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INTRODUCTION.

1. *Mega biblion* said a famous librarian of the ancient library of Alexandria *mega nakon*—a great book is a great evil. A Census Report, must, I fear, by its very nature always be a bulky tome but I can, at least, do one thing to diminish the extent of the evil and that is to make the introduction as short as possible.

There are, however, a few things which must be stated in the introduction to a volume of this nature. In the first place I wish to make it perfectly clear that although this report is a Government publication the views and the deductions therein are entirely my own and I alone am responsible for them; it is indeed quite probable my views on certain matters, *e.g.,* the unemployment question among the educated classes may be officially regarded as heterodox.

Some reference is also necessary in the introduction to the previous censuses of Assam, to the general procedure of enumeration and tabulation and to the cost of the census. Finally—and this is the most pleasing task—I will take the opportunity to acknowledge the services of the numerous officials and non-officials without whose help and co-operation this report could not have appeared.

2. The census which was taken on the night of the 26th February 1931 was the seventh census of Assam. The first was held in 1872 when Assam formed part of the old province of Bengal. In 1872 Assam was constituted a Chief Commissionership and remained such until 1905 when it became merged into the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. During this period three censuses were held—in 1881, 1891 and 1901—and separate census reports for Assam were published for all these censuses.

In 1911, when the next census was held, Assam still formed part of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam but as it again became a separate unit in the following year a separate report for Assam was published. The next census was held on the 18th March 1921—a few months after Assam had become a Governor’s province under the Reformed Constitution of 1921—and the present census, as already mentioned, was taken on the 26th February 1931.

3. A detailed account of the administrative measures taken to bring about the census and to tabulate and compile the results is contained in a separate report known as the Administrative Report on the Census of Assam 1931—a document which is intended primarily for the use of the next Provincial Superintendent of Census.

But it seems desirable, for the information of the general reader, to give a short account of how the census was conducted.

Briefly it was done in this fashion:—The whole province was divided up into blocks and for each block an enumerator—a local man—was appointed. In the plains districts and in those parts of the hills where a synchronous census could be taken each block contained on the average 40 houses. Over the enumerator was a supervisor who was in charge of a circle which was a compact group of from 10 to 15 blocks or from 400—600 houses and above the supervisor was a Charge Superintendent who was responsible for the census of his Charge which might contain from 10 to 30 circles.

Charges and circles generally corresponded to well-known administrative units; thus a *thana* or a group of *mausas* might form a charge and a *chaukidari* circle or a *mausa* might be a circle: everything depended on local conditions and local convenience.

In the remoter hill areas where a synchronous census could not be held, blocks were much larger and a slightly different procedure had to be observed full details of which will be found in the Administrative Report.
Having divided up a district into charges, circles, and blocks the next duty of the Deputy Commissioner and his Census Subdivisional Officers was to train the army of supervisors and enumerators (the total number of enumerators in Assam was 46,000) and to arrange for the numbering of all houses in every block. This house numbering began in October 1930 and was completed in November 1930. Meanwhile the training of the staff continued and the writing up of the preliminary enumeration began in January 1931. The entries at this preliminary enumeration were generally written by the enumerators on blank paper and it was not until they had been checked by a superior officer that the first rough entries were copied into the proper census schedules.

Thus by end of January 1931 most of the census entries had already been made. February was a month of intense census activity and officers and clerks of all departments were kept busy checking the enumerators’ preliminary records. Finally on the night of the 26th February 1931 each enumerator in the synchronous areas of the province visited every house in his block, added the names of new arrivals and crossed out the names of those absent or dead.

Special arrangements had of course, to be made for the census of railways, steamers, boats, travellers by road, etc.

On the morning of the 27th February the enumerators of each block met their circle supervisors at some convenient place in the middle of the circle and abstracts giving the number of houses and the population of each circle by sex were prepared and despatched by the quickest route (often by elephant) to the Charge Superintendents who made summaries for the whole charge and then forwarded the summaries to district or subdivisional headquarters. Finally a district total was prepared and telegraphed to me and to the Census Commissioner for India.

Each subdivision of a district also telegraphed its provisional total to me as soon as it was ready. To show the speed with which the provisional totals were prepared I may mention that by the 28th February, i.e., two days after the census—16 subdivisions out of a total of 31 had wired me their results and by the 5th of March the total provisional population of the province was known and published. The final total population of Assam differed from the provisional total by only 1.81 per cent.

Meanwhile Central Offices had been got ready at Gauhati and Sylhet and soon after the census was over masses of schedules and census records began to pour in from the districts. These were all checked and arranged and the first process—known as slip-copying began. This is a process by which the entries made against each individual in the census schedules are copied on to different coloured slips, the colour depending on the religion of the person whose particulars are being copied. After the slip-copying came the sorting stage during which the slips, which had been made up into convenient boxes, were sorted for the particulars required for the various census tables. Then came the final stage—that of compilation or the composing of the results achieved at the sorting stage into the actual form of tables published in Part II of this Report. Full details of all these processes are given in the Administrative Report of the Census.

4. It is stated in the introduction to the 1921 Census Report that the total extra cost to Government for the census of 1921 was Rs. 1,12,835 or Rs. 14.1-11 per 1,000 of the population. In this sum, however, neither the salary of the Superintendent of Census nor the salaries of permanent Government officers deputed to census work were included, the idea being that as these officers would have drawn their salaries even if there had been no census their actual employment on census duties did not cost the Government anything extra. Hence it would be quite wrong to compare the cost of the 1931 census, which was a central subject and entirely paid for by the Central Government (who even paid the Travelling Allowance of census officers for journeys performed exclusively on census work), with the figure of Rs. 1,12,835 given in 1921 as the extra cost to Government.
The actual total expenditure on the census of 1931 cannot be given exactly as certain printing accounts have not yet been finally adjusted but it will work out roughly at Rs. 1,92,000. Receipts (excluding altogether receipts for the sale of the Census Volumes) will amount to between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 so that we may take Rs. 1,90,000 as the actual cost of the census. This works out at Rs. 20-3-8 per thousand of the population. If the cost of the census per thousand of the population had been calculated in the same fashion in 1921 the cost per thousand of the population would have been about Rs. 23. The decreased cost at this census represents the result of a continuous struggle to observe economy—a struggle from which, I confess, it will take me several months' leave to recover.

5. Unfortunately the census of 1931 coincided with the Civil Disobedience movement and the Deputy Commissioners of most plains districts had little time to devote personally to census matters. They did their best, however, to ensure the success of the census by placing reliable and hard working officers in charge of the census in the Sadr and out-lying subdivisions and to these officers, who were generally Extra-Assistant Commissioners or Sub-Deputy Collectors, I owe a debt of thanks for their untiring efforts, in the face of many difficulties, to make the census of 1931 as successful as its predecessors. Where all did so well it may seem invidious to single out any names for special notice but I feel that I must mention the names of the census officers who, subject to the general control of the Deputy Commissioners concerned, were responsible for the census of the Jorhat (Sadr) and Hailakandi subdivisions which, from a census point of view, were the two best subdivisions in Assam. They are Mr. G. C. Bardalai, Extra-Assistant Commissioner (Jorhat) and Babu Biswanath Chaudhuri, Sub-Deputy Collector (Hailakandi).

In the hill districts and frontier tracts the Deputy Commissioners and Political Officers took a very keen personal interest in the work and I am much indebted to them for the efficient way in which they conducted the census of the areas under their charge. To Mr. J. P. Mills, r. o. a., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, I am particularly indebted: not only did he conduct the census of his own district with marked efficiency but he has also contributed several valuable appendices to the report and his advice on all matters ethnological has been invaluable. Nor, must I forget to mention Babu Uprendra K. Chakravarti, Land Revenue Officer, Manipur State, who, subject to control of the President of the Durbar, conducted the census of the Manipur Valley both in 1921 and in 1931 and was in charge of the slip-copying work in the State on both these occasions.

I have also to thank the numerous Indian gentlemen who so kindly acted as honorary correspondents. Among them I would specially mention Professor K. M. Gupta and Babu Dinesh Chandra Datta both of the Murarichand College, Sylhet.

The diagrams and the small inset maps in the report were prepared under the supervision of Mr. E. G. Hardinge, Superintendent, Survey of India, Officer in charge of the Assam Drawing Office, who was also responsible for the drawing of the rectangles in the social and linguistic maps. I am much obliged to him for the great personal interest he has taken in the work.

Acknowledgments are also due to the Bengal Government for allowing the great mass of our forms to be printed in the Alipore Jail Press and to Mr. R. A. Dunlop, officiating Press and Forms Manager, Bengal, who turned out millions of forms for us in a most efficient manner. The ten million slips used for slip-copying were supplied by the Central Government Press, Calcutta, who did the work speedily and well.

For the actual production of the Census Report and Tables the Assam Government Press is responsible. My thanks are due to Mr. Chari, the Superintendent, for the keen interest he has taken in the matter. It was Mr. Chari's ambition to turn out the volumes in a style equal to that of the Madras Report of 1921, the best printed of all the provincial reports. That we cannot claim such a high standard is due not to the man but to the machine.
Finally I owe more than I can say to my two Deputy Superintendents, Babu Suresh Chandra Sen, Sub-Deputy Collector, and Maulvi Muhammad Mahmud, Sub-Deputy Collector, the former of whom was in charge of the Central Census Office at Gauhati and the latter at Sylhet. Both these officers managed their large temporary—and occasionally unruly—staffs with remarkable tact and success. I am glad to note that Babu Suresh Chandra Sen, who was also Deputy Superintendent of Census in 1921, has since obtained a well-merited promotion to the rank of Sub-Deputy Collector.

My head clerk, Babu Iswar Chandra Purkayastha, has been all that a head clerk should be and more.

My own knowledge of mathematics being confined to the addition (generally incorrectly) of a bridge score I have had to rely on him for the preparation of the subsidiary tables and for the detailed examination of much of the statistical material. He has discharged his duties throughout in a most satisfactory manner.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the unfailing help and friendly advice which I received from my chief, Dr. Hutton.

Shillong, 13th July 1932.  

O. S. MULLAN,  
Superintendent, Census Operation, Assam.
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APPENDIX A.

Notes on the effect on some primitive tribes of Assam of contacts with civilization.

(1) The effect on the tribes of the Naga Hills district of contacts with civilization, by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S.

The conditions obtaining throughout the Naga Hills district being fairly uniform, to deal with each tribe separately would entail much unnecessary repetition. I will therefore note on the district as a whole, drawing my examples from the Angami, Sema, Ao, and Lhota Nagas, and the Thado Kukis.

In this area contact with civilization is brought about in many ways—by the visits of tribesmen to the plains lying along the base of the hills, and by the penetration of foreigners into the hills. The latter is by far the most important. Foreigners residing in the hills influence the culture and mode of life of the indigenous inhabitants in numerous ways—by administration, by missionary propaganda, by the innate tendency to imitate foreigners who display a culture in some way regarded as "higher," by objects of trade imported from without, by the introduction of disease, by medical work, by communications that make travelling everywhere easy and safe, by the presence of an armed force strong enough to suppress any rising or inter-tribal war, and by countless subtle influences that react on the mentality of the villagers, usually to the detriment of their pride in their customs and history.

There has been little or no exploitation of forests, minerals or agricultural land, but the future cannot be held to be secure as long as the ruling of Government as a whole is under the influence of missionaries and traders. Foreigners coming into the hills by the cart road have bought or inherited as immovable property which can be validly held by an individual or a clan.

There is no systematic recruitment of hillmen for work in the plains. Gangs, especially of Semas and Aoos, go down in the cold weather to work on tea gardens in order to earn cash for their house tax. They come back none the better for the journey. Women do not go down with the men, but when they do go girls are not infrequently lured into a career of prostitution by the prospect of an easy life, being unable to distinguish between the easy-going moral code of their own villages and the systematized vice of the plains, with their so-called higher culture. The men are apt to waste money on rubbish they see displayed in the shops, and on distilled liquor for which they acquire a taste. Gangs going year after year to the same garden are paid regularly and well, but those working for petty contractors are cheated of their earnings with regrettable frequency. They cannot bring suits in the plains—the expense, the distance and the endless adjournments are all against them. When they find that Government is prevented by its own legal methods from settling their disputes, they come back with the men in the cold weather to work on the hills again, and their converts had taken it for granted that no member will indulge in it.

Improved communications, while they have immensely facilitated internal trade, have undoubtedly spread disease. All Nagas assert definitely that since their country was taken over by the British, not only have specific diseases, such as venereal disease and tuberculosis, been introduced, but epidemics spread more quickly. In the old days of war and raiding villages remained more or less constantly segregated. Nowadays people travel freely everywhere and disease spreads quickly. Tuberculosis is definitely established. So far its spread has been slow, but the time may come when it will become rampant and the Nagas and Kukis of these hills will follow other primitive peoples into oblivion.

The national drink of the hill tribes of Assam is rice beer. Foreigners have brought in distilled liquor and its effects are evil. The casual labourer working away from his village, himself the product of contact with civilization, has no wife with him to brew his rice beer and buy spirits instead. Later he comes to regard distilled liquor as a necessity. Nagas are fully aware of the evils, and certain Angami villages have sworn oaths that no member will indulge in it.

Opium is only consumed in certain areas. The Konyak Nagas are inveterate opium addicts, having acquired the habit from plainsmen, with whom they have been in close contact for a very long time. A limited number of Ao Nagas have also taken to the habit. A few years ago a village founded by the American Baptist Mission as a Christian village contained more opium addicts than the whole of the rest of the tribe. The reason was that the Mission had forbidden alcoholic liquor and its converts had taken to opium as a substitute. I believe things are much improved now. In the rest of the district there are a few addicts except distributed Nagas living in Kohima bazaars. With them the vice must be directly put down to contact with foreigners.

The opening up of the cart road to Manipur has undoubtedly led to an increase in prostitution. Except to a limited extent among the Eastern Angamis, prostitution, in the sense of women selling themselves for money to all and sundry, is not an indigenous Naga or Kuki custom. In many tribes girls before marriage allow their lovers every privilege, but this is very different from a commercial transaction. Foreigners coming into the hills by the cart road often demand women, and where there is a demand a supply is apt to be forthcoming. Some women even visit the cart stands and offer themselves to the bullock drivers.
While the extension of communications had led to the introduction of much foreign rubbish and cheap jack ware it has also stimulated genuine Naga trade. For example in the old days the supply of ivory armlets was very limited, as they could only be obtained from the very few elephants killed by Naga themselves. Now Angamis bring large numbers up from Calcutta and trade them through the hills. Similarly, Naga ornaments which are only made in a few places, such as the baldric made in the Seema village of Senth, are far more easily distributed. I have no doubt more Naga ornaments are worn now than were worn in the days before the hills were taken over, and for this peace and easy communications are responsible.

Before the hills were taken over the important village of Khonoma, with insufficient land to support its population, raised rich and wide for beads, tribute, loot and prisoners they could hold to ransom. Now they have substituted trade for raiding, and landless men wander right into Burma selling beads. The prestige of the village enables them to keep almost a monopoly of this trade.

I have mentioned above the increase in prostitution due to the cart road. For more serious in this respect is the presence in Kohima of a large number of unmarried foreigners, including the unmarried men of a battalion of Assam Rifles, and of Naga subordinates living away from their villages. A population is growing up of persons with no tribe or customary law and religion, and their settlement is a grave spot. A girl who quarrels with her parents in a Naga village and boists to this sink of iniquity can find an old hag ready to take her in and start her without delay on a career which can only end in disease and misery.

Education of the type which is given has been on the whole an evil rather than a good. Some men have withstood its evil influence and have remained good Naga, with something else very useful added. Not so the majority. Very rarely indeed does a Naga regard education as something which is going to make him more fitted for his ordinary life; he regards it as something which will fit him for a very different life, and he expects that life to be offered to him in the form of a Government post—apty described to me once as a "sitting-and-eating job". When boys apply to me for scholarships my custom is to ask them what they intend to do when they have finished their education, and the reply almost invariably is "I hope Government will find me a job". The result is a surplus of half-educated youths, unwilling to go back to the village life of their fathers and looking in vain for employment which they consider suitable to their talents. The situation is especially bad among the Aos. A few educated Angamis have ventured into commerce, usually with disastrous results, borrowing money wilily and expecting that somehow their education will bring them enormous profits.

Foreign dress is spreading slowly, but steadily. For this the blame must fall both on certain departments of Government, who allow their employees to wear it, and on missionaries whose active encouragement has not as yet been reduced even to connivance. It is certainly definitely connected in the Naga mind with education, and a smattering of superficial knowledge is considered to entitle the possessor thereof to a pair of shorts, while a suit complete with watch chain and trilby hat almost corresponds to a doctor's robe. The custom is bad from every point of view. It entails waste of money where money is hard to find. It encourages dirt, since no Naga can afford the changes he ought to have in the damp heat of Assam. It spreads disease in two main ways. Adults become more liable to chills and phthisis since they do not change their wet clothes, and children who are carried against wet "shirt waists" instead of against their mothers' warm backs suffer as a result. From the artistic point of view it is especially and utterly to be condemned. To substitute soiled and poor quality western clothes, or more often a caricature of them, for the exceedingly picturesque Naga dress is an aesthetic crime. More of the body is covered up, but I have yet to find that this leads to stricter morality.

Nagas who have taken whole-heartedly to foreign customs often build houses resembling the worst type of "shack". A Naga house as all fittingly built house should, seem to have grown out of the landscape. The corrugated iron roofs of the "foreign" houses are blots upon it. They are expensive and stuffy. The fashion has been encouraged, I fear, by the Baptist chapels, which as artistic productions are execrable, and, widely spread as they are, tend to kill the Naga's unconvention but innate sense of architectural fitness.

Only two ancient customs have had to be put down by Government—the sacrifice of mithun by cruel methods, and head hunting. The suppression of the first is wholly good, and more humane methods of killing can be substituted without detriment to the rites. The suppression of head hunting, though necessary in any area which is fully administered, has probably not been for the benefit of the tribes. The very fact that, far from being an honour, it is a disgrace to be killed in war, makes all Nagas very careful of their own safety, and their wars were singularly pacific affairs. In a war between two big villages such side might lose one or two men a year. The number of lives saved by the suppression of the practice is therefore negligible, and is far more than balanced by those lost through the spread of disease made easy by safe travelling everywhere. In addition to this there is a very real loss in virility and keenness. Unbroken peace is no better for Nagas than it is for any other race.

Realising that on the preservation of customs developed exactly to fit the environment and tested by centuries of use depends the whole fabric of tribal society Government has been at pains to preserve them to the utmost limit possible and to ensure that such change as must inevitably come shall not be destructive in its suddenness. In strong contrast has been the attitude of the American Baptist Mission. As religion plays a part in every Naga ceremony and as that religion is not Christianity every
ceremony must go. Such ceremonies as the great Feasts of Merit, at which the whole village, rich and poor alike, is entertained, and of which the religious aspect is far less important than the social, have not been remodelled on Christian lines, but have been utterly abolished among converts. This has been the fate, too, of all village sacrificial feasts. The place of these is not adequately taken by small parties meeting to drink tea. The suppression among Baptists of the ancient feasts in which all joined is not only a loss to the would-be hosts, but to the village as a whole, and not least to the poor, who always got their full share of good cheer at Animist festivals. To abolish these feasts is to do away with the very few occasions on which the awful monotony of village life is broken. They are, too, the natural Naga and Kuki way of distributing wealth. I have heard a Baptist teacher boast that his granaries were so full of the stores of years that some of the grain was black with age. Had he been an Animist that grain would not have been left to rot uselessly but would have been eaten by his fellow villagers.

To any one who unable to reject some of the most hallowed passages in Scripture, regards fermented liquor in moderation as not only harmless but beneficial, the strong prohibition policy of the Mission cannot but seem a grave mistake. Few of its advocates attempt to justify it from Scripture. They use the arguments which brought the Volstead Act into being. Such an obsession has abstinence from fermented drink become among converts that teetotalism is often regarded as the outstanding mark of a Christian. Among the Aos "teetotaler" and "Christian" are used as synonymous terms in ordinary conversation. The substitution of opium for rice beer is probably rare among Christians now, but as in America, a secret drinking goes on, with results that are morally evil.

It is at the big feasts that singing and dancing are indulged in and full dress worn. These have been entirely suppressed among the Ao Lhota and Some Christians, the men of whom wear no ornaments at all, having stripped their beads from the necks, their ivory armlets from their arms and even the cotton wool from their ears. The women are more conservative and still often wear their beads, though I doubt if a girl would actually wear her ornaments at a Mission school. Angami men too are difficult to dislodge from their ancient ways. The best of them do not give up their picturesque dress and are quite ready to put on all their finery and take part in the ceremonial singing parties which are such a feature of their village life.

Of the material arts in these hills wood-carving is the chief. It is displayed on the houses of those who have given the great Feasts of Merit, on the "Morung" posts of the Aos, Konyaks and Lhotas, and on the big xylophones of the Aos. This is doomed to extinction as the power of the mission increases. Feasts of Merit are forbidden among them, and no attempt is made to induce rich Christians to decorate their houses in the old way. No Christian boy is allowed to go through his time in the "Morung" and they are not built any more in Christian villages. In such villages, too, the old xylophones can be seen rotting in the jungle.

The suppression of the wearing of all ornaments or tribal finery, of dancing, of singing (except hymns), of village feasts and of all artistic outlet is spreading an unspeakable drabness over village life. Old songs and old traditions are being rapidly forgotten. Told year in and year out that all the past history, all the strivings, all the old customs of his tribe are wholly evil the Naga tends to despise his own race, and no night of the soul is blacker than that.

The suppression of the "Morung", in which young Animists learn to be useful citizens is unwarranted by any good reason that I have ever heard. It is part of the tendency to abolish old things just because they are old, and substitute for the strong communal feeling which has enabled the tribes to survive for so long an individualism which is really foreign to them. Not only is this individualism wrapped up with the strong emphasis on personal salvation; it is also the direct and natural reaction against the destruction of all the old things that mattered in village life and all the old expressions of the artistic and social genius of the tribe. "My tribe has erred hopelessly" says the convert "all through the centuries it has tried to work out its destiny, I will work out mine, and mine alone". An Animist puts his village before himself. A Baptist puts himself before his village. No Semas are as prone to disobey their Chiefs as Christian Semas, and Christian Aos have often refused to take part in village government to which their years and experience called them. A "Civilized" Naga is apt to call customary discipline restraint, and many of them are eager to leave their villages and live free of all control.

Times are changing and new influences and tendencies are appearing. Tribes and villages acting as units will be able to judge of them and resist them if need be. Individuals will find them too strong. Will the time come when these hills will be inhabited by scattered families, without pride in the past or hope for the future, without arts and without recreation, dressed in nondescript garments as drab as their lives, and busy only to wiz from the steep, rocky slopes enough sustenance to enable them to beget children and die?

Julian Huxley in one of his articles which he quotes in the introduction to his book *Africa View* sums up the exactly similar problem of that continent as follows:— "On the top of all this variety of nature and man there impinge Western Civilization and Western industrialism. Will their impact level down the variety, reducing the proud diversity of native tribes and races to a muddy mixture, their various cultures to a single inferior copy of our own? Or shall we be able to preserve the savour of difference, to fuse our culture and theirs into an autochthonous civilization, to use local difference as the basis for a natural diversity of development?"
(II) The effect on the Lushais of contacts with civilization by Mr. C. G. Helm, C.S.

1. It may be said in general that contact with civilization has made little or no difference to life in an ordinary Lushai village. For the important purpose of trade the Lushai Hills are not really in effective contact with civilization at all. They produce very little that has any exchangeable value and difficulties of communication make the marketing of surplus produce practically impossible. Thus the ordinary effects of contact with civilization—the stimulus to produce, the ability to exchange, the rise in the standard of consumption are almost entirely absent. Domestic life, methods of cultivation, village habits and customs, food and drink, amusements—all with a few exceptions to be noted below—remain as they were half a century ago. It is only in the relations between village and village, and between the Lushai Hills and the outside world, in religion and in education that any marked difference can be observed.

2. The introduction of settled government has not only prevented the Lushais from raiding the inhabitants of the plains on their borders, but has dispelled the constant fear in which they themselves lived of similar raids upon their own villages either from their neighbours or from more powerful tribes further inland.

3. The first Missionaries arrived in the Lushai Hills in January 1894, and the spread of Christianity has been extraordinarily rapid. I estimate the number of professed Christians at about one half of the population of the district. Conversion to Christianity operates as a powerful solvent of ancient customs which are gradually falling into neglect and disrepute. The new religion—adopted mainly in the form of Calvinistic Methodism—is effective chiefly in field of ritual observance. The standard of morality which was never low, remains the same.

4. The influence of Christianity has been strongly reinforced by the fact that education has been left entirely to the Mission, and, except in two respects, education in general has had no influence apart from Christian teaching. The two exceptions are (1) Most Lushais, Christian or non-Christian, are now able to read and write.

(2) Higher education in these hills as elsewhere breeds a dislike for manual labour, and its growth and spread are increasing the number of unemployed and discontented youths.

5. These are the results in general of the contact of the inhabitants of these hills with civilization. Minor results are tabulated below:

(1) In a few suitable localities, the Lushais have adopted the system of wet rice cultivation.

(2) The cultivation of fruit, coffee, tea has been introduced and taken up with avidity, and in this respect there has been a slight rise in the standard of comfort. The drinking of tea in its turn is leading to the general use of milk, formerly looked upon as excrescent by the Lushais. The use of milk is said to be effecting a considerable reduction in the rate of infant mortality.

(3) The use of quinine in combating malaria is now universal.

(4) There is an obvious tendency to adopt clothes of European style, and to cut the hair short.

(5) European games, especially football and hockey have been taken up and are played with great enthusiasm, alike on the part of the players and, in the towns of Aijal and Lungleh, of the spectators.

*There are no motorable roads in the Lushai Hills—only bridle paths.
APPENDIX B.

Notes on certain Hill Tribes of Assam.

(Some of the tribes dealt with in these notes have not yet formed the subject of a separate volume in the great series of monographs on the hill tribes of Assam published under the auspices of the Local Government.

For others—the Khasis, Garos and Lushais—separate monographs already exist but the notes now published give a considerable amount of additional information and have all been written by officers who have an intimate knowledge of the tribes of which they have written. The note on the Khasis and Syntengs is by a Khasi Officer. I regret that owing to lack of space I have had to cut out great deal of interesting information.)

(I) The Western Rengma Nagas.

(By Mr J. P. Mills I.C.S.)

1. The tribe is divided into a southern and a northern group, speaking different dialects. The groups intermarry. The southern group in turn is divided into (1) the big exogamous Kentennenyu clan and (2) the Azonyu group of clans. The Azonyu group in turn is divided into three exogamous groups of clans. The northern group is divided into some six exogamous groups of clans. Descent goes in the father's line.

2. There is no definite order of social precedence. In the southern group the Kentennenyu clan is vaguely regarded as senior, with the Sampanyu as the senior subclan of the Azonyu division. In the northern group the Mhatongza clan is vaguely regarded as senior.

3. There is no chiefy class.

4. The organization is democratic and very bad. Old men and men of position are listened to to a certain extent, but there is very little discipline in a village.

5. It is believed that the tribe was originally one with the Lhotas and travelled with them on their migration from Khema-Kenoma to the south as far as Therugu Hill on the southern edge of the present Rengma country. There the main body of the tribe split off, though certain clans joined them later both from the Semas to the east and the Lhotas to the north. Some sixteen generations ago a body split from the village of Kitagha and travelling away to the north, became the present Eastern, or Naked Rengmas. Another section split off about three or four generations ago and settled in the Mirk Hills.

6. There is a certain amount of terraced cultivation in some of the southern villages. The art was learnt from their Angami neighbours. Terraces are built on steep slopes and revetted with stone.

7. Megaliths are of two kinds. (1) A rectangular stone platform is made near a path and on it is set up a monolith for the performer of the ceremony, a slightly smaller one for his wife, and a little one for each of his children. A son may set up one of the monuments in the name of his dead father if he has had a series of bad harvests. The Kentennenyu clan of the southern group, and the Mhatongza of the northern group do not put up these monuments.

(2) Alignments are very rare. One was set up in Phissinyu in 1929 by one Gwalu in honour of his father. It consists of 18 monoliths 9 to 18 inches high and represents the deceased Hongpung with his wife and children and all who owned him as master. In the past such alignments have been set up by childless people who wish thus to distribute their wealth at a feast and leave some memorial.

8. Circular, or, more usually, semicircular, stone seats are made by the sides of paths. Upright stones help to strengthen the wall. Sometimes a man makes one during life as a memorial to himself, and sometimes a widow or a son makes one as a memorial to a dead man. It is particularly common for a son to make one as a memorial to his father if he has been having bad crops, as these seats are believed to recapture the lust fertility of the parents. Any one may sit on them.

9. Houses are of wood, bamboo and thatch. Planks for the front wall and porch may only be used by a man who has given the first of the feasts of merit.

10. (a) The shape of the front porch of the house varies according to the distance the owner has progressed in the series of feasts of merit. In Tesophenyu a man who has completed the series puts up "house horns" of the Angami pattern, but smaller.

(b) A man who has given the feasts of merit wears a dark blue cloth with white bands and red lines at the edge. His daughter may wear a body cloth ornamented with circles of cowries.
11. It is very vaguely believed that the sun is male and the moon female. Both were once equally hot, but God (Songinyu) saw that men were troubled because they had no means of telling night from day and planted a flux tree (urembi), and a plant with long leaves (alaplatung) on the moon. These shade it and are the marks we see on the moon now. Orion's Belt represents men trying to attack a village. The belt itself is Tersion kenyu (the sentries) and the dagger Byenyu (the strangers, i.e., attackers). The Pleiades are called Shenyu Pempi Kenyu (the star of the pending table carriers). They are believed to be seven, but most people can only see six. Any one who can see seven will be very happy in his married life. A pair of stars (Castor and Pollux) is called Letyung (girl's stick) and represents a young man cutting a stick for his mistress. Venus, both as a morning and an evening star, is called Shegyu and is believed to influence the crops. There is a separate name for each fork of the Milky Way. The big fork is called Zule (the Dyang River), and the small fork Serisu (the Tulo stream in the Sema country). They had a quarrel over the killing of a mithan and parted. Shooting stars are merely falling stars.

An earthquake occurs when the sky has connection with his wife the earth.

Neolithic stone adzes are called stumpaira duding (axes fallen from the sky). They believed to come down with lightning. It is lucky to find one and the finder keeps it as a charm. They are hurled down by god (songings) on any tree which he claims and wishes to fell. Thunder is the voice of god and in whatever direction it is heard most the crops will be best. The rainbow is the breath of a spirit. It rises from damp, haunted spots. If you point your finger at it you get ill.

An eclipse of the moon happens when a tiger tries to eat it. The sun is eclipsed when a great man dies.

12. The dead are buried in the village. Sometimes a man will ask to be buried outside the village, and if so, his wishes are compiled with. The head is not separately treated. The grave is covered with a slab of stone, and if on a slope stone slabs will be used to support the sides and make a flat top. Ordinarily a burial is made alongside a former burial, till large paved platforms are formed. If a grave is made in the rains a shelter is built over it.

13. The soul of the dead man remains in the villages till the Ngada ceremony which marks the beginning of the next agricultural year. Very occasionally a dead man goes to a home in the sky, but the vast majority go to the Land of the Dead under the earth. The Kentennenyu clan go to Sihama, a village to the west, and enter the Land of the Dead at a spot there which is not known. All other clans use the cave on Wokha Hill used by the Lhotas. All meet at the same destination. Including the present life a man has seven lives in worlds one below the other, each being an exact repetition of the one before. Finally those who can sing become crickets, and those who cannot butterflies.

14. The complexion is sallow. The hair is black, and usually straight, but occasionally slightly wavy. It is shaved round the head. The hands of girls are entirely shaved till they are betrothed, when their hair is allowed to grow. The eyes are brown and slightly oblique. The nose is rather long. The head appears moderately round (no measurements have been recorded). The physique is strong, but slight.

15. Seed is sown broadcast and a spoon-shaped digger used to cover it. The hoe is an iron hoop derived from the primitive bamboo hoe.

16. A simple bamboo flute with two holes, one of which is used for mouth and other for the production of notes. Also jsns' harp.

17. Weapons used are dao, spear and cross-bow (now almost obsolete). A few specimens exist of a short, heavy club which was used as weapon of offence in riots, and, held in the left hand to ward off dao blows, as a weapon of defence in serious fighting. Raw hide armour, consisting of cuirasses, leg pieces and arm pieces, also used to be used.

Enemies' heads were kept for one night on the shelf of the carved post of the Bachelors' Hall to which the taker belonged. Next day they were hung from bamboo which were lashed against the head tree.

**APPENDIX.**

(ii) These notes by Mr. J. H. Crace, I. P., Political Officer, Sadiya, and formerly Subdivisional Officer, North Cachar Hills, describe some of the traditions and customs of the most old-fashioned and least spoiled villages in the North Cachar Hills.

1. A son may not marry into his mother's clan, nor a girl into her father's clan.
2. In the pre-Dimapur days there were only 7 male clans. Of these, the oldest clans were the Bedosa, the clan which had formerly been royal, the Thaosengsa, which was then the ruling clan, and the Hasyuungs, the royal collaterals but not ruling. The other clans were the Langtasa, Jigdingsa, Hallowyongsa, Shenguunga. After the tribe left Dimapur there were 40 clans.
At Dimapur there were 13 clans of women. Certain clans had functional names:—

Female—Sagodgi—The clan of the Raja’s mother.
Phradi—the clan of the Prime minister’s wife.
Male-Songyabo—The royal cooks.
Noblase—the professional hunters.
Female-Siadima—the hereditary washers of the royal rice.
Anujia—the hereditary ayahs to royalty.
Male-Bongyassa—the servants, slaves and menials to royalty.
Ngablas—the fishermen to royalty.

The Bodosa and after them the Thaseanga were the royal clans. The Raja’s mother might belong to any clan. When she was sent to the royal harem she was entitled to be called Makhampogyiik signifying that she was as beautiful and satisfying as the finest rice.

3. The organization of the tribe used to be autocratic but now-a-days it is democratic. There is a headman to give the final orders; a minister for land to advise the headman on all matters concerning lands and cattle; a head boy to keep the youngsters in order; and a head girl for the girls. None of these are hereditary offices.

4. Endie’s book on the Kacharis gives a story of an origin from the north-west. The legend I have is as follows:

“We lived in a land called Ihasaw Kamruli in the very high mountains of dazzling brightness. We lived in big villages of stone. Not far away was a river in a great valley which flowed from the west. We were driven out and got across on a raft fixed to a rope which ran from side to side. We got to a place called Khundilo where the river comes out of the mountains into a sandy plain. Here we settled at a place called Phrapisiari Prappongesai after a great tree. We were driven from that place by the Shangbongسارao who had long swords in wooden sheaths.” Here the story continues as in Endie’s book.

5. Houses are built entirely of bamboo with wooden posts and a thatched roof. Some houses have a small earthen plinth if the site is not level and this may be either stone or plank or faced with wood. Stones are used as seats, but their use is not privileged.

6. When a man dies his neighbours and relations enter his house and his widow or, if he had no widow, some old woman kills a cock (for a woman a hen) at the head of the deceased. She then says “father and mother who have died, take your child away.” Then the corpse, which has been washed, is carried to a stream near the village and placed on a pyre of 12 layers of wood, and is burnt, the head to the west. The ashes are then thrown into the stream, and the people go back to the house. The widow, or old woman, puts a piece of gold or silver into a little bowl of water and with a leaf sprinkles those assembled one by one saying—“I have sprinkled, Go.” Clean clothes are then put on. In the evening, if there is any rice in the house, the married youths and maidens collect wood and leaves and the rice is spread on a mat and pounded. A little is distributed to each house in the village where it is cooked; next day it is brought back to the house of the deceased. When all are assembled pigs, goats, cocks, hens and tortoises are killed, and a feast follows. The next day all go to where the corpse was burnt and scatter rice; then they go back to the house and get water which they sprinkle on the burnt-out pyre after which they return to the house of the deceased, where drink is supplied.

The married men then proceed to build a model house outside the village. The house is about 24 feet high including the comparatively tall chang. There is a knotted stick to the little verandah by way of a ladder, and at the foot there is a little dug-out. On the verandah is a small wooden seat and often a cloth. Several scarlet and black wooden squares are hung from the roof to frighten away evil spirits.

7. Sowing is broadcast. The implements of agriculture are generally short handled and small bladed; they consist of narrow bladed hoes, small trowels and an elementary sickle.

8. The bow is still used, and sharp as well as blunt arrows are used for hunting. I have found no traces of any practice of taking heads.

(III) The Biete Kukis of the North Cachar Hills. By Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., from information supplied by Mr. A. H. Fletcher, I.C.S.

1. There are four clans—Chungal or Nampai, Darnei or Thanglei, Ngamlai and Kiete. A fifth clan, called Klangpa, is now extinct. Strictly speaking the clans are endogamous, but marriage between clans is not infrequent, the woman being received into the clan of her husband. Marriages between members of the Chungal and Darnei clans are common, and these two classes less frequently intermarry with the other two clans.

It is forbidden to touch the comb and hair cil of a member of another clan. If a man marries outside his clan he receives his wife into his clan by acquitting her head with some of his own oil.

2. The Chungal and Darnei clans are definitely regarded as superior to the other two.

3. The Chief (Khaling) of the tribe is chosen from the Chungal and Darnei clans alternately. He holds office for life. Both his parents must be of the same clan.
4. Each village is run by a headman acting with village elders.

5. They point to the Lushai Hills to the south as their place of origin. They were undoubtedly pushed north into their present home by the Lushai invasion of the Lushai Hills in the 18th century. They belong to the old Kuki stock.

6. The megaliths which abound in some parts of the Biate country were not set up by them, but by previous inhabitants. As far as is known the Bieties never set up megaliths, but the closely allied Khotlangs on very rare occasions set up small, slender monoliths to commemorate feasts, and the Bieties may have done so in the past.

7. Houses are of wood and bamboo, and are thatched. Stone and planks are not used.

8. People dress as they like, save that a Khalim wears a silver or brass bracelet on each wrist and ear ornaments of a special pattern.

9. The sun is female and the moon male. Once the moon (which was the sun then) became so hot that it scorched the earth. It was therefore turned into the moon, and the then moon became the sun. How this change was effected is not known. The sexes were not changed.

Orion's Belt is called Sijuckoi ("Rat holes stars"). Orion's sword is Sinajuan ("Bhimraj star"). The Pleiades are Sirup ("Six Stars"). Three bright stars close to the Pleiades are Nuncis numis thorkhol ("Widow fencing a binjal plant").

An eclipse occurs when the sun or moon faints for lack of water. They used to come down to earth to get water, but the dogs drove them away and now they dare not come.

Lightning is caused by a snake, which lives in a river, firing a gun.

The rainbow is searching for fish in streams.

10. The dead are buried. No coffin is made. A small platform is built over the grave and offerings of food and drink for the dead put on it.

The land of the dead is Ithikoa. No soul can reach it till the proper charm has been uttered by Kolsam, an old man whom the soul meets half-way. Nothing is known of the life of the soul.

11. Sowing is usually broadcast. The agricultural implements used are the "dao", a small narrow triangular hoe, an adze and sickle.

12. The following are the musical instruments used:—drum, bamboo flute and lute with silk strings.

13. The true bow, as distinguished from the Naga cross bow, was once used but is now obsolete. The modern weapons are spears and dao.

Enemies' heads used to be stuck on pales in the village. A man had to bring in a head before he could marry.

(IV) The Kholma Kukis of the North Cachar Hills. By Mr. J. P. Mills, from information supplied by Mr. A. H. Fletcher, I. C. S.

1. The tribe is divided into thirteen, or possibly more, clans. Descent is reckoned from the father. The clans are strictly speaking endogamous. Though marriage with a person of another clan is frequent it is definitely regarded as entailing defilement. A man contracting such a marriage cannot perform the funeral rites of his parents. Each family therefore sees to it that one member at least marries within the clan.

A woman is not received into her husband's clan on marriage and cannot touch his comb and hair oil if she is of a different clan. In such cases her husband's sister has to be called in to do her children's hair. All clans are socially equal.

2. The organization is democratic. The head of each clan is known as the Khalim. The Khalims settle matters of importance.

3. The tribe belongs to the Old Kuki stock. It points to the Lushai Hills to the south as its place of origin. Thence it was driven north by the Lushai expansion of the 19th century.

4. Houses are of wood, bamboo and thatch. There are no restrictions.

5. A Khalim wears ear ornaments of a special pattern. Otherwise there are no distinctions in dress.

6. The sun is female and the moon male. The Pleiades are called Sirup ("Six stars"). Orion's Belt is Jaborjou ("Jar carrier"). Men are carrying an earthen jar home from the "jhum". Orion's sword is Suidanchn ("Rice basket pulling"). Three brothers are fighting over a rice basket. Venus as a morning star is Sikovar ("drawn star"). Venus as an evening star is Koloi. Koloi was a man whose head was taken when he was returning from a distant village with his bride. That evening he appeared in the west as a bright star. A shooting star is a star going to be married. The Milky Way divides the hot and cold halves of the sky. In the hot weather it is low in the sky but in the cold weather it is over head.
X

APPENDIX:

An eclipse is caused when the sun and the moon take the same path across the sky. Though there are ten different paths they sometimes make a mistake and meet. A rainbow means that tigers and bears are likely to be particularly dangerous. Earthquakes occur when a race of evil beings living beneath the earth have a battle.

7. Poor people are buried and the rich cremated. No monument is erected. A tall bamboo with a piece of white cloth at the end is put up by a grave. If a man dies a violent death the cloth is red.

8. The souls of the dead go to Matri, which lies above the earth. They travel on foot up a very steep path called Matrihung. A man called Pangam was once taken to his dead wife in heaven, hanging on to a wild cat's tail. He looked at the dead dancing, though she told him not to, and was sent back to earth. He related that the dead live in happiness, without hunger or thirst. They call bamboo leaves fish and rotten wood flesh.

9. Seed is sown broadcast. The implements are a narrow triangular hoe, a dao, axe and sickle.

10. Musical instruments are bamboo flute, Jew's harp and drum.

11. Weapons are the bow (now obsolete), spear and dao. Enemies' heads used to be hung up in the Bachelors' Halls. Now-a-days no heads are taken and no Bachelors' Halls are built.

(V) Notes on the Lushais by Mr. N. E. Parry, I.C.S.

1. The Lushais are divided into numerous clans. Details of which will be found at pages 125-127 of Colonel Shakespeare's book "The Lushai Kuki clans". One of the most striking characteristics of the Lushais is their capacity for absorbing other races. This process began before they came under British rule and has continued ever since. Most of the tribes in the Lushai Hills district have been strongly influenced by the Lushais both as to their customs and their language and it may be said that the only villages which have maintained their tribal customs free from Lushai influence are the Lakhers and to a lesser degree the Chin villages in the Lungleh subdivision. The Fanais, the Paltos, the Thados and other Kuki tribes have all come very largely under Lushai influence and before many years have passed will be practically indistinguishable from the Lushais. This partly due to the special gift for rule which characterizes the Sailo chiefs and partly to the fact that the language taught in all the schools in the district except in the Laker villages is Darien the language spoken by the Lushais. The absorption of the Fanais had begun and made great strides prior to the advent of British rule and now-a-days Rabes can only be distinguished from other Lushais by their excessive love of taking and their litigious propensities.

Some of the Lushai clans are now exogamous, nor do they appear to have been so within recent times. Among the Sailos the favourite marriage is of first cousins and at one time it was usual for a Sailo always to marry a Sailo. Now-a-days, however, the younger chiefs have begun to take their wives from almost any clan, though if a suitable Sailo bride is forthcoming she is usually preferred. It can be stated quite definitely however that a young Lushai whether a member of the Sailo clan or not has not the completeness freedom in his choice of a wife and is bound neither by exogamy nor by endogamy. The position seems to have been much the same when Colonel Shakespeare wrote in 1912 "The Lushai Kuki clans" page 50. The marriage of a brother and sister however is incestuous and is believed to ruin the village crops. I have known of two such marriages.

2. Practically the only social distinction that exists is that conferred on persons who have performed the Thanghuhn feast. As these feasts are, I fear, becoming rapidly obsolete even these distinctions will shortly cease to exist. There is no marked division into classes with a definite order of social precedence and in this the Lushais differ markedly from the Lakhers. The Sailos, the chiefly clan are universally looked up to and given precedence socially; apart from this however there is practically complete social equality among the people. That this state of affairs has existed for a long time and is not merely a result of British rule is shown in Colonel Lowin's book "The hill tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein". Such distinctions as do exist seem to be due more to wealth than to birth. People who are well to do are often spoken of as "mitha" while poor people are referred to as "mithia". For all practical purposes, however, social distinctions among the mass of the people simply do not exist at all. There are, it is true, a few clans like the Panchhuoos which formerly used to regard themselves as of a superior status and to demand higher marriage prices for their daughters. These distinctions however have practically disappeared. The tendency has been for the marriage price to become the same for all Lushais irrespective of clan, the Sailos alone retaining a higher rate. The return of the labour corps from France led to temporary but marked rise in marriage prices as the returned labourers had money to burn and were ready to pay any exorbitant price that the parents of the girls they fancied demanded. Thus contrary to all custom a girl's price become more dependent on her looks and the greed of her parents than on her birth and the customary rate of price. The chiefs highly disapproved of this breach of custom and as soon as money got scarce a reaction occurred and a more or less definite rate of marriage price based on the most prevalent did rate was fixed for all girls.

3. The Sailo clan is the chiefly clan. This clan is descended from Sailova great-grandson of Thanguru to whom all members of the clan trace their genealogies. The early Sailos were gifted rulers who crushed out practically all the then existing chiefs, again excepting the Laker
and a few Chin chiefs in the south-east of the district, and established themselves all over the hills.

To this day the Sailos are for the most part capable rulers and their villages are far better conducted than the few to which for one reason or another members of non-chieflly clans have from time to time been appointed as chiefs by Government. Formerly Sailos married practically entirely within the clan, though there does not appear to have been any definite rule compelling them to do so. Now-a-days however much less importance is attached to this by the younger generation, who are apt to marry any girl they fancy whether she be a Sailo or not and there are quite a number of chiefs who have married non-Sailo wives. This seems to be due partly to the fact that Sailo brides are much more expensive and partly to the fact that in the past many chiefs kept concubines belonging to other clans. Falling legitimate issue the children of these concubines have in some cases become chiefs, and being themselves of mixed parentage do not feel so strongly the necessity of finding Sailo brides. The fidelities of a Lushai's affections and the ease and frequency with which he can change his wife may also have had an effect, as the Sailos share this characteristic with the rest of the tribe. Still the fact remains that other things being equal a Sailo chief still prefers to marry a Sailo.

4. The Lushais have no indigenous terraced cultivation and attempts to introduce it have met with little or no success. I know of no genuine terraced cultivation carried out by Lushais. The only places where wet rice cultivation is carried on to any extent are in the broad valley of Champhai and to a lesser extent at North and South Vanlaiaphi, Laliiphui, Tuszubhar and a few other places where there are similar but less extensive valleys. Prior to the advent of the British no wet rice cultivation at all was carried out, the only method of cultivation known to the Lushais being jhuming. Lushais were taught wet cultivation at Champhai by Santal coolies imported for the purpose.

5. Stone monuments are not common the usual memorial being a wooden platform (lungdawh) made of logs. Stone memorials (lungpum) are however put up for chiefs and formerly were erected for persons who had taken heads. The word for a memorial "lungdawh" which means literally "stone put" seems however to indicate that at one period the usual monument erected was of stone. The stone memorials consist either of a pile of stone (lungdawh) with a large upright stone (lungshan) in the middle or of a single erect stone (lungphane). The upright stones often have carvings of mithun's heads, gongs and guns showing the number of mithun slain by the deceased for the Khangchawli feasts and the number of gongs and guns that he possessed. On the wooden platform are hung up the heads of all the game shot by the deceased in his lifetime. One stone monument on the path from North Vanlaiaphi to Farkawn has a carving of a man holding four heads in each hand. I could not find out its history. Near Champhai are a number of these stone memorials the best known being Manghia's lungdawh, which is illustrated in Colonel Shakespeare's book. Near Taobhip village is a large memorial stone to a Palian chief called Sibuta, known as Sibuta. Memorial stones are generally erected on the side of a path though I have seen them in the middle of a village and they may be erected anywhere that the person erecting them pleases. Now-a-days Christians often erect stone or wooden crosses in memory of their dead either by the side of path or over the grave. Another new custom is to erect a stone in memory of a hunting dog with an inscription extolling the animal's virtues and a list of the game he was instrumental in bringing to the bag.

6. Stone seats are but rarely found. There is however no objection to men using stone seats. Women never use stone seats as they believe that a woman who sits on a stone seat will give birth to a houne. This is known as "Fa lungtas" lit "child houne".

7. The materials used in building are wood, bamboo, cane, and for roofs thatch and palm leaves or if the two former are not available bamboo leaves, while now-a-days in Thakting, the Aijal village, as many as can afford it use corrugated iron for roofs. Wood is used for the posts and cross beams and bamboo in one form or another for all the rest of the work. The whole framework of the houses is of bamboo and the floors and walls are of bamboo matting. Neither stone nor wood is ever used for walls, floors or roofs but there is no particular restriction on the use of these materials. The steps leading up to the houses are made of wooden logs laid like steps not merely of one wooden log, with steps leading up to it.

8. The only social distinctions are those conferred on people who have performed the Thangchhau feasts often loosely spoken of as khamchawli and consisting of the following parts. Chawme, Sedaw-chhun, Zankhung, Midhiroplam, Sedaw-in-a-tlip, Khangpui, Sedaw-in-a-tlip, Khangpui vawikhkha, Sedaw-in-a-tlip, Zawh-zaw-ko. Persons who have performed these feasts can wear a special striped cloth known as a Thangchhau cloth and a turban of the same cloth with a headdress of King crow's feathers. Men who had performed the feasts as far as Mithirop plant were allowed to assume these distinctions, though to attain real merit it was desirable to perform the whole series. In addition to the distinctive dress those who had performed the feasts were allowed to make a window in the side wall of their houses and to have a small verandah at the back of the house called bazah. Now-a-days the feasts are very rarely performed partly owing to the spread of Christianity and partly owing to their great cost. I do not know one of the younger chiefs who has performed the whole series and only a few who have begun it. Chiefs whether they have actually performed the requisite feasts or not wear the thangchhiah cloths and the headdress of king crow's feathers on formal occasions. The restriction on the use of windows is no longer strictly observed and bazahs are rarely seen.
9. The Sun.—The Sun is a female and being but a timorous woman is afraid to wander abroad at night, while the moon who is a man has no such fears and is consequently seen at night.

The marks on the face of the moon are accounted for as follows.

In the middle of the moon is a huge Ficus tree (Bangpui) and the marks on the moon’s face are its branches in which is seated a headless monkey. If any one sees this headless monkey he is sure to die. Lushais therefore avoid staring at the moon lest they should see the headless monkey and so come to an untimely end.

Madmen get worse with the waning moon, their wits vanishing as the moon disappears.

Eclipses whether of the sun or of the moon are caused by a mythical animal called an “awk” said to be the spirit of a Poi chief trying to swallow the moon. There are said to be to clans of Poi chiefs but I have not been able to find out which clan is responsible for the “awk”. Whenever an eclipse of the sun (Ni-awk-lom) or of the moon (Tha-awk-lom) occurs Lushais beat gongs and drums and make as much noise, as they possibly can in order to frighten away the “awk” and prevent him from swallowing the sun. They fear that if the “awk” really swallows the sun there will be another darkness or “Thimzing” during which all human beings will be turned into monkeys or other animals as happened once before. Many of the animals we now know were human beings before the last Thimzing.

At lunar eclipse if the moon reappears from the shadow exactly opposite the spot where it first disappeared this is believed to portend an outbreak of cholera within the month.

The Stars.—Venus as an evening star is known as: Chongmawii, as a morning star as Hrangchhuana. Hrangchhuana is Chongmawii’s lover and is always pursing her, sometimes he catches her up and they love one another and on these nights a Lushai lover is sure to attain his heart’s desire. The story of these lovers is as follows—

“While their respective villages were at war, Hrangchhuana and Chongmawii were in love with each other and Hrangchhuana used to visit Chongmawii every night. Each night when he left Hrangchhuana Hrangchhuana used to slay one of the young warriors of the village, but one night he got killed himself. As soon as Hrangchhuana was killed his slayer called out “whose lover is this youth, it is he who has killed so many of our young men”. Hrangchhuana’s body was laid out just outside the village fence and as they wanted to find out whose lover he had been, the chief sent round the village enquirer to order all the girls to go down to the fields that morning. Accordingly all the girls went down to the fields and on the way passed Hrangchhuana’s corpse. Chongmawii’s father was very proud of Chongmawii but Chongmawii was very afraid of passing her lover’s corpse and hung back till the very last. She could not refuse to follow the others however and had to come along in her turn. When she reached the corpse however Chongmawii was unable to pass it and knelt down by it and wept bitterly. When Chongmawii’s father saw this he himself slew her by the side of her lover and after this Hrangchhuana and Chongmawii were turned into stars and still meet occasionally at the appointed season.”

The Plough is called Zangkhua and represents a man who was killed in war. His slaves carried off his head and left leg and before his relatives could rescue his remains they were turned into stars. Four stars form his body and his three legs and thigh.

The story of Zangkhua is as follows:—

There was once a chief called Zanga and in his village there dwelt a man called Klawlavi who went on a visit to his maternal uncle in another village. While he was on this visit Klawlavi had a very bad dream to the effect that he was killed in war. Klawlavi told his uncle of this evil dream and the latter sacrificed a chicken and performed “thubha” to call back and soothe Klawlavi’s soul as he attributed the dream to Klawlavi’s soul having wandered away from him. Klawlavi then uttered the following words—

“Put te yang Khua ah va zin lau tawn mang ah chhhia, i tih ding emaw. Bawh ar ia ran thla zuk hua la tha lam tur serb khua a kham emaw”.

When Klawlavi returned to his village, his maternal uncle accompanied him and escorted him to a point close to his village from which they could see the village memorials. At this point his uncle said “nothing can happen to you here” and left him and returned to his own village. Near the place where the escort turned back was a saddle called Berva Kawn and at this saddle a party was lying in ambush. They slew Klawlavi and cut off his head and one of his legs and thighs and carried them off without Klawlavi’s uncle and friends knowing anything about it. Presently the Taiherb (bulbul) began calling in the village “Klawlavi is dead, Klawlavi is dead” and the villagers asked them “where is he?” to which the Taiherb replied “on Berva Kawn”. The villagers said “perhaps he really is dead, let us go and see” so they went out to see and found Klawlavi’s remains on Berva Kawn and then the remains were turned into stars and can be seen to this day.
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Orion's belt and Sword are known as Chakheivung. There are eight stars which represent an owl, a rat's nest and six rats' holes. The owl used to sit just above the rats' front door and catch the rats as they came out. One day however the mouse said to the rat "you are very foolish why do you not have a back door as well as a front door like we do, and then the owl will not be able to catch you". The rat accordingly made a back door as advised but as soon as he had finished it the great darkness called the Thimzing started and the owl and the rats' holes were all turned into stars.

A variant of the story relates that after the rats had found how to avoid the owl, their home was discovered by some men who proceeded to dig the rats' out. While they were doing this, however, their chief found that he had forgotten his tinder box and went home to fetch it but on the way was eaten by a tiger. The villagers surrounded the tiger but it escaped from the rings and ran away and is now the star called Shikiten, which is the planet Mars. The chief's tinder box has given a name to another star which I cannot identify but which is known as Simeitak.

The Pleiades are called Siruk meaning the six stars. The Milky Way is Thaisk Kong meaning the cold weather road. The North Star is Hmar Arsi Sen meaning North Star Red. Cassiopeia is called Dingdi Puas Tah, which means Dingdi is weaving.

Dingdi was a girl who was being taught to weave by her mother, when the great darkness fell and they were turned into stars.

There are two stars called Nusa Theambu In Chuk, which represent a mother and her daughter quarrelling over a spindle.

Sikawung consists of seven stars which represent a chief and two commoners playing at the Kawi game with the beads of Etada Scandene. The great darkness fell in the middle of the game and the players and their beads were all turned into stars. These stars are probably the Square of Pegsaus and part of Orion's belt.

Si Chaksa means the Crab Star.

Khiangte Zong Zim meaning the Khiangtes catching monkeys, is a constellation of about ten stars representing a number of members of the Khiangte clan who were all turned into stars at Thimzing while they were chasing monkeys. This constellation is identified by Savidge and Lorrain as a group of stars near Taurus in Aldebaran.

Pukula Thang identified by Savidge and Lorrain as the constellation of Grus represents a deer trap set by a mythical character called Pukula.

Si Rokkazi is a constellation formed by the conversion into stars at Thimzing of a long bamboo with a wild cat's skin hanging from it to dry.

Vandui Sairkwa meaning the Sky Bow is formed by a number of stars including Castor and Pollux, Sirius and Procyon.

Si Vawk Bawm means literally Star Pig's Pasket. I cannot identify it. Nearly all the Lushai names for stars refer to persons or things that were turned into stars at the great darkness called Thimzing. Shooting stars are known as Asaitalawk.

Comets are called Simeitakku or the star with a fiery tail. Once upon a time there was a man called Chawngthanga who was very ill and about to die. Before he died he said " before burying me if you look up to the sky you will see that I have turned into a comet ". On the night that Chawngthanga died his friends looked up to the sky as he had told them and saw a comet, as Chawngthanga said they would do.

Parhelion are known as Sarsam. When seen in the east they are leeky and portend the taking of a head or the shooting of some large animal. When seen in the west they are unlucky and portend an unnatural death. It is unlucky to point at a Sarsam as he who does so will get broken fingers.

The Rainbow is known as Chhimtal. It is made by a gigantic Spirit who stands up in a river bed and then bends over to drink. It is unlucky to point at a rainbow as the finger which points will drop off. The danger to the finger can be averted if after a person has pointed at a rainbow he at once points at a hen basket. If one end of a rainbow is seen just over a house, it is believed that the owner of the house will die prematurely. Earthquakes are caused by the beetle called Pavongekli, which collects dung from the road to take home with him. Sometimes as he is rolling his ball of dung along he, by mistake, lets it roll over the edge of the world and thereby causes an earthquake. The edge of the world is the horizon which the Lushais call Laojuk.

An alternative explanation of an earthquake is that it is caused by the sexual intercourse of the earth and the sky.

Another version of the beetle story is as follows. The beetle having collected his ball of dung rolls it along over the earth until he comes to the sea. He enters the sea with his ball of dung and without letting go of it swims over to the other side of the sea and there presents himself before the creator of mankind and of the world and says: "All the people on the world have died and I have inherited their property " and shows to the creator the ball of dung that he has brought with him. The creator in order to see whether all the men in the world have really died or not pushes the earth which causes an earthquake.
Thaubini is the personification of Tipuna's ghost. Tipuna is a mythical figure.

Thunder is Pavana Thengpui Haue Ri which means the noise made by Pavana moving about a big plate. Pavana whose name means literally "old man in the sky" is the same as Pathan, which is the Lushai name for God.

Chawip is a light like a meteor which is said to fly through a village burning brightly. A Chawip always starts from a house and is believed to be the spirit of a dying person. It is believed that the owner of a house from which a Chawip starts will shortly die.

10. The dead now-a-days are nearly always buried, the grave being made in front of the house. The body is wrapped in a dark blue cloth known as panudum and laid flat in the grave. Coffins are not used. Some personal articles such as a pipe, a bag or possibly a dead are often buried with the body. Christians are generally buried in cemeteries instead of in front of the deceased's house. People who have died from deaths being killed by a wild animal, drowned or killed by a fall from a tree, died of cholera or in childbirth must be buried outside the village. If the first child in a family dies soon after birth, it is known as "Alamsut" and is buried in an earthenware pot generally under the house. Alamsut are buried usually by the father and mother on no account be buried by an unmarried person lest his future children should die in the same way.

There is one other way of disposing of the dead, which now-a-days at any rate is only followed by the chiefs because of its great expense, though formerly it seems to have been followed by all true Lushais. The body is placed in a coffin made by hollowing out a log, the opening being closed with a plank of wood. The coffin is placed against the wall in the deceased's house and a special hearth is built close to it. From a hole in the bottom of the coffin a bamboo tube is run through the floor and down into the soil below the house. A fire is lit on the hearth and is kept burning day and night until the corpse has been entirely desiccated, the coffin being turned round at intervals to ensure that the corpse is dried through and through. After about a month the coffin is opened to see what progress has been made and it is not until all the flesh has been dried off which may take three months or more that the skull and larger bones are taken out and placed in a basket which is kept on a shelf near the hearth. The smaller bones are placed in an earthenware pot and buried. When the collection of bones in the house becomes too large they are also placed in an earthenware pot and buried. While a body is being dried the widow is supposed to sit by it and a chief who is drying his wife's body is not supposed to leave his house until the process has been completed, though there is no formal "arita" the breach of which would entail penalties. The tube which is run from the coffin into the soil is to allow the decaying matter and gases given off by the corpse to escape into the ground. The job of keeping up the fire and seeing that the corpse is properly dried is an unpleasant one and the young men who help to do this have to be liberally supplied with food and drink.

During the process the deceased's friends and relations come to condole with the survivors bringing with them zo and animals to be killed to accompany the dead man's spirit to the next world, which incidentally afford a feast for the living. Vanphunga is said to have taken six months to dry his wife's body. Thuamhua who also dried his wife's body a few years ago only took about two months over it.

11. There are two abodes of the dead, Mithikhu and Pialral. To Mithikhu which means "dead men's village" go the spirits of all ordinary persons, while to Pialral, which means "across the Pial river" and corresponds to Paradise go the spirits of certain privileged mortals who have specially qualified for admittance. Thus the spirits of persons who have performed the Khuangaw feast and are known as Thanghghum go to Pialral. The spirits of men who have been especially successful with women, those who have enjoyed seven virgin and those who have enjoyed seven women whether virgins or not are also admitted to Pialral. The last class of spirits that can claim admittance to Pialral are those of men who have killed a man and also one of each of the following animals: elephant, bear, wild boar, wild mithun, samhur, barking deer, hamadryad, flying fox and eagle; men who have killed these animals are also counted as Thanghghum. No women are admitted to Pialral. The guardian of the lower world is Papawla the first human being to suffer death. Papawla, who may be compared with the Lakher Chong chong pia, shoots with apell bow at all the spirits on their way to the lower world, but is not allowed to shoot the spirits of those who are qualified for Pialral by any of the tests already described. All other spirits, however, including the spirits of all women he is able to shoot and all the spirits that he shoots must go to Mithikhu. Those who are bound for Mithikhu first of all pass over the Hringang hill, cross the Longlo river whose waters are the waters of forgetfulness, pluck hamsio flowers (Impatias Chinensis) which remove all desire to look back to the world and enter Mithikhu.

In spite of the fact that both Lushais and Lakkers believe that there are definite abodes to which spirits must go after death, it is none the less clear that both tribes believe to a great extent in the omnipresence of the spirits of the dead. Thus among the Lushais as well as among the Lakkers I have come across the belief that the spirits of dead children are sometimes born again in the bodies of their younger brothers or sisters. Lushais believe that spirits may migrate into hornets while Lakkers believe that they die. The Lakker sacrifice of Lalischhie is essentially a sacrifice to the spirits of their dead relations, while the Lushai feast called Mihka has the same raison d'etre. Again the Lushai Mithtrauplam which is one of the series of Thangghum feast is held in the honour of the ancestors of the giver of the feast. When a woman's husband dies, she has to set aside a small portion...
of each meal for her husband's spirit for three months after his death. This is known as Mithi Chau-
pe and if during this period the widow misconducts herself with any man she is liable to all the pain
and penalties of adultery as during this period she is held to be as strictly bound to her husband as if
she were still alive. After every feast a Lushai has to set aside a small portion of meat, rice and zu
for the spirits; this is known as ronschik. Lushais also used to place a little of the first fruits of
every crop under the eaves of the house as an offering to the spirits of their dead parents. This offer-
ing is known as Mithi Chaupek. Lushais also believed that the spirits of the deceased come to watch the
Chaplar Kat ceremonies. With the spread of Christianity these beliefs are gradually dying out but
they still linger on among the more conservative. Among the Lakbers, however, the old beliefs have
not yet been displaced. Lakbers place estables on a grave until the memorial stone and post have been
erected, also on newly planted memorial posts and again once a year at Laliachhia. Lakbers also
believe that a woman's chillessness may be due to the fact that the spirits of her dead parents or of
her husband's parents are displeased with her. All these examples, pointing as they do to a modified
form of ancestor worship, show that though both Lushais and Lakbers believe that definite aholes are
allotted to the spirits of the dead, they at the same time believe that the spirits of the dead can revisit
their old haunts and exercise influence over living beings.

12. Heads of enemies killed in war.—The heads of enemies killed in war were brought back to
the village and the Ak ceremony was performed over them. The purpose of this ceremony was to
ensure that the ghost of the man slain should be the slave of his slayer in the next world. After the
Ak ceremony had been performed the head was hung up on a tree outside the house where it could be
seen. Any kind of tree was regarded as suitable for this purpose but a tree on which a head had been
hung up was henceforth known as Sahlam. Once the head had been hung up on a tree no further
notice was taken of it and it was allowed to fall down and decay. Heads were never buried. A young
man who had taken a head was known as a Hunsen or a Pusitha. Both of these terms may be
translated as " man of valour ". Persons who had taken heads were entitled to wear the head-dress
known as Lenchkawn and Chawtawt, the latter being reserved for specially heroic warriors.

(VI) Notes on the Garos by Mr. G. D. Walker, I.C.S.

1. Throughout the Garos and their cogeners the Lynggams (Megaams) there is a division into two
great exogamous groups. These are called Sangma and Marak. Among the Chisak tribe of Garos
in the north-east part of the Garo Hills and among the Garos and Lynggams in Goalpara, Kamrup, and
Khasi Hills, the Marak group is frequently called Momin. In the same locality Sangma is replaced,
but to a much smaller extent, by Arong and one or two other smaller clans. (Even among the Koch
people, on the edges of the Garo Hills, a similar division exists, though the names used are not the same.
The Tintiki clan of Koch use Sincung and Ajum for Sangma and Marak. These Koshe are Garo-
like in origin, but have drifted a small way towards Hinduism. The Rabhas also have exogamous clans
but have no generic names for them. They have subdivisions in two groups anyone of the subdivisions
being restricted in choice of a mate to a subdivision of the other group.)

The strictness of the Sangma-Marak division has been loosened of recent years, especially under
the influence of contact with Christian missions. While it is still uncommon for a Momin to marry
a Marak, yet the temptation to avoid social ostracism has induced Garos to treat a Momin as a separate exogamous group. The missionaries have not actively encouraged the breakdown of the old
exogamous system, in fact modern missionaries respect it, and discourage union between Sangma and
Sangma, but the solvent is at work nevertheless. To a Garo, for a Sangma to marry a Sangma is
equivalent to incest, and a man who has married within his clan is called " Madong " meaning " one
who has married his mother ", an epithet which never fails to raise a laugh among the bystanders. It
may be said therefore, that in spite of modernising influences the exogamous division of the Garos is
very strict.

There are many subdivisions of each group : From careful enquiries carried on for a number of
years I compiled a list*, which differs in many ways from the list given in Appendix A of " The
Garo's " by Playfair.

2. There is no definite division into groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence as
between these classes. Any man who has acquired social status is called a " nokma ", anyone else is an
" ordinary man " (ramtaw monde). The husband of the owner of the village land is called nokma.
So also is one who has given the necessary feasts, which entitle him to wear certain badges—among
Chisaks in the north-east jakate (elbow rings), and a red silk turban. Among Chisaks the standard of
feast required is very low, and nokma abound. In the rest of the hills only the very rich can give the
elaborate feasts required. In some parts only a genuine nokma (i.e., one who has gone through the
excessive ritual of feasts and is called a ganma nokma) (ganma having the same force in this case as
ganna in the Nag Hills) can adorn his house with certain carved boards, and with a cross-cross
pattern of bamboo slats in the walls at the forepart of his house.

3. There is no chiefly class or clan among Garos.
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4. The organisation of the Garos is more or less democratic. When a matter is in dispute, all concerned, including the women, assemble and debate, with feasting proportionate to the gravity of the issue. Generally the chair is taken by the nokma, if it concerns only one village, or by the laskar (a petty magistrate appointed by Government, generally on election by the nokmas of the charge), or even by the muradar (elected Garo official who checks the assessment to house tax for a group of laskars).

5. Traditions of origin.—In the Garos by Playfair a tradition is given of migration from Tibet through the plains of Assam. This tradition is known only to the Chisaks (of the north-east of the Garo Hills and the plains of Coorg and Kamrup). The vast majority of Garos have other traditions, but with education and the potency of the printed word, the Chisak tradition is getting wider credence.

Nearly all Garos say they came from the east. Within the Garo Hills the movement in the last 15 to 20 generations has been westwards up the higher valley of the Sameswar (Simsang) and out into the low hills south and west of the main range of hills. The Rabhas and Koches and Garo tribes with Koch-like affinities appear to have been driven to the edge of the plains by the more active hillmen, the Abengs and the Matchis. At the foot-hills on the north of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills districts are said to have been inhabited by *Garo* in descriptions of Assam less than a century ago, it would seem that the Khasis on the one side and the plains people on the other gradually squeezed the Garos westward. That a portion of the Garos in their wanderings may have tried to obtain a footing in the Bhutan Hills is quite credible; but I scarcely think that any but a very few travelled so far. For a nomadic tribe, given time and unbroken jungle, there is nothing incredible in that tradition.

6. There are no megalithic monuments in the Garo Hills, with the possible exception of the stone rang (gong) near Sakhadam (upper valley of the Kriñsi). It is a front-shaped block of sandstone. If ever it stood as a basin it has been completely overturned. It is half-buried in the earth on a hillside, mouth downwards, and it is difficult to inspect it. I was baffled by the tradition that the local god was angered and brought bad luck to the village if the rang were disturbed. The basin is almost perfectly hemispherical, 12' deep and 16' in diameter. The thickness of the lip varies from 8' to 12'. It seems to have been a freak of nature, embellished by art; possibly a stone containing a "put-hole" worn out by the stream, and the rock containing it trimmed and shaped to facilitate its removal. I was not able to get any tradition as to how it came to be there.

I do not know if the "asong" or "Khoi" are "megalithic," because none of the stones are very large, though probably the largest obtainable. Every old village, and every new one which wants to acquire a separate status, has, in a grove on the village land, often a long way from its present site, a group of small flattish boulders planted upright in the ground. Originally it appears that the head of an enemy was buried at a stone, and a stone put in the ground over it. Inside a village such groups of stones are occasionally met with, and each stone, originally at least, was set up when a head was brought in from a raid, but new ones, if any, added now-a-days, commemorate some big feast given by a ganna nokma.

Every year before seed-time each village has its commemoration of the Khoi, called in some parts the "asong-ata" ceremony. No one from another village may be present. If a new stone is to be added to the group it is done at this ceremony, being dragged by the nokma and his men from the river-beds, usually no great distance. Whether a new stone is added or not, all the existing stones are decorated with a cross-cross band of bamboo-strips to represent the "khadisis" or fillet with brass-inset which adorns the brow of the warrior who brought back a head from a raid.

7. Stone is not used for seats. The only use of which it is put, except for khois, is as a lid over the hole in the ground into which the ashes of the dead are put in the midst of the village. They are not sacred, everyone walks over them, and unless pointed out would pass unmarked.

8. The Garos use no stone in building. Whenever they can they use Reed-wood for the main posts of their houses and granaries. The poorer villages have to content themselves with bamboo. Thatchgrass is nearly always available but in some places bamboo leaves are used for roofing. There are no social distinctions in the choice of material. In the mode of using it, bill boards and lattice work, there is a distinction as mentioned in paragraph 2.

9. (a) A gannuokh nokma can show his rank in the appearance of his house. For example in the front wall and the flank walls of the front verandah ordinary people have the slats horizontal and vertical, but the nokmas may place these cross-wise, whether in the open work window ventilators (mikeshwa or mikeshwata, literally, that which gets rid of tear) in the upper part of the front, gable, or in the close woven wall proper. I have found on occasion ordinary people using this mode, but they had to do an annual sacrifice (with feast) for the privilege.

In house of Golang (Abeng), a nokma of high standing, I found carved beams, across the front verandah and also across the main room. In the house of Raising (natchi), regarded as of still higher eminence, there are no carved beams, as he says it is not the custom in that part of country. [Raising has a dawil (round leather dancing shield) and jaksil (elbow rings), but Golang has not.]

*It must be remembered that the earliest generation of British in Assam used "Garrow" as a term for all hillmen and applied it even to Kukis and Lushais.
Every man who is a gauna 'nokma may wear a red pagri. This is of silk with a fringe, and yellow embroidery, and is woven by the Khongs. Such pagris are common in the Chisaks country where nokmas are three a penny, but very rare in the rest of the hills. The Chisaks alone among Garos wear jahila when of the rank of nokma. These are plain bronze or brass hoops worn just above the elbow.

In the old days when the coloured loin cloth or gando was decorated with beads, as it rarely is now-a-days, only one who had taken a head could sport a fourth row of beads. Now anyone who has given the requisite feasts is at liberty to do so.

Only great land-nokmas are allowed to keep yaks' tails in the house, and, on bringing one in, the nokma has to perform a sacrifice called gersrima (holding a horse) but this is confined to Chisaks.

About the stars I have had difficulty in ascertaining to what stars certain names apply. For example, Wosal, meaning night-light, was Jupiter on some occasions, Sirus on others. And Ju-manggot, the moon's walking stick, "because it is always seen near the moon", may possibly be Mercury, at least Murcury was once pointed out to me as Ju-manggot, but on other occasions I got only vague answers.

There is no doubt, however, about the Milky Way which they call "matna rama," the track of the buffaloes. Orion is "wakripa," the carrying of a pig, the bright stars in a quadrilateral being the carriers, and Orion's belt being the pig. It is also called "charipit" the carrying of the crop or rice beer. The belt is also called "danggypeng-danggro" (dwelle north, dwelle south), suggesting that Garos are aware that the belt at rising and setting divides north from south. The Great Bear is "mangripa and manggauchi," Alpha, Beta, and Gamma being "mangripa" the carrying of the corpse, and the other four stars being the "manggauchi" (or delang) the altar (of bamboo) on which the ashes of the dead are placed. These four stars are called "mangjakah," (four stakes as used in making a stack of fuel).

The Milky Way, Orion and the Great Bear are all associated with the myth of Susime's mother, a person held in great awe. The story is detailed, but consists mainly in a description of her funeral to be taken, presumably, as the prototype of all funerals.

The Pleiades are called dosadphit which means a group of chickens; and the Hyades are called donubat, which means fighting cocks or chekeechet, a Hajong fishing net; Venus is called primgphang when it is the morning star and akthumphang when it is the evening star.

An eclipse is said to be due to the sun or moon being swallowed by an evil spirit or murang. Goera is the god of thunder and lightning, and the flash is caused by the glittering of his milun or sword when he floursishes it. Celts (neolithic stone adzes) are called goera gitsch which means hose of the lightning, as they are supposed to be of meteoric origin.

The Garos normally dispose of their dead by burning, either on the evening of the death or on the following evening at the latest. The ashes (bones as they call them) are put in a small hole in the ground at the place of cremation which is generally in the courtyard, in front of the deceased's house. A flattish stone is placed over this hole in the ground, and over the place a structure of bamboo is made in the form of an altar. At the four corners are set up khimas or curved wooden posts and a broken rang (gong) is hung up with rough models or miniatures of implements used by the deceased in his lifetime. The rang (gong) is broken for the purpose and is never used again. A small scoop-shaped winnowing tray is placed upside down on the altar. In it a hole is broken to enable the spirit of the deceased to escape in due course. Offerings of food to the dead are placed by the altar for seven days; and at the next harvest, small sheaves of ripe grain are hung from the poles at the corners of the altar. In the following spring, about the time when the village ceremony is performed, the altar and everything it contains is burned up. It appears that the Garos believe that the spirit of the dead resides in or near the altar, but the final burning drives the spirit away for good and no further sacrifices are made on its behalf. In the case of death from cholera, kala azar or leprosy, the body is buried in a remote part of the village land. The body is placed in the grave lying on its back. Kala azar is a disease recently introduced into the Garo Hills. When it first appeared, people buried the victims in the courtyard but this was held to spread the disease, so kala azar cases are treated like those of cholera and leprosy. Anyone killed by a tiger is burned at the place where the corpse is found and not in the village. The idea appears to be that the tiger might attempt to follow the corpse to the village.

The Garos have no strong belief about the ultimate abode of the dead. When the final burning of the altar is over the spirit has departed, whether few Garos trouble to consider. They have, of course, an old wives story that the spirit of the dead finds its way ultimately to the hill Chutzmaang; but that hill is in no way sacred or regarded as haunted.

19. A head taken from an enemy used to be brought in and after a night of feasting taken to the place of the khos and boiled. The flesh was put under a khosi and the skull taken and hung up in the latrine of the house of the nokma. One old man told me that there were 80 skulls in his father's
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house. When the enemy ran away, sometimes the fingers and toes of the dead were taken, but the whole body was never taken. If there were no time to take the head, at least an ear was cut off if it could be done.

Another account says that warriors on their return used to march around the village square with the head. The head was boiled and the flesh was put in the ground in the village open space and a khosi was put over it. One khosi was put up for each head taken.

(VII) Notes on the Khasis and Syntengs, by Mr. Hari Bluh, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

1. The Khasis are divided into the following groups:—

Khasis, Syntengs or Pars, Wam, Bhois and Lyngngams and into an immense number of exogamous clans and sub-clans which are mostly to be found among the Khasis and the Syntengs. The above groups are not strictly exogamous nor are they strictly exogamous but generally Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis and vice versa. But marriages within the same clan or sub-clan belonging to the same group or to different groups are strictly forbidden, for instance a Khasi of the Diangdoh clan is forbidden to marry a Khasi of the same clan and a Synteng of the Lalu clan is forbidden to marry a Khasi of the Diangdoh clan as their first ancestor is traced to the same person and they thus belong to the same clan.

2. The clans are generally divided into the following classes with a slight variation in the different States:

(1) Royal clan—Ki Siem (Kings).
(2) Priestly clan—Ki Lyngdoh.
(3) Minister clans—Called the Mantris; the chief Mantri or Governor being called a Lyngdohor.
(4) The plebeian clans.

There is a definite order of precedence between the above classes in public and State affairs but there is no definite social gulf between them as inter-marriage between the different classes is not prohibited.

3. Each State has a chiefly clan, generally a royal clan or priestly clan, from which all chiefs are drawn. The chiefs are styled Siems or Lyngdoks. Heirship to the siemship or lyngdohship lies through the female side and not through the father’s side. It is necessary for the chief’s mother to belong to the chief or royal clan but the father need not be of the royal or lyngdoh clan. In one of the States the actual head of the State is a female who delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews who thus becomes Siem or Lyngdoh. A Siem is succeeded, unless disqualified, by the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sister’s sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters’ daughters; failing such grand-nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mothers’ sisters, and failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. If there were no male heirs, as above; he would be succeeded by the eldest of his uterine sisters; in the absence of such sister, by the eldest of his sisters’ daughters; failing such nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his sisters’ daughters; failing such grand-nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his mother’s sisters, and failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be succeeded by her eldest son and so on.

4. The organization is not democratic. A Khasi State is a limited monarchy, the chief’s powers being much circumscribed. The States are ruled by a chief assisted by a darbar of their Mantris and Lyngdoks.

5. The tradition of origin is vague. According to one tradition the Khasis had some connection politically with the Burmese to whom they used to render homage at one time by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an ox as an emblem merely of submission. Another tradition indicates the North as the direction from which they migrated and Syhet as the terminus of their wanderings from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali managed to preserve his. The general tradition, however, is that they come from the East.

6. Terraced cultivation exists in flat valleys only. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the Assamese akis and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skillfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length.

7. The following stone monuments are found:—

(1) Mawlynsi or mawljet stones which are erected to serve as seats for the spirits of departed clan folk on their way to the tomb of the clan, i.e., when their remains are carried by their relations to the clan cromlech. These generally consist of 8 upright stones, the tallest being in the centre and a flat table-stone being placed in front. Some clans, however, erect more than 8 upright stones. The upright stones are not, as a rule, more than 3 or 4 feet high and are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the clan cromlechs.
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(2) Stone cromlechs or cairns which serve the purpose of ossuaries. These cromlechs contain the bones of the dead and are built of blocks of stone, sometimes on stone platforms and sometimes resting on the ground. They are frequently of considerable size and are opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. They are generally square or oblong but are sometimes in circular shape also.

(3) *Mawumktor* or *Mawtyrut.*—These are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death and to counteract the adverse influence of Ka Tyrut or the goddess of death upon the clan. The stones consist of a flat table-stone and in some cases upright stones also are erected.

(4) *Mawbyuna* are stones erected to commemorate deceased ancestors on the female side of the family and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9 or, in an exceptional case, of 11 upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called male stones and the flat table-stones female stones. It frequently happens that there are 2 flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being the first ancestress and the one on the right being the grand-mother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 3 feet from the ground. Sometimes immediately on either side of the large central upright stone there are 2 much smaller stones called *Mawking* or the stone of the drum and *Mawkait* the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains.

(5) *Mawnam* are stones erected to commemorate the father and his brothers or nephews. These consist of 3 upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called *U Mawthameilig* or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father’s brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is the grand-mother of the father and not the first grand-mother of his clan.

8. The following stones are used for seats but their use is not privileged in any way—

(1) *Mawshongthait* or stones in the uplands upon which weary travellers sit, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. They consist of upright stones of uneven numbers of great heights standing sometimes over 20 feet above the ground and flat table-stones in front of them. These flat stones or dinomes are sometimes very neatly hewn resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 to 3 feet from the ground. This flat stone in a certain case near two lesser measures as much as 2½ by 1½ feet and is a foot or more in thickness.

(2) *Ka ker.*—These are stone walls upon which weary travellers also sit and are to be found only in the War countries to the north and west of the district along all the principal lines of communication in those villages. These walls are either square or rectangular and are about 10 or 15 feet square in some cases. They are built on the paths which pass through the middle of these squares. The outer wall is higher than the inner wall which is used for seats on both sides of the path. The same kind of wall or seat is to be met with in the Kacha Naga country which is called "enoi."

9. Building materials consist of wood, stone, bamboo, reeds, canes, thatch, slate and palm leaves. Posts are of wood and walls of stones or planks. It was genna in ancient times to build a house with stone walls on all four sides, to use nails in building a house and to use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.

10. (a) The social position of individuals is not indicated in the shape or material of their houses except that the Chiefs’ houses are usually bigger than those of ordinary villagers and in some cases chiefs erected sacred houses called *jingad.* It was considered genna to build a house with resonous timber which only the Siems’ family can use.

(b) Social position is indicated to some extent in the patterns and colours of the clothes they wear. Only members of chiefly families or rich people on ceremonial occasions put on a silk taffeta ban called "spong khor." The chiefs sometimes use this kind of silk for their durbars also. A scarlet broad coat indicates authority as such cloths are usually presented by, at least, the Siem of Cherra, to his Matriarch at the time of his coronation. There is no prohibition on other people wearing these clothes in practice they do not do so as they cannot afford them.

11. The Sun (Ka sngi) is a woman while the Moon (U Bnai) is a man.

They are two out of the four children of a rich gentleman. The moon was as bright as the sun but he was a wicked young man for he began to make love to his elder sister Ka Sngi. When the sun became aware that U Bnai harboured such an incestuous and wicked intention towards her she was very angry and covered his face with ashes. Since then the moon has given out a white light only as his former brightness was covered with ashes.

A halo round the sun, or the moon is believed to foretell some pestilence or other calamity. Comets are called *Khilar dik duma* (smoking stars) and portend the death of kings or some great personalities.

The Milky Way represents the trade, communication, i.e., trade, will prosper in the direction it runs.
An earthquake is to be a gigantic giant who when he moves his small finger only a slight shock is experienced but when he moves all his fingers a severe shock is felt. The severity of the shock depends on the force with which he moves his fingers. Eclipse of the sun and moon are due to these orbs being swallowed by toad (Hydryh). On such occurrences tities and other articles are beaten and other noises made in order to make the toad in the sky spew out the sun or moon.

Lightning (Ka Leisiem) is the sword of a god called U Pyrhat and thunder is the noise made by this god. The god generally strikes dangerous snakes and centipedes and also those people who commit incest (sang) with this sword. Oaths are sometimes taken on U Pyrhat.

Hurricanes are caused by a devil called U Kyilang.

The Rainbow is called Sir Pyliem and is supposed to fish in streams. It represents a fishing rod.

12. The Kha is burn their dead. As soon as death is certain the body is bathed in warm water from three eastern pots and is reverently laid on a mat where it is dressed in a white cloth. The waist cloth and turban being folded from left to right and not from right to left as in the case of the living. An egg is placed on the stomach of the deceased and nine fried grains of rice-hadam or Indian corn are tied round the head with a string. A cock is sacrificed, the idea being that the cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman follows. A small basket is hung up over the head of the corpse, the basket containing pieces of sacrificed animals and a dish containing eatables and betel-nut and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed. Food is given each evening and that evening that the corpse remains in the house and each night the corpse remains in the house guns are fired, drums are beaten and flutes are played. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre a bull is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin a pig is sacrificed and if it is intended to adorn the pyre with flags a fowl is sacrificed. The corpse, which is wrapped up in mat or placed in a coffin, is laid on a bamboo bier called Ka konng. Cotton or in the case of a richman, silk cloths are tied cross-ways over the bier if the deceased is a male and in the form of a parallelogram if it is a female. The funeral procession is preceded by various purificatory ceremonies. On reaching the pyre the dead body is exposed to view and laid on the pyre, inside the coffin, if one is used, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Legs of wood are placed around the body and the egg is broken by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the Kus or members of the clan and then by the children, if any, of the deceased. After another fowl is sacrificed three arrows are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south and a third to the East.

When the body has been thoroughly burnt the fire is extinguished with water and the bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives and the party sets out to the bone repository called Manakhying. On reaching it, a sacrificer washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot tying up the mouth with a white cloth. He then places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. The bones are eventually taken out and placed in the common stone sepulchre of the clan, the removal thither being an occasion of much feasting and dancing which continues often for several days. A coffin is called Ka Snygga (manger) and in former days used to be hollowed out of the trunk of the tree, in the case of a richman a coffin of the Siems of Cherha State is clised in an elaborately carved box called Lyndog. When the box is placed on a bier and on top of it was placed a large conical conopy resembling in shape a Mahumadana taoa. In Marisaw and Nongteon States a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornaments on the outside and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. The bones and ashes of the dead in Sheilla are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post made of the heart of the jack-tree fruit and erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes are afterwards removed to a cromlech as is done among the Khasi uplanders.

The only cases in which dead bodies are buried are cases where persons have died of cholera, small-pox or other such infectious or contagious disease. The bodies are dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites when fear of infection or contagion is over. The heat is never disposed of separately from the rest of the body.

13. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God; hence the expression "he who is eating betel-nut in God's house." The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds or insects and to roam on the earth: but this idea of transmigration of souls, has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. The spirits of the wicked go to a place called Ka Nurok ka keeo (dog)--a place of punishment.

14. The following agricultural implements are used:--

A shoulder-headed hoe called mokhien, an axe for felling trees called udie, a large dao for felling trees called ka wait lygga, two kinds of bill hooks called ka wait prat and ka wait khmu, and a sickle called ka rathi. All the tools are made in the village forge. The hoe is fixed into an iron head-piece provided with a wooden handle while the axe is fixed into a hole made in the wooden handle the spike at the base of the blade being run through the hole and protruding an inch or two on the other side of the handle. The dao, the bill hooks and the sickle are fixed into a hole made in the wooden handle to which are attached one or two woven bamboo rings called ki keah.
15. Treatments of heads taken from an enemy—

Heads taken from an enemy used to be fixed to the top of wooden shafts in some public place round which an altar was built. The warriors then danced round the altar. The heads and shafts were later on planted outside the village near some public road or outside the village gate on the main village path.

The Syntengs or Pnars.

The Syntengs or Pnars are very closely allied to the Khasis. In language, religion and customs the differences are extremely slight and the same may be said of their general cast of features.

The following differences may be enumerated:

2. The clans are generally divided into the following classes:

1) Royal clans—Ki Siem.
2) Priestly clans—Ki Lyngdoh.
3) Officers' clans—Ki Doloi and Pators.
4) Plebeian clans.

There is a definite order of precedence between the above classes in public and state affairs but there is no definite social gulf between them as intermarriage between the different classes is not prohibited.

3. There is only one chiefly clan of family from which all the Siems and Rajas of Jaintia are drawn. The chief's mother or sister must belong to the royal clan as in the case of the Khasis. A Kongor or a husband for the Siem's sister is selected from the other clans or classes.

4. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "Ki maw jorg Siem" and it is said that in the days of the Jaintia Kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone.

5. Orion’s belt is called "Ki Rak Bar" i.e., carrying loads with a bamboo piece over the shoulder as is done in the plains.

The Pleiades are called “Tharu Syiar” i.e., a fowl cage with chickens inside.

Face of the moon. It is said that an old man pounding paddy in the moon can be seen on a clear moon.

A bright star appearing on the outer side of a young moon is alleged to portend death during childbirth while a bright star on its inner side portends the death of a person by being eaten by a tiger.

The rainbow is called "Ka Sain thyllicj" i.e., a snake with a tongue.

6. A plough (Ka Lyngkor) and a harrow (Ka iik mei) are used in the Jaintia Hills. The land is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough. Drovers of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy fields until the mud has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet mud.

7. Heads taken from an enemy were treated in the same way as among the Khasis but skulls of famous enemies are preserved. It is said that the skull of the Siem of Malgingiang—an enemy—was mounted with silver and preserved in the house of the Jaintia Rajas for many generations.
APPENDIX.

On Some Castes and Caste-origins in Sylhet.

By Professor K. M. Gupta, Ph. D. (Lond.), of the Murarichand College, Sylhet.

The bulk of the sources of information about castes is of the nature of tradition. The epigraphia records constitute the most authentic evidence, but their number is very few and the references contained therein are indirect. The literary accounts, such as the Dharmasastras (especially, the Parârasmabhi, and the Vyâsa-sambhi, the Purânas (especially, the Brahmapravartta and the Padma), the Kularatnas or Kulapâthis, etc., are vitiated by partiality, fabrication of fact and lack of historical sequence and criticism. In the genealogical accounts (vamâvâ) of some of the prominent families of Bengal and Sylhet we have another source of information, but these accounts too, in most cases, contain unauthentic history.

Castes and sub-castes are still in the process of formation, and confusion of castes is but a normal though slow phenomenon of present-day social life. Two typical cases of caste-formation in the present generation are known to me. In the Jaintia parganâ a Brahmana family from the Brahmanbaria subdivision of the Tippera district settled down some seventy years ago on a Brahmathara grant of the Jaintia Râj. Two brothers only now survive in the family, and as its habitat is situated in a very out-of-the-way place, matrimonial relations cannot be easily effected with other Brahmanas families of the same status. The elder brother set up sometime ago a sort of marital relation with a female member of the Kumâr caste living in the neighborhood. As a result of this the family is now reduced to the position of a Varna Brâhmana. In the other case a 'Brâhmana', Mani-puri of Srimangal has introduced the Bengali system of naming in his family, inasmuch as he calls himself a 'Chatterjee'. In course of the second or the third generation, I am sure, the family will merge itself into the Bengali Brahmana community, claiming descent from some mythical ancestor.

Brahmanas.

The Brâhmanas may be considered under four different sections, i.e., the Vaidikâ with its subgroup, the Sâmprâdyâyikâ; the Bâghi and the Vârendra; the Varna-Brahmanas; and the Grahavipras or Ganakas. None of these sections, with perhaps the exception of a few classes of Varna-Brahmanas 'claims' to have originated in the district. Most believe themselves to be settlers from outside.

The Vaidika-Sâmprâdyâyikâ are regarded as the earliest of the Brâhmanas, settlers of Sylhet and the tradition goes that they migrated from Mithilâ (North Behar). As a matter of fact they follow the Smriti of the Mithilâ school in preference to that of the Bengal school. It is significant in this connection to mention that the Mithilâ school is the older of the two. Three Kularatnas—Vaidika-samvâlinâ, Vaidikapârâvrita, and Vaidika-nirnaya—written in modern times allege that a king of Tripûra named Adi-dharmapâli brought five Vaidika Brâhmanas from Mithilâ in 541 A.D. in order to assist him in his performance of a Yajña ceremony. The king finally persuaded the Brâhmanas to settle down in Brahmatharas granted by him. This gift, it is further alleged, was recoded in a copper-plate now lost. We are further told that in 1195 A.D. another migration from Kamaj followed and a king of Tripûra granted by a copper-plate charter extensive lands to one Nidhipati. But there is no evidence to show that the copper plate ever existed, although it is possible that a historical background lies behind this tradition. New light is however thrown on the problem of migration of the Vaidikas to Sylhet by the discovery of a series of copper-plates in the Paîcakhanda parganâ of the Sylhet district. The students of Indian history are grateful to Mr. Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyavinod for publishing the inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indica. The Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions of King Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarupa, dated circa 650 A.D., record the renewal of the grant of an extensive Brahmathara to some 200 Brâhmanas of different gotras and padavis (family titles) by king Bâgâvarman, great-grandfather of Bhâskaravarman, about 500 A.D. For reasons stated in the separate note attached I take it that the inscriptions relate to the settlement of a big batch of Brâhmanas in and about modern Paîcakhanda.

* This article was written specially for the Assam Census Report but has already been printed, by permission, in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December 1931.

1 The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:


2 Danger Jatiya Itihâs (Brahmanakanda) by N. N. Vasu, part II, 185-186. SL, bh. II, pt. I, pp. 55 and 64; Gait's History of Assam, 266.

3 SL, bk. II, Ch. I, 67; Vaidikasama by Mahendra Candre Karmadhitra (Silchar).

4 SL, XII, 65-79; XIX, 115-125, 249-255.
in Sylhet about 500 A. D. and onwards. The kings of Kāmarūpa which included Sylhet seem to have adopted a systematic policy of inviting Brahmans to their kingdom. It is apparently for this reason that Kāmarūpa became a centre of Brāhmaical faith, and the Chinese traveller Huien-Tsang, writing in the seventh century A. D., informs us that the Davas were worshipped there and Buddhism had no hold whatever. Now, wherefrom did the Brāhmaṇa settlers come? From an examination of the names of the dones we come across the following padavis: Ghosa, Devon, Datta, Dāma, Sana, Soma, Pālita, Kunda, Pāla, Dāsa, Bhattī, Bhōjī, Nāga, Mitra, Nandi. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar tells us that most of these padavis are still to be found among the Nāgarā Brahmans of Gujerat and that the padavi Nāgara is to be met with in the name of a Sylhet Brāhmaṇa of the 16th century A. D. We further note that the totality deity of the Nāgarā Brahmans was still ŚŚ Hānakeśvarā. It is highly interesting to note that in several places in Sylhet, e.g., at Churchgali, Pāńchakandā and Gutsātkar Hālākeśvarā-siva is worshipped. Hānakeśavara-siva is also known as Hatta-nātha or Hattanātha-siva, and I have no doubt that the very name Sribhatta (Sylhet) is derived from the name of this sept-deity of the Nāgarā Brahmans. The conclusion is irresistible that the emperors of Kāmarūpa pursued a systematic policy of colonising Sylhet with Nāgarā Brahmans and thereby introducing orthodox Hinduism in the outlying parts of the empire. The original seat of the Nāgarā Brahmans was the Sapādālakṣa (Siwalik) hills in the Punjab and it is likely that they were settled in Mithilā about the time of Bhūtivarmā.

As a matter of fact among the Maitil or Tirbatīya Brahmans of Behar there is a section called Nāgar. It is thus highly probable that the Nāgar Brahmans of Mithilā colonised Sylhet. A section of the Vaiḍik Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet calls itself Sāmpradāyika. As far as I know there is no special significance of this expression. I have therefore a suspicion that it is only a modern literary infiltration of the long-forgotten significant term Sapādālakṣa. Sapādālakṣa Brahmans, we note, are mentioned in the Karatoyā-mahābhāṣya.

The Rādhā Brahmans of Sylhet, as can be gathered from the genealogical accounts of some families, migrated to the district from Rādha (roughly Bardwan and Hooghly). The small community of the Varendra Brāhmaṇas similarly migrated from Varandha-Bhumī (North Bengal). No definite date can be assigned to these migrations. In a few cases genealogy takes us back to the 15th or 16th century A. D. But perhaps the Marhatās rās, popularly known as "Bargis-hāngāmā" of the 18th century caused these migrations. The Varna-Brāhmaṇas are those Brāhmaṇas who were the religious and spiritual needs of the so-called depressed classes. This group consists of two sections, one formed by the selection of certain persons by a particular caste, and the other is that of the Brāhmaṇas who have degraded themselves to the extent of attending to the needs of the low castes. This latter class is also known as "Patira-Brahmāns" or sometimes as Brotriya-Brahmāns. The Nāthas or Yagis (Yogis) who at one time were regarded as a weaving caste, select even now from amongst themselves their own priests whom they call Mahānās or Mahāmātis. Some of the Yogi-Brahmāns are now claiming themselves to be of a different origin and are assuming the padavis Garmāi Chakravarti, etc. Similarly, a body of Māli-Brahmānas are calling themselves simply Brāhmaṇas and are trying to merge themselves into the higher caste. The small community of the "Gour-Govindā" Brāhmaṇas attached to the Pātā caste of the Sadri Subdivision has been probably formed by selection. Most of the Varna-Brahmānas are apparently indigenous. There is no evidence to show that they migrated here from some other place.

The Grahavipras or Ganakas or Āchāryas who pursue Astrology (including Astronomy) and kindred mystic lore for their main occupation claim to be Brāhmaṇas, and are also known as Sakadviya Brāhmaṇas of Saka origin. According to tradition Ganaka was born of a Sakadviya father and a Vāsya mother. The Sakas penetrated into India from the north-west from about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. onwards. The route of migration followed by the Sakadviya Brāhmaṇas from Western India to Sylhet was probably through Bengal. The Hindus required and still require their services for multifarious ceremonies and rites. In the caste-scale the Kalakas and Grahavipras occupy a low position among the Brāhmaṇas.

1 After having written this paper I came across Mr. Ghose's valuable contribution on the grant of Bhaskaravarman and the Nāgarā Brahmans published in I. H. Q., 1899, No. 1, pp. 69-71. I am equally surprised to find out that our conclusions are materially the same; there are however certain new matters which I have tried to bring to light.

2 Watters, fruitful Crossing, II, p. 158.

3 L. H. Q., 1900, p. 49.

4 Red.

5 S. L., bk. I, ch. 9, 128.

6 Cf. Avakāsśa-vasamrtasa-grhastha-pravṛttihārya in line 33 and pruksatayādharmasthānās in line 37 of the Nidhānapatī Pala of Bhaskaravarman (87, XII, 72).

7 Pf. 108; V. K. XV, 405.


10 Pf. V, 196 197; S. L., bk. I, ch. 7, p. 71; Jat-purānśa by Pandit Surjakumar Duttara Saraswati (Sylhet), 98, Sambalpur (Howrah), 1923, 557.

11 J. B. (Brahmānaka), bk. II, pt. 4, 134, XII, 36.
APPENDIX.

Vaidyas and Kayasthas.

The distinction between the two castes, however wide it may be in Bengal, is not at all noticeable in Sylhet, and free marital relations are established between them. This is very significant from the standpoint of history. The intelligentia of the two communities are trying to establish claims to be regarded as Brâhmanas or Kastriyas, and in their attempts to study history from their own particular view point, important facts of social history have been either lost sight of or twisted. Thus, inspite of the fact that the Sena kings of Bengal call themselves 'Brâhman-Kastriyas' 8, they are regarded as Kayasthas by one class of writers 9 as and Vaidyas by another class. Now, we note that all over the Punjab, Rajputana, Kâthiavâr, Gujarât and the Deccan there is a caste called 'Brâhmadakshara, which as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhundârkâr, was originally constituted of Nâgar Brâhmanas. We may thus regard a section at least of the Vaidyas and Kayasthas as belonging to the same stock, that is, Nâgar Brâhmanas. If the arguments put forward above are sound, the Brâhmanas, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas should be regarded as originally belonging to the same stock. It is very well known that the terms 'Kayasthas' and 'Vaidyas' at one time indicated only two functional groups of scribes or royal courtiers and physicians respectively. Speaking about Sylhet we thus note that in the Nidhanpur copper plate inscription the word 'Kayastha' is used in the sense of scribe or some royal functionary, and no caste is mentioned. It is also a matter of common knowledge that nowhere except in Bengal the Vaidyas are regarded as a distinct caste. The second Bhatara copper plate inscription, dated circa 11th or 12th century A.D., tells us of one Vanamâli-kar, 'the light of the Vâlîya-vâma'. The expression 'Vâlîya-vâma' does not necessarily imply 'Vâlîya-jati' or Vaidya caste, but apparently a family that produced physicians. In spite of his family tradition to be a physician Vanamâli-bhatta, an officer attached to a section of one Kayastha. In Sylhet thus no clear-cut distinction between Vaidyas and Kayasthas grew up from historical times. Sylhet was also unaffected when in the twelfth century A.D. king Vâlîyâsena of Bengal introduced 'Kulisiam' to prevent confusion of this kind. Accounts for the reason as to why the Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Sylhet are locked down upon by the Bengali castes.

The padavis of the Vaidyas and Kayasthas are also to some extent the same. Thus, to mention a few instances, Sena, Gupta, Dutta, Nâg, Dâs, Pâlit, Chandra, Kar, Nandi, Kundo, Pâl, Dhar, Dava, Sam, Rakshit, Aditya, Indra, Adya, Biswa, Jaya, and Guha are looked upon as both Vaidya and Kayastha titles.¹ It is noteworthy that most of these surnames with the additional common epithet 'SVâmi' are in vogue among the Brâhmanas of Sylhet of about 500 A.D.¹ Even now the above-mentioned titles (without the epithet 'SVâmi') prevail among a certain section of the Vaidika Brâhmanas of Cuttuck, Midnapur and the Deccan.¹⁰ The coincidence of padavis or padhâtis among the Brâhmanas, Vaidyas and Kayasthas may be accounted for thus: originally the same caste, the Nâgar Brâhmanas, pursued the three respective professions of priest-craft, medicine and Government service. But the functional differences created a tendency towards a split specially when people of the Dâs caste (see below) began to be admitted into the ranks of royal courtiers. The situation was accentuated by the 'hypergamous' marriage-custom (anulomavivaha) that, I suppose, prevailed among the Nâgar or Vaidika Brâhmanas of Sylhet. We notice that the males of the Matibil or Tirhubitya group of Nâgar Brâhmanas are even now allowed to marry the females of a lower caste under the 'Anuloma' custom.¹¹ The issue of such marriages occupy a lower rank than their fathers 'but a higher rank than their mothers'. Such a sociological phenomenon may have slowly taken place through the centuries that passed between Circa 500 A.D. and our own times. Movement of families or individuals from one place to another combined with the drawing up of fake genealogies easily covered up, as they do now, such caste-origins. The real padavis, Sena, Dâs, Soma, Pâlit, etc., were transfused from fathers to sons, who fathers themselves retained Va or Brâhmanas only the epithet 'SVâmi' or its equivalent 'Gosvâmi, Hûtâbhârtya, Chakravarti, etc. It is exceedingly interesting to note that even now a section of the Kayasthas (or Vaidyas) of Sylhet uses the padavis 'SVâmi' and 'Gosvâmi'. In the padavi 'Purakâyastra' or 'Purkâit' (meaning the head, scribe or chief courtier),¹² which is so common among the Brâhmanas and Kayasthas of Sylhet, there is probably a

¹ V.K., III, 578 and XIX, 395, B.J. Grey, Kayasth-kanda; Vaidya-jatik Ridbis by Basanta Kumar Sen-Gupta; Kayastha-Paras by Basabadas Nandi.

² Or, Karnata-Kastryas, III, III, 46101. See p. 758, n. 2.

³ B. I, 298.

⁴ EL, XIV, 75, line 4 (Cf. Lekha'ya in line 57). The above is followed in the present book:

⁵ Upadhyaya, Sylhet, p. 435-438; EL, XII, 11.

⁶ EL, XII, 75, line 40 (Cf. Lekha'ya in line 57).

⁷ P. 498; Note 1. It is indispensable for us to publish a revised reading of the inscription. For a discussion of the date of the inscriptions see EL, XIX, 376.

⁸ V.K., III, 578, (Kayastha); Vaidyas-jatik Ridbis by Basanta Kumar Sen-Gupta; Kayastha-Paras by Basabadas Nandi.

⁹ Or, Karnata-Kastryas, III, III, 46101. See p. 758, n. 2.

¹⁰ EL, XIX, 395, 396 and 397. Compare the above statements with the descriptions given in the Brâhmana texts in the present book.

¹¹ EL, XIX, 395, 396 and 397. Compare the above statements with the descriptions given in the Brâhmana texts in the present book.

¹² P. 856; See also Candragupta quoted in vol. II, 3.

¹³ EL, XIX, 395, 396 and 397. Compare the above statements with the descriptions given in the Brâhmana texts in the present book.

¹⁴ EL, XIX, 395, 396 and 397. Compare the above statements with the descriptions given in the Brâhmana texts in the present book.

¹⁵ V. K. 578; B.J., project to be published.

¹⁶ B. I, 298; Note 1. The surnames in these places are Kuro, Dhar, Path, Nandi, Dam, Bali, Bhadra, etc.

¹⁷ The Purakāyastra of Sylhet seem to correspond to the Jyestha-Kayastha or Brâhmana-Kayastha of the Damodar valley (EL, XV). Of the Padav names (see Guha-dhârma). Compare also "Mahâjayastra" of the Brâhmun copper plates at Baraph (JVA, 151, 1).
survival of the caste-affinity described above. It is possible that the disciples of the Brâhmanas mentioned in the Nubhanpur plates, whatever their caste might have been, assumed the padavia of their preceptors, who, in contradistinction to their clientela, called themselves 'Śvami' or its variants.

Finally, we should note that the mutations of Vaidyas and Kâyasthas from Bengal as well as close association with Bengal have been accentuating the distinction between the two castes.

Dansa and their sub-castes.

It has been pointed out above that in early times (between Circa 500 A.D. and 1100 A.D.) the distinction between the Brâhmanas, Vaidyas and Kâyasthas was not acute and was based more or less upon functional differences. The ranks of the Vaidyas and Kâyasthas, on account of their respectability and professional values, were swelled by accretions from the lower ranks through the adoption of certain common padavis such as, Datta, Dâsa, Sena. In earlier times, I think, the humbler ranks went by the general name 'Dâsa', i.e., of the 'Dâsa-kula' which stood in contrast to the Dâsakulas or Dvâsas or the twice-born formed by above-named three castes. In the 2nd Bhatera copper plate inscription we read of the 'conscientious Sri Mâdhava, the scion of the Dâsa-kula' and of 'Sri-Vanamâlî-krî, the light of the Vaiiya-vamsha'. In these expressions it is noticeable that Sri-Mâdhava does not bear any family surname. We only know that he belonged to the Dâsa caste or clan. He was however an educated man as the expression 'conscientious' (viveki) implies. In the case of Sri-Vanamâlî-krî his family surname as well as his family-rank is mentioned. Evidently there is an indirect reference to their belonging to the considerable chain of the two kulas. An interesting survival of this broad distinction between the two kulas is still noticeable. In Hindun marriages or other religious ceremonies either of the expressions 'Deva' or 'Dâsa' is used according as the performer of such ceremonies is a twice-born or not, in connection with the uttering of sacred formulas (mantras). A Dâsa in Sylhet now-a-days may be a Vaiya (with the additional padavi Gupta), a Kâyastha, a Kaivartta (or Jallka), or a Mahîsya (or Câsî-Kaivartta) or Halîka, or a Sâhâ, and a Sudra. Under what category then shall we reckon an educated man like Sri-Mâdhava of the Bhatera plate? It is thus apparent that the Dâsakula or Dâsa clan or tribe or caste was subdivided into a number of sub-castes whom we may consider under the following five groups:

1. The wealthy and the educated among the Dvâsakula sought rank among the Vaidyas, Kâyasthas or even among the Brâhmanas as Varna-Brâhmanas (e.g., the Dâsa-Brâhmanas). The padavi 'Dâsa' was and still is a convenient doorway to allow passage to these ranks. This also explains why a section of the Dvâsakula claims rank above the Kâyasthas.

2. Sâhâs and Sundis.—The trading section came to be called Sâhâs or Sûhus (Sûha) as well as Sundis. The words 'Sâhâ', 'Sûhu' are connected with the words 'Sûhu' (and 'Sârthavânā') implying traders. When the appellations Sâhâ and Sûhu, so widely in vogue in Bengal and other parts of India from early times were adopted by the Dvâsas, it was not difficult for the authors of the Kulasajuñâna to connect them with some ancient Indian caste or sub-caste. Thus a section of the Sâhâs still carry on trade calling themselves Vaiyas or Vaiya-Sâhâs, while others identify themselves with the Kâyasthas or even with the Vaidyas. The Sundis occupy a lower rank than the Sâhâs, their wine-distillation being their main occupation. There is however a tendency among them to use the padavi 'Sâhâ' and to claim rank with the Vaiya-Sâhâs.

3. Câsî-Kaivarttas or Mahîsyas or Halîka or Halâva dâsas.—The section that took to cultivation came to be called the Halîkas or Halâdâs or Câsî-Kaivarttas or Mahîsya-dâsas or simply Mahîsya. As Mahîsya, this section claims descent from the Mahîsaka tribe referred to in the Mahabhârata; the Mahîsakas however appear to be Mâjha, that is, non-Aryas. Nevertheless they were a very powerful caste or clan, and so far as Bengal is concerned they are strongly represented in Midnapur, North Bengal (especially Rajshâh and Patna), East Bengal (especially Mymensingh), Joypur and Nadia. From historical times the Mahîsyas occupied an important position. Students of Indian history are well acquainted with the successful rebellion led by the Câsî-Kaivartta caste under Divyâ, or Divyaksa, against King Mahîpala II of Varendra (North Bengal) about 1050 A.D. One of their royal lines ruled at Tamulk as late as 1864. Some of the leading families of Sylhet claim to represent the old Mahîsya caste. It is quite possible that some migrations took place specially from Mymensingh which is so contiguous to the district. Some of the Pânis who happen to be cultivators are calling themselves Mahîsaks as one of the sub-castes. The Jallil Kaivarttas are also adopting this padavi. The number of the Mahîsya-dâsas are apparently on the increase. The decimal census operations have been accelerating the speed of this upward movement.

2. The word may have been derived from Sânksu (ball or bullock) as well. See F., XXI, 327.
3. F., XXI, 336.
5. 'Apparentlly derived from Sânksu, liquor (Jalipurala, 112).
6. F., XIV, 497-498; XIV, 700.
7. EB, 413-414; Ganapatejnamda, 48.
8. F., XIV, 400.
4. Kaviratna or Jātika or Jālāśā-dāsa.—The Kaivarttas or Kaivarta-dāsas have been following the profession of fishing and, to some extent, that of boatman. They have their curator-part in the Mahima's or Maināls among Muhammadans of the district. The Kaivarttas are mentioned in ancient Indian literature as of mixed origin; and in the Manusamhitā (X. 34) they are given the epithet ‘Dāsa’.

From their ethnographical distribution it appears that along with the Nameśuśrās they were the earliest inhabitants of Bengal and of Sylhet. A section of the Kaivarttas of Sylhet are gradually becoming Vanavasī, a sectarian caste. The Jātikas occupy a lower rank than the Hālikas.

5. Sudras.—A non-descrip body under the name Sudras or ‘Sudra-dāsas’ may also be regarded as belonging to the Dās-a-kula. It is justly pointed out that the term ‘Sudra’ is now used “to denote a considerable number of castes of moderate respectability, the higher of whom are considered ‘clean’ Sudras while the precise status of the lower is a question which lends itself to endless controversy”. In Sylhet, 136,000 were reported to be Sudras in the census of 1951. This large number, we note, was due to many Patnis, Jālā-Kaviratnas and others having assumed this caste-name. As far as I know some Namrudras are also assuming the padavī ‘Sudra-dāsa’.

A Sudra group known generally, as ‘Golāms’ (domestic slaves) owes its origin to a sort of concubinage between a high caste male and a low caste female employed as a maid servant. These assume the padavī Singh, Dāsa, De, Deb, Pat, Pat, Sena, Dutta, Naksita, Bhāsārdri, etc., and often bear the family cognomen of ‘Pūtī’, ‘Dādi’, etc. They were known at one time as Sudras, and though this is not still survive, to some extent, the general tendency on their part is to call themselves Kaviratnas. With the progress of education and culture, the ‘Golām’ class is fast disappearing. As compared with the Sudra-dāsas, Kaivarta-dāsas or Namrudras the Golam caste is considered ‘clean’.

Note on the location of the Brahmottara mentioned in the Nidhanpur plates.

As the Nidhanpur copper plate inscriptions form an important landmark in the early social and political history of Sylhet and their learned editor is disposed to believe that the donated land lay not in Sylhet but somewhere in North Bengal, a discussion on the issues raised seems necessary. The Brahottara was situated in the Chandrapuri-Vishaya and was named Mayāra-kāmalalāghāra. In the description of the boundaries we come across the names, Ganginikā or Gaγγnī and Kēṭikā. For reasons stated below we are convinced that the grant relates to a place in and about modern Panchakhanda where the plates were discovered.

First, it is well known that the find-spot of a copper plate charter is almost invariably the locality of the grant made therein.

Secondly, it is true that the charter was issued from the Mahārajādīśajja’s camp at Karnasvarna and the word ‘Gaγγnī’ occurs in another inscription, referring to a locality in Karnasvarna, but it does not follow from this that the grant under consideration should therefore belong to a region near Karnasvarna. It is noteworthy that in North Sylhet which includes the parganas of Panchakhanda there are at least nine or ten places named Chāndpur (Chandrapur) within a radius of about 20 miles from the headquarters station. This raises a presumption that the ancient Chandrapuri-Vishaya, that is, the division or district of Chandrapuri included a portion of the modern district of Sylhet. The river Kāţikā 2 is very likely represented by the modern Kūthyārā which passes by Panchakhanda, the find-spot of the plates 3. There is also a place called ‘Gaγγnī’ (colloquially; Gangnī) on the river Kūthyārā in the same pargana and near Nidhanpur. About six or seven miles from Panchakhanda there is also a watery marsh (vīl) called ‘Gaγγnī-vīl’.

The inscriptions nowhere state that Gaγγnī was a river and not a ‘vīl’. During the rainy season such ‘vīl’ (also called locally ‘bārs’) if sufficiently big become vast sheets of water. When the water recedes at the end of the season considerable quantity of land becomes available for cultivation. This is apparently referred to in the expression γaγγnī-vapāchakta-śikṣetram 4. As to the name of the village ‘Mayāra-kāmalalāghāra’ it is well known that in making an ‘agra-hara’ grant (i.e., grant to Brahmanas) a new name was sometimes given to the village

1 P. IV, 495-500.
2 CB, 1901 (Ethnographic App.). For their transformation from a tribe into a caste see P. I, 126. Cf. the tradition preserved in the “Datta-Vamśaśāstra” by Kavi Gopinath Dutta of Sylhet (1831st century).
3 Cf., the Sudra caste of Bengal and the Shārkirpats of Orissa (P. 89). See Sambandhā-niyama (Lalmohan Dīyānādī) 296.
4 El. XIX, 118 nos 5-7.
5 El. XIX, 119, lines 45 and 47 with footnote 19. I accept the reading Konika. El. XIX, 120, lines 50-54.
6 Ibid.
7 The name Kūthyārā may have resulted from a combination of the names Kēṭikā and Barī, names of the same river at two different places (Konī + Barī = Kūthyārā).
or villages alienated. Such a name is therefore likely to exist in documents only. But even then analogues names are still to be met within North Sylhet. Thus in the Bhata copper plate inscription we read of Mahuripura (modern Moripur). Thus on the strength of similarity of place-names we may take it that the grant relates to a locality in Sylhet. But why should Maharajadhiraji Bhaskaravarman issue the edict from Karnasuvrana (part of North Bengal)? It appears that while the emperor was camping there very possibly about 650 A.D., Maharaja-Yeshtithadra, the local governor who had apparently the Chandrapuri-vishaya under his control, informed the emperor about the loss of the charter grant by Bhutivarman. The emperor accordingly issued his commands to the Vishayapati or Vishayamaya Sribhatta-Siva and other officials (Adhikaranas) of Chandrapuri to renew and execute the grant in the then prevails scripts which were different from those of Bhutivarman’s time. This interesting picture of an well-ordered administration (where the official grantholder was Maharaj Jyeshthadeva, Maharaja, Vishayapati or Vishayamaya and the Adhikaranas which apparently included the Nyayakarana, Vyavahari, Kayastha, Bhundargiri, Bhupita, etc.) shows us that the emperor need not have been present on the spot of the grant, especially as it was a mere renewal of an old grant and it could have been carried out from anywhere. Thus the order issued from the camp at Karnasuvrana does not signify that the locality of the grant should be sought there.

Thirdly, was Sylhet included in the empire of Kamarupa? Apart from the evidence of the find-spot of the copper plates there is a tradition widely prevalent about the inclusion of Sylhet, Tripura and parts of Mymensingh and Dacca in Kamarupa, and people point to certain places in these districts as kings Bhagadattas’ places. The boundaries of the empire of Kamarupa as given in the Yogini-tantra, a work of a very late date no doubt, seem to include Sylhet. To explain it away as indicating the scriptural region of Kamarupa is not sufficient. There is every likelihood of the tradition having a historical and political background. I fail to find the mention of Sribatta in the Yogini-tantra as an independent political entity, as the editor would have us believe. The name occurs in the Yogini-tantra, Uttarakanda, Patalan 1 (page 112), 2 (page 119), 6 (page 179) and 9 (page 215), but in none of these places any political entity is implied; religious importance or value is only indicated. The contention that Huen-Taung, by referring to Sribhiddhato, meant the independent kingdom of Sribatta has to be given up as being absolutely devoid of reason in view of Mon. Finot’s revelations. From a 9th century Tantra manuscript we learn that Matendra Nath (Minnatha) was an inhabitant of Chandradhipa (Eastern Bengal) and from an 11th century commentary on a Tantra work we note that the mint came from Kamarupa. This discrepancy can be explained by taking Eastern Bengal (including Sylhet) as belonging to Kamarupa. It should be remembered that Matsyamathana lived much earlier than the 11th century A.D. (probably in the 9th century A.D.) As to Panchakshanda belonging to the kings of Tripura in 661 A.D. it is to be noted that the copper plate grant that is alleged to have been issued never saw the light of day.

Even if we take it for granted that a king of Tripura made a grant in 661 A.D., it does not preclude the possibility of the emperors of Kamarupa possessing Panchakshanda about 800 A.D. (the time of Bhutivarman), losing it about 640 A.D. and regaining it a few years after. As to the argument that the name ‘Sribatta’ is not to be met with in the Nishanpur plates all we may say is that Sribatta was not yet an independent state, and the name, if existent at all, did not signify much. The first mention of Sribatta as an independent state, in the existing state of our knowledge, probably occurs in the Bhata copper plate inscription of about 1040 A.D. It is also to be noted in this connection that the name ‘Sribatta’ apparently originated from the name of Hitantha-Siva or Hiteshvarara-Siva, the sepulchre of the Nagara-Brahmana settlers of Sylhet. The Nishanpur plates need not thus mention Sribatta.

1 El., XV, 706. (pt. II); SII. III, 370 note 1; SII. II. no. 76; SII, III. no. 285. This subject is discussed in detail in my forthcoming ‘Land-system in South India between 650 A.D. and 1200 A.D. (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depository).
2 El., XIX, 281, line 50.
3 I should not be willing myself to accept this evidence as conclusive. Chandrapuri (Chandrayupa) is a common name not only in Sylhet but in Bengal and as for rivers—who can tell where the courses of the Bhutanapara let alone the Katarupa, was 1200 years ago?—S. B. M.
4 El., XII, 66.
5 Bhaskaravarman as Jyeshthadhra’s sovereign had the title ‘Maharajadhira’ (El., XIX, 118, line 4).
6 El., XIX, 118, lines 7 and 8. I accept the reading: Maharaja-Yeshtithadhra-varman (2 bud, I., footnote 2).
7 Cf. El., XII, 70, line 54.
8 El., XII, 70, line 54.
10 El., XII, 68.
11 El., XIV, 770, line 8.
12 Cf. Kalibari, Yana Chawang, II, 128-130; El., XII, 67; JRAS., 1929, 1-4.
13 See JRAS., 1922, 451-452.
15 El., XII, 67, 61, El., XII, Ch. 4, 56 note.
16 Vaidibramanaya, El., Bk. II, Ch. 5 note pp. 67-72 J.H.Q., 1920, No. 1 64-68.
17 El., XIX, 280, line 5 and 29.