (1) Awa Khamis' (2) Mros, and (3) Ayaing Khamis. Very few Yanbyses, Arakanese, and Chaungthas were found. The manners and customs, etc., of the wild tribes, *viz.*, (1) Awa Khami, (2) Mro, and (3) Ayaing Khami are described below.

**AWA KHAMIS.**

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence between these classes.

There is no existence of a chieftain class or clan from which chiefs are drawn.

**Organisation.**—This appears to be on the lines of democracy. If, in the case of a dispute between two persons, there is no witness, three Luyis (elders) are appointed to dispose of it. For example, a person accuses another of having stolen his money. The "Luyis" ask the first person whether it is true that he lost his money. The first person replies in the affirmative. Then the "Luyis" ask the second person whether it is true that he stole the first person's money. The second person denies the charge. Then the "Luyis" tell them to dive into a pool in a chaung, saying that he, who has lied, will appear at the surface of the water first. Both the complainant and the accused put their heads (not the whole body) into the water in the pool, each of them holding one of the two bamboo-poles held perpendicularly by two of the three "Luyis." The third "Luyi" watches the divers along with spectators from the bank of the chaung. If the complainant appears at the surface of the water first, he has to incur the following expenses :—(1) The least Rs. 15 and the most Rs. 50 for causing the accused to wet his hair, (2) the least Rs. 5 and the most Rs. 10 to each "Luyi" for disposing of the case. If the accused appears at



the surface of the water first, he has to incur not only the above-mentioned expenses but also to give the complainant the amount, which was alleged to have been stolen by the accused. It is believed that the person, who is dishonest, is made to appear at the surface of the water first by the "nat" piercing the nostrils with some pointed thing.

**Traditions of Origin.**—There is no existence of traditions of origin from the North, West, North-East, or South, etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—Bamboo is used for floors and walls; wood is used for posts and beams, and bamboo-leaf or thatch is used for roofs by the poor people. Men of means, who are scarce, use wood for floors and walls, and bamboo leaves for roofs. There is no restriction in the use of wood, or bamboo or leaves.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or materials of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no ideas about the sun, moon, stars and comets. They call the 7 stars towards the tail of the Great Bear "stars of 7 days' people." They cannot explain the meaning of "stars of 7 days' people." They have no names for any other stars. They take the markings on the moon as a banyan tree. They do not know the causes of earthquakes or eclipses. They think that the sun or the moon, as the case may be, is swallowed by a tiger whenever an eclipse takes place. They have no legends of the rainbow and of thunder or lightning.

**Disposal of Dead.**—The head, together with the body of the dead, is burnt to ashes. In the case of natural death, the head and the body are burnt one or two or three days after death according to the means the relatives possess to entertain visitors. In the case of death from contagious disease, the head and the body are buried; after one month the remains are disinterred and burnt to ashes. Coffins are made of strips of bamboos woven into the form of a coffin. No cairn or shelter over the grave is made.

They believe that man, after death, will enjoy the same kind of life in the next existence, but do not know in what form or shape that existence will occur.

**Appearance.**—This is the same as that of the Arakanese, complexion—majority are dark; sallow complexion is rare. Hair—straight and treated in the manner of the Burman and the Arakanese but without coconut oil. Both males and females keep long hair. They use pig's fat for hair oil. Eyes—straight and black. Shape of nose, head and physique in general—same as the Burman and the Arakanese.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—This is done by broadcasting similar to the Arakanese custom. Paddy lands are ploughed with a "Te" or wooden plough with an iron tip. *Taungya* cultivation is done with "dahs."

**Musical Instruments.**—Gong, cymbal, blow-pipes made of bamboos and gourds, and oblong drums.

**Weapons.**—Spears, bows and arrows. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads as is done by those residing in the unadministered area.

Awa Khamis describe themselves as belonging to Awa Khami.

They call their language "Awa Khami."

They do not intermarry with any other tribe.

They have relations by blood or marriage only in the Ponnagyun Chin Hills.

**Dress.**—Males use Burmese jackets, which they call "Kha-ok" and which they buy from Indian hawkers, as coverings for the upper part of the body without any underwear. They (Awa Khami males) cover the lower part with a piece of black loin-cloth, the length of which is 8 cubits, the breadth being half a cubit, which they tie round the waist twice and pass it between the thighs with both ends hanging downwards at the front and at the back. This piece of cloth is called "E-nauk" in Awa Khami language. The head is wound with a piece of cloth of some colour other than black. They simply wrap this cloth round the head without covering the top hair. The length of the cloth is 2 cubits, while its breadth is 1½ cubits. This cloth is also bought from Indian hawkers. The cloth, which is wound round the waist, is made by themselves from the black yarn they buy from Indian hawkers. Men of substance wear wide earrings made of metal, which is an alloy of gold and silver.

Awa Khami females cover the upper part of the body with a piece of cloth just covering the breast and the back on the left side, leaving the right arm bare for free use. The breadth of this cloth is a little less than a cubit, while the length is a cubit and a span. The edge of the front part of the cloth is tied to the edge of the back part with a string over the right shoulder. This cloth is called "Yingan" in Awa Khami language. The lower part of the body is covered with a piece of cloth, the breadth of which is a cubit, while the length is 2 cubits. The cloth is wrapped round the waist. The breadth being only a cubit, the cloth covers only the upper thighs. When they move about, the left thigh is exposed to view. This piece of cloth also is called "E-nauk" in the Awa Khami language. Both the upper and lower garments are woven from the yarn bought from Indian hawkers. The lower cloth is kept in place by strings of beads, which number at least five. Some women of means add a string of copper pieces to the strings of beads round the waist. The beads and copper are bought from Indian hawkers. The strings for the beads are made by the Awa Khami women. The ends of the bead-strings are tied together in front of the waist. Unmarried young women wear silver bangles and anklets. They also wear silver earrings, which are hollow tubes about 3 inches in length. Grown-up women wear only earrings, and not bangles and anklets. Unmarried young women wear also necklaces made of coral or silver coins.

**Tattooing.**—No tattooing either by males or females.

**Religion.**—They worship "nats" whose names they do not know. When a member of a family is sick, they insert through the verandah of the house two bamboo poles, tied parallel, the lengths of which are about 6 cubits, one end touching the ground, whilst the other is split to form tails hanging downwards. The bamboo poles are put up just under the apex of the roof of the house reaching to within a cubit of it. A live pig is then tied to the bamboo poles, where they pass through the verandah. The sick person then comes out of the room and kills the pig with a spear or a bamboo spike. Then the pig is cut into pieces and cooked. The pig curry and some cooked rice are then given to the sick person, the "nat" being invoked to forgive the sick person and to leave him that day. This is done in the belief that the "nat" is in the sick person. The remaining curry is then enjoyed by the other members of the family and villagers.

Again, "nat" worship is done at *laungya* cultivation. When the crops are in ear, bamboo poles of the above description are put up in the *laungya*. A live pig is tied to the foot of the bamboo poles and is killed by a woman from the house of the *laungya*-cutter, either with a spear or pointed bamboo. Then they cut the pig into pieces and cook it. Some pork curry with cooked rice is put on the top of the bamboo poles and prayers are offered invoking the "nat" to give the *laungya*-cutter a good harvest. The remaining curry is then eaten by the villagers.

**Religious Rites.**—When a villager dies, his dead body is washed with hot water. On the breast some money, according to their means, either a rupee or an eight anna piece is kept covered with a piece of cloth. The dead body is then placed in a coffin made of split bamboos. A fowl is killed and put into it with cooked rice. On the following morning after breakfast, it is carried to the grave, where it is burnt to ashes. Crying is not prohibited at the funeral. In the case of the death of a baby soon after birth, its body is wrapped with a piece of cloth and kept in a bamboo basket hung up in a tree till it finally decays and disappears.

**Marriage Law.**—The marriage may be contracted by the couple themselves with or without the knowledge and consent of the parents. If a lad kidnaps a girl to his parents' house, the parents take the couple with village elders to the house of the girl's parents carrying 3 fowls and some *khaung*. On arrival, the young man's parents ask the girl's parents what dowry they are prepared to accept. The dowry is then fixed and given. Sometimes, the dowry is as high as Rs. 100, the lowest being Rs. 30. After handing over the dowry to the girl's parents, the fowls are given to them and the *khaung* to the visitors to be enjoyed there. In return, the bride's parents give a pig to the bridegroom's parents to be eaten then and there. Then the couple with the lad's parents return to their house. The girl goes to her parents' house on visits, occasionally, but she never returns there permanently. If a lad agrees to marry on his own choice or on the advice of his parents, they go to the house of the girl's parents, where negotiations proceed. When they agree, they fix a dowry and appoint a date for the marriage. On the appointed day, the same procedure, as in the case of marriage by kidnapping, is carried out. The couple are then taken back to the house of the young man's parents. If the bridegroom or the bride breaks the promise of marriage, no action is taken if either party makes the plea that one does not love the other. If the couple separate owing to the fault of the wife, she has to return half of the dowry to her parents-in-law. If the couple separate owing to the fault of the husband, the wife leaves without paying any part of the dowry. When the husband dies, the wife is entitled to nothing—she has even to leave the issue of the marriage, if any, behind with the husband's father or with the brother (uncle).

**Dancing and Amusements.**—Awa Khamis dance in a group of about 15 persons. They cling to one another, side by side, by placing the arms round the necks or under the arm-pits of those on each side. They bend from one side to another, marking time with right and left legs in turn. In this way, they dance round. The groups may consist of men or women only or of both. They have no musical instruments. They dance only when they make a new platform in a house in their village. The dance lasts for a day and up to midnight. At this performance, there is a feast of *khaung* and curries of pork, fowls, and meat. They sing while dancing. The meaning of the songs cannot be ascertained.

There is no variation in the language from village to village, but it differs from that of other tribes (*vide* list attached).

#### MROS.

**Locally known as Taung-Mros.**—They informed me that their forefathers originally dwelt at the source of the Kaladan river. The present Mro inhabitants of Ponnagyun Chin Hills are the descendants of the Mro, who first came down to this area as they were afraid of the Shandus, who inhabit the upper reaches of the Kaladan river. There is no other kind of Mro here. They do not know when their forefathers started coming down here.

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence as between these classes.

There is no existence of a chieftain class or clan from which chiefs are drawn.

Same as the Awa-Khami. (Connections in other areas).

There is no existence of tradition of origin from the North-West, North-East, or South,

etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—The floors, walls, and under-roof of the houses are made of bamboos. The upper-roof is made of bamboo-leaves. In order to make the

floors, walls, and under-roof, bamboos are split lengthwise into wide plank-shaped pieces. Posts and beams are made of wood. There is no restriction on the use of wood or bamboo.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no legends of the sun, moon, stars and comets. They do not know the Great Bear or any other stars. Neither do they know the markings on the face of the moon. They believe that the cause of earthquakes is that a supposed Dragon shakes the earth to find out whether people are still in existence. As regards the eclipse of the sun, their belief is as follows :—

Once upon a time, a woman of their tribe gave birth to a son without a father. As soon as the son was born, he dug out 7 rats from the ground and ate them. Then he asked his mother who his father was. Feeling ashamed of the non-existence of a husband, she falsely told her son that his father was devoured by a tiger. So the son went into the jungles and killed a tiger with a spear. He brought the tiger's head and slept a night keeping it under his head and beseeching it to show him his father at night. Though the day dawned, there was no sign of his father. So he asked his mother again as to why he could not see his father though he had killed the tiger and had slept with its head under his. His mother then gave him a new tale of an elephant having killed his father. So the son did the same acts as in the case of the tiger. When he did not see any signs of his father, he asked his mother again. Then his mother gave him a new story saying that his father died on account of the heat of the sun. So he told his mother and the people that he would go and wage a war against the sun and instructed them to watch and to follow him when they should see him fighting with the sun. With this belief the Mro raise cries as war songs whenever they see an eclipse of the sun. They believe that the moon, being the sister of the sun, the son of that woman went and waged war against the moon, when he found that he could not overthrow the sun.

They have no ideas of the rainbow, thunder and lightning. They believe that the thunderbolt is thrown by a powerful "nat" to a less powerful "nat" in charge of a certain tree, which the thunderbolt strikes. In the case of the death of a man from lightning, they think that the powerful "nat" strikes him with the thunderbolt as he was mischievous.

**Disposal of Dead.**—When a Mro dies a natural death, his body is placed in a coffin made of split bamboos woven into a basket as long as the length of the body. Then a pig is killed and its blood is poured over the coffin. The pork is offered to the visitors. The dead body is then carried to and burnt at the grave. The pieces of bone, which remain unburnt, are gathered and placed on a platform in the cemetery with *khaung* and other eatables for the deceased to drink and eat. In the case of unnatural death, the dead body is buried without any food or the killing of a pig. In the case of the death of a young person up to the age of 3 years, a dog is killed to show the way to the young deceased, and carried in the coffin with the child's body to the grave, where the corpse is burnt without the dead body of the dog. The pieces of bone, which remain unburnt, are then placed on a platform without *khaung* but with eatables. The dead body of the dog is thrown away in the cemetery. No stone cairn or any form of shelter over the grave is made. The head is not disposed of separately. In the case of unnatural death, the husband or the wife, as the case may be, will refrain from eating flesh or vegetables for 40 days after abandoning the house and all belongings for ever. He or she, as the case may be, will live on only rice and water in a hut specially built for the purpose. He or she, as the case may be, is not allowed to sit together with others, but may converse with them.

**Existence after Death.**—They have no ideas as to the ultimate abode of the dead.

**Appearance.**—As the Burmese and the Arakanese. Complexion—dark. Hair—straight; in the case of males, it is knotted on the top of the head, and in the case of females it is knotted at the back of the head. Eyes—straight and brown. Shape of nose—Same as that of the Arakanese and the Burmese. Physique in general—Look like Burmese opium consumers.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—They cultivate *taungya* paddy by placing seeds separately in beds, which they dig with dahs, which have blunt heads and sharpened only on one side. They have no other implements.

**Musical Instruments.**—(a) A drum, which is a piece of hollow wood, the holes at both ends of which are covered with circular pieces of leather, which are tightened by leather strings pulled taut from each end of the drum.

(b) There are two kinds of flutes. One is of a small size, while the other is large. Both kinds are made of dried hollowed gourds. In the small kind, two holes are made one above the other on the side of the globe of the gourd. In the upper hole, two small pieces of bamboo-pipes are fixed, while in the lower hole three small but longer bamboo-pipes are fixed. The bamboo-pipes are attached to the gourd by means of wax. There is a hole at a distance of four fingers from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the right of the two fixed in the upper hole. So also is there a hole at the same distance on the lower side of the other bamboo-pipe. Over the exposed ends of both bamboo-pipes are placed two moveable bamboo tubes sealed at one end by the bamboo-knot and extending about 2 cubits from the ends of the fixed tubes. There is a hole at a distance of 10 fingers from the gourd on the right side, but somewhat on the under surface of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme right of the three fixed in the lower hole of the gourd. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe is placed a globe of dried gourd. There is a hole at a distance of 9 fingers from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme left of the lower three fixed pipes. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe is placed a moveable bamboo-tube. The bamboo-pipe, which is in the middle of the three, is placed simply to hold the two on either side rigid. To play the instrument, air is blown through the pipe fixed in a hole at the top of the gourd.

In the larger kind, three bamboo-pipes are fixed on the side of the globe of a larger sized gourd. There is a hole at a distance of a cubit from the gourd on the lower surface of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme right side of the three. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe, a globe of gourd is placed. There is a hole at a somewhat lesser distance from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme left among the three. Over the other end of this pipe is placed a globe of gourd with a larger aperture than that of the other. The middle bamboo-pipe is fixed as before simply to tighten the two on either side. It is played in the same way as the smaller kind. Two of the larger kind are played when dancing takes place.

(c) A pair of cymbals.

(d) A gong.

They have no weapons. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads.

They describe themselves as belonging to the Taung Mro, because they live in hills.

They call their language "Taung-Mro" or "Mro."

Very seldom they intermarry with the Awa Khami, Ayaing Khami, Arakanese, Chaungthas, or the Burmese.

They have relations only in the Tawpya Chaung area.

**Dress.**—They dress as Awa Khamis, with the only exception that the females have no "Yingans." The young women wear silver bangles on the wrists as well as just above the elbows.

**Tattooing.**—There is no tattooing.

**Religion.**—They worship "nats" whose name or number they do not know. They worship the "nats" when there is sickness in their houses and when the crops in their *laungyas* are in ear. In both cases, a bamboo-pole of the same kind as described in the case of the Awa Khami is put up in the platform of the house concerned. Then a pig is brought up there and killed by any person. Then each member of the family ties a piece of the ear of the dead pig with a string on the right wrist. Then each member of the family, who is well, says "Phyauk. Ah-row-mi. Chin-nam kyu-mi. An-sa-ya. Pa-yon-la" equivalent to "I have made sacrifices of every description. May the sick person regain his (or her) health." Then the assembled villagers, including the sick person, enjoy the pork and the *khaung*, if available. The sick person does not drink the *khaung*.

In the case of worshipping the "nats" for success with the *laungya*, a pig and a fowl are killed over some plants or grain, which are cut and brought from the *laungya* and kept on the platform. Then a piece of the ear of the dead pig is tied to the right wrist of each member of the house concerned and they say prayers as "Phyauk. Pa-ka-ra-la. Ta-li-la. Tan-ga-la. Pi-ka-la" equivalent to "May we get an outturn from this *laungya* as much as 400 to 500 baskets." They then enjoy the curries with *khaung*.

They do not worship "nats" in the case of the death of a member of the family. Weeping is not prohibited at the funeral nor are women prohibited from following to the grave as in the case of the Mahomedans.

Luckily, a feast was performed in my presence on the morning of the 8th January 1931 at Agri village on account of the sickness of the wife of a householder. A young pig was caught. The husband killed it by a thrust with a sharpened piece of green bamboo. On the previous day, a bamboo-pole had been erected at the middle edge of the verandah of the house with 5 "Pha-bwas." They were made by scraping the pole between the 5 knots from the top of the pole making the scrapings hang down from the knots. Another pole was erected touching the apex of the roof in the centre with two "Pha-bwas." Another pole was erected on the ground in front of the first mentioned pole. After killing the pig, the "pha-bwas" at the lowest knot were besmeared with the blood of the pig. Then the pig was cut into pieces. A long piece of an ear was cut off from the pig and tied in the middle with as many strings as there are members of the household, after rubbing them first with turmeric (Sa-nwin) and then with lime. The blood, heart and lungs were put into a piece of green bamboo with some chillies and salt, and cooked by placing it on the fire. The other pieces of pork were cooked over another fire. When the contents of the bamboo were well cooked, they were taken out. Many pieces of leaves were cut, and on them some pieces of pork from the bamboo were placed with cooked rice. As no *khaung* was available, some yeast (fermented rice) was put into an earthenware pot with water. The elder brother of the householder drank some of this mixture and spat at the pieces of the leaves on which cooked rice and pork were placed, invoking the "nat" to release the sick woman from sickness as a feast was offered to him. Then the pieces of the leaves with rice and pork were thrust into the granary, which is inside the house, and at the corners of the house. Then the husband drank some of the mixture and spat at a cup, in which some cooked rice and pork had been placed in front of his sick wife. Then the husband besmeared the rice and the pork on the hair of his sick wife praying to the "nat" for the recovery of his wife from the sickness. The husband then touched the forehead of his wife with a piece of ginger, which also had been placed in the above cup. He then touched her forehead with two small sticks, on each of which was a piece of pork, obtained from the cup. The husband then fastened a string, in which a piece of the ear of the pig was already tied, on the right wrist of his sick wife. He then besmeared the mixture of lime and turmeric on the forehead, arm, and back of his wife. The same treatment was given to each and every member of the family. He then came out of the sick room holding a piece of leaf containing some rice and pork and which had been placed near the cup, as well as a tube of bamboo, containing some mixture in place of *khaung*. He then threw the contents of the leaf at the bamboo-pole, which was erected at the middle edge of the verandah, praying to the "nat" for the recovery of his sick wife. This ended the feast. Then the members of the family had a meal with pork curry.

**Marriage Law.**—The same as the Awa Khami.

**Dancing and Amusements.**—They believe that they will suffer from epidemics if they dance on other than the specified occasions. They dance by bending the knees to the beat of the drum. They also sing when dancing. They also dance, when a new platform is made in anybody's house in their village, when a new house is erected therein, and when their *taungya* crops are in ear. On every such occasion, a dog, one or more cows or bulls, one or more pigs, and many fowls are killed. The cow or bull to be sacrificed is tied to a post put up in the middle of the village. The dog, pigs, and fowls are killed in another place. They start dancing round the cow or bull to be sacrificed at nightfall after drinking *khaung* in their houses. They dance the whole night. The dog is eaten at night. When the day breaks, the brother-in-law of the person, on whose account the feast is made, gives Rs. 5 to the latter, who in turn gives him a turban. On receipt of it, the brother-in-law spears the sacrificed animal. When the animal is dead, it is taken to the platform of the house for the purpose of being cut up. The dancers, however, will not allow it to be cut until the "Lubyos" (bachelors) and the "Apyos" (spinsters) who danced are paid some money by the donor of the feast. When the money is given, they cut the animal into pieces, and cook and eat it with the pork and fowl curries. This ends the feast.

Their language does not vary from village to village but differs from that of the Awa Khami and the Ayaing Khami.

It may be interesting to mention here that there is a custom among the unmarried men and women to sleep together at night in a group in a house. They share blankets together.

#### AYAING KHAMIS.

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence as between these classes.

There is the existence of a chieftain class, from which chiefs are drawn. A chief need not belong to that class or clan by both parents.

Same as the Awa Khami. (Connections in other areas.)

There is no existence of traditions of origin from North-West, North-East, South, etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—The floors, walls, and the under-roofs of the houses are made of bamboos. The upper-roof is made of bamboo-leaves. The posts and beams are made of wood generally. Very poor persons use bamboo posts and beams. There is no restriction on the use of wood or bamboos for walls and roofs.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no knowledge concerning the sun, moon, stars and comets. They do not know about the Great Bear nor any other stars. About the markings on the face of the moon, they think that in the early ages of the world, both the sun and moon were very hot. So the people of those days put a banyan tree with its juice on the moon to keep off the heat from her and allowed only the sun to shine. They think that the phases of the moon are due to its being buried in the sky and appearing again. As regards an earthquake, they think that a man of supernatural strength from underneath the earth shakes it to find out whether or not there are still human beings on it. Believing this, they shout out, whenever an earthquake takes place, that they are still in existence. They think that this man of super-natural strength will turn the earth over, if they do not shout out. They do not know about eclipses. They call the rainbow "Saung-yat," and think that it drinks water like a human being. They do not know about thunder and lightning.

**Disposal of Dead.**—When a person dies a natural death, the body is bathed with cold water and kept on a mat after being covered with clothes. It is kept in this way for at least 5 days, and at the most 8 days, according to the means of the householder to entertain visitors. No action is taken to prevent the dead body from becoming putrid. During the abovementioned days, pigs, cows and fowls are killed and offered with *khaung* to the visitors. On the funeral day, a coffin is made from split bamboos, into which the corpse is put. On that day, the brother of the deceased, if a woman, asks his brother-in-law to give him compensation, for his sister's hair will be lost by being burnt at the cemetery. At least Rs. 5 and at most Rs. 15 is then given by the brother-in-law. No such demand is made in the case of the death of any other relation. New clothes are put into the coffin on the funeral day so that the deceased may wear them. The dead body is then taken to the cemetery and burnt there. The unburnt bones are gathered and kept in a small hut built for the purpose at the cemetery. In the case of death from an unnatural cause, the dead body is buried in the cemetery and never disinterred. In the case of death from inability to give birth or from child-birth, the whole house, including all the possessions, is abandoned by relatives and strangers alike. The husband will refrain from eating flesh and vegetables for 40 days and lives in a hut erected specially for the purpose. He will live on only rice and water. He is not allowed to sit with others but is allowed to speak with them. In the case of the death of a baby soon after birth, its body is wrapped with a piece of cloth and kept in a bamboo-basket hung up in a tree till it decays to nothing. No stone cairn or any form of shelter over a grave is made.

**Existence after Death.**—They believe that the deceased disappear for ever and do not return to this earth in a future existence.

**Appearance.**—Look like the Arakanese. Complexion—dark. Hair—straight. The males make knots on the top of the head, while the females make knots at the back of the head. Eyes—straight and black. Shape of nose and head—Same as the Arakanese. Physique in general—not stout.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—Crops are grown in *laungyas* by separate placing of seeds. They make holes in the ground with *dahs*, which have no pointed tips. They have no hoes or any other implements.

**Musical Instruments.**—Drum, gong, and cymbal, which are of the same kind as those of the Burmese. Unfortunately, no flute is available, as these instruments are broken after every feast. They are made when a feast is about to take place. It is said that only one bamboo-pipe is fixed in a dried gourd to make a flute. A brass tray is also beaten at the dance.

**Weapons.**—They have no weapons. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads. They describe themselves as belonging to the Ayaing Khami. They call their language Ayaing Khami. They intermarry with the Taung-Mro. They have relations along the Pi Chaungbya and the Kaladan Chaungbya in the Arakan Hill Tracts.

**Dress.**—Males clothe their bodies the same as the Awa Khami, but the Ayaing Khami make the loin-cloths from cloth of any colour other than the black cloth which Indian hawkers sell. Ayaing Khamis call the jackets "Basu." The bands tied round the waist and between the thighs are called "Ni-na." They dress their heads as the Burmese with turbans or "gaungbaungs" bought from Indian hawkers. Ayaing Khamis call these turbans "Lupyaw." They wear wide earrings like the Awa Khami.

Girls and young women cover the breast with a piece of cloth woven by themselves from black yarn purchased from Indian hawkers. The breadth of this cloth is just about 5 fingers and forms a "V" shape on the chest by the inner edge of each end being fastened together. This cloth is used for covering the breast. They call this cloth "Ni-kauk." Grown-up women do not wear this cloth. They dress the lower part of the body as do the Awa Khami. The Ayaing Khami females wear silver bangles. Young women wear bangles not only on the wrists but also just above the elbows. Their earrings have the same shape as those worn by the Nepalese women.

**Tattooing.**—They have no tattooing.

**Religion.**—They worship "nats" in the same way as the Taung-Mro but they say prayers in their own language as "Phyauk. Kano. Kaso. Whaybo. Nura. Ne-ok" equivalent to "May the sick person recover. He will get no sickness henceforth. He will be all right." With the pigs, dogs are also killed and eaten at the house. If a person gets sick on a journey, his companion kills a dog and besmears its blood at the back of the waist of the sick person. The dog is then brought to the house of the sick person. It is cooked on the ground in front of the house and eaten by villagers there and not in the house.

In the case of worshipping "nats" for *laungyas*, the same procedure as that of the Taung-Mro is followed with the addition of killing dogs together with pigs and fowls. The prayer for *taungya* is "Phyauk. So. Ngu-shaw" equivalent to "May we get a good harvest."

They do not worship "nats" in the case of the death of a member of the family. Weeping is not prohibited at the funeral, nor are women prohibited from going to the grave.

**Marriage Law.**—Same as the Awa Khami, but the following are additional customs:— If a lad kidnaps a lass, the parents of the former have to give the latter's parents a pig and money, the most Rs. 20 and the least Rs. 15, as compensation for the loss of modesty. If there is a breach of promise of marriage by the lad or the lass, he or she, who is at fault, has to give the other up to Rs. 15 as damages.

**Dancing and Amusements.**—Same as the Awa Khami. Moreover, males dance singly like the Burmese clowns by raising and jerking the hands and legs and whistling sometimes.

Their language does not vary from village to village but differs from that of the Awa Khami and the Mro. The differences are shown in the list attached. All these tribes use the Arakanese language as the medium by which they converse with other tribes.

**Effect on specific Primitive Tribes of Contacts with Civilization.**—Some of the Awa Khami, Mro and Ayaing Khami males have now-a-days been wearing the Burmese turbans or "gaungbaungs," jackets and "loongyis." They purchase them from Indian hawkers. The females have so far adopted green shawls over their own short breast pieces, though they are still averse to wearing Burmese "htameins" (skirts) and "eingyis" (jackets), the reason being that they find their own skirts easier to wear for their hard daily work. If Arakan is well developed and railways are opened, I am sure that the Awa Khami, Mro, and Ayaing Khami will become more civilized just as the Karens in the Tenasserim Division. The Awa Khami, Mro and Ayaing Khami appear to me to be submissive and hospitable, and not obstinate like the Malays in the Mergui District. Though the Malays have become civilized in the form of their dress owing to their contact with civilized people, yet the Malays are still wild in their temperament. I asked an old Mro as to whether or not he was happy and content. He replied "What to do, if I am not happy here? I have no means to reach the civilized parts of the world, though I wish to go there." If, instead of recruiting the Indian coolies for the tin mines and rubber estates, these tribes are taken, they will have better opportunities of becoming more civilized.

*List of Awa Khami, Mro, Ayaing-Khamt Languages compared with the English Language.*

English.	Awa-Khami.	Mro.	Ayaing-Khami.
Father	... Pa-è	Ah-pa-oh	Nga-an
Mother	... Nè	Ah-oh	Nè
Elder brother	... Ya-ah	Ah-taik	Yaik
Younger brother	... Napi	Nauk-ma	Ah-kè
Grandfather	... Pi-ee	Ah-poo	Na-si
Grandmother	... Pi-e	Ah-pi	Na-si
Great-uncle	... Pat-pri	Ta-ran	Apoo
Uncle	... Pat-kho	Ta-ran	Nay-to
Great-aunt	... Na-i	Na-ko	Nain-hmoon
Aunt	... Na-i	Na-ko	Nain-hmoon
Brother-in-law	... Nat-kaung	Naik	Nai-sa
Sister-in-law	... Kama	Yawla	Amauk
Cooked rice	... Bu	Haum	Bok
Rice	... Sarni	Me	Sonai
Cold water	... Twi-dein	Twi-rwa	Twi-swè
Hot water	... Twi-kabi	Twi-dayin	Twi-bi
Water	... Twi	Twi	Twi
Fire	... Man	Man	Man
Curry	... An	Kan	An
Fowl curry	... Ah-na	Wanga	Ah-ngan
Pork curry	... Awna	Panga	Ayo-nga
Fish	... Mwe	Dam	Ngo
Fish curry	... Mwe-an-htaing-de	Dam-kan	Ngo-an-htauik
One	... Ha	La	Nga-hat
Two	... Ni	Prai	Nho-rai
Three	... Hton	Som	Hton-marai
Four	... Bali	Tali	Palo
Five	... Ba-ngat	Tanga	Pau-rai
Six	... Taro	Taro	Taro
Seven	... Shi-ri	Ah-ni	Sharu
Eight	... Tayat	Yat	Tayat
Nine	... Akaw	Taku	Takaw
Ten	... Hashaw	Ha	Horai.

**PART III.—The Ledus in the Atet-Thanchaung and Auk-Thanchaung Village-tracts, Minbya Township, by U Sein Ogh, Assistant Township Officer, Minbya.**

Like Atet-Wetchaung and Auk-Wetchaung Village-tracts, the majority of these people residing in the Atet-Thanchaung Village-tract, are Ledus; with a small section of a different clan called "Twiship Chin." Their dialect is slightly different from that of the Ledus but the predominant language is Ledu, as both clans speak it.

Both these clans inter-marry with their own kind, and they have no connections outside the area in which they are now residing.

The men wear the ordinary Burmese costume but the conspicuous thing about them is the unusually wide earring holes, while the working attire is the loin cloth just sufficiently covering the private parts.

The women wear jackets somewhat like the ordinary Burmese "aingyi" and short skirts; but while at work they seldom keep on their jackets, whether they be unmarried or married. All the women, as I saw them, were tattooed on the face and, as I have ascertained, the prevailing custom is that they must be tattooed before they pass maidenhood. The tattoo marks are of one design and, as far as information goes, it is not supposed to be deviated from.

As regards their religion, they are all "nat" worshippers. But they have no fixed time for performing the religious rites. They approach their "nats" with some offering only when they get sick or when they are influenced by an undesirable "nat" (spirit); otherwise they leave the "nats" severely alone.

In a marriage, the bridegroom has to give the following presents to his bride-elect:—

1. One wild bull [mithun—a cross between the wild bull (saing) and the domestic cow.]
2. One white buffalo.
3. Seven gongs.
4. Five spears.
5. One pot of *khaung* (liquor).
6. One pig.
7. Rupees thirty.

Out of the abovementioned presents, the father-in-law of the bridegroom takes Nos. 1 to 4 of the presents and gives the uncle of the bride a gong and another one to the eldest brother

of the bride. Nos. 5 and 6 are for the enjoyment of the guests and the hard cash is taken over by the mother of the bride.

When the husband dies, his wife generally becomes the mistress of her brother-in-law. If there is no one to take her, she goes back to her own people. In the event of her second marriage, the widow gets nothing; but her father gets one spear and two gongs. If she has no father, the presents go to one of her brothers; if she has no brothers, the uncle of the widow takes the present.

As far as I have ascertained, the widow has no hold on the properties of her deceased husband. The properties, if any, are usually divided amongst the relatives of the husband, particularly the parents.

If a wife elopes with another man, the seducer has to give the husband the full set of presents given by him (husband) on his marriage. If the husband takes back his wife, the seducer has to give two gongs by way of compensation. If the man has nothing to give on the spot, grace is given to make good the compensation and in the event of his death, the liability extends to his descendants.

The man can marry as many wives as he likes and live with them in the same house.

As regards the amusements and the burial ceremony, my predecessor, U Tha Doe Aung, has given a full description of them in his report attached.

#### **PART IV.—The Ledus in the Atet-Wetchaung and Auk-Wetchaung Village-tracts, Minbya Township, by U Tha Doe Aung, Assistant Township Officer, Minbya.**

1. The people of these village-tracts state that they belong to the Ledu race.

2. They call their language "Ledu."

3. They intermarry with the Ledu race.

4. They have their relations only in the villages that are under the jurisdiction of the headmen of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung.

5. The men, in addition to any imported garments, have always a band of dark cloth (loin cloth) around the waist and between thighs just covering the sex-organs and whenever they have to cross a creek, they take off their clothes and swim across wearing the dark cloth. They put on earrings, some of which are white, round and shining and a little bigger than a silver coin, and some of the earrings are black in colour and as big as a copper coin; some of the Chins wear shining beads as earrings. Generally while the Chins are at work, they are almost naked. As for the women, they dress like an ordinary woman for the upper part, and for the lower part, their skirts reach to the knee. Some of the women who are over 30 years, if they are very poor, wear no dress for the upper part, when in their villages. As for the young girls, they wear shining beads of different colours around their necks.

6. There is no difference in the villages of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung Village-tracts, as regards tattooing, religious rights, sacrifice, marriage law, dancing, and amusements. All these are mentioned in a separate note.

7. There is no variation in the language in the villages of the headmen of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung.

**Tattooing.**—All the women in the two village-tracts of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung tattoo their faces between the ages of 12 and 15, *i.e.*, before their marriage. The tattooing of the faces in these two tracts is identical.

**Religious Rites and Sacrifice.**—The villagers in the two village-tracts of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung have no religious rites and sacrifices. They are Animists.

**Marriage.**—If a man wants to marry a woman, he has to pay the following dowry:—

1. One wild bull.

2. One white buffalo.

3. Seven gongs.

4. Five spears.

5. One pot of *khaung* and one pig.

6. Rupees thirty.

Numbers 1 to 4 are taken by the father of the bride who will give one gong to the uncle of the bride, *i.e.*, brother of the bride's mother and one gong to the eldest brother of the bride. No. 5 is meant for the entertainment of those who are present at the wedding, and No. 6 is taken by the mother of the bride.

When the husband dies, the widow can be taken either by any one of the brothers of the deceased, or, if none of them takes her as his wife, she can be taken either by any one of the husbands of the deceased's sisters. If no one wishes to accept her as his wife, she, the widow, can go back to her relatives. If any one mentioned above accepts her as his wife, he has to give only a spear and two gongs to the father of the widow, and if she has no father, they should be given to any one of her brothers, and if there is no brother, they should be given to the uncle of the widow.

As for the properties left by the deceased, the widow gets nothing. These are divided amongst the family of the deceased.

If a man elopes with the wife of another man, he must pay all the dowry to the husband of the woman with whom he has eloped, and she can stay with him as his wife; but if the husband of the woman does not want the dowry but wants his wife back, the man who eloped has to return the woman together with two gongs as compensation. If the man who eloped cannot pay the dowry or the compensation, they can be claimed from him afterwards or even from his descendants.

A man may marry as many wives as he wishes and these wives can be kept in the same house.



**Amusements.**—The villagers of the Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung Villagetracts hold festivals on three occasions and they are as follows :—

1. When a new house, such as a big bamboo house, whose posts are bundles of bamboos, or a house which is entirely built with "Thitkadoe" wood, or a long bamboo house whose length is 10 fathoms or a house called "Tha-li-ka" house, *i.e.*, a house consisting of many small windows, is built, a festival is held.
2. If anybody chooses, before he starts *laungya* cultivation, to hold a festival for the success of his crops, he should hold it soon after the crops are reaped.
3. *Weaving festival.*—About 10 or 15 looms are worked by women. They have to make thread from the cotton and they have to extend the thread lengthwise preparatory to weaving and then they weave. All these things have to be completed in a day. All these are done by women.

When these entertainments are held, they kill cattle or a pig and eat the flesh washed down with *khaung* and dance with shields and spears, while some of the party beat the drums and gongs.

**Death.**—When a person dies, his corpse is kept at his house for three days and the people enjoy drinking *khaung* and dancing with *kyipwe* (pestles—for pounding grain). The corpse is burnt and after that the bones are picked out by the relatives of the deceased for the purpose of sending them to a specified hill called "Ah-yo-taung." Feasting the villagers is carried out after 5 days, if the deceased is a woman or after 6 days if the deceased is a man.

## APPENDIX E.

### Naga Tribes and their Customs

BY THE LATE MR. T. P. DEWAR, O.B.E., BURMA FRONTIER SERVICE.

#### PART I.—A general description of Naga Tribes inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range.

These notes deal with the Nagas inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range, whose villages are established in those mountain systems lying roughly within the following bounds :— The Namhpuk Hka the Tanai Hka, the western edge of the Hukawng Valley and the inhabited ranges to the north of these limits up to the Patkoi Range. The whole of this area consists of lofty mountains and low hills, whose altitudes range from nine thousand to a few hundred feet above the plains. The chief range is the Sangpan Bum, which lies due east of the Namhpuk Hka and runs from north to south. It is round the southern base of this great mountain that the Namhpuk flows to join its parent stream the Tanai or Chindwin River. In the north the range breaks into two, one range connecting it with the Patkoi, and the other, running in an opposite direction, gradually breaks up into subsidiary spurs which cease at the Tarung Hka, one of the main tributaries of the Tanai River. The summits of this T are the sources of those streams, which divide the spurs and subsidiary ranges. The chief streams are the Tarum, Tawa, and Namyung. The beds of the valleys are very low, particularly in the vicinity of the Sangpan Bum, where often the drop from hill top to stream bed is as much as three thousand feet.

Except for large tracts to the west of the Sangpan Bum, where intensive "taungya" or hill cultivation, practised by successive generations of Naga tribesmen, has converted the once luxuriant big tree forest into long grass and stunted tree growth, the whole area is densely covered with tropical evergreen forest. Further to the west of the Namhpuk similar grass covered hills and mountains were visible, bearing evidence of the systematic hill cultivation practised by the Nagas to eke out an existence. This area west of the Namhpuk Hka is densely inhabited by the Naga Tribes, who have been cut off from expanding to the east by the lofty precipices and rocky ridges, which are a marked feature of the southern half of the Sangpan Range. The western mountains are unmapped and unexplored, and extend up to the Patkoi Range. The chief streams are the Namhkaio and Napcharing, tributaries of the Namhpuk, equally large if not larger than it. Such tribes as have crossed to the north and east have done so within the past three, four, or five generations.

At the higher altitudes the forests were of the same density as those in the lower hills, the place of many species of tropical trees being taken by oaks, a few stunted pines and a reed like bamboo. The boughs and boles of the bigger trees were covered with moss and festooned with lichen. Of flowering plants, the scarlet rhododendron, white primula, violets, orchids, and several species of the most beautiful red and purple berries grew along the paths.

At night heavy damp mists formed in the lower valleys, the higher ranges and the ridges being free, where the cold was sharp yet bracing and the atmosphere clear. Rarefied air, always so very trying to laden coolies, was experienced as low down as six thousand five hundred feet. The rainfall on the west of the Sangpan Bum appears to be considerably less than that on the east of the range, which in its turn is less than that which falls throughout the winter months over the low-lying Hukawng Valley. December, January and February are the finest months, in March the weather breaks up, and from April onwards the climatic conditions are practically the same as the monsoon. Over the open lands the rays of the sun are very powerful, even during the cold weather. The forests abound with several kinds of monkeys, sambur, barking deer, porcupine and wild pig, while leopards, tigers and bison are not uncommon. The rocky ridges and precipitous hill sides are the homes of the serow or wild goat. Of game birds there are several species of pigeons, the black pheasant, great peacock pheasant and jungle murgee (fowl). Ordinary bird life is plentiful, and gaudy butterflies were seen in large numbers. A bird named in vernacular "Ja wu," bird of gold, which from its description appears to be the beautiful Monal pheasant, is said to be found at certain spots on the Sangpan Range. Regarding this bird a curious story is attached. It is said that those who snare or kill it invariably die; such appears to have been the fate of those few persons who have taken its life in the past. The superstitious fears of the tribesmen have thus preserved this bird, which may be unknown to science. In the main streams the chief sporting fish taken were the black mahseer, barralus bola, and "chilwa."

At several places in the Naga Hills small Kachin settlements existed till quite a recent date, in fact at the time of writing a few households are living on the south-west of the Sangpan Bum in the Namhpuk Valley, also in the north in the Tarung Valley. The original history of how these Kachin families entered the Naga Hills is unknown. That they exercised considerable influence over the Nagas is abundantly proved in the present day by the descendants of the original families, who although they live outside the Naga Hills exercise a loose control over the Naga clans in their neighbourhood and also over several of the more distantly situated clans. It is probable that the Kachins in the zenith of their power pushed ahead into the wider and more favourable of the valleys, occupying the best sites, expecting an influx of their race which never came, and, being gradually surrounded by the Nagas, were cut off from returning and

were obliged to exercise such influence as they had acquired, craft and tact, to exist in their foreign surroundings. In the course of years, due to internal strife, the colonies gradually became weaker and weaker and eventually were obliged to leave the hills and return to their ancestral homes. Such is the history related of eight or nine households of Kachins, who, with their slaves, occupied a wide reach of the Namyung Valley above the confluence of its tributary, the Tahkam Hka. It is said that these Kachins quarrelled amongst themselves, the weaker having to leave the hills and seek refuge with relatives and friends, either in Assam or the Hukawng Valley. Eventually the few remaining households, distrusting the Nagas whose power was increasing, left the site fearing extermination. Early in the year 1926 a family of Kachins, called the "Laika Ni," living in the Namhpuk Valley, were attacked by their enemies the Htangan Nagas and, although they repulsed the attack with a certain degree of success, were obliged to return to the homes of their forefathers in the Muengyi country, south-east of the Hukawng Valley, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles.

With an illiterate race like the Nagas who have no written language and documents, on which dependency could be placed for their origin, we are dependent for the origin and migration of the clans on the statements of the tribal elders now living. Knowledge which has come down to them from their ancestors has been handed down from father to son through successive generations. The most distant date they go back to is about ten generations, a period roughly calculated at 250 years. Several of the clans maintain that they formerly lived in the Hukawng Valley, mentioning sites now occupied by the Kachins, and situated in that part of the Hukawng lying to the west of the Tarung Hka and north of the Tanai Hka. It is said that the exodus took place from these sites, two routes being mentioned, one up the Tarung Valley towards the Patkoi Range, and the other down the Tanai River, through its upper and lower gorges, and thence round the southern base of the Sangpan Bum into the Namhpuk Valley. The Hkalak Nagas declare that they occupied their present sites on leaving the Hukawng, but they appear to be the only exception, for the hills and mountains due east of the Sangpan Range have with few exceptions been occupied within the past three or four generations by the surplus Naga population from the Namhpuk clans, who give two main reasons for leaving the Namhpuk Valley. The first is that they were starving, the second that their enemies, the Htangans, were constantly attacking them. The Pangaw and Pyengoo Nagas, who reside in the hills lying north and east of the confluence of the Namhpuk and Tanai Rivers, were the first to leave their ancestral homes at the headwaters of the Namhpuk. They migrated about ten generations ago, occupying their present sites with the permission of the Kachins to whom, according to the Kachin tribal custom, they gave presents. The Pangaw Nagas have intermarried freely with the Kachins, and, but for a few households who in appearance, dress, habits and customs, are practically the same as Kachins, may in the present day be considered an extinct clan. The Pyengoo Nagas, chiefly the men, have almost entirely adopted the Kachin dress, but they still observe many of the habits and customs of their ancestors. The validity of their long residence in their present hills is amply proved by their appearance, the familiarity with which they speak the Kachin dialect, and the statements of their neighbours in the Dalu Valley, the Shans and Kachins. If further testimony of this exodus from the congested Namhpuk Valley is required, it may be obtained from some of those clans who in the present day occupy sites on both sides of the Sangpan Range. Those on the west still retain their national costume, whereas those on the east have borrowed articles of dress from their more civilised neighbours, the Kachins and Shans.

It is only in certain of the localities visited, such as the Namhpuk Valley and the northern hills, that the Nagas have permanent villages they generally move to suit the lands they cultivate, new villages being established when all cultivable land in the vicinity of a site has been worked out—a period which may extend from two to eight or more years. Probably the main reason for these shifting villages is that there are extensive lands to cultivate, and that the best results can be obtained by cultivating fresh lands annually. In the course of years, with an increased population, permanency in the occupation of sites is likely to follow. A "Nat" ceremony is invariably performed at the establishing of a village, but since these temporary villages are moved on sudden sickness appearing, not much importance is placed on this ceremony which is entirely dispensed with by some of the clans. The highest peaks are selected to build on, consequently very few villages were found sheltered in the valleys.

The sanitation of a Naga village is primitive in the extreme. At fenced-in villages the pigs are depended on to act as scavengers. The droppings from cattle and pigs are everywhere. The refuse from houses is thrown just outside where it remains to gradually fall to decay. The narrow rocky ridge, on which many villages are built, is generally the main street. Houses, however, are not erected with any order or system, and are jotted down where and how it may please the owners to build them. Building material is plentiful in the neighbouring forests, except at some of the villages in the Namhpuk Valley where bamboos are scarce and have to be brought from long distances. In such treeless tracts houses are thatched with long rush-like grass, which grows abundantly where once evergreen forest existed. Paddy granaries are erected on the outskirts of most villages, and are used for the storing of valuables such as gongs, *dahs*, spare axes, etc. In the southern villages, east of the Sangpan Range, very frequently the granaries are built hidden away in the forest, close to the hill cultivation, and are subject to depredations by monkeys. Periodical visits are paid to such granaries, paddy and other edibles being removed sufficient for the requirements of the household for a stated time. The grain is made into loads, securely packed and bound before being placed in the granary, in order that it may be moved and hidden elsewhere should occasion arise.

The chief animals kept by the Nagas are cattle, buffaloes, pigs and goats, and, in certain villages, *mithun*. An old bull *mithun* fetches from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120. The buffaloes are short and sturdy and do not compare favourably with the animal from the plains. No use is made of any of these animals

which are kept solely for the purpose of offerings to the spirits worshipped by the tribesmen. Each family generally keeps a few fowls but no ducks were seen throughout the area visited.

In the Nampuk Valley certain villages subject to attack from the west Nampuk Naga

#### Fortified Villages.

Tribes have defences erected round them. Perhaps they do not envelop the whole village perimeter, the Naga considering a steep hill side or low wall of natural rock sufficient protection against attack. Such features are by no means uncommon, as the village site is carefully selected as a stronghold and is generally built on a rocky or shaly knife-like ridge or cone-shaped peak. The defences although not very stable are kept in a good state of repair. Where easy of approach a low wall of rock is built and above it is erected a palisade of stout stakes interlaced with rushes, brushwood, and spiced bamboos, the latter have their ends sharpened with the points sticking outwards. Such defences may be still further strengthened by a shallow trench on the outside, and inside the defences for several yards branches of trees up to four feet high are irregularly planted with all their offshoots pointed and sharpened. This second internal defence barrier needs to be carefully negotiated during the hours of darkness. The gateways are narrow and high with roughly hewn wooden doors of substantial thickness revolving on simple primitive hinges. At the sides and above the gateways especial care is taken to strengthen the defences as much as possible. On the inner sides the doors have two protuberant knobs carved from the natural block; these are bored, and, when closed for the night, a stout bar passed through the holes in the protuberances effectively secures the doors against being opened for a stealthy ingress. The village precincts are kept thoroughly cleared of undergrowth and scrub, all trees left standing have their lower branches lopped off up to a height of from twenty to twenty-five feet above the ground; thus the bole of the tree is kept clear and allows no cover for a skulking foe. A central house is invariably used as a lookout, and from it the various approaches to the village are visible. The village paths in the vicinity are highly planted with bamboo "panjis" (stakes), and on these tribesmen are mainly dependent against a sudden night attack.

Except it be in the more permanent villages the Naga does not seek for either durability

#### Naga Houses.

or comfort in the construction of his house. Saplings and bamboos are used for house posts and crossbeams, walls and floors are made from split bamboo and, being so badly put together, afford no protection against the elements. The roof is either of thatch, palm leaf, or the leaf used by the Kachins and known as "shingwe lap," according to the produce most easily obtained in the neighbourhood. In the south houses are small and fragile, consisting of one room with two entrances, one in front and the other at the back, and are built on piles three to four feet above the ground. In the northern villages the houses are larger and more stable in structure, with stouter house posts. One-half of the house length from front to back is divided into compartments, from three to six or more according to the number of families in residence. The other half is an open verandah or enclosed with bamboo walls, all rooms opening on to it. There are no windows, and but two entrances, the front and back. In each room a family lives. The fire place is in the centre of the room, a few logs are always kept burning or smouldering, and round these crouch those members of the family engaged in cooking meals or other indoor occupations. Even on the brightest day the interior of the house has a dull and gloomy appearance rarely free from acrid smoke. The long room or verandah has shelves for implements of husbandry, with other articles hanging from the roof. In this room many of the women pound the paddy in the wooden mortars raised a few feet above the floor. Others use the front porch, here also the mortar is raised well above the ground to suit the floor of the house on which the women stand when pounding the paddy. The reason given for not pounding the paddy on the ground is that it is very cold. These houses are also built on piles, which are of various lengths to suit the slopes of the hill sides or ridges on which they are built. All these houses have porches of varying depths to suit the size of the house. It is in this porch that the men sit near an open fire, either talking, consuming opium, or working on making ropes, fashioning *dah* handles, etc. The Naga is not too hospitable to his guests, and considers he has done sufficient for his visitors' comfort by permitting them to occupy this porch during the period of their visit. The porch is also used for storing baskets, etc., and it is here that the horns of animals offered at sacrifices or killed in the forest are hung from the roof or affixed to the house posts. Too often the front stair is but a notched tree trunk. A "nat" ceremony is held at the building of a new house, but this custom is not observed by all Naga clans. When the head of a family dies the room is vacated and the fireplace removed, the widow and children, if any living, go elsewhere.

The Nagas are animists or spirit worshippers; the chief spirits feared are: 'Mu' (the heavens), 'Ga' (the earth), 'Bum' (the mountains) and 'Sawn' or 'Jawn' (the "nat" of Hades), said to have power

#### Religion.

over life and death. To such spirits altars are erected either at village sites, at lonely places along the side of roads, at the entrances to villages, or at the crossings of high unfrequented passes. The altars are frail in structure and being uncared for after the sacrifice to the spirit has been made soon fall to pieces. It is, however, to be noted that at some remote pass the altar site is maintained, some passing traveller erecting a new altar by the side of the old one, so that frequently one sees at such places several altars in various stages of ruin. The spirit of the mountain is generally appeased by the traveller placing an egg as an offering on the altar, while, more often than not, a twig plucked *en route* suffices. In many of the villages there is a "nat" house at which the community sacrifice to the communal spirits. Some clans hold these communal sacrifices at fixed times during the year and other clans only when occasion arises, such as once in two or more years. In villages where there are no "nat" houses the communal sacrifices are held at some recognised house or particular spot in the village. These "nat" ceremonies are held to ward off and cure sickness or disease, for a fruitful harvest, welfare of the village cattle, pigs, etc. The animals sacrificed vary amongst

the different clans, some sacrifice only cattle, pigs and fowls, others include buffaloes, dogs and goats. At a deserted village site a "phallic" worship stone, planted three to four generations ago, was seen. It was said that the offering used to purify houses in the village, at which women had died at child birth, was placed before the stone to fall to decay.

The Nagas are dependent almost solely on the success of the crops they cultivate for their subsistence, and, being a superstitious and uncivilised race, make sacrifices to the spirits they worship for a plentiful harvest.

At these "nat" sacrifices, which are held at fixed periods, they strive to appease the spirits with the blood of animals in the hope that the land will be blessed and be fruitful. They also recognise the necessity of a sacrifice after or about the time of the harvest as a thank-offering for the fruits of the land. The most propitious times at which these ceremonies are held are as follows:—At the annual clearing or cutting of the hill cultivation, at the time of preparing the land or just before sowing the grain, again after sowing or when the grain is sprouting, and later when the crops are about a foot high, or just prior to the forming of the ears of grain, or at the reaping of the harvest, or after its gathering, winnowing, etc. In some clans these are communal sacrifices, in others partly communal and partly independently done by each household or house-owner. At some of these ceremonies which last three days there is general rejoicing, when the village community indulges in feasting, drinking, and dancing. At other ceremonies which last a day or so, only the spirits are appeased, and liquor drunk. There is no rejoicing. Opium, a recognised necessity, is consumed at all these ceremonies. The Longri clan spend a month or more rejoicing every year after the hill cultivation has been cut. It is their custom for each house-owner to appease the spirits independently and to hold a feast to which all the villagers are invited. The next day is observed for rest, and on the third day another house-owner makes a sacrifice and gives a feast. This procedure is carried on till every house-owner in the village has made a sacrifice and held a feast. It is said that throughout this period no work of any sort is undertaken. Rather a curious sacrifice is held by the Mawshang Nagas. It is said that, when a tribesman acquires wealth, he entertains his relatives and connections by giving them a big feast at which he provides all the animals for sacrifice, accepting no assistance from others.

To perform their religious ceremonies and approach the numerous spirits, which they worship, in the orthodox manner the Naga makes use of Diviners, Praying Priests and Mediums. Some clans have no

Mediums and employ only Diviners and Praying Priests. The Diviner's business is to discover the correct offering which will appease the offended spirit and remove the primary cause of the sickness, ill-health, etc. For his art he makes use of a species of bamboo or leaf, as is done by his neighbour, the Kachin. The Praying Priest supplicates the offended spirit and blesses the offering before it is sacrificed in order that it may be found acceptable. The Diviner may receive no payment for his services, the Praying Priest generally receiving the hind leg of a buffalo at a big "nat" ceremony. The Mediums claim to possess the power of metempsychosis during the period of their temporary trance, when they enter the form of a tiger and discover what is taking place at long distances. For these services they receive a small present in money or in kind. It is said that the proof of these supernatural claims is exemplified in the tiger's foot-print which has five distinct toe impressions exclusive of the pad of the foot, the ordinary foot-print having but four. Such belief is not uncommon amongst the Kachins as well.

In general features the Naga resembles the Kachin of the neighbouring tracts. He is more of the Aryan type, the features being pronounced, the nose longish and in many cases inclined to be aquiline.

Physically he is built on a slimmer mould and in stature there is not much to choose between the two races. In cases where he still wears the tribal costume, the waist is contracted from earliest youth, with the result that the abdomen is frequently pushed upwards, and gives the body an unnatural bulge over the waist band.

The women are much shorter than Kachin women, have a stouter build, are well developed, and over a great part of the country are decidedly fairer with regular pronounced features. The hair is inclined to be wavy, very dark brown or blackish, with a decidedly reddish tinge easily distinguishable in certain lights. The scalp is well covered and even in advanced years there does not appear to be any tendency towards baldness, although the growth may become scanty. Over large areas both men and women wear their hair long; in some clans the women shave the poll, and the men wear a short crop. In the Namhpuk Valley the head dress of the males may briefly be described as follows:—

The head is shaved to about an inch above the ears and round the back of the skull. The front part of the remaining tuft is allowed to fall as a fringe, the back is kept much longer, is twisted into a bun and twined round a bone ornament, which rests across the nape of the neck. The bun is frequently further decorated with a strip of red cloth or goat's hair dyed red. Some of the women part their hair in the centre but do not plait it and in the remoter villages the hair is allowed to fall in matted unkempt locks. The eye is generally a very dark brown, but the shape varies. Some Nagas have large roundish eyes with the lids well opened and the eye-lashes long, in others the eye is narrow and the inner corner almost covered by the Mongolian fold, the eye-lashes being scanty. Little hair is grown on the face and such males as cultivated a beard had a very scraggy growth.

A very large percentage of the men in the villages nearer to civilization and along the route to Assam have adopted the style of dress worn by their immediate neighbours, such as the Shans and Kachins, and may briefly be described as follows:—

A tartan waist cloth, a jacket or shirt, white or coloured, sometimes both, a striped "gaung baung" or turban, and the "hkamauk" (Shan hat).

In the northern villages frequently a heterogeneous collection of garments, borrowed from both the west and east of the Patkoi Range, is worn. A large white puggaree tied in the Indian fashion still further enhanced the incongruity of this adopted dress. The "gyi" string is worn in the remoter villages, and the person of the

male, when resting on a cold day, is enveloped in a cotton blanket. These blankets, generally black, dark blue, or a dirty white, rarely striped, are coarse in texture and are woven by the Naga women. The blankets are sometimes decorated with cowrie shells stitched on to form a border or cross lines over the surface on one side. Frequently a jacket or shirt is substituted for the blanket. The "gaung baung" is worn by some, entirely discarded by others, and very often its place is taken by the Naga helmet, or the "hkamauk." A rectangular piece of cloth, about a foot long and four to six inches wide and of the same coarse material and colouring as the blanket cloth, is worn suspended from the "gyi" string waist band and falling immediately in front of it. This sporran-like garment is known in the vernacular as a "shingup." On festivals and gala days the "shingup" may be adorned with a highly polished small brass gong, worn over the generative organs. The protuberance in the centre of the gong is pointed and hollow, and from it may stick out a tuft of coloured goat's hair, generally red, or may be suspended a few blue beads. On such special occasions may also be worn, the front entirely covered with cowrie shells, a "shingup" of coarse material.

Like the men in the villages nearer to civilizing influences the Naga woman has borrowed a few articles of dress from her neighbours, the Kachins. Chief of these is a gaudy strip of cloth or tartan, wound carelessly round the head to represent a turban, and the Kachin "ningwawt" or breast covering, a piece of cloth about eighteen inches wide, wrapped round the body and neatly tucked in over the bosoms. Those of the women in the habit of visiting the Shan and Kachin villages in their immediate neighbourhood have also taken to wearing the Burmese "aingyi" or jacket: such women, however, are considerably in the minority. The woman's skirt is two narrow pieces of coarsely woven and very durable cloth, stitched roughly together to form a width of about sixteen inches and of sufficient length to just go round the hips and allow a few inches of overlap. This garment is affixed at the top end by one or more safety pins, but where these are not available sharpened bamboo pins hardened in fire, or large jungle thorns, are substituted. The split of the skirt is on either side and slightly to the front. In different parts of the hills the colouring of the skirt changes. In the northern hills it is of a greenish hue with narrow red, blue, and white stripes, while in the central villages very dark blue, black, or once white skirts are worn. Amongst the southern villages on the eastern side of the Sangpan Bum, a more elaborate skirt is worn. The outer side is raised like hockaback, with a distinct pattern of greys and blacks, or it may be of one uniform blackish colour, relieved with orange and green stitches, worked on to it by hand at distant intervals. Amongst many of the clans no clothing is worn above the waist. When resting or on cold windy days, the women envelop themselves in a coarse cotton blanket similar to that used by the men. The blanket is generally discarded when performing outdoor pursuits or travelling between villages. In all the northern villages two broad pieces of cloth, suspended from the shoulders or neck and falling to within a few inches of the knees, are also worn. These are generally of the same material and colour as the skirt and are often decorated with brightly coloured strips of cloth stitched on to the surface at regular intervals, or are still further beautified by having the lower edges hung with similar strips of cloth or coloured cords. In addition to this chemise-like garment, the women often wrap round their bodies large cotton blankets.

Children up to the ages of eight or ten go about naked, or with only a strip of cloth worn round the loins. In the more distant villages, until maidenhood is reached, the bigger girls cover themselves with a blanket. It is said that the older boys do not wear the "shingup" and "gyi" string until they have attained puberty.

Both men and women wear necklaces. Those worn by the women consist of long strings of large beads, blue, yellow and white being the three colours most favoured. The women also wear a necklace of finely woven cane strips, into which are worked small glass beads of various colours; a similar necklace to this is worn by the men and fits the neck loosely. A hollow brass moulded necklace, which has along its front effigies representing the human skull, gongs and knobs, stiffly sticking out from it on slender bars, is much favoured by the males. It is said that the representation of the human skull is not emblematical of victims of raids, heads taken in war, etc., but solely for the sake of beauty and decoration. These effigies are also worn by the men suspended from a close fitting necklace of the large blue beads strung on coarse cord.

A cheap and neatly finished ring made from strips of cane of various widths and coloured red, black, and yellow, is worn by both men and women below the knee and above the calves. Black is the colour most favoured. Not many rings are worn and some people have them on one leg only. A more substantial ring also made from cane, to which small cowrie shells are affixed, appears to be exclusive to the males. Some of the women also wear large numbers of these rings round the hips just above the skirt line. Not meant to support the skirt they fit the body loosely. In the Namhpuk Valley at Sanka Village a man was seen wearing about fifteen black cane rings round his waist. These rings were about a half-inch wide and a quarter-inch thick.

In a few clans the women wear two narrow circular welded coils of brass, about three inches in diameter. Amongst such women, due to years of constant use, the ear lobe becomes deformed and is dragged down several inches, the ornament eventually resting on the chest above the bosoms. Perhaps the commonest ear-ring favoured by the men in certain localities is made of brass, similar to the cog-wheel of a clock, but considerably exaggerated. The body of the wheel fits into the bored ear lobe, the hole often being large enough to admit a tube half an inch in diameter. A piece of brass wire, coiled at one end like a watch spring, or formed into a circle with a few beads strung on it, or even the bone of an animal, or a tuft of dyed goat's hair is used to ornament the ear. Such ear ornaments are common to both men and women. In addition to the ear-ring suspended from the ear lobe, men still further decorate the ear by wearing a second ear-ring at the top.

The women wear both arinlets and wristlets of brass and of some whitish metal which resembles aluminium in colour. The wristlets worn by the men are generally of brass, but neither as heavy nor as large as those worn by the women. A narrow band, woven from the hairs of the tails of the pigs offered at sacrifices, is also worn by both men and women. In several clans these hair wristlets are symbolical that the wearers are married. They are also worn by many as charms to ensure good health. In one locality some men wear a few red cane rings round the wrists.

**Arinlets and Wristlets.** Tattooing of the body is not practised to any great extent. No tattooed women were noticed. Some of the men were tattooed with five parallel lines from the angle of the chin, downwards on either side of the neck. The upper body is tattooed with lines down the front and sides of the chest, abruptly halting at the waistband where the marks are more conspicuous than elsewhere. On the legs the only marks seen were coils, which looked like representations of snakes. The tattooing is done in early manhood; no tattooed male children were noticed.

**Tattooing.** In many of the villages in the Namhpuk Valley, the tribesmen live in constant terror of attack from their enemies, the Htangan Nagas. All the village pigs, cattle, etc., enter and sleep within the defences at night. A watch is kept, the fighting men sleep with their arms by their sides ready for immediate action. Travelling after sundown is rarely undertaken and then only in a large party. No one leaves the village defences in the morning until the sun is well in the heavens; there is always fear of a lurking foe. The cultivation of the lands and hewing of wood is performed by parties sufficiently large for some member to detect an enemy in the vicinity. On the least alarm being raised such parties return to the village defences with as great haste and little delay as possible.

**Fear of attack from the Htangan Nagas.** On the war path the Naga depends chiefly on surprise for a successful issue. When in large numbers he may attack in massed formation discarding all precaution and coming boldly forward. On arrival at close quarters the spear is cast and, should it take effect, the attacker rushes on his enemy and kills him with the *dah*. An attack is of very short duration and over almost as soon as it has begun. The shield is held in front of the body, slightly to the left, and struck against the left knee from time to time with a sharp tap, while the brave hops and prances, at the same time shouting execrations and yelling defiance to distract his foe. While retiring he rapidly plants bamboo "panjis" (stakes) in the ground in the hope that an attacker rushing carelessly forward may be spiked and go lame. Attacks on villages generally take place in the quiet hours of the night or a few hours before dawn, in order to give the attackers an opportunity of gaining safe territory before a pursuit can be organised. To lie in wait at some lonely part of a road, first spear and then kill travellers, be they men, women, or children, is a method frequently resorted to in the southern Namhpuk villages. When a party is on the warpath, the main body generally lies up in some lonely spot, a few scouts going out to spy out the land and later bring in information on which the attack is carried out.

**Method of Fighting.** At certain of the fortified villages west of the Sangpan Range, where the tribesmen live in constant dread of attack from their enemies, a hollowed-out trunk of a tree is generally placed on the ground at some central spot in the village. The one at Kawlun is about twenty-five feet long and three feet in diameter. The victory is celebrated as follows:—The braves line up on either side of the drum holding in their hands wooden stakes or paddy pounders. With these they pound the drum together, with regular uniform strokes at the same time chanting their song of victory and shouting loudly. It is said that the sound carries very far, from five to six miles, and can be heard in the enemy villages across the Namhpuk Valley.

**War Drum.** The tribal headdress of the Naga male is a cone-shaped helmet, still worn in those remoter villages where the tribesmen have not been influenced by their more civilized neighbours living in the plains. The foundation of the helmet is made from cane strips about a quarter of an inch in width. Except for two triangular shaped patches on the sides, the whole is covered by finely woven cane mats dyed red, with a pattern in yellow ochre picked out in front and behind. Similarly on the side mats small circles are picked out at regular intervals. A narrow binding with yellow cane strips disguises the junction of the mats and gives the helmet the appearance of being covered by an unbroken surface. The helmet is ornamented with the tushes of the wild boar both in front and behind, a feather or two from the tail of the great hornbill, falcon, or drongo, and sometimes a strip from the pelt of a bear, a few inches wide, stretched across the top of the helmet from side to side. A similar decoration, made from goat's hair and dyed red, is also used. Other decorations are flat circular pieces of brass, three to four inches in diameter, polished, and affixed to the sides of the helmet. One man had these brass plates in the shape of an old English battle-axe. The headman of one village still further decorated his helmet with the scalp hairs of two of his enemies, who he said had killed one of his sons. Some hats are made of hide, fit the head more closely, and resemble a Roman helmet. Some wear a chin strap of woven cane or string, and all helmets have a loop of woven cane at the top for carrying in the hand, or hanging up in the house when not in use. The hats worn by the braves are of interwoven cane, and fit the head more closely like a skull cap. They are not dyed or coloured, and are adorned like the helmets, including the scalp hairs from the head of some previously killed enemy.

**Naga Helmet.** Over a large part of the area visited the Naga has adopted the *dah* and scabbard of the Kachin. The tribal *dah* resembles the Kachin pattern but is not so long, and is worn by a belt round the waist along the back with the handle protruding over one or other of the shoulders, and always ready for immediate use and the downward cut. The scabbard is a flat piece of wood, about ten inches long and five inches wide. The *dah* slips into a depression carved out of the block and is kept in position by narrow strips of brass or steel let in crosswise above the depression. On

either side of the depression and at the foot, the scabbard is decorated with fine strips of brass hammered into the wood. The sides are generally carved with some simple pattern, such as lines and zig-zags. The waist band may be of hide, or closely interwoven cane, or finely woven cane strands dyed red. On either side of the scabbard are affixed either part of the tine taken from a sambar's antler, or serow horns, or imitations of these carved from wood. One end of the *dah* belt is permanently affixed to the horn or tine, the other is looped and slipped over the second horn or tine, when the *dah* is worn. The *dah* handle is of plain wood or bamboo and is rarely ornamented, though often bound with fine strips of cane or a band of steel. A very much larger *dah*, with a longer handle, is said to be used by warriors and on feast days; there is no scabbard, it is carried in the hand. *Dahs* are manufactured chiefly by the Risa and Rangsa Nagas; the blacksmiths sometimes decorate the blades with a simple pattern hammered on to it when forging the iron.

There are not many guns, and those seen were chiefly flintlocks. The large crossbow with poisoned arrows is not known in the country visited; it is said to be used by the western Naga Tribes living across the Namhpok Hka. The feathered spear is manufactured by the western Naga Tribes though here and there in the villages visited men may be found who have learnt the art from their neighbours. These spears are given as gifts at marriages, used on ceremonial occasions, and when paying visits of importance. A similar spear, without the feathers, is used to spear cattle offered at sacrifices, etc. One, two, or even three lighter spears are carried by the braves on the war path; they can be thrown up to thirty yards on the flat, but considerably further downhill. A small crossbow is often used to shoot birds. The shield is of tough hide, about three feet long and two feet wide, with handles about midway on the inside. To these handles are attached quivers which hold bamboo "panjis" (stakes), or the "panji" quivers may be suspended from the waist belt. The "panji" is about twelve inches long, made of bamboo, with both ends sharpened; it is hardened by scorching with fire. To the *dah* belt hangs an open-work bamboo basket, which is worn during a raid or when resisting an attack.

The ginning, spinning and weaving is done by the Naga women, who use crude and primitive appliances. The resulting cloth, although rough, is very strong and lasts for years. The dyes are obtained from jungle herbs and roots. The men weave hand fishing nets, snares, etc.; the twine used is made from the fibres of the Lakwi (Kachin) tree, and is pliant, strong and durable. Over the central area the forging of *dahs* is a well known industry. Spearheads and shafts are made at all villages where there is a blacksmith.

The brass ornaments, referred to elsewhere, are manufactured at Hkamla, a distant Naga village west of the Namhpok River. The chief trade is with the low lying Shan and Kachin villages, where *dahs*, fishing nets, and Indian corn wrappings (*kawpa lap*) used in the manufacture of cigars, are brought down by the Naga tribes from distant villages to be bartered for salt, ready cash, or other commodities. Amongst themselves the Nagas chiefly trade in paddy which is exchanged for ornaments and beads.

Throughout the area the tribesmen practise "taungya" or hill-cultivation only. These lands may be cultivated two or more years in succession according to the fertility of the soil. Generally a fresh cultivation is cut every year, but where an old one is cultivated for the second year in succession, the new cultivation is cut over smaller limits merely to supplement the produce from the old held. The hill-clearings are generally within a few miles of the village. Daily visits are made to the fields for the purpose of protecting the crops from destruction by wild animals. When the paddy is ripening, in many areas, monkeys are very troublesome, the fields being watched night and day. No cultivations are cut higher than an altitude of 6,000 feet. After the jungle is cut it is allowed to dry and then burnt, the ashes so formed being worked into the ground to fertilise the soil. The chief crops grown are paddy, maize, beans, yams, red and white pumpkins, and cotton. The poppy is also cultivated chiefly in the vicinity of the villages and in between the house sites, within securely fenced-in areas. Amongst some of the clans precedence is given to the headman's fields, which are sown and reaped first. Some clans cut all the fields in one place, others split into groups, and yet others clear lands where they please. In congested areas families have recognised fields which they work in rotation. The limits of these areas are bounded by natural features, such as minor watercourses, subsidiary ridges, rocks, etc. Disputes over lands are settled by the headman and village elders, according to the customs of the clans concerned.

Throughout the area the custom is for the several clans to clear and maintain annually only those roads which lead to the hill-cultivation. As the hill-cultivation sites change almost annually, new paths have to be made, or where old fields are being re-cultivated after a rest of several years to give the jungle an opportunity to grow, an old path is but cleared and renovated. In the course of years the hill sides and minor ridges are interlaced with overgrown footpaths, needing but to be cleared. Thus this customary duty does not fall hard on the tribesmen. Inter-village roads are never cleared and consequently the worst part of a path connecting two villages will be found on either side of the recognised boundary between the two places.

The habit of only preparing the road to the hill-cultivations has led to the adoption of a linear measure used frequently by the tribesmen, it is:—One hill-cultivation distant, "Yi lam mi," in Kachin. From what has already been written, it is clear that no reliance can be placed on this measure of distance which may be anything from a few furlongs to two or more miles.

Throughout the area visited the Naga marries at an early age, the men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, and the women between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Prior to marriage there is invariably familiarity between the sexes, and for this purpose separate houses are set apart at most



villages, frequented nightly by the young people. In the larger villages there may be two or more houses for each of the sexes. These houses are also utilised to perform indoor occupations, for it is here that the young women gin, spin and weave, while the men fashion *dah* handles and scabbards, make snares, and weave fishing nets. The men visit the maiden's hut during the night where the young couples spend the time talking, working and making love to each other. The lovers also meet in some widow's house or granary, or while the women are pounding the paddy, or while performing outdoor pursuits. Amongst some of the clans, such as the Rasa and Kumga Nagas, once a woman has been promised to a man, the couple sleep at the same fireplace as the girl's parents and her younger brothers and sisters; the house is a large room with one fireplace only, at which the entire family sleep. One of the headmen when referring to this custom declared: "We Nagas know no shame," and another said that any remonstrance by the girl's parents is met by the couple replying: "When you were young you did the same." Amongst other clans it is considered shameful to make love in the presence of a relative of the opposite sex, and, to avoid this happening in the larger villages, several huts for the sexes are built. At a Ranu village in the Namhpuk Valley established on an exposed conical peak at an altitude of over 6,000 feet, where the cold was intense, the maiden's hut was a hole in the ground, eighteen feet long, fifteen feet wide, and five feet deep, a dome shaped roof of branches, twigs and clods of earth making it water-tight, snug, and warm. The entrance, a small opening on one side, had a direct drop to the floor. The furniture consisted of a few roughly hewn planks, of an average width of one foot six inches, raised on trestles a couple of feet above the ground. The young people meet at this rendezvous after dark and disperse before dawn. There appears to be no marriage ceremony, the custom is for agents to go on behalf of the man and ask for the bride, she comes to the bridegroom's house the same day and a feast is then held, after which the couple live together as husband and wife. Amongst some clans wristlets are woven from the tail hairs of the pigs killed for the marriage feast and worn by the newly married, or the tail hairs may be suspended from a wristlet woven from the fibres of the Lakwe (Kachin) tree. It is said that amongst the Longkai and Mawshang Nagas, the newly married, should they not have known each other before marriage, very often after union live for months under the same roof without either talking to each other or sleeping together. But for one exception of Htangan Nagas living at the south-eastern base of the Sangpan Range, dowry is always delivered, either before, at the time of, or after union; or partly before and partly after union. In some clans there is a fixed scale, amongst others it varies according to the social standing or beauty of the bride, while some clans have adopted the Kachin custom of giving dowry throughout life. The Pyengoo Nagas give dowry once only amounting to three buffaloes, the bridegroom may help his wife's people by assisting at the annual clearing of the hill-cultivation for one or more years before marriage, and occasionally even after marriage.

With the Punlum clan a cotton blanket, as worn by the tribesmen, ornamented with a large number of cowrie shells, four or five pigs and some fowls are considered sufficient dowry. With the Rasa Nagas no dowry is delivered until the children from the union have grown up, when they give as many as three buffaloes to their mother's relatives. The only time amongst this clan when a man pays dowry is when the woman is barren; he then delivers a cow or its value. The Hkalak Nagas have adopted the Kachin custom, and in addition the bridegroom presents his wife's elder sisters with Rs. 10, and her younger sisters with Re. 1; should there be no sisters the money is given to the parents. Some of the other clans have adopted a similar custom substituting small presents for money.

Generally with the agents sent to ask for the bride presents and opium are sent; should the marriage offer be declined by the woman's relatives, then the man has to bear the loss of the gifts sent, invariably opium consumed at the time of the agent's visit or money spent in purchasing liquor. The Saukrang clan, however, reverse this custom, claiming a debt amounting to twice the gift sent by the agent when the parents refuse to give their daughter in marriage. The Tulim clan deliver dowry to the third generation for their brides, their neighbours the Longri clan varying the custom by delivering dowry of one kind at the birth of each child in the family descended from the union, unto the third generation. A custom which cripples those families where sons only are the result of the union. The Sangche clan, who give a fixed dowry for their brides, are obliged to give part of the dowry delivered for their daughters to their wife's relatives. Here also the custom hits those families hard where daughters prevail, as no assistance appears to be given by the wife's relatives when dowry is given for a bride for a son in the family. Amongst the Mawrang Nagas, where the scale of dowry is on the exorbitant side like that of the Tulim Nagas, very often a poor tribesman, unable to satisfy the claims for dowry, makes over a marriageable daughter to his wife's people, who give her in marriage and accept the dowry delivered for her in settlement of that due for her mother. These Nagas refer to their women folk as being of great value.

The Nagas marry with certain recognised families, thus reviving every second or third generation connection by marriage originally established by their ancestors, any breaking-away from this custom leading to a debt case with the family from whom the bride should have been asked. After marriage the newly married may build their own house, or occupy a separate room in the house, setting up an establishment independent of their parents.

Polygamy is practised only by the Pyengoo, Kuku and Myimu Nagas, who generally have two wives, very rarely three. Amongst the Lakai Nagas

#### Polygamy, Divorce and Widowhood.

polygamy is extended to the headmen, but denied the tribesmen, this curious distinction and perquisite of office has come down to them from their ancestors. Its origin is unknown. Some of the clans allow a married man to "collect" the widow of a deceased relative; she is not regarded as a second wife.

Divorce is recognised and permitted for various causes. In some clans a change of affection suffices provided the fickle one is willing to pay the other compensation amounting to a fixed scale. In other clans it is permitted but is not obligatory for the offence of adultery only, and with still others no divorce is allowed no matter how grave the offence may be.

Amongst the Htanghkaw and Macham Nagas, where after marriage there is a change of affections, the party seeking divorce gives the other a small gift. For instance, a woman desiring to divorce her husband gives him a spear and a *dak*, and should the man wish to divorce his wife, he gives her a pair of bracelets. The Hkangchu Nagas have a similar custom but with them the compensation to be paid amounts to fifty rupees. The Tulim and Longri Nagas only divorce their wives after adultery has taken place, and the co-respondent, if unable to pay the heavy damages recognised for this offence, is killed. Regarding the custom governing an unfaithful husband's conduct the tribesmen are silent. Amongst the Sangche, Langshin and Myimn Nagas either party may divorce the other for the offence of adultery. When the husband is unfaithful and is divorced by his wife, he has to suffer the loss of all the dowry he has delivered for her. When the wife is at fault and is divorced by her husband, the dowry he has given must be returned in full.

Widows are generally taken to wife by a near relative of the deceased husband, with some clans it is immaterial whether the man doing so is married or unmarried, with others only an unmarried relative of the deceased husband may take the widow to wife. The custom of the Longri clan is unique, for only a widower, a relative of the deceased husband, may take the widow to wife, and where there is no such widower relative she is compelled to remain single. Where no relative takes the widow some clans maintain that she must remain single, others hold that her relatives may give her in marriage elsewhere and accept further dowry for her. A few clans declare that any man can enter and live with a widow, who has not been collected by a relative and is obliged to live alone provided he acts towards her as a husband should. The custom amongst the majority of the clans regarding misconduct with a widow who has not been taken to wife by a husband's relatives, is that it is an offence, the debt incurred being appeased by varying scales of compensation, the greatest being that in which the full dowry given for the woman has to be returned *plus* one extra kind, the least being some small amount. The widow is generally collected by a husband's relative within a few months after she has become a widow, the time however may be extended.

Amongst the Nagas where familiarity between the sexes is recognised before marriage, the birth of illegitimate children is a common occurrence. **Birth of Illegitimate Children and Adultery.** The general rule is for a union of the parties in such cases, but here also there are exceptions which vary according to the customs of the clans concerned. Where union is not obligatory, a stigma generally rests with the woman who is the mother of an illegitimate child. In such cases a debt is claimed, the scale of damages varying with the clans to which the parties belong. Generally the damages to be delivered are of one, two, three or more kinds, custody of the child invariably remaining with the mother, and only being handed over to the father on payment of further compensation. With the Kunga Nagas the sum to be paid is extremely small, only Rs. 2, this however gives the man no claim on his offspring, which, should he desire, can only be attained by payment of a further sum of Rs. 20. Amongst the Risa and Hkangchu Nagas no debt is claimed, if after the birth of the child the parties do not care for each other; they merely separate, the woman returning to her parent's home taking the child with her. Where one of the parties still cares for the other, and that person's feelings are not reciprocated, the other party has to deliver compensation, which may amount to Rs. 100, according to the social status of the person jilted. It is thus obvious that inconstancy is not favoured by these clans, who consider it deserving of, to them, quite a severe punishment. In some clans where by the payment of certain compensation the father attains custody of his child, which being too young to be parted from its mother, has to remain with her, he is obliged to pay her extra for nourishing and tending it until the child is old enough to be weaned and come to him. When the mother of an illegitimate child gets married at a later date, should the father not have taken custody, the child does not necessarily follow its mother to her new home; it invariably remains with the woman's relatives. Pregnancy before union is always a time of grave anxiety on the part of the two concerned. Amongst some clans the man builds a hut for his mistress and cares for her until the child is born, in other clans the child is born in the house set apart for the unmarried women. Death at childbirth is always greatly feared by the man as it necessitates the payment of very heavy compensation to the woman's parents or relatives. In some cases the house has to be purified, and invariably the man has to arrange for the burial and pay all the funeral expenses. It sometimes happens that the man accused by the woman denies all liability, and unless she can prove him to be the father of her unborn child before her death, the responsibility for her burial rests on the community, who are obliged to make the necessary arrangements and bear the consequent expenses.

Adultery is always punishable, and as with other offences the scale of compensation varies with the clans. In most clans the co-respondent is held to blame and has to pay the compensation fixed for the offence. Amongst the Rangsa, Ranghku, and Longhcai clans the erring ones are beaten, it is said sometimes so severely that they succumb to their injuries; compensation also has to be given. Amongst the Tulim, Sangtai, and Longri Nagas, this offence is regarded very seriously, the scale of compensation being fixed in the vicinity of Rs. 500, which if not paid leads to the death of the woman's lover. The Saukrang Nagas declare that the man must be killed; the woman is pardoned and continues to live with the husband. Amongst the Mawrang clan the wronged husband, not satisfied with the beating he gives the man and the large compensation he receives, visits the man's house, and, declaring that as the man has disturbed the peace of his home he also will ruin him, cuts the house with a *dak*, symbolical that he has killed the house spirit, overcome the house-owner and all the inmates of the house. A deed which is a grave offence, and which if committed under different circumstances could only be settled by the payment of heavy damages.

A feast is generally held at the naming of infants which takes place at varying periods after birth, according to the customs of the clan to which the parents belong. Amongst some clans the periods vary for infants of different sexes. For instance the Sangche and Myimn clans hold their ceremony for male and female infants three and two months after

**Naming Ceremony of Infants.**

birth respectively. With them, as with several other clans, the infant's head must be either shorn or shaved. Where no distinction is made with the sex of the infant, it is named from five days to a month after birth. With some clans the infant is named by an elderly relative, such as a grandparent, uncle, aunt, etc., with others the parents, either one or both, name the child. Amongst the poorer members of the clans, who cannot afford a feast, it is dispensed with and the infant simply named. The Sangtai Nagas sacrifice fowls only at the naming ceremony, holding that, should pigs be killed, the child dies. Generally only pigs and fowls are killed at this ceremony, but the Risa Nagas sometimes include dogs.

With the exception of a few clans, whose customs are noted separately, the dead are invariably buried, either under or in front of the houses or at the "nat" house in the vicinity of the village. As a general rule amongst such clans, women, who die at childbirth and persons who die by violence and accident or are killed by wild animals, are buried in the jungle. Regarding such deaths there are also exceptions. For instance, the Tulin Nagas do not bury such corpses but hide them in the jungle, where they are at the mercy of the denizens of the forest. The Longri clan who occupy a site a few miles from Tulin, make an unique exception by burying the corpse of the woman who dies at childbirth with her infant, should it not survive, under the house. After the disposal of the corpse there is merrymaking, when such animals as are obtainable are sacrificed the same night and a feast held. A few clans keep the corpses for a day or two before burial. The Pyengoo Nagas hold what they call the "Kawk-wa-bawk" ceremony, from three months to a year after the corpse has been buried. At this ceremony the spirit of the deceased, which is declared to be hovering in the vicinity, is despatched to the ancestral home of the tribe. The ceremony lasts two days, there is feasting and dancing, both inside and outside the house. With the corpse are buried articles of daily use, such as *duhs*, spears, etc., with males; and necklaces, baskets, weaving implements, etc., with female corpses. The Mawshang Nagas living in the north near the Patkoi Range have customs different to all other clans. They only bury the corpses of those, who die from epidemics, under the houses. Other corpses are cremated, those who die ordinary deaths in front of the houses, and those who die by violence, accident, etc., or women who die at childbirth, in the jungle. They bury the epidemic corpses at once, but cremate the others the day after death.

The Kuku Nagas, who are a mixture of Haimis and Htangans, observe two forms of disposing of the dead. One is practically identical with the general custom already described, the other is totally different. Briefly the rites observed may be described as follows:—After death the corpse is preserved by being smoked over a slow fire. It is then placed in a wooden coffin and conveyed to a charnel-house built close to the village. At a fixed date in the year, the heads from all the corpses for the preceding year are cut off and thoroughly washed and cleaned with hot water. The cleaned skulls are then taken by certain members of the clan to a secret shelving rock and there deposited with the skulls of previous years. The site of this shelving rock is kept secret and disclosed to only a few members of the clan. At this secret 'Golgotha' the collection of human skulls must be considerable, as Kuku or its immediate neighbourhood has been inhabited by the tribe for the past ten generations, roughly 250 years. The headless trunks are said to remain undisturbed in the charnel-house, where they gradually fall to decay. The Htanghkaw and Macham Nagas who also belong to the Htangan Tribes, wrap the body after death in a mat and place it in a small hut, just sufficient for the corpse; there it rapidly falls to decay, uncared for in its flimsy grave. These charnel-huts are built in one place by the village entrance.

The grave site is either in front of or under the house, and, owing to the rocky and shaly nature of many of the village sites, is shallow and difficult to excavate. The site is enclosed by a low open work bamboo fence having a roof of thatch. The graves seen were partially filled in, the mats in which the corpse had been wrapped and covered being kept exposed. It would appear that the grave is filled in at some later date. The sites of long established villages, such as exist in the Namhpuk Valley, are neither more nor less than cemeteries. In front of the house the deceased's property is stretched on a frame work of bamboos and sticks, to gradually fall to decay. The following were noticed near a new grave site:—Naga helmet complete with boar tusks, feathers, etc., *dah* and scabbard, clothes, crossbow, spear, haversack, etc.

Amongst many of the clans the post of headmen is hereditary, in others it is entirely by selection, and in some clans goes to a younger brother of the deceased headman, and, should he have no younger brother, then to a son or near relative. Headmen as a rule dispose of the more petty disputes which take place in their jurisdictions either themselves or with the help of tribal elders, for such they may or may not receive a fee; it is a recognised custom to pass a loving cup of liquor round at the close of a case and to consume opium during the discussion. In some clans the tribesmen help their headman to clear, sow, and harvest his lands, in others such assistance is only rendered when the headman makes arrangements to feed his tribesmen on the days they will assist him. Certain other perquisites are attached to the office, such as giving the headman part of the flesh of an animal killed in the forest or sacrificed at a "nat" ceremony, or some small gift at marriages, etc. These however are not recognised by all the clans. In a few clans the headman has the power of punishing the tribesman who disobey his orders, such punishment taking the form of chastisement or the imposition of a small fine. It is the headman, accompanied generally by a few tribal elders, who represents the clan on important occasions.

Crime amongst the Naga clans is invariably settled by the payment of compensation, this is done even in the cases of blood-feuds, which have originated over some petty trouble and extended over a period of many years. With the settling of the bigger debt cases in this manner, the appeasing of certain of the tribal and family spirits has to be taken into consideration, and for this purpose, perhaps in addition to the recognised scale of award, some animal has to be given to appease the "nat" offended. A few instances may be quoted.

For the offence of theft from another's granary, amongst some clans the thief has to give a young boar for a sacrifice to the offended "nat" and thus purify the granary which has become contaminated by the intrusion of a person, not a member of the household to whom the granary belongs. Similarly, amongst some clans a woman may have to purify her body after the birth of an illegitimate child, should her lover not marry her and she be obliged to return to the home of her parents. A buffalo for sacrifice is generally awarded in such a debt case.

The more serious offences are:—Murder, confinement, incendiarism, theft, rape, and adultery, while those of a less serious nature are:—trespass, and the working of another's lands, mischief by cattle destroying standing crops, simple hurt and the like. For each of these several offences the scale of compensation varies and the amounts to be awarded may take the form of ready cash, or animals, or goods, such as guns, gongs, *dahs*, spears, wearing apparel and the like. Perhaps there is no such offence as rape of an unmarried woman, though once a woman is married, or has been left a widow, rape is a recognised offence and punishable by the delivery of compensation to the person harmed, be he husband of the woman or close relative of the widow. Theft is always considered a very serious offence, especially if it be from a house or granary, no matter how small and trivial the article stolen is. The Shantai Nagas declare that the price of a slave, approximately Rs. 400, has to be given as compensation for breaking into another's granary. It may be that this clan has considerably exaggerated the scale of compensation, it being out of all proportion to the scales given by members of other clans. The reason for such severe punishment is not hard to find. The Nagas are a poor race who cannot afford to keep servants, their occupations are often of such a nature that they are away from their homes for several hours each day. It is therefore essential that during these periods of temporary absence from home their property should remain unharmed, hence the tribal law which imposes a severe sentence.

A few particulars were collected regarding some of the bigger blood-feuds which exist in the Namhpuk Valley. In one case the debt originated between parties who were related by marriage; a bride refused to return to her husband; this led to a claim which not being fully satisfied resulted in attacks and counter-attacks. In another the theft of a gong from a granary was the original cause, and in yet another several Trans-Namhpuk clans united and attacked a Naga village because they held the tribesman of this village responsible for an epidemic of smallpox, which broke out shortly after the return of tribesmen who had visited Assam.

Owing to the depredations which are perpetrated on their standing crops in many areas by wild animals there is constant warfare with the denizens of the forest. Many and varied are the traps set by the tribesmen, and so skilful are they in this art, that even such animals as the serow, sambhur, barking deer, and pig are taken in the traps. Once the animals have been noosed, they are speared or shot on the spot, the meat removed and the skull brought in as a trophy and put up in the front porch. Smaller animals and birds are generally snared in the vicinity of the hill cultivations during hours of idleness, and such traps may be seen near the paths and fences of the fields.

The Pyengoo Nagas keep many decoy parrots by means of which, when parrots are flighting during the rains, large numbers up to a hundred or more are netted at a time. The net by which the birds are taken is stretched across a cutting made in the jungle at some prominent ridge or head of a stream over which the wild birds are in the habit of passing in their daily flight. The decoys are placed in the trees by the side of the cutting, by their calls they attract a passing flock, which swoops down, gets entangled in the net, and by their weight bring it down to the ground. They are then easily despatched by the snarers who are in hiding in the jungle close by. The flesh of these parrots is considered a delicacy. Sometimes other flighting birds are also accidentally taken in the net and meet the same fate.

Monkeys are caught in an ingenious trap made in the form of a cage with the trap door on the top. The bait is usually a yam placed on the ground inside the cage. From the trap door a string trails to the ground, close to the yam. The monkey jumps into the cage, takes the yam and, to get out, naturally endeavours to swing himself up by the string; this releases the trap door and makes him a prisoner.

The usual form of fish trap used is to erect a weir across a stream, with openings in two or more places at the entrances to which are placed funnel shaped bamboo tubes. Fish swimming down stream enter these tubes, which are too narrow for them to turn in and they must remain in the tube until removed by the fishermen. At one end of the weir may also be erected a chute of bamboo and cane, down which the fish swim into shallow water, where they are easily taken by the waiting fishermen. Hand and drag nets are also used in most of the larger streams. The fish taken in a weir are generally shared amongst those who have helped to build it. Amongst one clan it is said that the catch is always shared with other members of the clan, who for various causes have been prevented from accompanying the members of the fishing excursion.

Hunting and fishing are permissible within the village bounds, but these rights as a rule do not extend to an adjoining clan's lands, where permission must first be obtained and the spoils of the chase shared with the neighbouring tribesmen.

## PART II.—Notes on the Origins, Customs and Sub-tribes of certain Naga Tribes inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range.

*Lajawn Gam, Duwa of Lajawn Tract in the Dalu Valley.*—The Pyengoo Nagas are the only tribe of Nagas in my tract. We have been their overlords for the past four or five generations. I do not know how we became their overlords. It was during the time of Mogaung Wa, when the Hawseng ruled all the country. They are animists, who sacrifice buffaloes, pigs, etc. Their "nats" are not the same as those the Chingpaw worship. I do not know

what "nats" they worship. There are only four villages in which the Pyengoo Nagas live. The names of these villages are as follows :—

Ngakun Ga, Pangaw Bum or Kyan Ga, Kyina Ga or Pangaw Bum, and Prep Nawng Ga. We are also, with other Kachin chiefs in the Dalu Valley, overlords to the Rasa Nagas living on the hills. Like the others I also collect paddy from them. They also help at the building of my house and assist at our marriage ceremonies with opium and such riches as they can give us. When my son was married about five years ago, they assisted by giving opium. This was when I requested them. They gave up to half a viss of opium, "Knam Ma Nga." When my son Nawng was married ten years ago, as I did not ask for anything from the Nagas, they did not assist at the marriage. We do not go up yearly and make demands from these Nagas, it is only when we are in want we make demands from them and they help us. They never refuse us, they assist us as much as possible. When my son La was married, over ten years ago, I invited the Kawlun and Kuku Nagas, and the Gawlun Nagas gave us a buffalo instead 500 Indian corn (Kawpa Lap) wrappings for rolling cigars. The Kuku Nagas gave us a bull. We sold the wrappings to a Shan at Dalu for a three-year old buffalo.

The Rasa Nagas from whom we have made demands with the other Kachin overlords live in the following villages :—

Wakshang, Hakon, Kumteng, Tekti Ga, Janhtang, Kum Ga, Hpunlum and Rasa Hangsang. We never make demands from any other Nagas, the above are the only Nagas we make demands from. We visit these Naga villages as often as we wish to during the course of the year. Last year I visited Wakshang and Hakon villages and bought paddy there. I bought 20 baskets of paddy at the rate of "Jeik Masum" for a rupee (three-fourth basket for Re. 1). I did not demand the paddy as the whole of the Dalu Valley was starving.

We have never had any pitched battles with any of the Naga Tribes (Pyengoo and Rasa) as they are our friends.

It is now ten years since the Hkang Katsing have crossed the Namhpuk Hka and established a village at Htang Hkaw. They requested my permission to live at this spot and they gave me Rs. 100 and in return I gave them a *dah*. They are our friends and never have fought against us, nor have they attacked the Pyengoo Nagas and Rasa Nagas. I have sent my nephew Sao Ra to call them to meet you, but I cannot say if they will come in. They also are Animists. The wild Nagas at Htanghkaw are the only members of their tribe who have crossed the Namhpuk Hka and attacked the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas living in the southern area. The wild Nagas, however, frequently cross the Namhpuk Hka and attack the Nagas living at Kuku and Kawlum. Last year and the year before the wild Nagas attacked the Kawlum villagers. They are said to have come across in parties numbering up to 100 persons. In one fight they killed two persons while one on their side was killed. I do not know for how long they were on this side of the Namhpuk (East). There is no fear of attack from the wild Nagas in the Pyengoo Tract and also in the Rasa villages. These Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas will not attack Government as they are friendly. I do not know any customs of these Nagas as they do not live cheek by jowl with us. Their villages are distant, two or three days journey.

We have never levied tolls on any of the Naga Tribes, and it is only when we are in want and make requests from the Nagas that they give us things. We have never taken anything forcibly from them. It is not because we fear, but there is no need as these Nagas are our friends.

#### PYENGOO NAGAS.

##### Sub-heads :

##### WANGO AND LETMSI CLANS.

*Origin.*—Eight to ten generations ago they lived in the higher reaches of the Namhpuk Hka. As they were being attacked by their neighbours they came down to their present locality. They purchased the land from one Lajan Wa. About five generations ago they were conquered by the Lajawn family living in the Dalu Valley at Lakchang Ga. They delivered buffaloes, cows, *nithun*, etc., for the lands in the first instance. About forty years ago, one Ai Htwe Ngoo, declaring that he was the last of the Lajan family, claimed that there was remaining part of the price of the land, and was given the following as value for the buffalo he claimed :—Forty baskets of paddy, 3 *dahs*, and a young boar valued at Rs. 10, since the Lajawns have conquered these Nagas they have not demanded any tribute or other dues from them. The Kachins appear to have exercised a very loose rule, only asking for assistance when in want, or at the time of marriages in their family, building of houses, etc. Their claims have invariably been satisfied. In the same way the Nagas have in their turn asked for assistance from the Kachins and have received the same.

These Nagas state that they came from the Majoi Shingra Bum, the ancestral home claimed by the Kachins, and that in the dim past they and the Kachins were like elder and younger brothers.

*Festivals.*—The festival lasts for three days and takes place before the *laungyas* are cut. There is dancing, music and drinking at which the whole village enjoys itself.

Oh-ha-he.

*Mawnrung.*—The festival lasts for three days and takes place at the time the paddy is being planted. There is neither music nor dancing. Only liquor is drunk and opium smoked and the flesh of sacrificed animals eaten.

*Pung Raw.*—This is a communal sacrifice held at the "nat" house, when pigs, dogs and fowls are sacrificed. The sacrifice is held twice yearly, once during the rains and again during the winter.

*Religion.*—They are Animists. They sacrifice buffaloes, dogs, pigs and fowls. Neither cows nor goats are sacrificed. No reasons are given for not sacrificing these animals but the mere statement that it is not the custom.

They have diviners (Nap Paw), praying priests (Twin Paw), but no mediums. Diviners receive no hire for their services, but praying priests at the bigger "nat" ceremonies receive the leg of the animal offered.

They have "nat" houses outside the village.

*Villages.*—These are moved to suit the lands being cultivated. A village site may be occupied from three to ten years according to the amount of suitable *laungya* land in its vicinity and the size of the village.

*Industry.*—They plant their own cotton, gin and weave it into cloth. They do not understand the silk industry and make most of their purchases from the Singaling Hkampti Shans.

*Roads.*—There is no custom to clear inter-village roads, only roads to the *laungyas* are indifferently cleared.

*Death.*—Elders are buried in front of the houses and others underneath them. At the time of death "nat" sacrifices are held and the corpse then buried. From three months to one year after death the final obsequies are performed. These are known as "Kawkwa Bauk." The ceremony lasts two days, there is dancing, drinking and opium consuming. The dancing is performed both inside the house and in the open. The corpse is not disturbed. The ceremony is held to send the deceased's spirit, which is said to be hovering in the vicinity, back to the place where go the spirits of all the dead. With the corpses are buried articles of daily use, for instance, with men their *dahs*, spears, etc., with women's necklaces, baskets, weaving implements, etc.

After death the spirit of the deceased is said to remain in the house, and the final obsequies are held to send it back to its ancestral home, said to be somewhere in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk Hka.

*Marriage.*—There is familiarity between the sexes before marriage. Dowry is given once only and amounts to from one to three buffaloes. It may be given before or after marriage. The marriage ceremony lasts one day. When a man is courting a maiden he generally helps to clear the *laungya*. Even after marriage he may continue to do so. Such assistance is apparently considered part of the dowry. After marriage the young couple separate from the bride's home and live in their own house.

When a child is born out of wedlock the man responsible may marry her; should he decide not to, he gives a buffalo or its value. He can then claim custody of the child. The woman is then free to be given in marriage elsewhere. A stigma is attached to the woman who is the mother of a bastard child. Where no man wants a woman she very often remains a spinster all her life. Apparently marriages are not arranged as is the custom with the Kachins. Polygamy is permitted and some men have two or more wives, they may be maidens or "collected widows."

*Adultery.*—In cases of adultery divorce is not obligatory. Persons may or may not divorce the other party so offending. The fine for such an offence is a pig or buffalo which is delivered to the injured party.

*Widows.*—A brother or near relative of the deceased may collect her. This is optional. Where no one has collected a widow any one may enter and live with her. There is no offence and no debt lies unless she has already been collected.

*Crops.*—The headman's fields are first sown and then the villager's. The same custom is observed in the reaping and harvesting, the idea being that the head should eat of the first fruits of the land.

*Headman.*—The appointment is not hereditary. It is by selection, a vacancy being filled by the tribesmen selecting the man most favoured in the village.

*Hunting, etc.*—The Pyengoo Nagas are great trappers and all along the paths in the vicinity of their villages and *laungyas* may be seen very ingenious traps for catching and snaring the smaller animals, deer, pig, monkeys, etc. The snares are made from the fibres of jungle trees and are very strong and pliable.

A trap for catching monkeys was made as follows:—

A square cage of stout poles with the door on the top. The bait was a yam placed on the ground. A string was suspended from the trapdoor and hung inside the cage. A monkey jumping in to take the yam would naturally haul himself up by the string, which would release the trap door and shut it. I understand that many monkeys are regularly taken. Monkeys commit great depredations amongst the crops and are regularly hunted and destroyed. Decoy parrots are kept in large numbers. During the rains when parrots are fighting, these birds are used as decoys. They are placed on the side by a cutting on the ridges, through which the parrots are known to fly at sunset and dawn. A fine net is stretched across the cutting, which is generally fifteen feet wide. When the decoys call, their wild brethren swoop down, fly through the cutting, crash into the net and with their weight bring it to the ground. These birds are then despatched by the trapper who is in waiting. The flesh is said to be a delicacy. As many as a hundred and more birds are said to be taken at one time. Other birds such as green and imperial pigeon which fly at dawn or sunset, are sometimes taken by mistake, as seeing the cutting in the hills, they fly through it and are in the net before they can avoid it. "Kailao" a decoy parrot.

*Laungyas.*—Generally cleared within a few miles of the village. Are carefully watched to ward off depredations by wild animals. The paddy is stored in granaries which are secreted in the jungle either close to the village or *laungya*. They are visited periodically, and only requirements for a few days taken. The paddy was seen in one granary packed into loads, ready to be moved at a moment's notice.

*Hkao W'ing Hkao Wang Hkao Ting Hkao Sang.*—An expression amongst the Pyengoo Nagas denoting close connectionship in their clans through inter-marriage.

*Yi Lam Mi.*—This expression was frequently heard. It is a measure of length and denotes the distance of one *laungya* cutting from the village. An unreliable linear measure since with rare exceptions the hill cultivation is never cut the same distance from the village site.

## PANGAW NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They lived near the Pongye Bum, a peak of the Sangpan Range. There are now only a few houses left. They came down to this locality, near the Tanai Hka about ten generations ago. A few scattered houses in some of the Pyengoo Naga villages, four at Shirang Ga in the Laisai Kachin Tract, and a few houses at Manpang, a Shan village. The tribe is gradually turning Kachin.

*Religion.*—They are Animists, and perform the same "nat" sacrifices as the Kachins, with whom they inter-marry and observe the same laws as regards dowry, debts, etc.

*Marriage, Courtship, etc.*—Same as the Kachins, there is a maidens' chamber, and compensation according to the Kachin scale is given at the time when illegitimate children are born.

*Festivals.*—When the *taungyas* are cut they hold one called "Malee." This lasts one day, merely a "nat" ceremony at which there is no dancing.

To all outward appearances these Nagas are the same as Kachins, and hold the same death dance, etc., as their neighbours the Kachins.

## PUNLUM NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They are now living on the east of the Sangpan Range, but not so very long ago lived on the west of this range, and have been living in the Taram Valley for about twenty years.

*Religion.*—They have a "nat" house and are animists. Communal sacrifices at the "nat" house are held once in two or three years according to requirements. Pigs and dogs are sacrificed to prevent sickness.

*Death.*—Customs are the same as with the Rasa Nagas. The Pyengoo, Rasa and these Nagas bury those who die violent deaths, such as being murdered, killed by a wild animal, fall from a tree, etc., in the jungle and not under the house.

*Marriage.*—No ceremony held, just a feast which lasts a day. Dowry is fixed and delivered after marriage either by the man or his descendants. Dowry consists as follows:—A cotton blanket as worn by the tribesmen, to which a number of cowrie shells are affixed as ornamentation, four or five pigs, and fowls. Divorce is the same as with the Rasa Nagas. Polygamy is not practised as a rule, but a man may collect the widow of a deceased relative. They inter-marry with the Rasa and Pyengoo Nagas.

*Villages.*—These are moved every four or five years to suit the hill cultivation. They are not permanent.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut, sown and reaped by the community at one time.

*Courtship.*—There are separate houses for the sexes. The young men visit the maidens' hut, the women never go to the young mens' hut. When a child is born out of wedlock the couple marry, but should they not do so the man pays compensation amounting to a buffalo.

*Industries.*—Like all the other tribes they weave their own cloth. They do not plant their own cotton but purchase same from the Kawlum Ni near whom they lived before coming to the Taram Valley. All are addicted to the pernicious opium habit, even children are said to take the drug. This is the case with the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas as well. All take liquor as well which they brew themselves. This is the same with the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas.

## KUMGA NAGAS.

These Nagas have habits and customs more or less identical with the Rasa Nagas, their neighbours.

*Religion.*—They are Animists, sacrificing cattle, fowls, etc. There is no preference for sacrificing any particular animals.

*Marriage.*—The same as with the Rasa Nagas, they do not practise polygamy but the nearest male relative collects a deceased relative's widow.

*Divorce.*—There are divorce laws for persons who cannot get on and who do not love each other, also for those offending by committing adultery.

*Illegitimate Children.*—The man responsible generally marries his mistress. Should he not do so, he only pays her Rs. 2. She then retains custody of the child. Should he want custody, he pays her as much as Rs. 20 as compensation.

*Adultery.*—The penalty is more severe, as the man responsible has to pay up to Rs. 100.

*Death.*—The burials are the same as with the Rasas. Those who die violent deaths are buried in the jungle.

*Crops.*—There are no recognised customs, each person cutting, sowing and reaping, just as they please.

*Fishing.*—Occasionally the whole village goes out to fish. In such cases should some remain behind the catch is divided amongst all, including those who have remained behind. Probably a custom which has come down from the past, when it was necessary in an unknown and unsettled country to share and share alike.

*Industries, etc.*—Plant beans, yams, pumpkins, Indian corn in their *taungyas*. Trade their paddy with the Hkamla Ni from the extreme west who manufacture brass bracelets, earrings, necklaces, etc. They weave their own cloth and supplement with purchases made from the Shans.

Salt is generally purchased from the Shans; this is the case with nearly all the Naga Tribes living on the east of the Sangpan Bum.

*Villages.*—These are moved like the others from place to place to suit the lands being cultivated. This seems to be a practice observed by all the Naga tribes in this part of the hills. It is probably due to the fact that there are extensive unoccupied lands, and by moving about from place to place, the tribesmen have the least difficulty to get good harvests by always working new lands. Time will come, no doubt, when with an increased population residences will be more permanently established.

*Dress.*—That of the man is the same as that of the other Naga tribes and is so scanty and so well known that it needs no description. Perhaps the only difference with other tribesmen is that the blanket, made of cotton worn by these tribesmen and almost black, is generally well decorated with cowrie shells, and that the "Shingup" (Sporran) is of a dark colour. Some sporrans were seen decorated with cowrie shells, and others wore a small brass gong highly polished in front of their generative organs, on the outer side of the sporran. This flashing gong in the light of the night fires and torches acts as a magnet to catch the eye.

The women wear the same style of dress as the other Nagas and, like that of the men, the cloth used is dyed almost black. Their heads are clean shaved or hair worn very short. They wear heavy bracelets made of some white metal, and not so massive bracelets made of brass. They also wear enormous earrings made of brass, which in the course of the years cause the ears to be deformed, the lobes being dragged down several inches. They also wear round their waists enormous quantities of the ordinary black and red cane rings which one frequently sees worn by other races on the Frontier. With their short hair, large earrings, and dark clothes, this tribe forms a striking contrast to the neighbouring tribes, and from a distance look like an African tribe. They are a darker skinned clan than their neighbours which is more markedly pronounced by the dark clothes worn. They are neither comely nor attractive and, with their shorn heads and deformed ear-lobes, may well be classed as distinctly repulsive to Europeans.

#### RISA NAGAS.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived north of Ranu Ga, but three generations ago owing to having unsuitable lands to cultivate they crossed to the east of the Sangpan Bum and are now occupying the following sites:—Sela Nok, Loilem Nok, and Lungkawng Nok. The villages may be said to be permanent. No. 1 has been occupied for 7 years, No. 2 for 30 years, and No. 3 for 20 years.

*Taungyas.*—No customs prevail, each person pleases himself. No divinations are performed prior to cutting the *laungya*. They are not cut in one place, some may cut away from the others, and yet again all may cut in one place.

*Roads.*—There is no custom to clear inter-village roads, but roads to the *laungyas* are maintained and kept cleared. When the whole village cuts in one place, then by the whole village; where in groups, by those using the road to the *laungya*.

*Death Customs.*—These are the same as with the Punlum and Kum Ga Nagas.

*Marriage.*—There are separate houses for the young people of the sexes in which all courting and love takes place. Such intimacy frequently results in pregnancy. There is no offence and the young couple generally marry. Should neither care for the other after the birth of the child no compensation has to be paid, and the woman returns to her parents' home, taking her child with her. Should one of the party care for the other, then the other is not bound to marry him or her, but has to give the jilted one a buffalo. Should the jilted one be of good birth, the compensation so paid may amount to Rs. 100. (The compensation is only delivered where one party does not reciprocate the love of the other.) At the marriage ceremony a feast is held at which are sacrificed as many as seven pigs, supplied by the bridegroom. The tails of these pigs are cut off after being offered and sacrificed. Bracelets, woven from the fibres of the Lakwi Hpun (Kachin) are then made, and to them are affixed the tails of the sacrificed pigs. These bracelets are worn by the husband and wife (newly married couple). It is not essential to wear such bracelets, and many do not do so. *The Bracelets of sacrificed pigs are also worn by some of the tribesmen to ensure good health (Charm). The "nats" to be appeased are those of the mountain and the streams.*

NOTE.—The fibres of the Lakwi Hpun are used for fishing nets, snares, etc. They are said to be very strong and durable.

*Naming Ceremony of Children.*—This takes place a week or so after birth according to the wishes of the child's parents. The parents name the child. There is a "nat" sacrifice and pigs and fowls are sacrificed, sometimes dogs also are sacrificed.

*Death at Childbirth.*—A woman who so dies is buried in the jungle and not under the house. It is necessary to purify the house. In cases of illegitimate children the man responsible has to perform the ceremony; but where the lover cannot be named by the woman, or will not disclose himself, or if named denies the responsibility, the community bury the woman and purify the house. The father of the child in an illegitimate case, and the husband in other cases, performs the ceremony (has it held).

*Religion.*—They are Animists.

*Festivals.*—They hold the Kadung and Sasu festivals the same as the other clans.

#### HTANGAN NAGAS.

*Clans—Htangkaw Nagas and Macham Nagas.*—The two clans mentioned above live at Htangkaw Ga, which is the only Htangan Naga (Wild) tribe living east of the Namhpuk Hka.

*Origin.*—Formerly the Machams lived at Tapsai and the Htangkaws at Longnauk, two Wild Naga village sites on the west of the Namhpuk Hka. Acting on the advice of their tribal priests, the two clans crossed to the east bank of the Namhpuk and entered territory belonging to Chaomawn La, the present Chaomawn Nawng's grandfather. They first settled at Hkakhawp where they lived for two years. Eight years ago they left Hkakhawp and came to their present site. They gave Rs. 100 to Chaomawn La, and the same amount to Lajawn Gam before occupying the site, as these two men were declared to be the owners of the land. Htangkaw Ga is on the south-eastern base of the Sangpan Bum, and north of Namhpuk Hka.

*Death Customs.*—After death the corpse is wrapped in a mat and then taken to a small hut built close to the village. The hut is just sufficient for the corpse. After being laid in the



hut the corpse gradually falls to decay. All these charnel-huts are built in one place by the side of one of the roads to the village. No other burial ceremonies are performed. Nothing further is done after the corpse has been placed in the charnel-hut.

*Marriage, etc.*—There are separate houses for the young men and maidens. The young men do their courting and love-making in the maidens' hut. Such intimacy generally results in the woman becoming pregnant, when the man marries her. Marriages are solely love affairs. No dowry is ever delivered. Divorce is permitted in cases where either party does not love the other. In such cases should the woman want the divorce, she gives the man a spear and a *dah*, similarly when the man desires to divorce his wife he gives her a pair of bracelets. Divorce is also permitted for adultery, but in cases where for such offence no divorce takes place, some small present such as a *dah*, spear or bracelets is given. Polygamy is not permitted, each man having only one wife. At the time a man is courting a maiden he does not do any work for his bride, such as helping in the fields, etc.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut in one place and no sacrifices or other ceremony held to consult the spirits as to where the year's fields are to be cut, sown and reaped. The following order is always observed in order that the harvest will be plentiful. The headman's fields are first sown, there is then a day's rest when the remaining fields are sown. It is the same when the harvest is reaped, the headman's first and then the remaining fields. The headman's paddy is also eaten first. Were this order of precedence not observed the harvest would not be plentiful. No action is taken against anyone who might err by not following the custom. It is stated that were any one to err in this manner, then the crops would be a failure that year. As regards the cutting and clearing, etc., no custom is observed, each person pleases himself.

*Roads.*—It is customary to clear inter-village roads, which are in regular use, but not roads which are rarely used, such as the road to Lapyep and the other Pyengoo Naga villages.

*Religion.*—There is a "nat" house at which sacrifices are held when there is sickness in the village. They do not keep slaves.

There are three "nat" sacrifices held in the course of the year as follows:—

*The first*, at the time fields are burnt. The sacrifice lasts a day. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no dancing. It is held for a plentiful harvest.

*The second*, at the time when the paddy is sown. It also lasts a day and pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no dancing. It also is held to ensure a good harvest. This "nat" sacrifice is known as *Auk Yao*.

*The third*, is held after the harvest has been reaped. It lasts three days and nights. There is dancing and general merry-making. Pigs, fowls, buffaloes, etc., are sacrificed. The dancing takes place at night. The sacrifice is held in order that the health of the tribesmen may be good. This is the communal ceremony at which the whole village attends. The ceremony is known as *Kaiwe*.

#### RASA NAGAS.

*Religion.*—Animists. Sacrifice cattle, pigs, fowls and goats to the "nats". They have a "numsheng" or "nat" house. Sacrifices at the "nat" house are only made when necessary. At such times a dog and a pig are sacrificed. It is not an annual sacrifice. The sacrifice is held after divining.

*Festivals.*—The festival is held at the time of sowing the paddy. It is not communal, each person sacrifices separately. Pigs, fowls or dogs are sacrificed according to the means of the person holding the festival. Buffaloes and goats are not sacrificed. The festival is held and offerings made for the welfare of the crops. Lasts two days and two nights. Liquor is drunk and opium consumed. No work is done on these days. Strangers and others can attend, there being no objection. There is no dancing during the Sa Su festival and "nat" offerings.

*Kudung.*—Held after the paddy has been reaped. Also for the welfare of the crops. It is held whether or not the harvest has been a good one. Not communal, held by the individual separately. Dogs and goats are not sacrificed, but pigs and fowls are, buffaloes also should the individual have them. Apparently the person gives of his best to the "nats." Festival last for three days and three nights, liquor drunk and opium consumed. Visitors may take part, there are no objections. Dancing is held in the headman's house, near the cooking fire place, attended by the beating of as many gongs as possible.

*Ranguan.*—Lasts for a night, held about a month previous to the Kudung. There is no dancing, no animals are sacrificed, only opium consumed and liquor drunk.

*Panghka.*—Lasts for a night, held a month after the Kudung, only fowls are sacrificed. There is dancing with drawn *dahs* outside the houses. Liquor drunk and opium consumed.

*Death.*—The corpse is buried. The male members in the front porch where the paddy is pounded, women and children under the house, on the side opposite to that where the family sleep. Such animals, fowls, etc., are sacrificed as are in the household where the death takes place. No other ceremony held, such as is held, by Kachins (Mang Brue).

*Other Sacrifices not held.*—None are held at the establishing of new villages or the building of new houses. Neither are the "nats" consulted nor offerings made to them at the cutting of the *taungyas*.

*Marriage.*—No dowry is delivered at the time of the marriage which is generally arranged through a go-between. The agent is sent and the woman comes to her lover's house and is considered married to him. Only when children are born and they grow up, do they deliver dowry for their mother. The dowry amounts to from one to three buffaloes. It is only when a woman is barren that her husband gives dowry for her, a cow generally. Marriage also follows the birth of an illegitimate child. Failure to marry in such cases leads to a debt which is settled by the delivery of a buffalo to the woman wronged or jilted. After marriage the couple may live with the woman's people or build their own house. Hence where children are many and do not leave the *roof after marriage, houses are big with many fire places*. Generally a man, his wife and their unmarried children live together. Young men marry when they are about twenty and women 16 to 18.

*Courtship.*—This takes place in front of the house where the women pound the paddy, there being no maidens' chamber, the Rasa Naga house being one large room without any partitions dividing it up into rooms. Courting also takes place between the young couples while performing outdoor pursuits. When a woman has been promised to a man, the couple generally sleep at or near the same fire place as the girl's parents. The Naga has no shame. Should the parents remonstrate, the couple turn the tables by saying "when you were young you did the same." There are several fire places in the house.

*Widowhood.*—The widow is generally married by one of her husband's brothers, but should there be no brothers of the deceased husband, or should there be and they do not care to marry her, she may then marry whom she pleases. Scale of dowry holds the same, and is given by children born from both unions or, if woman is barren, by the husband.

*Adultery.*—Divorce is permitted for such defilement of the marriage bed. No blame is attached to the respondent, whether husband or wife in the case, the co-respondent is always held to blame, and pays compensation amounting to a buffalo, or its value Rs. 40 to 50.

*Taungyas.*—No customs observed as regards cutting, sowing and reaping, each tribesman carrying on independently.

#### RASA NAGAS (*Living at Angsein*).

*Offences.*—Offences such as theft, etc., are settled by four or five elders who know the amount of penalty to impose. It is not considered an offence to falsely accuse one by lying. No compensation is either demanded or paid. In cases of hurt where one person beats another, should he not retaliate, others come round and console him. No debt arises and no compensation is paid. It is the same when one cuts another with a *dah*. Should the man cut retaliate by cutting his opponent, since each has had a cut at the other, there is no debt. In cases of one man murdering another, the compensation to be delivered is as follows:—a buffalo, the value of a slave, and a gong. Just these three kinds and no more.

*Habits and customs.*—The same as the Rasa Nagas whose habits and customs have already been recorded.

#### KUKU NAGAS.

**NOTE.**—The Kuku Nagas are descended from Htangans and Haimis, who have intermarried: as will be seen later, the village is divided with respect to the observation of certain ceremonies.

*Tribes west of Namhpuk.*—The Haimis living across the Namhpuk are called Nansa, and live in the following villages:—Lumlu, Chawang, (old and new) Miku, Tongche, Rangchi, Rara, Gaha, Chikun, and Chikwang.

*Death Customs.*—Two forms of burial are practised at Kuku. The descendants of the original Haimi clans bury their dead and observe the same customs as their relatives, the Rasa Nagas. The descendants of the Htangan Nagas smoke the corpse after death and place it in a coffin, after which it is removed to a charnel-house in the vicinity of the village. On one day every year the final obsequies of all the village dead are performed at one time. Briefly this is as follows:—The heads are removed from the bodies of all those who have died during the year, they are thoroughly washed and cleaned with hot water. Later, after they have been cleaned and dried a day or two, they are taken to a secret shelving rock, known only to a few members of the clan and never disclosed to others. Here they are placed with the skulls of all the dead of the tribe. It is said that at this secret Golgotha there are very many skulls, the accumulation of very many years' dead. The headless trunk remains undisturbed in the charnel-house where it gradually falls to decay. Kuku site has been occupied for ten generations and the skulls for this period are stored at the Golgotha referred to above. When the tribe leaves a site it is for one not far from the site left. The charnel-house in such cases remains uncared for and gradually falls to decay.

*Taungyas.*—No custom is observed, but all are cut in one place, after which each household cultivates as it pleases. No custom regarding the clearing, sowing, etc., of the headman's fields first. After the harvest the paddy is brought back to the village and stored in the granaries, which are built just outside the village huts and practically surround them on all sides.

**NOTE.**—Looking at a Naga village from some distance very often the granaries look like a ring of huts round the village, or then again they may be all on one side of the village. Generally they are in clusters but always a short distance away from the village, built where suitable land is available.

*Marriage.*—There is no proper ceremony, but a feast, at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed, is held. Dowry is given sometimes before and sometimes after the bride has joined her husband. The scale is fixed; for a bride from a good family the man has to give a buffalo; for a bride from an ordinary family a cow is sufficient. In addition, presents are given to all the brothers and sisters of the bride, the men getting a cloth blanket each, and the women bangles or bracelets, or some similar gift. No other dowry is given. Courting before marriage takes place in the houses which are built by the young people. Separate houses are built for the men and separate houses for the women. It is in the latter house where they meet. In large villages many such houses are built in order that relatives may avoid making love in the presence of relatives of the opposite sex. Were this to happen it would be bad, being considered very shameful. When a woman becomes pregnant, the man generally marries her; it is not good if he does not do so. Should he fail to do so he pays compensation amounting to a buffalo.

*Polygamy.*—This is permitted and many men have more than one wife, though the number rarely exceeds two. *Divorce* laws do not exist; the punishment for the offence of adultery is one buffalo. Here, quite a large amount.

*Festivals.*—There are two held yearly, known as (1) "Ukyao", (2) "Kaiwe". The first is held at the time of sowing the paddy and the second after the harvest has been reaped. The first is a "nat" sacrifice for a plentiful harvest, when there is no dancing, the second is a thank-offering as the whole village make merry. Both sacrifices last two days, and are communal; pigs, fowls and even buffaloes being sacrificed, as much as the village can afford to offer to the "nats". At the second there is dancing at night. Any one may attend these "nat" sacrifices.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

There is a "nat" house at which communal "nat" sacrifices are held yearly. Buffaloes, pigs and fowls are sacrificed, as much as the whole village can afford.

*Headmen.*—They are not hereditary but are selected by the tribesmen when a vacancy occurs. He has powers to order them to perform various duties. Disobedience to orders given by a headman is punishable by the headman himself who may punish the offender in various ways, even going so far as beating him.

*Roads.*—Those between villages are not cleared, the community must help to make the road to the season's hill cultivation and it is only this road which is kept up.

*Subservience to Kachins.*—They are subordinate to Chaomawn Nawng, whose grandfather La lived on the Namhpuk Hka not far from Kuku on the hill. They give their overlord such presents as gongs and money when marriages take place in the Chaomawn family, and, when visited by members of this family, they feast them with pigs and fowls and give them small presents, such as feathered spears.

*The Kuku-Rawngkun Blood Feud.*—The Rawngkun are Htangans living west of the Namhpuk. Formerly they and the Kuku clan used to inter-marry. But some years ago one of the Kuku women who was married to one of the Rawngkun Clan returned to Kuku to her parents and refused to rejoin her husband. There was thus a debt which remains unsettled up to date. The Rawngkuns have killed thirteen of the Kuku Ni. Four years ago the Kuku Ni went across to attack their enemies, were ambushed and lost two men. Three years ago Kuku village was attacked, when two women and a child were killed. Last year the village was again attacked, no one was killed, but the village granaries were burnt down.

The Kukus, who live in constant terror of attack, spike all entrances to their villages at night with the usual Panjis, *i.e.*, hardened bamboo spikes, about nine inches long, sharpened at both ends, and placed by or on the path with one sharpened end sticking outwards. Any one walking along such a path would receive a severe wound, and, were the spike poisoned, death would naturally follow, since no antidote for the poison used is known. The bamboo points are hardened by being placed in the fire for a short while.

Rawngkun is also known as Rawngkawn; these tribesmen live at Tola-wang. The headman of Kuku states that they first killed five Kukus, and that, when the Kukus counter-attacked, they lost two men. That after this the debt was settled and the Kukus gave the following as compensation in settlement:—10 *dahs*, a pearl shell (Shanun Tut), Rs. 10 in cash, and a Shingup or Gyi String. Three years ago after the debt had been settled they again attacked Kuku and killed three (see above). It is said that they attacked on this occasion because the Kukus had been friendly with Government by assisting the surveyor who went into the Namhpuk Valley. The Rawngkuns are helped by Nansa, Wangtawng, and Yawngtai, all Trans-Namhpuk villages. They offer assistance to government in the way of coolies, guides, etc. They declare that they are starving on account of being in constant terror of being killed, they are unable to cultivate their lands properly, and so are obliged to supplement their paddy supply with produce from the jungle such as wild yams, etc. Tola-wang is said to have 140 houses, and is two days from Kuku.

#### KAWLUM NAGAS.

*Relations with Trans-Namhpuk Tribes.*—There are four villages of Kawlum Nagas as follows:—Kawlum, 40 houses; Kama Ga, 20 houses; Pumbasu, 40 houses; and Chipa Longan, 40 houses. All these villages are close together and on this side of the Namhpuk Hka.

Four years ago they were attacked by the Nangsa and Wangtaw Nagas who killed sixteen men. Then again two years ago the same clansmen attacked Kawlum, burnt down the whole village, and killed two persons. Last year again at the time of sowing the paddy they came across to attack but were seen and returned. The reason given for these attacks is because the Kawlum clansmen helped a surveyor, by name Roy, who with coolies supplied by them was able to cross the Namhpuk and enter or reach their territory. They repulsed the surveyor, and in order to save his party he was obliged to keep one of their clans as a hostage. He recrossed the Namhpuk and entered the home of the Laika Ni, a Kachin hamlet on the east of the Namhpuk. The Kachins afforded this surveyor shelter, and for this they were attacked by the Ponnyo Ni and were obliged to leave the area and return to the Muengyi country from which they originally came. This happened during the time the slaves were being released in the season 1925-26. The fleeing Kachins were met by me in the Tanai Gorge when I was going down to Dalu in the month of February 1926.

The Trans-Namhpuk Nagas are said to attack towards sunset. They have no guns and use spears, *dahs*, etc. The engagement lasts a very short while, when, after killing such persons as they can or succeeding in burning down houses, etc., they immediately retire and recross the Namhpuk.

*Habits and Customs*—the same as with the Punlum and Rasa Nagas who formerly lived in this locality and only crossed to the east side of the Sangpan Bum within the past twenty years. It is said because they felt that their enemies west of the Namhpuk were becoming too strong for them.

## RANU NAGAS.

*The habits and customs* of these Nagas are the same as with the Galawn and Rasa Nagas.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*The Ranu-Ranchi Blood Feud.*—The Ranu tribesmen have enemies across the Namhpuk Hka at Ranchi. About ten years ago one of the Ranchi tribesmen stole a gong from a granary at Ranu. On the owner requesting its return, the Ranchi men refused to return it. At that time one of the Ranu guns was at Galawn and this gun was also seized by the Ranchi men and wrongly retained. Awaiting their opportunity the Ranu men seized a Ranchi tribesman while he was at Galawn and held him for the following ransom: One feathered spear, a cow or an 8-span gong, a *dah*, a 5-span gong, a blanket with cowrie shells and a Naga hat with boar tusks. The ransom was paid and the hostage released after being kept in captivity for ten days. The Ranchi tribesmen then lay in wait and killed two Ranu men eight years ago on the *laungya* road. Three years ago the Ranu men killed one of the Ranchi tribe somewhere on the road between Kuku and Kawlum. The Ranu Chief was one of those attending His Excellency the Governor's Manao, and on his return he sent a message to the Ranchi Chief suggesting that peace should now be declared. The Ranchi Headman declined to accept the offer and stated that they would now attack more than ever. Consequently, in 1925 they killed one of the Ranu maidens whose age is said to have been 12 years.

The Ranu Tribesmen are subordinate to Ningmoi Hka of Laisai Tu Ga, Dalu Valley.

## GALAWN NAGAS.

There are three villages as follows:—Katawng Ga, Lari Ga, and Souira Ga. The villages are close together. The total number of houses is from 40 to 50.

*The habits and customs* of these Nagas is the same as the Kawlum and Rasa Nagas.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

## RANGSA NAGAS.

There are four villages lying north of the Dalu Valley on the east of the Sangpan Bum. They move their village sites to suit their cultivation, at least this is what is stated; but judging from the size of the villages, I am inclined to think that the sites are more or less permanently occupied.

*Taungyas.*—No custom exists, each person clears when and where he pleases. The same as regards the clearing of inter-village communications. There are no rules, only *taungya* roads are maintained.

*Marriage Customs.*—These are the same as with the Risa Nagas, with the exception that these Nagas follow the custom of the Kachins by giving dowry for the brides throughout life. They do not practise polygamy, each man generally having only one wife; the collection of a deceased relative's widow is permitted, like the Kachins. In case a child is born out of wedlock the young people marry but, where they do not marry, the man generally pays as much as Rs. 100 to the wronged woman.

*Adultery.*—The erring one is generally beaten by the innocent party even unto death. The co-respondent is also beaten, even unto death, by other members of the tribe. The way of the wrongdoer is hard. In some cases where they are not beaten they are fined and have to pay compensation.

*Religion.*—Like the others of this locality they are animists.

## RANGKHU NAGAS.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as with the Rangsa Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi, *i.e.*, their relatives by marriage. They also are animists. Like the Rangsa Nagas people who die violent deaths are buried in the jungle and not under the houses.

Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed at the building of new houses and establishing of new villages.

RANGKHU NAGAS (*living at Sumri near Saukrang*).

They have been living here for many generations and declare that they were the first clan to cross the Sangpan to this locality. They originally lived in the Hukawng Valley. They are subordinate to the Ningmoi family by whom they were conquered. They have given this family the following gifts: Twenty baskets of paddy, 4 buffaloes, one slave, Rs. 10 in cash, one 8-span gong, 20 beads and Rs. 10 in cash for beads. These were given to the present Ningmoi Gam's ancestors.

## HEANCHU NAGAS.

Originally, they lived on the west of the Sangpan Bum and migrated to the east three generations ago, as they were starving on that side, not having sufficient lands to cultivate.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as those of the Risa Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi (connections by marriage). Polygamy is not practised but the collection of a deceased relative's widow is permitted, as is the case with the Kachins.

*Divorce.*—This is permissible for the offence of adultery, for which offence the compensation to be delivered is a buffalo. Where one party does not wish to divorce the other a divorce can also be effected by the payment of compensation amounting to fifty rupees to the unwilling person.

*Religion.*—Like the remainder they are animists.

## LONGHKAI NAGAS.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as with the Rangsa and the Rangchu Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi.

*Marriage.*—It is said that sometimes after marriage, should the young couple be strangers or not care for each other to any great extent they may live together for months under the same roof without sleeping together, up to a year or more. Seems quite extraordinary, but I see no reason for them to have made the statement; a lad I met long before I entered the hills, who belongs to one of these clans, told me the same thing.

#### WANGA NAGAS.

*Religion.*—They are animists who sacrifice buffaloes, pigs, etc.

*Marriage.*—They give dowry for their brides. There is no marriage ceremony, just a feast at which are present the parents of the contracting parties. The go-betweens or agents, of whom sometimes there are more than one, are given one rupee each. Divorce is not practised and polygamy is not permitted. The collecting of widows is permitted, but not by married men, only by unmarried men.

*Courting.*—This generally takes place at some widow's house in the village, but where there is no such house, there is a house built in the village where the young people meet at night. The man generally marries the woman when she becomes pregnant or has an illegitimate child by him. In cases where he does not do so he gives compensation amounting to a buffalo. He then has custody of the child, for which, if too young to be parted from its mother, he must pay the mother for nourishing and tending. When a woman dies at childbirth of an illegitimate child, the man responsible has to arrange the funeral and pay all expenses. Where the man is unknown and does not declare himself, the village community arrange and pay for the funeral. In such cases it becomes communal.

*Burial of the Dead.*—After death the corpse is buried at the "nat" house, and the bereaved relatives then return home, when a merry-making or wake is held and buffaloes, pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no difference as regards the corpses of those who die by violence, at childbirth, or by accident; all are buried at the "nat" house.

*Taungyas.*—There are no customs, each does as he or she pleases.

*Roads.*—Only roads to the *taungyas* are maintained.

*Post of Headman.*—This is hereditary and when vacant devolves on the son, and when there are no sons on a near relative. The tribesmen do not assist the headman, but he settles their disputes and sometimes receives a fee from them. (Lu ai shara mung nga ai, N'lu ai shara mung nga ai).

*Naming Ceremony of Children.*—This is held when the child is about a week old. The father gives the child its name. At this ceremony only fowls are offered to the "nats."

#### RANCHI (*Trans-Namhpuk Hka*).

The village consists of 200 houses and it is said that the road is good enough for mule transport. They complain against the Lacham Htangan Nagas who attacked them last year and killed six women.

The headman makes no mention of the blood feud with Ranu and declares that the tribesmen killed near Kuku about five years ago were killed by the Htangan. Ranchi was heard of before I arrived at Ranu; very probably he will have a different tale when next met by a Government official. Their habits and customs are the same as those of the Rasa Nagas. They also are Haimis. Like all the others most, in fact all, the men take opium, women consumers are few, at Ranchi it is said there are only two.

East and west of the Namhpuk in this locality, the opium is cultivated on quite a large scale and is grown on the hills as well as in the Namhpuk Valley.

#### CHAWANG (*Trans-Namhpuk*).

There are two villages, old and new, in the former there are 100 houses and in the latter 150 houses. They are Haimis. Their habits and customs are the same as the Kawlum and Rasa Nagas.

They have enemies at Micham, the Htangan Naga village across the Namhpuk. The Micham have attacked since Roy "Du" visited their village and killed 8 males and 1 female. They also have been to attack the Michams but only succeeded in burning down part of the village. They also have a blood feud with the Haimis living at Toche. The feud originated within the past ten years. The Toches have killed 20 of them and they have been able to kill two of the Toche tribesmen. Amongst the 20 killed were 6 Kachins who assisted the Chawang tribesmen when they went to attack the Toche villagers. Toche is said to have from 20 to 30 guns. The Micham tribesmen do not possess guns but use spears and cross-bows, the tips of the arrows are smeared with poison.

#### MAIHKU (*Trans-Namhpuk*).

The Maihkus are of the Haimi tribe. Their habits and customs are the same as the Kawlum Nagas. Apparently they have no enemies and since there are 16 guns in their village the Htangans have never attacked them. (*A pleasure awaiting them.*)

#### HKALAK NAGAS.

They call themselves Hkalak Sangdung Gara Nagas and declare that they do not belong to the Haimi tribe.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived near Kantao in the Hukawng Valley and from there moved to the hills where they have been living for the past five generations.

*Religion.*—They are animists. No "nat" house now although there used to be in the time of their forefathers.

*Festivals or Nat Sacrifices.*—Held at the time when they are preparing to cut the season's *taungya*. The ceremony lasts one day; pigs and fowls are sacrificed. Each house holds the ceremony independently.

*Mawn Pwe.*

Held in order that the paddy crop may be a success.

*Wang Yang.*—This is the same sacrifice as the Mawn Pwe but is held by the community and buffaloes are sacrificed. This communal "nat" sacrifice lasts five days. It is only when the village cannot afford to hold the Wang Yang that the Mawn Pwe is held independently by each household.

*Cham Yak Tawk.*—Held at the time when the paddy is sprouting. It lasts one day; fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk. Sacrifices are also held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. On these occasions pigs only are sacrificed.

*Marriage.*—No ceremony is held but, on the day the bride comes to the man's house, liquor is drunk and the flesh of fowls and pigs, offered to the "nats," consumed. A merry-making only, apparently. Dowry is given for the bride throughout life as is the custom with the Kachins. In addition Rs. 10 is given to the bride's elder sisters and Re. 1 to her younger sisters, should she not have any, the money Rs. 11 is given to her parents. Inter-marry with other clans.

*Courtship.*—There is no recognised place for the young people to meet, such as separate houses or a maiden's chamber. It is declared that there ought not to be intercourse between sexes prior to marriage. When illegitimate children are born the man pays compensation, if he does not marry the woman, up to Rs. 80. After this the child goes with the mother. When such a woman becomes pregnant her parents turn her out of their house and her lover builds her a hut. Should she die at childbirth the hut is discarded; there is no need to purify it or even the whole village. The man responsible has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 500. Such cases occur very rarely.

*Naming Ceremony.*—This takes place at childbirth when there is a "nat" ceremony and the new born infant named. No recognised names as with the Kachins.

*Divorce.*—Only practised when the parties do not love each other. Adultery is punishable by payment of compensation of four main kinds, such as a gong, a gun, money, and a buffalo, and the delivery of other petty gifts such as *dahs*, spears, etc. Also permitted when adultery takes place. In such cases it is optional and left to the husband and wife concerned, who may or may not divorce each other.

*Polygamy.*—This is not practised, and the collection of widows although allowed is only taken advantage of generally by unmarried men.

*Taungyas.*—There are no recognised customs, each person or house sowing, cutting, reaping, etc., as they please. No custom for the whole village to cut in one place.

*Burial of the Dead.*—All are buried under the houses except those who die through violence, childbirth, or accident. These are buried in the jungle. Children dying at childbirth are also buried in the jungle.

*Purification of Houses.*—This takes place when a woman dies at childbirth, only the house in which the death takes place is purified and not the whole village!

*The Post of Headman.*—This is hereditary. The headman receives a small fee for settling disputes. He is also given small presents at marriages, and on other occasions of importance. For instance, at the time of a marriage he generally gets Rs. 5.

*Cleanliness.*—It is incumbent that the body be washed three times during life, once at birth, again at marriage and the third and last time at death. Baths are only taken very rarely on occasions when crossing a stream on a hot day. The Naga apparently never makes it a habit of going for a bath. He washes his clothes on those rare occasions when he takes a bath.

Their over-lord is the Shingbuiyang Chief whose ancestors conquered them. They give him gifts generally once a year, a buffalo, a gun, or a gong. They also assist at the building of a new house by the chief. or at a marriage, death ceremony, etc.

#### GASHAN NAGAS.

They and the Hkalak Nagas belong to the Rangpan Tribe.

*Customs and sacrifices.*—The same as the Hkalak Nagas. Subordinate to the Shingbuiyang Chief, assist at the clearing of the hill cultivation, building of new houses, at marriages, etc. Only when requested is the assistance given.

#### LAKAI NAGAS OR (*Lokai Nagas*): see below.

They belong to the Haimi Tribe.

*Origin.*—They lived west of the Sangpan and east of the Namhpuk near Galawn, but twelve years ago came to the locality where they now are. Formerly, about six generations ago, they were known as *Hlangans*.

*Their religion, habits and customs* are the same as those of the Hkalak Nagas but for the following exceptions.

Separate houses are built by the young people in the village where the courting takes place. When an illegitimate child is born and the man fails to take the woman, he pays compensation according to the scale paid by the Kachins, approximately Rs. 60.

*Marriage.*—Headmen only are permitted to have two wives. This prerogative has come down to them from the time of their ancestors. The tribesmen are not allowed to have two wives.

*Headmen.*—They get small fees for trying cases, but do not receive any presents at marriages and other important functions in the clan.

*Offences.*—For the offence of theft from another's granary, no matter how small the quantity of paddy stolen, the scale fixed is Rs. 50, in addition a young boar must also be delivered to purify the owner's granary, which has become defiled by the intrusion of one, not a member of the household.

*Naming Ceremony.*—This is performed about a month after birth ; pigs and fowls are offered to the "nats." Only the families concerned are invited to be present.

*Taungyas.*—New ones are cut every year, and the old year's cultivation also worked for the second time.

Opium habit as with the other clans, both men and women, if consumers, indulge in the habit.

#### SANCHING NAGAS.

They came from the same locality as the Lakai Nagas, and their habits, customs and "nat" ceremonies are the same.

NOTE.—The four clans Hkalak, Gashan, Lakai and Sanching are gradually being merged into one tribe as they frequently inter-marry.

#### LAKAI NAGAS.

They are subordinate to Singhwi Yawng Hkum whose ancestors came across the Sangpan at their request and helped them to conquer their enemies. When the Kachins helped them they did not have any casualties although, when they went with the friendly Nagas to attack their enemies, they lost eight men. They gave the Shingbwiyang Chief a viss of rupees (Rs. 140) as dowry for a bride a few years ago.

*Boundaries.*—They have fixed boundaries for the village as well as for each household. One village cannot work the other's lands without express permission, in cases where this is done contrary to custom, a small fine is imposed, say Rs. 5 or a 5-span gong. Should a whole neighbouring village do so, the fine is a buffalo.

*Hunting Customs.*—No offence is committed by a neighbouring tribesman killing game within their limits. He has to divide the flesh with them. When an animal is only wounded and later surrounded and killed, the head is always given to the hunter who first kills it. These customs prevail in all villages in the locality.

*Origin.*—They have lived here (Longra or Lakai Ga) for ten generations. They used to live down the Namhpuk near Kuku and came up from there. Prior to that they cannot say from where their ancestors came.

Kushu Ga, the only Naga village situated low down in a valley seen on the tour, is of the same clan and consists of a few hamlets low down in the valley east of this village towards the Sangpan.

#### RANGPAN TRIBE.

##### TULIM NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They and the other Tulim villagers lived in the Hukawng Valley near Kantao. but about four generations ago they left the valley and came to their present site in the Hills.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals.*—This "nat" ceremony is performed after the undergrowth in the *taungyas* has been cleared. It lasts three days ; only pigs and fowls are sacrificed ; their flesh is eaten and liquor drunk. There is no dancing. The ceremony is held for a good harvest.

*Ya Rin.*—This ceremony lasts for two days ; it takes place after the fields have been cut and before they are burnt. Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk ; there is no dancing.

*Sa H pang.*—It takes place before the paddy is sown. It lasts for two days, and those, who have, sacrifice pigs and fowls. There is no dancing.

*Kamkong Ku.*—It takes place after the paddy has been sown and lasts for two days. Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed, and there is dancing. Liquor also is drunk.

*Pue Vi.*—It is held after the paddy has been harvested, and lasts for two days. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed and liquor drunk ; there is no dancing. Those, who have cattle, sacrifice them.

NOTE.—All the above sacrifices are communal and held by the whole village at the same time, even though the *taungyas* are cut in different places.

*Marriage.*—There is no ceremony. In the first instance the man sends agents to ask for the bride ; these persons carry with them opium and presents to the value of Rs. 30. If the girl's parents agree to the match, there is a feast the same night by which the betrothal is cemented. Later the man gives dowry for his bride, and she then comes to him and they live as man and wife. Should the girl's parents object to the man, then he loses all he had spent in sending agents to ask for her. Dowry is given unto the third generation. Polygamy is not practised. The collecting of widows is permitted but only by an unmarried relative of the deceased husband.

*Adultery.*—If discovered, the man is invariably killed. He can however get off by paying compensation, which amounts to about Rs. 500. When the lover pays compensation the man can take back his wife. When he kills the lover or no compensation is paid, he generally divorces her.

*Naming Ceremony*—Four or five days after birth a feast is held and the child named.

*Courtship.*—In houses where there are maidens, there is generally a maiden's chamber. When a girl becomes pregnant, she has to leave the house and live elsewhere with her lover, who has to take care of her. In the event of her dying, he is obliged to arrange for her burial, and pays compensation amounting from two to three hundred rupees. Should she live he pays less compensation and has the custody of the child ; the woman returns to her parents. If he won't pay the compensation he can be seized and even killed. There are no bastard children in the village as they have all died. The mothers of such children are still living.

**Headman.**—The post is hereditary. At marriages in the village it is the custom to give the headman a present of money, and in return he assists at the marriage. It is also customary to assist the headman at the clearing, sowing, and reaping of his fields.

**Taungyas.**—These are only worked for one year. It is customary to clear inter-village roads.

**Burial of the Dead.**—The dead are buried under the houses, and after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a merry-making when such animals as are available in the family are killed. Animals sacrificed are buffaloes, pigs, etc. Liquor is drunk. People who die violent deaths, by accident, or at childbirth, are not buried but hidden away in the jungle and are at the mercy of the denizens of the forest.

They are subordinate to Shingbwiyang Nawngkhum and assist at marriages in the family, building of new houses, etc. At marriages Rs. 100 or a viss of rupees is generally given.

#### SANGTAI NAGAS.

**Origin.**—Very many years ago they lived down the Namhpuk Valley in the vicinity of Kuku and Kawlum, and have been living in their present locality for about five generations.

**Religion.**—They are animists.

**Festivals and Marriages**—the same as the Tulim Nagas.

**Courtship, etc.**—There are separate houses for the young people. When a woman becomes pregnant she lives in the hut for the women, where her child is born. At birth of the child the man has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 200, a *milum*, and a gun. The custody of the child remains with the mother. In the event of her dying the man is frequently killed unless he pays very heavy compensation called in Kachin "Bawng Ja".

**Naming Ceremony.**—This takes place within a month after birth. Only fowls are sacrificed; it is said that if pigs are sacrificed the child dies.

**Nat Houses.**—There are none. "Nat" sacrifices are held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. Such animals, etc., are sacrificed as can be afforded by the village or the individual.

**Headmen.**—The post when vacant goes to a brother or son. It is customary to assist the headman at the clearing, sowing and reaping of his fields, and also by giving him liquor and the flesh of animals at "nat" sacrifices.

**Taungyas.**—These are worked only once.

**Roads.**—It is customary for the whole village to clear the *taungya* road, but not inter-village roads.

**Death Customs.**—These are the same as those of the Tulim clan, with the exception that those who die by violence, accident and childbirth are buried in the jungle some distance from the village.

**Offences.**—For breaking into another's granary the compensation to be paid amounts to the value of a slave, *i.e.*, Rs. 500. They declare that they are subordinate to Shingbwiyang Nawng Hku and have given him three slaves, a cow, etc. This was a very long time ago (his ancestors). They give necklaces, gongs, etc., when this chief demands these articles.

#### SAUKRANG NAGAS.

**Origin.**—They formerly lived near Kantao in the Hukawng Valley and from there worked their way to Hanyam Bum on the East of the Namhpuk Hka, somewhere south of Kawlum. From this hill they worked their way up to their present site, which they have occupied for the past five generations.

**Religion.**—They are animists.

**Festivals.**—Those held are the same as with the Tulim Clan.

**Marriage.**—Agents are sent to ask for the bride with twenty "rawngs" of opium. Of these twenty "rawngs," ten are used by the elders as their fee, and the other ten given to the bride's people. If they are not agreeable to the marriage, they have to return twenty "rawngs," *i.e.*, double the amount they have received. Should the father of the woman be agreeable, then the same day the girl comes to the man's house. There is a feast when pigs and fowls are sacrificed. Wristlets are made from the tails of the pigs sacrificed and are worn by the couple in token that they are man and wife. No other ceremony takes place.

**Dowry.**—Should the bridegroom be able to afford it he gives Rs. 120 to his wife's people the same day, Rs. 100 to her parents and Rs. 20 to her cousins. Then later he gives another Rs. 50 and a 7-span gong. No other dowry is delivered, but should the man himself marry from another family, or one of his descendants take a woman from another family, other than the one his father has taken a woman from, he has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 50.

**Widows.**—These are collected but only by unmarried relatives. If there be no one to collect her, she must remain single. For misconduct with an uncollected widow the compensation to be paid amounts to Rs. 100.

**Polygamy** is not practised.

**Adultery.**—When this offence is committed the man is always killed and the woman pardoned. Should the guilty couple elope they are followed, discovered, the man killed and the woman brought back by her husband, who pardons her and she continues to live with him. The man cannot get off by paying compensation.

**Naming Ceremony.**—This is held five days after a child is born, when pigs are killed and a feast held at which the child is named.

**Courtship.**—There are separate houses for the young people of the sexes where they meet and make love. When a young woman becomes pregnant she continues to live in this house and it is here that her child is born. Should she die at childbirth, or should he not take her to wife, he has to pay compensation. Should he take her to wife he pays the usual dowry for



her to the parents. Three months (or two) after the birth of such a child the woman is escorted back to her parent's home, and the child goes with her, unless the lover pays extra compensation for his child, when he gets custody of it.

*Nat House.*—There is none ; sacrifices are held at building of new houses and establishing of villages.

*Headmanship.*—The post is hereditary and when vacant goes to a son ; in the event of there being no sons the post goes to the nearest relative. When an animal is killed in the forest it is necessary to give the headman a leg. It is also customary to help the headman in clearing, sowing and reaping his fields ; on these occasions the headman treats the helpers to liquor.

*Death Customs.*—The dead are buried under the houses with the exception of those who die by violence, accident, or at childbirth when they are buried in the jungle. On the night of the burial there is a feast when a pig is sacrificed.

*Offences.*—For ordinary theft or for breaking into a granary the compensation to be paid is Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 according to the gravity of the theft.

*Roads.*—Only *laungya* roads are cleared, not inter-village roads.

*Boundaries.*—Like all villages there are defined boundaries. Each household has its own *laungya* lands ; to work another's is punishable with fine. The bounds of such lands are marked by petty streams, rocks, trees, etc.

They are subordinate to Shingbwiayang Nawng Hkum but have not given him any presents for two generations, the last time they gave this family a gift was in the time of the present chief's grandfather when a slave was given.

### Attacks to which Saukrang Village has been subjected by the Naga Tribes living on the west of the Namhpuk Hka.

#### HANGPAWN OF SAUKRANG GA (*Statement*).

Five years ago the Nahim tribesmen, who are Htangans and live across the Namhpuk Hka, killed four of our women when they went to sow the paddy. A year later the Gachun tribesmen, who belong to the Kuwa tribe, killed four men near the *laungyas* close to the Namhpuk Hka. The fourth man was only wounded and managed to escape from them but died in the jungle. We found him the next day when the *laungyas* were visited.

Three years ago the Nahim tribesmen came while we were all away in the *laungyas* and the village was undefended, except for a few braves. On this occasion they killed one brave, one old man, one old woman, and three children. About two hundred people came to attack the village, ten, however, came to the village, the remainder stayed down in the stream. This was in the day time. Two-years ago they again attacked the village in the day time. The raiding party consisted of braves from the following villages : Nahin, Kyetsan ; Tamko, Langpan, Yangnav, Gachun, Humkoo, Lingting, and Rawnghun. They were unable to enter the village and, while they were retiring, we followed and attacked them. At this time they killed four of our braves.

Last year when a party of men and women was returning from Galawn, where they had gone to purchase paddy, they were attacked by a raiding party from Nihku and one maiden was killed.

There is said to be no debt and that these attacks are perpetrated solely to destroy the Saukrang people. The tribesmen fear that they will be attacked because they have made the roads and welcomed Government. *One of the reasons given for attack is that a few years ago after the Saukrang people had returned from paying a visit to Assam, there was an outbreak of small-pox and they were blamed for bringing the epidemic to these hills.*

#### RANGPAN TRIBE.

##### SANGCHE NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They declare that they have been living in this locality for one generation only, having come from the area north of Tulum and west of the Sangpan. Cannot state from where they came prior to that. They were starving north of Tulum Ga.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals and Nat Sacrifices.*—This is a communal feast which lasts for seven days, and may be attended by anyone who cares to do so. It is not necessary to be invited to it. There is feasting, but no

*Samyang Hpa.* dancing. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed, liquor drunk and opium consumed. After this, fields are reaped.

*Mye.*—This also is a communal feast which lasts for two days. It is held after the whole village has sown the paddy. No animals are sacrificed ; only liquor is drunk. At night the young people dance.

*Samya Taw.*—This lasts for three days and is held during the rains just prior to the grain forming in the paddy plants. Pigs and cattle are sacrificed, if obtainable. There is a feast but no dancing.

NOTE.—These festivals are held in order that the harvest may be plentiful.

Three generations ago they held the Wang Yang Pwe but they do not hold it now.

*Marriage.*—There is no marriage ceremony ; an agent is sent for the bride and, should she and her parents be agreeable to the union, she then comes to the man's house. A feast is held at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed. From the hairs of the tails of the pigs killed a wristlet is woven which is worn by the woman. It is not essential to wear the wristlet throughout life and it is discarded once it breaks.

**Dowry.**—This consists of five kinds as follows and is given after the union of the couple :—A buffalo, a gun or Rs. 100, and three gongs. Later in life should there be female children, when they are given in marriage, part of the dowry, given for them, has to be given to the woman's parents.

**Polygamy.**—This is not practised and the collection of widows is permitted only by an unmarried relative.

**Divorce.**—This is permitted in cases where the parties do not love each other, and for the offence of adultery. When a man divorces his wife the dowry he has given for her has to be returned to him. When the wife divorces the husband he loses the dowry. This is the case when adultery takes place. The erring one is thus punished.

**Misconduct with an Uncollected Widow.**—This is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to the dowry which has been given for her *plus* one extra kind.

**Misconduct with a Married Woman.**—This is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to seven kinds.

**Naming Ceremony.**—For sons three months after birth. For daughters two months after birth. The child's head is shaved or shorn. A feast is held at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed.

**Courtship.**—In big villages there are separate houses for the young people of both sexes. When a woman becomes pregnant, the man either takes her to wife, or he pays her Rs. 30 to cleanse her body before she returns to her parents' home. Her child is born in the hut and she is cared for by her lover. When the man does not marry the woman he has no claim on the child, which goes with its mother. In such cases when the couple meet, they look the other way and take no notice of each other.

**Nat Houses.**—There are none. No "nat" sacrifices are held, either at the building of new houses or the establishing of new villages. Village sites are moved to suit the lands being cultivated.

**Taungyas.**—These are cultivated twice only if the lands are good, otherwise a fresh *laungya* is cut yearly.

**Headship.**—The post is hereditary and goes either to a son or a near relative. No assistance is rendered to the headman at any time, but when he tries cases he receives a small fee; for instance, should he fine a person Rs. 10 he receives Rs. 2. Elders are selected by the parties.

**Offences.**—For breaking into a granary or other offence the punishment is awarded according to the discerning powers of the offender. For instance a child is not punished so heavily as one of maturer years.

**Death Customs.**—Corpses are kept for three days and then buried under the houses. The night of the burial there is a feast, when buffaloes, pigs, etc., are killed according to the wealth of the deceased. People who died by violence, accident, or women at childbirth, are buried at once in the jungle and the feast held.

**Roads.**—No customs prevail regarding the maintaining of inter-village roads, only roads to the *laungyas* are cleared.

**Boundaries.**—There are none. Should others come and work lands in their immediate neighbourhood they are stopped if seen, but should they have sown their paddy before discovery, no action is taken. No action is taken against tribesmen, who are not members of the tribe, hunting in the neighbourhood of their villages.

They are subordinate to the Shingbwiyang Nawng Hkum whom they refer to as their Mong Du. The family helped their ancestors to overcome their old enemies the Htangan, and since then have become their overlords. At S. H. Hkum's marriage they gave him Rs. 300.

#### LANGSHIN NAGAS.

**Origin.**—A generation ago they lived in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk Hka, and then moved to their present sites. They cannot state where their ancestors lived.

**Religion.**—They are animists.

**Festivals.**—These are the same as those of the Sangche Nagas; all are held for the good of the crops.

**Marriage.**—There is no ceremony. An agent with an escort is sent to ask for the bride. The agent is given Rs. 5 and each member of the escort Re. 1 or Rs. 2. Dowry is given once only for brides and consists as follows :—One 8-span gong, one 7-span gong, one buffalo and three pigs. Small sums in lieu of presents are also given to each of the bride's cousins (female), should she have any. A wristlet woven from the tail hairs of the pig sacrificed is worn by the bride.

**Polygamy.**—This is not practised. The collection of widows is permitted but only by an unmarried relative.

**Divorce.**—This is permitted and custom as to the return of dowry is the same as the Sanche Nagas.

**Adultery.**—The compensation to be delivered amounts to a cow or a buffalo. Misconduct with an uncollected widow is not considered an offence. For raping her the man has to pay compensation according to the gravity of the offence; there is no fixed scale.

**Naming Ceremony.**—There is no fixed period, the infant's head is shaved and a small feast held when fowls are killed. The infant is then named.

*The following customs are the same as the Sangche Nagas—*

- Regarding huts for the young people.
- Illegitimate children
- New houses and villages.
- Appointment of headmen.
- Death customs.
- Clearing roads.
- Boundaries.
- Hunting.

*Headman.*—Should the headman ask for assistance to clear his fields, etc., he is helped. There is no fee for trying cases, but should the headman act as go-between he receives the same as any other go-between.

*Taungyas.*—If the lands are good they are cultivated a second year, otherwise a fresh *taungya* is cut.

They state that they are subordinate to S. N. Hkum but have given him no gifts; the last time they gave a gift was Rs. 20 (twenty) to his father. Subordinate to him on-account of help given their ancestors to overcome their enemies.

#### MAWSHANG NAGAS.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived about three marches from Ngalang Ga at the headwaters of Namhpuk Hka, which area they left on account of the lands being worked out. They have been living on their present sites since the time of their fathers.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals.*—Three are held for the success of the crops; these are not properly observed and sometimes no animals are offered. The first takes place when the paddy fields are burnt, the second when the fields are sown, and the third when the paddy is eaten. The first and third last for one day only. The second lasts for three days and on the three nights the young people dance for a short time only. When a man has become wealthy he holds a feast at which buffaloes, etc., are sacrificed. He holds this feast to give his relatives and connections a good time.

*Marriage.*—An agent is always sent to ask for the bride. Should he bring back a favourable reply on his return, the man's parents and relatives go and bring the woman, when a feast is held, at which pigs are sacrificed and liquor drunk.

*Dowry.*—If this is given at one time, it amounts to a buffalo, an 8-span gong, a 7-span gong, a 6-span gong, and three old gongs. In addition the sum of Rs. 30 has to be given to the uncles and aunts of the bride from her mother's side. After the marriage the young couple do not live as man and wife at once, and it may be months before they sleep together although they may live for this period under the same roof. Should the woman not care for the man and have another lover, the lover can marry her provided he gives the dowry which the husband has given, *plus* one extra kind. Dowry according to the above scale, if not given at once, can be spread over a period of years even unto the second generation.

*Divorce.*—This is permitted. For the offence of adultery the man is beaten and has to pay very heavy damages. It is declared that compensation to be paid is so much that this offence is never committed. Men are afraid to misconduct themselves with another's wife. The woman is not punished.

*Polygamy.*—This is not allowed. The collection of widows by a near relative is permitted, but only unmarried relatives. Misconduct with a widow, provided the man enters and lives with her and looks after her children, is not a serious offence, and he is not heavily fined, but, should he not do so, he often has to pay compensation amounting to the dowry which has been given for her.

*Courtship.*—There are no customs of maiden's huts and no free love is permitted between the sexes prior to marriage. When such love takes place and a child is the outcome, the man either takes the woman to wife or he pays compensation amounting to Rs. 50. He then has no claim on the child which goes with its mother. When such a woman is given in marriage, the child does not go with her to her new home, as her husband has no claim on the child which remains with her uncles and aunts.

*Nat Houses.*—There are no proper "nat" houses. A small sacrifice is held and liquor drunk at the building of new houses but not at the establishing of new villages. Villages are moved to suit the lands being cultivated.

*Taungyas.*—If the lands are fertile they are cultivated two years in succession, otherwise they cultivate a new area every year.

*Headmanship.*—This is hereditary, no assistance is rendered to the headman at any time, unless he feeds those assisting him in his fields, etc.

*Offences.*—Theft the same as with Mawrang Nagas. For raping a married woman, the compensation to be delivered amounts to the dowry which has been given for her. For raping an unmarried woman one has to pay Rs. 30.

*Death Customs.*—Only those who die of epidemics are buried under the houses. Those who die ordinary deaths are cremated in front of the houses and those who die by violence or accident or childbirth are burnt in the jungle. Corpses are cremated on the day following death; in cases of epidemics they are buried at once as these tribesmen have sense enough to know that by keeping the corpse there is a likelihood of the epidemic spreading. A feast is held on the night that the corpse has been disposed of.

*Purification of Houses.*—When a woman dies at childbirth the head of the tailless monkey Ningrao is used to purify the house, and many guns fired to drive away the evil spirit.

*Boundaries, Fishing, Hunting.*—There are no customs.

*Taungyas.*—*Taungya* roads only are cleared. *Taungyas* are cut in one place if the land is good; if not, the individuals please themselves.

Subordinate to Shingbwiayang Nawng Hkum, have given similar presents as the others, and reasons for becoming subordinate to his family the same.

#### MAWRANG NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They have been living on their present sites for about one generation. They lived about four marches southwards in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk and left that area, as their lands were worked out. Their old sites are now occupied by the Htangans.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals and Nat Sacrifices.*—This is held when the paddy is about a foot high. It lasts two days; there is feasting and drinking but no dancing. Pigs and fowls are chiefly sacrificed, but those, who can afford it, kill cattle. The "nat" sacrifices are to the land spirit for the good of the crops (N'Ga nat Hpe ya).

*Sam We.*

*Yang Hpaaw.*—It is held the day before the paddy is sown and lasts one day only. There is no dancing; pigs, fowls, and cattle are sacrificed by those who can afford them. This sacrifice is also for the welfare of the crops.

*Saling Kawk.*—This is held after the paddy has been reaped and lasts two days. There is no dancing, but the people sing. Pigs, fowls and cattle are sacrificed. It is the thank-offering for the harvest.

*Mul.*—This is held after the paddy is sown. No animals are sacrificed. Lots of liquor is drunk, and many are said to get drunk.

*Marriage.*—Agents are always sent to ask for brides even if the man is marrying into a family from which none of his ancestors have taken brides. Dowry is paid throughout life, and in cases when the man is poor goes on unto the third generation. In such cases the man makes over a daughter to his wife's people and they give her in marriage and accept the dowry which is given for her and which really ought to go to the father of the girl, but which he loses since he has not been able to deliver sufficient dowry for her mother. It is said that women are valuable (Numsha Gaw Reng Ai Bawk Re).

*Polygamy.*—This is not permissible, chiefly because no one is wealthy enough to deliver dowry for two women.

*Divorce.*—This is not permitted.

*Adultery.*—This is punishable by the payment of compensation which is very heavy:—approximately, a buffalo, a gun, and 7 or 8 gongs. To rape a married woman is a very serious offence and compensation to be delivered is a buffalo, Rs. 100, cattle, etc. The husband beats the offender and, declaring that as he has ruined his home and that he also will ruin the other, he cuts his house with a dah (N'Ta Sat Kau Ai). It is permitted to collect widows but only by unmarried relatives. A small amount has to be paid as compensation for misconduct with an uncollected widow. If there is no one to collect her, then her relatives can come forward and give her in marriage elsewhere and accept dowry for her, or any man may enter and live with her. It is not considered an offence to do so.

*Naming Ceremonies of Infants.*—For girls, this takes place within the month following birth, for sons, in the following month. The heads of the infants are shaved and the name is always given by an elderly male relative, such as a grandfather, uncle, etc. A feast is held at which are sacrificed what the parents can afford. Poor people do not have a feast; they simply name the child.

*Courtship.*—There are no separate houses for the young people, who do not have any sexual intercourse before marriage. It is considered a very shameful thing to have an illegitimate child; the mother generally neglects it and it dies. When an illegitimate child is born the man has to pay compensation ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60. (Houses for the unmarried were seen at Ngalang Ga, and I fear that all that is stated above has been grossly exaggerated.)

Villages are moved to suit *taungyas*, but not so frequently as the Pyengoo villages. They look more stable. "Nat" sacrifices are performed at the establishing of new villages and building of new houses.

*Nat Houses.*—These exist.

*Headmanship.*—This is not hereditary and goes to the most suitable man in the village when a vacancy occurs. It is not customary to assist the village headman with his fields, but should he feed the people on the days he requires help they turn out and work for him.

*Death Customs.*—These are same as with the Sangche Nagas, with the exception that the corpse is buried as soon as possible after death takes place.

*Offences.*—Theft is punishable according to the gravity of the offence. In some cases the thief may receive only a warning not to steal in future, in others he may be beaten, and yet in others he may have to pay compensation amounting to as much as a buffalo.

*Boundaries, Hunting, Fishing, etc.*—These are the same as with the Sangche Nagas.

*Taungyas.*—These may be worked for three years if the land is good. Generally, they are only worked for one year. It is not necessary for the village *taungyas* to be cut in one place. Each person cuts where he pleases.

*Roads.*—Only roads to *taungyas* are maintained, and not those between villages.

*Opium Habit.*—Like all the other Nagas, both men and women are addicted to this drug.

They also are subordinate to S.N. Hkum, whose family helped their ancestors to overcome their enemies. From the time of the present Chief's grandfather they have given them gifts. They have given the present chief Rs. 140, a viss of rupees.

#### MYIMU NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They have been living in the present locality for one generation only. They left the lands west of the Namhpuk because they had no lands to work.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*The following customs are the same as those of the Sangche Nagas—*

Festivals.

Dowry.

Divorce.

Punishment for misconduct when married.

Naming ceremony.

Unmarried people.

Headman, trying of cases.

Burial of the dead.

Cutting of *Taungyas*.

*Polygamy.*—This is permitted. Even married men collect a relative's widow.

*Nat Sacrifices.*—These are held at the building of new houses and the establishing of new villages. Cattle, pigs and fowls are sacrificed according to the wealth of the village or the individual holding the sacrifice.

#### LONGRI NAGAS.

*Origin.*—There are three villages belonging to this clan living on the further side of the Patkoi Range in Assam. They have occupied their present site for from 10 to 20 generations. Formerly they lived in the Hukawng Valley and from there gradually worked their way up the Tarung Hka, the main tributary of the Tanai, and thence downwards to the side they now occupy.

*Religion.*—They are like the other animists.

*Festivals and Nat Ceremonies.*—The following are held and it is said all are for the welfare of the crops :—

*Ya Bin.*—Held before the *laungya* has been cleared and lasts for two days. Fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk.

*Koi Yawng.*—Held a day after the *laungyas* have been cleared and lasts a full month. No work is done throughout this period. Each house sacrifices separately, each sacrifice lasts a day. The next day is devoted to rest. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed, and liquor drunk. There is dancing on each night that a sacrifice is held, that is, every alternative night.

*Sa Hphang.*—Held a day before the paddy is sown. Lasts for two days and pigs and fowls are sacrificed.

*Moi Pwe.*—Held after all the paddy has been sown and lasts for five nights. On all these nights there is dancing. At this "nat" ceremony only pigs are sacrificed.

*Marriage Customs.*—On the day the woman is asked in marriage the man has to give 20 "rawngs" of opium. Should his request be granted, a feast is held, at which a pig is sacrificed. The hairs of the tail are woven into bracelets and are worn by the couple on their left hands as symbolical that they are man and wife. They live together after this. On the night of the marriage Rs. 20 is given to the bride's people; the dowry which has to be given at this time is of two kinds, Rs. 200 and a buffalo. Later, dowry is given at the birth of each child, one present, or one kind, unto the third generation.

*Widows.*—They are collected only by relatives of the deceased husband; where none such exists, the widow remains single. Misconduct with a widow is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to the amount of dowry which had been given for her.

*Courtship.*—There are separate houses in the village for the sexes. Each sex visits the other in the house so set apart, but love-making only takes place in the house built for the females. On a woman becoming pregnant the man has to marry her and pay the usual dowry. Should she die at childbirth, the man has to pay very heavy compensation, as the woman's people accuse him of having obtained their daughter by deceit or craft. They immediately visit him with a force to kill him, and to escape death, he has to give them a present of Rs. 20 or an 8-span gong, and give them assurances that he will follow the custom by giving the full compensation.

*Adultery.*—This is punishable by the payment of very heavy compensation which, if not paid, results in the man being killed, and the woman divorced.

*Naming Ceremony.*—Ten days after the birth of the child there is a naming ceremony, when a feast is held, the child named, and a present given as dowry by the father to his wife's people.

*Nat House.*—There is none. "Nat" sacrifices are held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. At these sacrifices such animals are sacrificed, as the individual or village can afford; cows, buffaloes, pigs, fowls, etc.

*Headmanship.*—This goes at death to a younger brother, but where none exists, to the headman's son. The headman generally gives the tribesmen liquor when they assist him to cut, sow and reap his fields. He also receives a fee such as a piglet or opium for trying cases.

*Theft.*—Theft from another's granary is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to Rs. 100 or more, according to the status of the person owning the granary. According to the same scale a pig or a buffalo is to be given for sacrifice to purify the granary which has been contaminated by the intrusion of a person not a member of the household. Ordinary theft is punishable according to the decision of the elders trying the case.

*Death.*—The disposal of the dead is the same as with the Tulim with the following exception; women who die at childbirth, and their infants if dying at the same time, are buried together under the house—apparently the only persons who are buried under the houses.

#### TRANS-NAMHPUK NAGAS.

**KUWA TRIBE OF NAGAS.**—The following villages belong to this tribe :—Gahki, Gahkun, Bongtai, Gaman, Gala, Nukpa and Gahuk.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Influence over them by Kachins and other Naga Chiefs.*—They declare that they were assisted to overcome their enemies by Shinbwiyang's father, and that since then some of them are subordinate to his family as well as to the Tulim and Longri Nagas. They appear, however, to have broken away from most of these ties and some declare that they are independent and no longer subordinate to these other tribesmen (Kachins and Nagas). Shingbwiyang does not wish to exercise any sway over them as he states that they live much too far away and will not carry out his orders.

*Dowry.*—This is given once only for the bride.

*Polygamy.*—This is practised and even married men collect the widows of deceased relatives.

*Dead.*—The dead are buried under the houses.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut in one place. This is very probably done for safety, since there are enemies all round. The same "nat" ceremonies and feasts are held as those of the Tulum Tribesmen.

**RANGPAN TRIBE OF NAGAS.**—The headmen from the following villages came across to pay their respects :—Dongai, Maitai and Gawchung.

All these villagers are animists. Gawchung declare that they came from the Hukawng Valley and that their habits and customs are identical with those of the Hkalak Nagas. They declare they are subordinate to S.N. Hkum who says that they do not carry out his orders and so he does not wish to rule them.

**HTANGAN NAGAS.**—Headmen from the following villages came in to see me :—Sangri and Lumnu.

They are animists.

At Sangri they have blood-feuds with the Galawn and Gapawn tribesmen ; from both these villages they have killed six men each and have lost one man to each village, a strange coincidence and very probably a lie endeavouring to make out that they are superior men to the Galawn and Gapawn people.

**HAIMI NAGAS.**—Only tribesmen from Gaha or Hahang came across. They declare that there is another village called Cherang, or Sherung.

### THE NAGA TRIBES, SUB-TRIBES AND VILLAGES.

TRIBES,	SUB-TRIBES.	VILLAGES.
		<i>East of the Namhpuk Hka.</i>
Pyengoo	... Wangoo	... Lapyep, Ritu, Ngakun.
	Leinsi	... Pangaw.
Haimi	... Pangaw	... Shirang.
	Rasa	... Janhtang, Ngalang, Tektu, Hakon, Wakshang, Angsein.
	Kumga	... Kum Ga.
	Kawlum	... Kawlum, Kama, Bumbasu, Chipa, Longan.
	Punlum	... Punlum Ga.
	Kuku	... Kuku.
	Wanga	... Tara Zup, Tamat, Tara Ga.
	Galawn	... Katawng, Lari, Somra.
	Ranu	... Ranu,
	Risa	... Sela Nok, Loilum Nok, Lungkawng Nok.
	Rangsa	... Gagaw, Nawsing, Sanglum Dung, Gunshu.
	Ranghku	... Samtik, Wahku, Sumri, Timung or Ranghku, Hsamshu, Sumri (west Sangpan).
	Hkangchu	... Lingnuk Nok, Chiwawt.
	Longhkai	... Chammi, Lomrang.
	Lakai or Lokai	... Lahku, Longra.
	Sanching	... Sanching or Sanra.
Rangpan	... Mawshang	... Kaichu, Pantsun, Ritu, Langhpi, Maihtawng, Ngalang, Nawng, Laza.
	Sangche	... Tagap, Hashang, Yure, Hpaket, Sharakawng, Hkumpitu, Hkahtang, Nathkaw, Lungkan, Changrang.
	Langshin	... Tarung, Talik, Pyebuk, Langshin, Tagap, Rehkao.
	Myimu	... Htamyung, Yawngyit.
	Hkalak	... Hkalak, Gawchung.
	Gashan	... Sanhtung.
	Tulum	... Tulum, Hkamkhio or Hkamkhaw, Manpe, Longtang or Lungkan, Tulum on the Pathkoi Range.
	Longri	... Longri Ga.
	Sangtai	... Sanka.
	Saukrang	... Saukrang.
	Mawrang	... Kumpa, Chanrang, Ngalang, Namlip, Kaiche, Namlip Hku, Lungtang, Tagung.
Htangan	... Macham and Htanghkaw.	Htanghkaw. Some live at Kuku.
		<i>West of the Namhpuk Hka.</i>
Haimi	...	Ranchi, Chawang (old and new) Mihku
		Hahang or Gaha, Sherung.
Htangan	...	Samse.
Rangpan	...	Sangri Lumnu.
		Dongai, Maitai, Sanri.
		Dongai, Maitai, Sanri.
Ku Wa	...	Gahki, Gahkun, Bongtai, Gaman, Gala, Nukpa.

## APPENDIX F.

### Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th—13th Century A.D.

BY G. H. LUCE, I.E.S., READER IN FAR EASTERN HISTORY TO THE  
UNIVERSITY OF RANGOON.

(The references are numbered serially and are given at the end of this Note.)

The information contained in this note is mostly obtained from the original inscriptions of the Pagan dynasty, numbering in all over three hundred.<sup>1</sup> In some cases it has been possible to collate it with contemporary Chinese sources,<sup>2</sup> but not all the frontier tribes mentioned by the latter have been considered since this would carry the discussion too far afield. It appears safest, to begin with, to consider old Burma as seen from within, *i.e.* in the early Mon and Burmese inscriptions. The information gleaned is of course stray and incidental, not always proportionate to the importance of the people concerned; thus the Burmese and Mon writers of the inscriptions say more of others than of themselves. But even this scanty and scattered information seems worth collecting. How far the old terms are used in a racial or a linguistic sense, is a moot point.

1. **MRANMĀ**, *i.e.* the Burmans.—The word is always written with an *-n* in old Burmese, but the spelling **ၵၢၦၰၵၢ** *mraimā* appears at least as early as 1342 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In Burmese the word first occurs in 1190 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Ninety years earlier, in 1101-2 A.D., a Mon inscription<sup>5</sup> mentions them under the name *mirmā*, in connection with the building of Kyanzittha's palace: at the ceremonies held on this occasion there was *mirmā* (Burmese) singing, *rmeñ* (Mon) singing, and *lircul* (? Pyu) singing; there were present also Burmese and Mon experts in house-building, wearing loincloths (*sirpūn*), white hairbands, white *kuchom* shirts, and other articles of clothing (*sukhñy cindrow* and *sukhñy ulār*) which are now difficult to explain. The Chinese word for Burma—*Mien*—does not appear till 1271 A.D.<sup>6</sup>; if this represents, as seems likely, the first syllable of *mraimā*, the *mr* in the latter word must already have been pronounced like *my*; if so, the *-ir* in the Old Mon form of the word is merely a Mon infix.

The phrase "land of the Burmans" (*mraimā prañ*) occurs in one inscription, probably dated 1235.<sup>7</sup> The part they peopled was clearly central Burma, from about Sagu and Taung-dvinyi to the upper Mu valley and below Tagaung on the Irrawaddy. Including lands of conquest (*nuiññān*), Narapatisithu claimed in 1196 to rule eastwards beyond the Salween, westwards to Macchagiri and Patikkara, northwards to Takoñ (Tagaung) and Na-choñ-khyañ (near Bhamo)<sup>8</sup>. In 1292 Na-choñ-tiwā is given as the boundary (? to the north) of Klawcwa's kingdom, Taluinsare and Tawai (Tenasserim and Tavoy) to the south, and possibly the Salween to the east<sup>9</sup>; this latter inscription registers a claim rather than a fact.

The first extant dated inscription written (partly) in Burmese is the Myazedi inscription of Pagan,<sup>10</sup> c. 1113 A.D., at the very beginning of Alaungsithu's reign. Previous kings of the dynasty used Pali, Sanskrit or Mon as the language of their records. Alaungsithu's main inscription, the Shwegugyi of 1131 A.D. is in Pali (and Sanskrit)<sup>11</sup>; but about six original inscriptions in Burmese may perhaps be ascribed to his reign.<sup>12</sup> The first king to use Burmese for his own inscriptions seems to be Narapatisithu, whose Cūlamanī inscription (1183 A.D.) survives probably in copy,<sup>13</sup> and Dhammarājaka inscription (1196-8) in original<sup>14</sup>; over thirty other Burmese inscriptions may belong to his reign. During the remaining reigns they multiply, totalling altogether over 300 original inscriptions in Burmese down to 1300 A.D.

The word *mraimā* occurs in these applied to slaves dedicated to pagodas<sup>15</sup>; it is found contrasted with *kulā* (Indian) slaves at Pagan etc.,<sup>16</sup> and *cakraw* (? Karen) slaves at Sagu.<sup>17</sup> In 1198 Narapatisithu dedicated as many as 500 *mraimā* and 500 *kulā* slaves to the Dhammarājaka.<sup>18</sup> The Burmese slaves mentioned in other inscriptions<sup>19</sup> include musicians: *panlyā*, who were women, and *cañ sañ*, drummers, who were men.

2. **PYU**.—The "Names of the Pyu" have been discussed on p. 90 of Vol. XXII (1932) of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, where most of the evidence relating to the Pagan period is given. The provisional conclusions are as follows:—(a) the old spelling in Burmese appears to be **ၵၢၦၰ** *pyā*<sup>20</sup> rather than **ၵၢၦၰ** *prañ*<sup>21</sup>, (b) this, and the Chinese *p'iao*, represent the name applied to them by peoples to the north of Burma, the Burmans, Chinese and probably also Nan-chao, (c) they themselves, and the people south of them, the Mons and Javanese, employed a name like \**l'ulcul* (according to the *Hsin-f'ang-shu*)<sup>22</sup> or *lircul* (according to the Mon palace-inscription of Kyanzittha)<sup>23</sup>.

The Pyu people and language must have undergone rapid absorption or disappearance during the Pagan period. Not more than two inscriptions in the peculiar script and language deemed to be Pyu, seem to belong to it. It is true that there are three Pyu inscriptions now at Pagan. One of these, Stone 96 at the Pagan Museum, has been moved there from Halingyi in Shwebo district<sup>24</sup>; it belongs therefore, presumably, to the pre-Pagan period. Of the others, one (in duplicate) is the Myazedi, dated c. 1113 A.D. The other is Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date; but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287 and 1298, when, following the capture of Pagan by Asān-tāmūr, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism.

This also may explain the frequent use of the term in Chinese texts dealing with the Mongol conquest, especially with reference to places on the China frontier. *P'iao-tien*,<sup>22</sup> 'native district of the Pyu,' was a *chün-min-fu* on the direct route between Nan-tien and the 'Town at the Head of the River,' i.e. Koñcañ (Kaungsin) near Bhamo; it was the route followed by Prince Sängqūdār in the invasion of 1283-84; Huber identifies it with the "route along the right bank of the Nam-ti and Ta-ping, which goes to Bhamo by San-ta and Man-waing."<sup>23</sup> *P'iao-shan*,<sup>24</sup> in P'ing-mien Road, was perhaps further south; we are told that it submitted to the Mongols about 1260 A.D., and that it was inhabited by Pai-i or Shans. The *Pu-p'iao*, or *P'u* and *P'iao*,<sup>25</sup> were tribes on the Burma frontier west of Yung-ch'ang and the Mekong; they were overrun by Násir ed-Din's invasion of 1279 A.D., which got as far as the 'Town at the Head of the River'. In Jan. 1271 "chieftains of three tribes of the 'Gold Teeth' and P'iao kingdom, A-ni-fu-lo-ting and A-ni-chao, came to make their submission, and offered as tribute three tame elephants and nineteen horses"<sup>26</sup>; these P'iao were doubtless also on the frontier. Elsewhere, in the biography of Ch'ieh-lieh in the *Yüan-shih*,<sup>27</sup> the phrase 'P'iao kingdom' seems to mean Pagan.

The late Mr. Taw Sein Ko's derivation of the name *Pukam* (Pagan) from "Pugama = the village of the Pu or Pyu tribe,"<sup>28</sup> though "irrefutably confirmed" according to Mr. Duroiselle "by the Bodh-Gaya inscription (1295 A.D.) in which the king is styled the *Pu-ta-lhein-min* or the Chief of one hundred thousand Pu, that is, the Pyus"<sup>29</sup> seems questionable.

3.  $\omega\delta$  SAK and KAMRAM.—Among the oldest inhabitants of Burma the Chronicles mention, besides the Pyu, the  $\omega\delta\omega$  *Kam-yam* and the *Sak* (Thet). The word  $\omega\delta$  *kamram* occurs once in a Pagan inscription<sup>30</sup> which speaks of the dedication of "128 Kamram slaves." The reading is clear, and the inscription (of which the obverse only has been published) looks original, but the dates in it are so wild that one has a certain hesitation in accepting its unsupported evidence. *Kamrath*, moreover, may be the name of a place rather than a people.

The Saks are still recorded in the present Census, under 'Language' as well as 'Race,' as surviving in small numbers in Akyab district. The name occurs half a dozen times in the Pagan inscriptions,<sup>31</sup> and there is no reason to doubt its ethnic sense. One of the three villages of slaves dedicated in the Myazedi inscription of c. 1113 A.D. is *Sak Munalon*. It is characteristic of the spelling of this inscription to write *lon* for *lwan*; so the village in question may safely be read "Munalwan of the Sak." The name *Munalwan* is not uncommon in the inscriptions,<sup>32</sup> but the place remains unidentified. In one case it seems to be described as "Munalwan down stream," sc. below Pagan; but the reading is scarcely legible at present. One of the peaks of Mt. Turañ (Tuywindaung) near Pagan was called, in the Pagan period<sup>33</sup> as now, Mt. *Sak-cuiw*, i.e. "ruling the Sak." A common old Burmese ministerial title was *Maha-sak-thit*, which seems to mean "Terror of the Sak."<sup>34</sup>

4.  $\omega\delta$  SAW and  $\omega\delta\omega$  KANTU.—The name *kantü* (= Kadu) is frequent in slave names in the inscriptions, from 1198 A.D.<sup>35</sup> onwards. The majority of the Kadus, as shown in the present Census, are to be found in Katha and Myitkyina districts; their language is classified in the Sak Group; but the difference in their totals under "Race" (36,400) and "Language" (20,305) shows that their language is gradually disappearing. It is probably yielding to Burmese. In the Pagan period they were further south, in the neighbourhood of Tagaung and the upper Mu; and it is probable that they were only gradually conquered by the Burmans in the course of the dynasty. The northernmost of the Burmese *kharuin* ( $\omega\delta\omega$ ) was Tonpluh (Taungbyongyi) in Mandalay district. Beyond this there were various *tuik* ( $\omega\delta\omega$ ) under Burmese control, especially along the Mu in Shiwebo district. *Thipe' syañ*<sup>36</sup> (modern Tabayin, west of the Mu) was largely peopled, it appears, by *Saw Kantü*, or *Saw* and *Kantü*. In 1246 we read of "Saw Kantü headmen coming from the place Thipesyān" to Pagan in connection with a sale of land. In Nātonmyā's reign Prince Rājasū made a dedication of land in the presence of certain Kantü, from whom it had presumably been bought.<sup>37</sup> Several of the Pagan royalty, including queen Phwā Jaauw of Minwaing, had lengthy negotiations over purchase of Sāauw (= Saw) land with the Saw officials and *asañ* (athi); all these, whether Saw or Saw Kantü, had titles similar to those in use in the more Burmese parts of the country.<sup>38</sup>

But the centre of the Kadus was doubtless on the Irrawaddy round about Tagaung, the *Saithway pran* (Thindwè) of an old Burmese inscription<sup>39</sup>. In 1196, in the Dhammarajakā inscription<sup>40</sup>, King Narapatisithu claimed to rule as far as Takon (Tagaung) and Na-chon-khyun (Ngahsaungchan, near Bhamo) in the north. It is the first Burmese mention of the north of Burma, and it suggests that by this date the Kadus had, partially at least, submitted. Other inscriptions<sup>41</sup>, misdated and not original, give "Kantü Na-na-kri, the tract where fire burns on water" as the northern limit of Narapatisithu's kingdom. In 1228, according to an original inscription<sup>42</sup>, king Nāton Skhiñ (sc. Nātonmyā) gave his general Lakkhānā Lakway "a reward for bravery in fighting the Takon (Tagaung) war"; the war may have marked the final conquest of the Kadu. In 1236 the name Koñcañ (Kaungsin, near Bhamo)<sup>43</sup> first appears; thenceforward it was strongly held by Burmese *Mahāsaman* or governors, down to Dec. 9th, 1283<sup>44</sup> when the Mongols captured Koñcañ, including doubtless Na-chon-khyam *mruiv* or fortress.

Thereafter we owe our fullest accounts of the Kadu to the *Yüan-shih*, where they are called *Chien-tu*.<sup>45</sup> After the fall of Kaungsin the Burmans still put up some resistance—not at Malè as the Chronicles state, but further north at Tagaung:—"all the rebel barbarians relied on Ta-kung town of the Chien-tu to resist our great army. Again he [sc. Yagantegin, the Mongol general] sent Buddhist monks to proclaim the consequences, good or evil (of their behaviour); but they were murdered. Thereupon he directed his army to advance both by water and land, and fought and stormed (the town). The Chien-tu, 'Gold teeth' etc., twelve towns in all, submitted. He ordered the general Ho-tai and *wan-hu* Pu-tu-man to garrison them with 5,000 troops." The capture of Tagaung doubtless occurred in Jan. 1284. On February 5th it is mentioned in the court-annals: after the capture of Kaungsin the Mongols "sent envoys to deliver a summons to the Burmese king, who made no reply. T'ai-kung town of the Chien-tu was their nest and hole; so we advanced both by water and land and attacked



T'ai-kung town and captured it. Therefore by this time all have submitted." All this part centering round Tagaung was thenceforth organised by the Mongols as a province of China, called Chêng-mien<sup>49</sup>, lit. "Expedition to Burma province"; it probably extended beyond Malé (Chinese *Ma-lai*) down to Ngasingu (Chinese *A-chên-ku* etc.) in the north of Mandalay district. One of the chief officials, Ch'ieh-la or Ch'ieh-lieh (the name is probably a transcription of *Kärät*, a Turkish tribe in S. Mongolia, Nestorian in religion), reported on July 27th, 1291:—"Chien-tu land produces abundance of gold; a foundry might be set up, and the people of the neighbourhood ordered to refine the gold for payment to government. The Emperor approved." Chêng-mien province was formally abolished on April 4th, 1303, but much of it must have lapsed already to the three Shan Brothers after the retreat of the Mongols from the siege of Mraucuiñ (Myinzaing) in April 1301.

Of the slaves called *kantü* in the Burmese inscriptions, one "came from a Tagaung garden"<sup>50</sup>, one was an umbrella-maker<sup>51</sup>, one a maker of loin cloths<sup>52</sup>. King Klacwa's elephant, which he gave to the monk Mahakassapa, "came from Kantü."<sup>53</sup> The name also occurs in connection with places in central Burma. We read of "Kantü-sac (new Kadu) paddy-fields in Mlacsä" (Myittha, *i.e.* Kyauksè district),<sup>54</sup> and again of "Mapañcara Kantü paddy-fields" north of Minbu<sup>55</sup>. "Kantü-hoñ (old Kadu) paddy-fields and slaves" are mentioned, the names of the latter being Burmese in appearance<sup>56</sup>. In 1207 Nātonmyā made a large dedication of land bounded on the south by the Nhamphai river, on the east by the land of Kantü-Pyū Hill, on the north by Nāmsä *tuik*.<sup>57</sup> Kantü, and Kantü village, occur elsewhere also as place-names<sup>58</sup>.

5.  $\text{ꠘꠞ}$  *KHYAÑ* and  $\text{ꠘꠞ}$  *YAW*.—The word *Khyañ* (Chin), without 'tonal' marks, has several senses in Old Burmese, and it is not easy to say if one of these is ethnic. *Khyañtwañ* and *Khlañtwañ* (Chindwin), however, occurs more than once<sup>59</sup>, in a geographical sense, with reference to the valley perhaps rather than the river. *Yaw*, and *Yaw-ñ* ("entering-in of Yaw")<sup>60</sup>, are similarly used, in a geographical, perhaps, rather than an ethnic sense.

6. *RAKHUIN*.—Arakan or Arakanese. In spite of the accounts given in Burmese Chronicles about Alaungsithu's conquest of Arakan—the earliest evidences of which appear to be the late 15th cent. "Yakhaing minthami echin" of the Arakanese poet Aduminnyo<sup>61</sup>, and a few non-original inscriptions<sup>62</sup>—there is very little mention of Arakan in old Burmese. The name occurs from an early date in slave-names<sup>63</sup>. In 1299 A.D. we read of slaves dedicated at Pagan by a *rakhuin sū* Nā Pok Sañ, and of an Indian slave dedicated by a *rakhuin* Lakyāphrac, the latter presumably a minister.<sup>64</sup> The earliest Burmese inscriptions of Arakan seem to be later than the fall of Pagan.<sup>65</sup>

7. *CAKRAW*.—It is tempting to identify this name with the modern Sgaw (Karen). It has even been suggested that the ominous words  $\text{ꠘꠞꠞꠞ}$  which, according to the Chronicles, heralded the fall of Śrīkṣetra,<sup>66</sup> refer to an invasion by the Cakraw or Sgaw. However this may be, the Cakraw of the inscriptions were found much further north than the Karens to-day; they were south of the Mranmā, apparently along the Irrawaddy from Sagu (Minbu district) southwards. In a dedication of 1242 A.D., after a list of 25 "Mranmā slaves from Caku" (Sagu), comes a list of 31 "Cakraw slaves from Caku"; their names are quite Burmese, and the list includes four masons (*puran*).<sup>67</sup> Several inscriptions mention the "Cakraw island to the west of Prañ" (Promé).<sup>68</sup> In a later inscription recording a dedication at Calañ (Salin) in 1353 A.D., there are mentions of a Cakraw canal (*mroiñ*), a Cakraw deserted village (*rwa chuiw*) etc., probably in the neighbourhood.<sup>69</sup> It looks as if the Mranmā, in the early days of Pagan, may have ousted the Cakraw from the rich Salin-Légaing-Sagu area, the "Six *Kharuin*" of the inscriptions,<sup>70</sup> and pushed them south.

Another inscription<sup>71</sup> refers to some land in Sañtoñ (Thindaung) *kharuin* north of Kyauksè which was dedicated in 1244 A.D. to Mahakassapa:—"the Cakraw on garrison duty a Chiptoñ claimed this rain-land as their own. Thereupon the two chief ministers Caturañkapuñ and Acalapharac, brought with them all the *kalan* and *samphyañ* of the Cakraw garrisoning Chiptoñ and came into the presence of the reverend Mahakassapa at his monastery. Investigation was made and the case tried, and the Cakraw garrisoning Chiptoñ lost the case and Mahakassapa won it." Chiptoñ was presumably an outpost on the foothills overlooking the north of Kyauksè district. The passage shews that the Cakraw were enlisted by the Burmans for military service, far away, presumably, from their original home; and also that they had their own officials, yet these named according to the Burmese system.

8. *TŌNSŪ*.<sup>72</sup>—Literally a "hill-person," this word in modern Burmese means either a farmer or a Taungthu, the latter a people speaking a language akin to Pwo Karen. The word is pure Burmese; and it was almost certainly used in an ethnic sense in the Pagan inscriptions, even as today, though perhaps more vaguely. It occurs frequently in slave-names, prefixed as well as suffixed. In one inscription we find "Nā Kantü, Nā Cakraw, Nā Tōñsū"—three ethnic terms one after the other. The earliest mention of the name is in 1165 A.D. There is very little evidence by which to locate them.

9. *RMEÑ* or Mon.—The former is the Old Mon form of the word, from which, as Dr. Blagden says, "the modern form *Mon* is (through the medieval *Rman*) quite regularly derived."<sup>73</sup> One may safely postulate, though it does not occur, an alternative Old Mon form \**rmañ*, from which the Pali name for the country of the Mons, *Ramaññadesa*, found in the Kalyāñi inscription (1476 A.D.),<sup>74</sup> has been formed. The Old Mon form *rmeñ* occurs four times in Kyanzitha's palace-inscription<sup>75</sup>; the passages have been summarised above, under *Mranmā*. At least a hundred and twenty six Rmeñ, including sons of chiefs, were present on this occasion, taking active part in the ceremonies.

The Burmese Chronicles plainly imply that Anorathā and Shin Arahan brought pure Buddhism from Thaton. This view is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of this inscription, which shews a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the *mahathera* Arahan. There was certainly recitation of the Buddhist *sarañāsila* and quasi-Buddhist *paritta*. But *Nār* (Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu) is worshipped a dozen times in the course of the proceedings, and the Nāgas and Indra at least once. Shin Arahan himself holds a conch, the symbol of Viṣṇu, while he recites Buddhist prayers. Kyanzitha claims to be a

reincarnation of Viṣṇu, and makes the Buddha prophesy as much. Gavampati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as "my son" by the Buddha<sup>74</sup>; his statue is placed beside that of the Buddha; Anorathā is said to have carved an image of him<sup>75</sup>; but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivite deity, the "lord of oxen," and perhaps a god of drought and wind.<sup>76</sup> In the Nanpaya of the captured Mon king Manuha, the chief sculptures left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzitha's palace, stands to this day a temple of Viṣṇu, the Nat-hlaung-kyauṅ. Shaiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnava; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton. Dr. Blagden's words on the palace-inscription are worth repeating:—"The great importance attached to the Brahmans, and the syncretism which is involved by their co-operating in harmony with Buddhist monks in the ceremonies here described, may be considered worthy of notice, though the phenomenon is in no way singular, being in fact characteristically normal in Siam and Camboja to this day. It seems probable that these Brahmans were Vaishnava and it would appear that some of them came from the Mon country. It is, at any rate, quite certain that Mon notables took a fair share in the transactions connected with the building of the palace alongside of the Burmese ones; and it is clear that, though members of a conquered race, they had a recognized status and were by no means merely hewers of wood and drawers of water."<sup>77</sup>

Of the eleven Old Mon inscriptions so far edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, nine at least belong to the reign of Kyanzitha (c. 1084—1113 A.D.). A number of Pagan temples (*ka*), of distinctive shape and fresco-colouring, with short ink inscriptions in Mon as yet unedited, can also probably be attributed to this reign, or one of the early reigns of the dynasty.<sup>80</sup> The majority are near Myinpagan. Kyanzitha's finest temple, the Ananda, has a long series of glazed plaques with Old Mon legends, still partly unedited.<sup>81</sup> It is evident that this king, probably in an attempt to restore the unity of Burma after the troubles following the death of Anorathā, made special, and indeed unique, efforts to impress and conciliate the Mons. All his extant inscriptions are in Mon, and they were set up not merely at Pagan, but also at Prome and probably other places in Lower Burma. At Tavoy plaques have been discovered with Old Mon writing, undated, offered by "the *sambeñ* Anantajeyyabhikrān who holds Daway, subject to king Sri Tribhovanādityadhammarāc"<sup>82</sup>—a king difficult to identify, but obviously a king of Pagan. Another Mon inscription,<sup>83</sup> belonging probably to one of the later reigns, is found at Kyauksè, set up by a *mahāthera* when he "came to dwell at Klok-Sayon," two old villages in the neighbourhood,<sup>84</sup> and built a *baddhasīma* after "informing the *mahāthera* of Bukām and the king there." Finally a two-faced inscription, Stone 68 at the Pagan Museum, still remains to be edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica*;<sup>85</sup> it is undated, and consists of a list of slaves dedicated, perhaps, in the latter half of the dynasty.

The language of these inscriptions is intermediate between that of the oldest Mon inscriptions, of Siam (the octagonal pillar of San Sung, Lopburi, on the lower Menam), which may belong to the 7th—8th century, and the 15th century Mon inscriptions of Lower Burma. Though older in type, it approximates fairly closely to the language of the seven Mon inscriptions of Lamphun (Haribhūñjai), in the hills north of Siam, belonging to the first half of the 13th century.<sup>86</sup> Sanskrit and Pali words are plentiful, but very few Burmese words are to be found, apart from *grī* = great, *leñ* = (?) small. The 15th cent. inscriptions on the other hand are full of borrowings from Burmese. In the Pagan period the influence is rather of Mon on Burmese. Burmese script, despite linguistic affinities, is based on Mon rather than on Pyu; and the following Old Burmese words may be cited as evidence of borrowing from Mon:—

*kyaksare* (<Old Mon *kyaksri*) = magnificence. It also means, in Old Mon, a special architectural feature. It is now wrongly written in Burmese ကြံသောကြံ *kraksare*.

*kyaklāññiy* = some precious substance applied to the spires of pagodas and the walls of brick monasteries.

*kmay* = widow (Mod. Mon *kmaai*).

*saiññhñ* = betel leaf (15th cent. Mon *sablu*, Mod. Mon *jablu*).

*kaññ* = a tube, or measure for betel nuts (15th cent. Mon *kññ*, Mod. Mon *kññ*).

And very likely also:—

*clac* (Old Burm. *calac*, Mod. Burm. *culac*, Mod. Mon *klac*) = an ornamental doorway, etc.

*jrāp* (Old and Mod. Burm. *carāp*), which seems to have meant, not a rest house, but a building for alms-distribution.

*saiññeñ* (Old Burm. *saiññeñ*; cf. *cāp sumbañ* on the Lopburi pillar) = a high official. Possibly also *kalan*, an official usually coupled with *saiññeñ*, both in Old Mon and Old Burmese inscriptions.—The above words sufficiently indicate some of the directions in which the Mons influenced the Burmans. The Pyu, on the other hand, took their word for 'gold,' *tha*, from Old Mon *thar*.

The Burmese name for the Mons is Talaing, Old Burm. တလိၤ *lanlūñ*. Phayre's and Yule's derivation of the word from Teliṅga, a variant of Kalinga, a vague term for the east and south of India, still holds the field; the same word, *keliṅg*, *kaliṅg*, *kliṅg*, is used to denote Indians generally in Malaya, Siam and Camboja. *Tanlūñ*, we must assume, was a word used at first indiscriminately by the Mraṅmā of Central Burma for the inhabitants of Lower Burma, whether indigenous or settlers from India; and as the alternative word, *kulā*, attached itself more particularly to the latter, the meaning of *lanlūñ* would seem to have got limited to the former. How far this process was complete in the Pagan dynasty, is a moot point.

When we consider how important the Mons must have been in the civilising of the Mraṅmā, it is surprising how rarely they are mentioned in Old Burmese. The reason probably is that during the period when Mon influence was dominant, *i.e.* the first half of the dynasty, there are few Burmese inscriptions. When these begin to predominate, from

Narapatisithu's reign onward, a reaction against Mon influence seems to have set in. This is probable in itself; and it is supported by the Mon Kalyāṇi inscription of 1476 A.D.; but this inscription is none too trustworthy for the Pagan period; and we must not forget that Nātoṇmyā's *dharmarājaguru* (?Dharmavilāsa) was probably a Mon, for he was born at "Molañā village to the east of Tala" (Dalla).<sup>98</sup>

The earliest sure mention of the word *tanluin* occurs in 1204 A.D.<sup>99</sup> Earlier mentions—of a "Tanluin fishery" in 1082, and a "Tanluin sage got" by Kyanzittba "at the time of the utter destruction of the Tanluin kingdom of Ussala," and dedicated to a pagoda built at Parim his birthplace in 1107—occur in old, but not original, inscriptions.<sup>100</sup> The name, as usual, is most frequent in slave names. The prefix *Ya* points generally, it seems, to a Mon female name. Apart from these, one "Lady (*skhiin*) Uim Tanluin Sañ" was probably a lady-in-waiting at Klawcwa's court.<sup>101</sup> One "Nā Tanluin Sañ" was a secretary (*cakhi*) to the prime minister (*mahasman*) in 1277.<sup>102</sup> The presence of a Mon colony in Kyaukse is shewn, not only by the Mon inscription mentioned above, but also by three references in Burmese inscriptions, between 1211 and 1262, to the "Tanluin main village" (*tanluin rwa ma*) in Khamhū *kharuin*, near the junction of the Samon and the Myitngè.<sup>103</sup> We also read, in 1301, of "Tanluin paddy fields above Caku (Sagu), with produce of 100 textiles (*pucañ*)."<sup>104</sup>

The exact date of the revolt of the Tanluin at the end of the dynasty is difficult to fix. It had probably begun before 1293, at the beginning of which, somewhat gratuitously, Asañkhaya claims on behalf of Klawcwa that the Pagan monarchy extended south to Taluinsare and Tawai (Tenasserim and Tavoy).<sup>105</sup> At the end of that year Klawcwa confers a reward for bravery on Rajasañkrañ "after the revolt of the Tanluin and his capture of Tala *mruiw* (Dalla fort)."<sup>106</sup> In 1296 a reward was also conferred on the headman Anantajayapakrañ "for bravery in the fight resulting in the capture of Tala."<sup>107</sup> But the revolt was obviously in the main successful; Chinese texts<sup>108</sup> shew us the new "Têng-lung," i.e. Talaing, kingdom sending an independent embassy to Mongol China in 1298, and that too *via* Pagan:—"Yünnan province had previously sent Kuan-chu-ssü-chia as envoy to the Têng-lung kingdom. The king of that kingdom sent two of his maternal uncles, Wu-la-ho and Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho (Uttara-singha) to follow Kuan-chu-ssü-chia and go to the Gate of the Court. In the 2nd month they reached P'u-kan. The king of Mien, T'ieh-mieh-ti (Adhipati), ordered K'o-wa-li to take troops, ascend the boat, bind with ropes and carry off Wu-la-ho and Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho, and plunder the goods that were sent as tribute; and off they went." Kuan-chu-ssü-chia, who was probably a Tibetan in the Mongol service (?dGon-ju-sgya), was allowed to proceed to Tagaung. Explanations followed later; the three Shan Brothers, who had meantime dethroned Klawcwa and placed Conac on the throne, put all the blame on the former, needless to say. Thenceforward for a long time we read practically nothing of Lower Burma. The first mentions of Muttama (Martaban) occur in 1314 and 1327 A.D.<sup>109</sup>

10. *KRWAM*, *KRWAM* (𑄓𑄚𑄚𑄚) = Cambojan (cf. 15th cent. Mon *krom*, Mod. Siam-*khôm*).—The word *kurwani*, which occurs more than once in Old Burmese, may be a variant.<sup>110</sup> The name probably stands, not so much for the Khmers of Camboja proper, as for the Mon-Khmer peoples of Lower Siam, who, from about 1000 A.D. down to the coming of the *Syāñ* in the latter half of the 13th century, were subject to the Cambojan empire of Angkor. The name is frequent in slave names, from 1190 A.D. onwards, occasional in names of witnesses or donors.<sup>111</sup> Several times it is prefixed to the name, doubtless in an ethnic sense.<sup>112</sup> One slave was a musician, another a cowherd, another a female *kī sañ*, another the grandson of a *kula* or Indian.<sup>113</sup> A princess, daughter of Uccanā's chief queen Sumlūla, was called *Acaw Krwam Skhiñ*, 'Mistress of the Krwam'; she built a temple at Minnanthu in 1248 A.D.<sup>114</sup> The monastery of *Krwam Skhiñ* is mentioned in 1263, attached to Mahakassapa's site at Minnanthu<sup>115</sup>; but the meaning here may be 'a Cambojan monk.' In 1299 we read of 34 male Indian *yan sañ* (?weavers) and 11 female *kī sañ*, "slaves of the *Krwam Skhiñ*, given to queen Caw by the king her husband saying 'Let them weave and wear *ui-tak* shawls (*lampak*).'"<sup>116</sup> We read finally, in two inscriptions, of land "given as a reward for bravery to the *krwam* Nā Pu-tat by the Bodhisattva Nātoṇmyā, when at the elephant-review in the Hall of Pleasance (*kwansāya*) he was knocked by an elephant and broke his leg"; Nā Pu-tat subsequently sold this land (150 *pai*) to the Pagan ministers.<sup>117</sup>

11. *LAWA*.—Query = Wa? The name occurs, once at least, in 1190 A.D., in a slave-name.<sup>118</sup> And there are frequent references, from 1198 A.D., to a "Lawa village" in Sañtoñ *kharuin*, to the east of Sañthway canal.<sup>119</sup> The Chronicles wrongly attribute the digging of the canal to the Mongols in 1301 A.D.<sup>120</sup>

12. *SYAM*, *SYAM* (𑄓𑄚𑄚𑄚) = Shan, Siamese.—The modern Burmese spelling, ရှမ်း *rham*; obscures the connection between these words. Long before Khubilai's capture of Ta-li Fu in 1253 and his general Uriyangkhadai's campaigns across Yünnan set the Thai migrating south, and led to the fall of the old Mon kingdom of Lamphun (Haribhūñjai) in N. Siam, and to the founding of the first independent Siamese kingdoms—Yonakarattā (Chieng-mai) and Sukhodaya (Chinese *sien*, i.e. *syām*), the word *syām* or *syām* occurs in Cham, Cambojan and Burmese epigraphy. In Burmese it first occurs in 1120.<sup>121</sup> The word is frequent in slave-names, prefixed as well as suffixed, including a weaver, turner (*panpwal*), drummer (*cañ pandyā*) and devotee (*sulāw*).<sup>122</sup> An official, *sambyañ* Syām, made a dedication in 1241.<sup>123</sup> Several inscriptions mention a place-name *Mun Syām*, which is difficult to locate unless it was in Mun (or Muin) *kharuin* north-west of Kyaukse.<sup>124</sup> Finally one may just mention the problem of the word *Khantī* in Old Burmese, very common from the first in place-names and proper names. The place, or one of the places, appears to have been near Sagu. The word ought to be Shan—*khamtī* = place of gold; but it is difficult to explain the presence of Shans in these parts so early.<sup>125(a)</sup>

13. *TARUK*.—The word is rare in Old Burmese, but it is always so spelt, and is never confused with the place-name *Talup* = Old Myingyan. The alternative form, *Tarak*, found in the Chronicles, probably goes back to a misreading. Whether *Taruk* in Old Burmese ever means, as it does today, the Chinese, is highly questionable. The name *Cinā* occurs once in a slave-name in 1179 A.D.<sup>126</sup>; "30 Cin slaves" are mentioned in 1266<sup>127</sup>; and whatever be the

original meaning of *colhceoc*, a certain *Pokpo Ramani* was one of the repairers of Caw Rahan's *sima* at Turanton in 1212.<sup>116</sup>

In the inscription of 1285 describing Syañ Disāprāmuk's peace-mission to China,<sup>117</sup> *Taruk* ought to mean the Mongols. The "Taruk king" is Khubilai Khan, the *khan mañkri* and *udē* of later inscriptions,<sup>118</sup> living at *Tayū*,<sup>119</sup> Chinese *T'ai-tu*, "the great capital," which, as the *Yüan shih* shews,<sup>120</sup> was the name applied from 1272 to the new *Khanbalig*, "city of the Khan," built in 1267 by Khubilai on the actual site of Peking.

Pelliot would prefer to derive the word *Taruk* in origin from *Ta-li-kuo*, the old kingdom of Nan-chao;<sup>121</sup> and support for this view is obtainable from the Hlédauk inscription<sup>122</sup> which describes how, c. 1110-11 A.D., "the donor of Rhwekū, Ma-uin-khyañsā Satawrhañ, . . . marched to fight a Taruk army" near Tonplan (Taungbyongyi), a few miles north of Mandalay; it seems that the Taruk retired, their general's son being killed. In 1110-11 there can be no question either of Mongols or the Sung invading Burma; the only possibility is Nan-chao; and there is nothing to wonder at if Nan-chao should make one last effort to retain her old grip on north Burma, nor if the northern limit of the Burmans at that date extended only to the point where the hills close in upon the plain in the north of Mandalay district. But the inscription, though old, cannot belong to this period; its reverse, which seems to be a continuation of the obverse, is not dated, but contains a reference to *Turukple mañkri*, i.e. *Narasihapati*, "the king who fled from the Taruk", sc. the Mongols. The conclusion seems to be that if the Nan-chao troops are called Taruk, it is not in their own right, but by reflection from the Mongols, to whom the term properly belongs. If so, Phayre's derivation from the word *Türk*<sup>123</sup> (old Turk. *türk*, Chinese *t'u-chieh* from the Mongol plural *türküüt*) is not lightly to be rejected. Turkish tribes (e.g. the *Käräits*) must have formed a large element in the 'Mongol' forces, outnumbering perhaps the Mongols proper. It is quite possible that the Burmans were unable to distinguish them, and applied 'Turk' to both. It must be added, however, that Pelliot hints, without defining, phonetic objections to this identification.

The next mention of the word occurs in 1327 A.D., when the *Krak-yak celi* (Shwegyetyet pagoda, Amarapura) is described as "famous from the land of the Taruk (*taruk prañ*) to Muttama (Martaban)."<sup>124</sup>

14. *KULĀ*.—Of all the peoples, native and non-native to Burma, the one most commonly mentioned by far in these inscriptions is the *kulā*, or Indians. The word is almost certainly derived from Pali or Sanskrit *kula* = family, caste. It means "the caste-people." Dr. Blagden is doubtless right in tracing the first part of the name *Goḷamattikanagara*, in the Kalyāñi inscription, to "Goḷa (or Gañḍa) . . . the people of Eastern Bengal"; but perhaps he errs in adding: "Their name has become the Mon and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the west."<sup>125</sup> *Kulā* occurs several hundred times in the Pagan inscriptions; it is four times written *kulā*, and once *kuilah*; <sup>126</sup> but it is never spelt with an *o* or a cerebral *ḷ*.

Pagan's main debts to India are obvious and vast:—the Three Gems of Buddhism, together with the Brahmanic cults and Naga worship which preceded or accompanied them; all the main features, and many details, of her architecture; her script; the Pali *Tiṭṭaka* and law books, which formed the basis of her literature and gave a new dimension to her thought. How far Indian social and political influence went, is difficult to define; titles of royalty and officials are predominantly Indian, but this may not mean very much; and the fact that the Mranmā called the Indians "caste-people" in distinction from themselves, points to obvious limits in their influence. And we must allow for modifications of it due, not only to the Burmese character and temperament, but also to those of the Mons and Pyu, who to some extent transmitted it.

The word *kulā* is most frequent, as usual, in slave-names, both suffixed (where it may mean little or nothing) and prefixed (where it has an ethnic sense). One slave is called *kulā phlā*, or "white *kulā*."<sup>127</sup> One *kulā* slave was dedicated in 1299 A.D. by an Arakanese.<sup>128</sup> These patient Indian slaves must have had a potent cultural influence. The professions of some of them are mentioned, and enable us to form some idea of the arts they practised or introduced at Pagan. Many were musicians and dancers, including drummers (usually men), *pañtyā* (usually women), trumpeters and nautches<sup>129</sup>; music doubtless played a larger part in the religion of Old Burma than it does to-day. One dedication of 50 *Kulā* slaves includes drummers, trumpeters, *pañtyā*, carvers in wood or stone (*pañpu*), painters (*pañkhī*), blacksmiths (*pañphay*), and masons (*pañran*)<sup>130</sup>. Indo-Burman architecture and sculpture at Pagan are not purely Buddhist; Vaishnava influence is seen, not only in the Nat-hlaung-gyaung, but also in the special *sikhara* so common on the Pagan temples<sup>131</sup>. The material is nearly always brick; and the Burmese word for brick, *ut*, like the Siamese *it*, is probably derived from Pali *itthaka*; the brick monastery was such an innovation to the Pagan Burman, that he regularly calls it (*kulā klon*), "Kulā monastery."<sup>132</sup> Two inscriptions mention the dedication of *Kulā* weavers (*pañ sañ*), in one case as many as 116 of them.<sup>133</sup> We read also of *Kulā* spinners (*khrañ ṇay sañ*) male and female,<sup>134</sup> chair-makers (*kulāsāñ phway*)<sup>135</sup>, elephant-owners (? *chan ṇanthā*)<sup>136</sup>, chiropodists or barbers (*laksañ thuiw*)<sup>137</sup>, gardeners (*uññ con*)<sup>138</sup>, oil sellers (*chi sañ*) female and male, rice-cooks (*thamañ sañ*)<sup>139</sup>, clerks (*cākhī*)<sup>140</sup>. Some "wild *Kulā*" (*kulā ruin*) appear in a Pagan dedication.<sup>141</sup>

These slaves were sometimes dedicated in large numbers. In 1198 Narapatisithu dedicated 500 Mranmā and 500 *Kulā* slaves to the Dhammarājaka<sup>142</sup>. In 1294 Klawcwa dedicated the land "eaten by the 700 *Kulā* of Kramtū," including probably the *Kulā* themselves.<sup>143</sup> Another inscription dedicates 78 Pagan slaves, *Kulā* and Mranmā; names are given, and include over 60 *Kulā*. Another of 1229 mentions by name over 50 *Kulā* slaves at Kukhan (Pakhangyi), and a *Kulā* village probably in the neighbourhood<sup>144</sup>. There was a *Kulā* village also at Sapriy above Prome<sup>145</sup>. Twice we read of *Kulā* slaves at Yhanpuw shipping-port (*sañphaw chip*), perhaps the chief port of Lower Burma and the *Henbuw* of the Myazedi; ten of these were gardeners.<sup>146</sup> In another inscription 367 *Kulā* are dedicated in five groups (*sañ*), including "66 for the price of an elephant, 44 for the price of a horse" etc.<sup>147</sup> An undated inscription with archaic spellings mentions the dedication of 100 slaves of three

racés—"Yasichiy one race, Kuilah one race, and white J . . . one race"; the readings however are doubtful.<sup>149</sup>

The very names themselves of these Kula slaves are interesting.<sup>150</sup> A large proportion are Indo-Aryan, e.g. Ramanā, Lakkhī, Kaṅkā, Maddī, Kwantañ (= Koṇḍañña) etc. But a good number also are Dravidian, proving that a considerable proportion at least, if not the majority, of the Kula slaves at Pagan were from S. India, and presumably came to Burma by sea: e.g. Naci (Tamil *nacci*=lady); Āci (cf. Malayalam *acci*=cowherd woman); Umiyandi, Nammandi, Kutthandi etc. (query Kanarese *anti*=elder sister); I (Tamil=fly or bee); Pari, Pāri (query Tamil *peri*=great); Kanū (Tamil=apple of the eye); Kuppay (Tamil=dirt); Malaru (Tamil *malar*=blossom); the suffix *-nambī*=the faithful, a title said to be used by Vaishnava families especially; Cakkama, Apāya, Apyā, Nayan etc. Some names betray the place of origin of these slaves:—Baḍagā (Tamil=northerner); Puloli (a place near Jaffna in Ceylon); Kawari (from the R. Kaveri); Sinkhuil (from Ceylon), Tipurī, Napāli etc.

References to Ceylon (Sihaladīpa, Island of the Lion) are rare and call for special mention. The main source for the relations during the Pagan dynasty is the 13th cent. Ceylon history, the *Cullavanisa*.<sup>150</sup> Here we find (i) that Anorathā sent help to Vijaya Bāhu I (fl. 1055—1110) in his struggle against the Cojas, and later despatched a chapter of monks to render possible the ceremony of valid ordination, "so that the religion . . . which had been darkened throughout Laṅkā began now to shine forth", (ii) that the great king of Ceylon Parakkama Bāhu (fl. 1153—86) had a quarrel, arising partly out of the export of elephants from Burma, with the king of Rāmañña or Arimaddana, sc. Pagan; *we* sent a large fleet which raided the ports Kusumi and Papphala, and even the capital, where the Tamil general Ādiḥca killed "the king of Rāmañña"; the quarrel was appeased by the intercession of Ceylon monks.—It is not impossible to connect this story with the fall of Kula-kya or Narasū, as told in the Burmese Chronicles, (iii) Parakkama Bāhu's successor, Vijaya Bāhu II (fl. 1186-7), "wrote with his own hand in Pali a letter of great merit and sent it to the King of Arimaddana . . . he made a great friendship with that king . . . and gave delight to the monks that dwelt in Laṅkā and in Arimaddana." Contemporary inscriptions in Burma tell us that Narapatisithu in 1196 A.D. dedicated to the Dhammarājaka "four out of the thirty relics received from the hand of the Sinkhwiw king, after he had caused them to be asked for . . . sending again to the island of Sinkhwiw. These he enshrined on a stone-mat together with the lion-relic."<sup>151</sup> The evidence of the Pali-Mon Kalyaṇī inscriptions of the Mon king Dhammaceti (1476 A.D.) relating to Narapatisithu's reign, receives little or no support from contemporary inscriptions. In 1235 a "Skhiñ Sinkhwiw" was witness to a Pagan dedication<sup>152</sup>. In 1278 the monk Tamalin receives an offering "on the occasion when the Ceylon pilgrim (*Sinkhuir-rok*) Dipaṅkarā sent the holy relics."<sup>153</sup> Finally there are references to the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda<sup>154</sup>; the story is finely illustrated in fresco in one of the porches of the Sakyamuni temple, Chaukpala, Nyaung-u.

G. H. LUCE.

## REFERENCES.

1. Most of these inscriptions are in Burmese, and are listed serially in Duroiselle's *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma*, Part I (Rangoon Government Press, 1921), where references will be found to the six volumes in which they are published. For the sake of brevity, these inscriptions are referred to below by their serial number in the *List*, and the date according to the Burmese Era of 638 A.D. is often added: thus "List 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s." means that the reference in question is to line 20 of the first face of the inscription listed under the serial number 123, the date of which is 552 Burmese Era = approximately 1190 A.D. Most of the Old Mon inscriptions have been fully edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica (Ep. Birm.)* published at Rangoon Government Press. Reference is sometimes made to the *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan (Sel. Inscr. Pag.)* by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce (Rangoon British Burma Press, 1928). Many inscriptions remain unpublished, and are therefore referred to according to their present site, which is often at Pagan Museum (*Pag. Mus.*) or the Patodawgyi, Amarapura (*Pat.*).

2. The chief Chinese sources utilised have been the *Yüan-shih (Y.S.)* or Dynastic History of the Mongols (which is cited after the pageing of the 1884 T'ung-wên-shu-chü edition), and the *Yüan-ch'ao-chéng-mien-lu (C.M.L.)*, cited after a manuscript copy from the *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu*. The latter work has been translated into French by Huber in tome IX (pages 664—680) of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. Obligations are due to Prof. Pelliot for help in the transcription of Central Asian names.

3. List 524a<sup>2</sup>, 704s. Possibly also at List 772b<sup>2</sup>, 694s.
4. List 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s.
5. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, Inscr. IX, B<sup>2</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>, H<sup>12</sup>.
6. Y.S. ch. 210, f. 1 r<sup>o</sup>.
7. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 43W<sup>1</sup>, 597s.
8. List 154a<sup>8</sup>, 558s.
9. List 387<sup>1</sup>, 654s.
10. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. I, Part I.
11. List 66, 1053S. = 493s. The inscription may not be original, as U Mya has pointed out.
12. List 51, 52, 64, 72, 81, etc
13. List 113, 545s.
14. List 154, 558-560s.
15. List 357a<sup>10</sup> etc.
16. List 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s.; 145a<sup>11</sup>, 559s.; 210<sup>2</sup>, 592s.; 234<sup>11</sup> <sup>13</sup>; 227<sup>11</sup> <sup>21</sup>, 598s.
17. List 260<sup>11</sup> <sup>13</sup>, 604s.
18. List 149<sup>2</sup>, 154a<sup>20</sup>, Dhammarāj. W. cella S.<sup>2</sup>—560s.
19. List 123a<sup>20</sup>, 145a<sup>11</sup>.
20. List 273a<sup>7</sup>, 569s.; 262<sup>22</sup>, 604s.; 332b<sup>2</sup>, 633s.; 701b<sup>11</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 663s.; *Pag. Mus.* Stone 72<sup>22</sup>, 661s.
21. List 359<sup>2</sup>, 638s.
22. Ch. 222C, f. 9 r<sup>o</sup>.
23. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, Inscr. IX, B<sup>2</sup>.
24. v. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Surv. Burm.*, 1915, p. 21.
25. Y.S. ch. 61, f. 29r<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>, 4r<sup>o</sup>; 122, f. 13v<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Ai-lu).
26. *B.E.F.E.O.* IX (1909), p. 666 fn. (translated).
27. Y.S. ch. 61, f. 28r<sup>o</sup>.
28. Y.S. ch. 10, f. 20r<sup>o</sup>; 61, f. 26v<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>; 125, f. 5r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Na-su-la-ting).
29. Y.S. ch. 7, f. 6v<sup>o</sup>.
30. Y.S. ch. 133, f. 13v<sup>o</sup>.
31. *Burmese Sketches* (Vol. I), p. 20.
32. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Surv. Burm.*, 1916, p. 22. List 405<sup>21</sup> <sup>10</sup>.
33. List 237a<sup>20</sup> (*Pag. Mus.* Stone 48E.).
34. List 51<sup>20</sup>, 52<sup>20</sup> (cf. Mon A<sup>20</sup>, B<sup>20</sup>; Pyu A<sup>20</sup>, B<sup>20</sup>); 383a<sup>22</sup>, 384b<sup>11</sup>, <sup>12</sup>, <sup>22</sup>, 653s.; (?) 340<sup>2</sup>, 634s.
35. List 230<sup>20</sup>, 234<sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>12</sup>, <sup>22</sup>, 597s.; 227<sup>22</sup>, 598s.; 267<sup>12</sup>, 605s.; 311<sup>22</sup>, 628s.
36. List 218<sup>2</sup>, 596s.

37. *List* 230<sup>11</sup>, 597s.; 307a<sup>10</sup>, 624s.; 334<sup>12</sup>, 634s.; 354b<sup>14</sup>, 636s.; Adhi{h}an<sup>9</sup>, 672s., etc.
38. *List* 153<sup>4</sup>, 560s.
39. *List* 329<sup>5</sup>, 550s.; 173<sup>1, 7</sup>, 571s.; 287a<sup>23, 27</sup>, 599s.; 270a<sup>18, 27, 29, 31, 33</sup>, 608s.; 349<sup>22</sup>, 625s.; 351<sup>14</sup>, 636s.; 354a<sup>28</sup>, 637s.
40. *List* 237b<sup>17</sup>.
41. *List* 363b<sup>24, 27</sup>, 601-604s.; 270a<sup>19, 29</sup>, 608s.; 354a<sup>29</sup>, 637s.; 369<sup>2-29</sup>, 639-643s.; 417<sup>12-13</sup>.
42. *List* 376<sup>13</sup>, 647s.
43. *List* 154a<sup>9</sup>, 558s.
44. *List* 82<sup>4</sup>, 1250 etc.
45. *List* 333<sup>1</sup>, 590s.
46. *List* 350<sup>11</sup>, 598s.; 479N<sup>21</sup>, 599s.; 333<sup>9</sup>, 607s.; 349<sup>5</sup>; 409b<sup>2</sup>, 661s.
47. C.M.L.
48. Y.S. ch. 13, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>; 16, f. 18v<sup>o</sup>; 133 f. 4v<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Yeh-han-ti-chin!); 149, f. 23r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Yeh-fu-t'u-hua). This Chien-tu is not to be confused with another, apparently near the Plum Range in Kuang-tung (i.e.g. Y.S. ch. 131, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>; 132, f. 7v<sup>o</sup>).
49. Y.S. ch. 13, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>, 8v<sup>o</sup>; 14, f. 9v<sup>o</sup>-10r<sup>o</sup>, 16v<sup>o</sup>, 17v<sup>o</sup>; 20, f. 14r<sup>o</sup>; 21, f. 4r<sup>o</sup>, 5v<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 5r<sup>o</sup>; 132 f. 16r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-hua).
50. *List* 262<sup>12</sup>, 604s.
51. *lht sañ. List* 258<sup>8</sup>, 604s.
52. *pukhrañ sañ. List* 701a<sup>10, 28, 31</sup>, 663s.
53. *List* 270b<sup>17</sup>.
54. *List* 149<sup>6</sup>, 154a<sup>22</sup>, 560s.
55. *List* 213<sup>11</sup>, 593s.
56. *List* 257<sup>12, 16</sup>, 259<sup>20, 22</sup>, 604s.
57. *List* 273a<sup>7</sup>, 569s.
58. *List* 273a<sup>11</sup>, 569s.; 287<sup>20</sup>, 599s.; 748<sup>2</sup>, 628s.
59. *List* 339<sup>9</sup>, 634s.; Lemyethna Minnanthu Stone II S. <sup>22-23</sup> (probably before 595s.); *Pag. Mus. Stone* 72<sup>21</sup>, 661s.; *List* 163<sup>10</sup>, 566s. (query original).
60. *List* 236b<sup>8, 12</sup>, 561s.; 273a<sup>12</sup>, 569s.
61. v. May Oung, *Old Historical Ballads*, p. 6.
62. *List* 26; 42.
63. *List* 380b<sup>8</sup>; 145a<sup>27</sup>, 559s.; 333<sup>14</sup>, 633s.; *Pag. Mus. Stone* 74E<sup>9</sup>, W<sup>10</sup>, 578s.
64. *List* 409b<sup>28, 29</sup>, 661s.
65. e.g. the Zaidi-byin inscription, Sandoway district.
66. v. *Hmannan Yazawin*, Vol. I, p. 209.
67. *List* 260<sup>12</sup>, 604s.
68. *List* 229<sup>9, 5</sup>, 595-7s.; 525 (= 1308)a<sup>14</sup>; Nga Hkwe-nyo Gu fragm.<sup>2</sup>
69. *List* 1391<sup>2, 2, 6</sup>; 562 a, b *passim*, 714s.
70. *List* 273a<sup>10</sup>, 569s.
71. *List* 270a<sup>4, 6, 7</sup>, 606s. For other mentions of Cakraw, see *List* 357a<sup>12</sup>, 638s.; 507<sup>2</sup>, 702s.
72. *List* 81a<sup>16</sup>, 527s.; 152<sup>12</sup>, 560s.; 197<sup>14</sup>, 588s.; 245<sup>14</sup>, 597s.; 357a<sup>12</sup>, 638s.; 701a<sup>17</sup>, b<sup>12</sup>, 663s.; etc.
73. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, p. 5.
74. v. Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions*, Govt. Press, Rangoon 1892, p. 1, etc.
75. Face B<sup>14, 42</sup>, G<sup>22</sup>, H<sup>12</sup>.
76. v. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. I, Part II, Inscr. IA<sup>22</sup>, IIIC<sup>4</sup>, etc.
77. *List* 23; 27.
78. v. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 239-256.
79. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 4-5.
80. e.g. the Ananda, Patothamya, Nagayon, Abēyadana, Nanpaya, Kubyaukkyi of Myinpagan, Kubyaukngē of Wetkyi-in, Pyatsa Shwe (Pg. 584), Pg. 228, Pg. 418 etc.
81. All the Mon plaques except those at ground level have been edited by Mr. Duroiselle in Vol II of *Ep. Birm.*
82. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Sur. Burm.* 1924, pp. 38-40.

83. No. XI, *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, p. 70.
84. cf. *List* 174a<sup>12</sup>, 573s.; 384a<sup>27</sup>, 653s.; 388<sup>20</sup> (query original); *Pag. Mus.* Stone 18E<sup>7</sup>, W<sup>3</sup>, 582s.; Mg. Yon Ku No. 11<sup>7</sup>, 633s.
85. One face (the west) is edited inadequately, as *List* 1253, at PPA\_197.
86. v. "Les Inscriptions Môn du Siam" edited by Dr. R. Halliday, *BEFE-O.*, tome XXX, 1930, Nos. 1-2.
87. *List* 185a<sup>14</sup>, 560s.
88. *List* 165<sup>4</sup>, 566s.
89. *List* 32<sup>4</sup>, 444s.; 49<sup>5</sup>, 469s.
90. *List* 325<sup>27</sup>, 604s.
91. *List* 369<sup>10</sup>, 639s.
92. *List* 307a<sup>12</sup>, 624s.; *Pag. Mus.* Stone 82<sup>8</sup>, 573s.; *ibid.* Stone 115<sup>4</sup>, 622s.
93. *List* 701a<sup>2</sup>, 663s.
94. *List* 387<sup>2</sup>, 654s.
95. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 72<sup>8</sup>, 655s.
96. *List* 412<sup>18</sup>, 658s.
97. C.M.L.
98. *List* 452<sup>27</sup>, 675s.; 477<sup>4</sup>, 688s.
99. *List* 172a<sup>12</sup>, 570s.; 258a<sup>11</sup>, 603s.; 23<sup>18</sup>; 113<sup>18(?)</sup>.
100. *List* 123a<sup>24</sup>, 552s.; 153<sup>10</sup>, 560s.; 192<sup>7</sup>, 587s., etc.
101. *List* 254<sup>18</sup>, 603s.; 75<sup>8</sup>, 617s.; 344a<sup>12</sup>, 635s.
102. *List* 123a<sup>24</sup>; 269<sup>22</sup>; 409b<sup>20</sup>; 311<sup>25, 26</sup>
103. *List* 276a<sup>2</sup>, 610s.
104. *List* 322<sup>12</sup>, 625s.
105. *List* 409b<sup>14, 19</sup>, 661s.
106. *List* 75<sup>8</sup>, 617s.; 344a<sup>1</sup>, 635s.
107. *List* 123b<sup>12</sup>, 552s.
108. *List* 149<sup>8</sup>, 154b<sup>2</sup>, 560s.; 245<sup>21</sup>, 597s.; 292<sup>14</sup>, 617s.
109. *Hmannan Yazawin* Vol. I, p. 402.
110. In l. 6 of the reverse of an inscription now in the *Pag. Mus.* S. room, recently discovered in Ko Toe's field, S.E. of the Nagayon, Pagan. Cf. *BEFE-O.*, t. iv, pp. 235-6.
111. *List* 208<sup>10</sup>; 409b<sup>22</sup>; 701a<sup>18, 20</sup>; 234<sup>8</sup>.
112. *List* 254<sup>18</sup>, 603s.
113. *List* 384a<sup>8</sup>, 626s.; 383a<sup>8</sup>, b<sup>18</sup>, 631s.
- 113a. See e.g. *List* 97<sup>10</sup>, 537s. (query original); 80<sup>12</sup>; 554s.; 258<sup>8</sup>, 604s.; 394<sup>2</sup>, 651s. etc.
114. *List* 363a<sup>11</sup>, 541s.
115. *List* 311<sup>20</sup>, 628s.
116. Caw Rahan Thein, Tuywindaung, l. 12, 574s.
117. *List* 376, 647s.—*Pag. Mus.* Stone 110, E. face. Originally from the Mingalazedi.
118. *List* 422<sup>2</sup>, 665s.; 564a<sup>2</sup>; 565a<sup>2</sup>; 1014a<sup>2</sup> etc.
119. *List* 376<sup>10</sup>.
120. Y.S. ch. 57, f. 3 r<sup>o</sup>.
121. *BEFE-O.* t. iv, p. 161, fn. 1.
122. *List* 50 a, b. *Sel. Inscr. Pag.* pp. 4—8.
123. *History of Burma*, p. 8, fn.
124. *List* 477<sup>4</sup>, 688s.
125. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part II, p. 185, fn. 12.
126. *List* 242a<sup>24</sup>, 325<sup>12</sup>, 334<sup>8</sup>, 344a<sup>2</sup>; *Pag. Mus.* Stone 25<sup>20</sup>.
127. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 74E<sup>12</sup>, 578s.
128. *List* 409 b<sup>22</sup>, 661s.
129. *List* 123a<sup>18, 20</sup>, 552s.; 122<sup>12</sup>, 552s.; 145 a<sup>12</sup>, 559s.; 206<sup>20</sup>, 591s.; 222<sup>22</sup>, 595s.; 242 a<sup>24</sup>, 599s.; Monastery S. of Shwezigôn II<sup>4</sup>, 600s.



130. *List* 222<sup>22</sup>, 595s.
131. For non-Theravādin Indian influence at Pagan, see Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Brahmanic Gods in Burma* (Calc. Univ. Press), and "Note on Bodhisattwa Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna Gods in Burma". "Kula nat land south of Mronchuim" occurs at *List* 371<sup>10</sup>, 618s.
132. See *Journ. Burm. Res. Soc.* Vol. X, pp. 1—4, "The Monasteries of Pagan" by W. Braxton Sinclair.
133. *List* 276a<sup>21</sup>, 610s.; 409a<sup>24</sup>, b<sup>22</sup>, 661s
134. *List* 409b<sup>23</sup>, 661s.
135. *List* 242a<sup>24</sup>, 599s.
136. *List* 186<sup>8, 9</sup>, 584s.
137. *List* 223<sup>3</sup>, c. 595s.
138. *List* 186<sup>10</sup>, 584s.
139. *List* 409b<sup>20, 21, 22</sup>, 661s. Note that the *kula pay* (= gram, chickpea, lentil), as shown by plaques now in the *Pag. Mus.*, was known at Pagan from the beginning of the dynasty.
140. *List* 354b<sup>11</sup>, 637s.
141. *List* 409a<sup>24</sup>, 661s.
142. *List* 149<sup>5</sup>, 154a<sup>20</sup>, etc., 560s.
143. *List* 394<sup>11</sup>, 656s.
144. *List* 206<sup>4, 11</sup>, 591s.
145. *List* 344a<sup>3</sup>, 617s.
146. *List* 186<sup>7</sup>, 584s.; 311<sup>22</sup>, 628s. For Yhanpuiw, Hyanpuiw, Henbuiw v. Myazedi A<sup>21</sup> B<sup>26</sup>; 185a<sup>17</sup>, 560s.; 186<sup>1</sup>, 584s.; 196<sup>22</sup>, 587s.; 276a<sup>20</sup>, 610s.; 311<sup>22</sup>, 628s.; 404a<sup>5</sup>, 640s. etc.
147. *List* 237b<sup>12</sup>.
148. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 25<sup>20</sup>.
149. For Indian slave-names, see e.g. the follg. inscriptions: *List* 123a<sup>19</sup>, 175a<sup>5</sup>, 186, 206, 210, 234<sup>4</sup>, 236a<sup>19</sup>, b<sup>1</sup>, 231<sup>7</sup>, 247<sup>8, 11</sup>, 409b, 701a, b. The writer is indebted to Dr. Barnett of the British Museum, and to his colleague Mr. Jembunathan, for help on this subject.
150. Ch. LVIII, LX; LXXVI, 10—75; LXXX, 6—8.
151. *List* 154a<sup>25</sup>, 558s.
152. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 43W<sup>12</sup>, 597s. (?).
153. *List* 378a<sup>20</sup>, 640s.
154. *List* 354b<sup>10</sup>, 637s.

---

**G.B.C.P.O.—No. 4, Supdt, C.O., 6-4-1933—1,050.**

---