

**ASPECTS
OF**

**PADAM-
MINYONG**

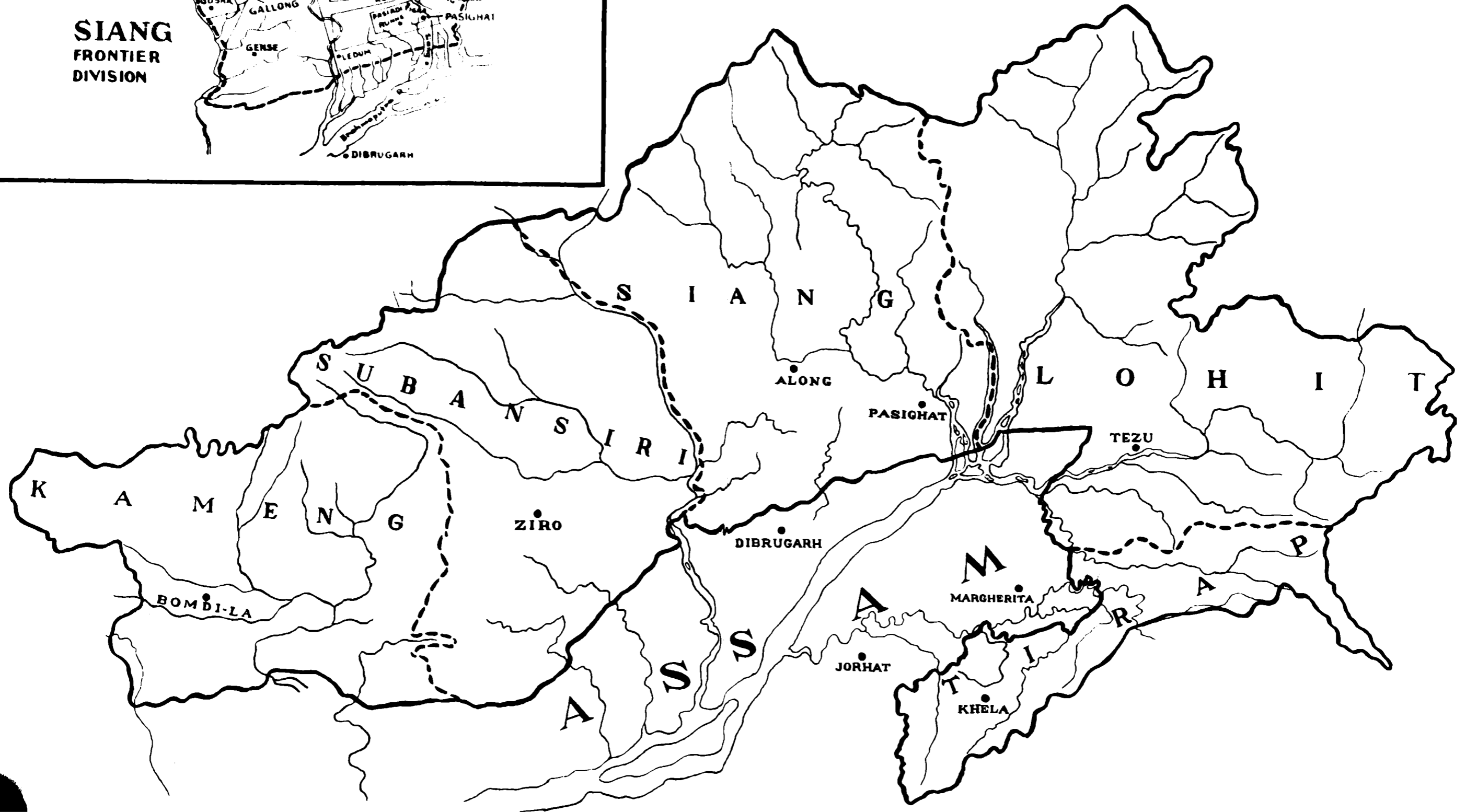
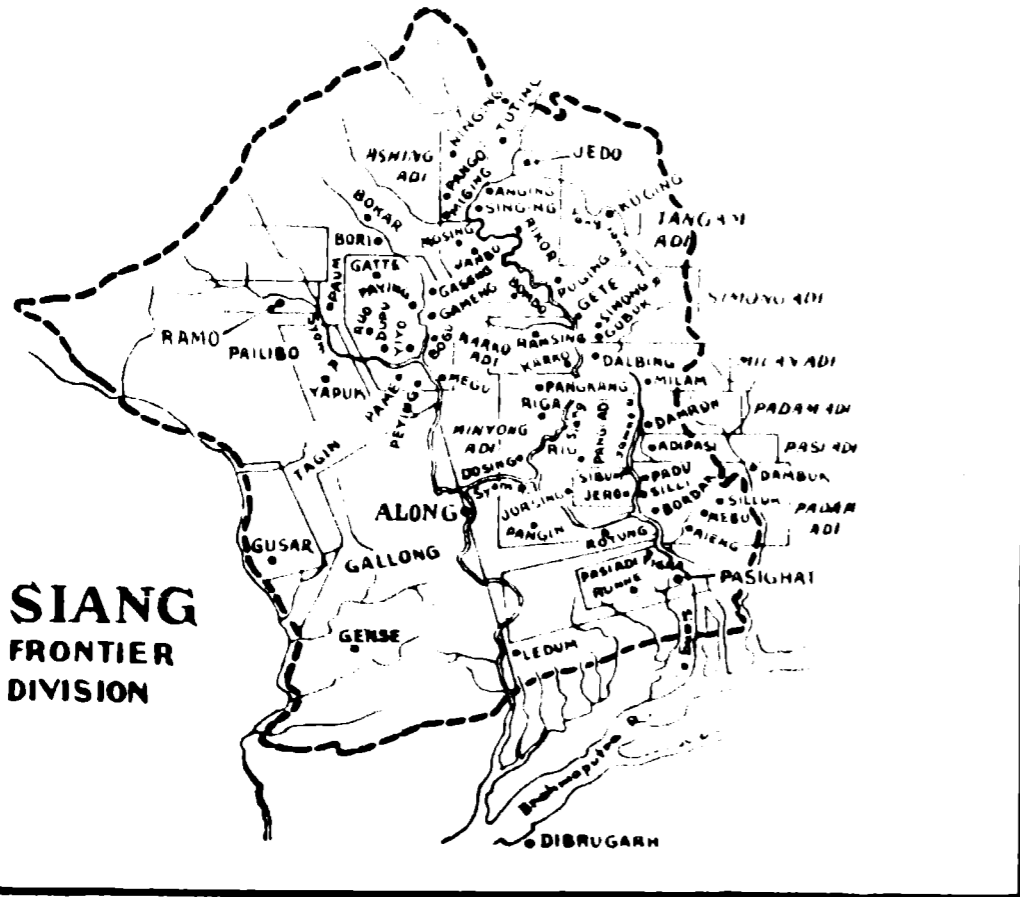
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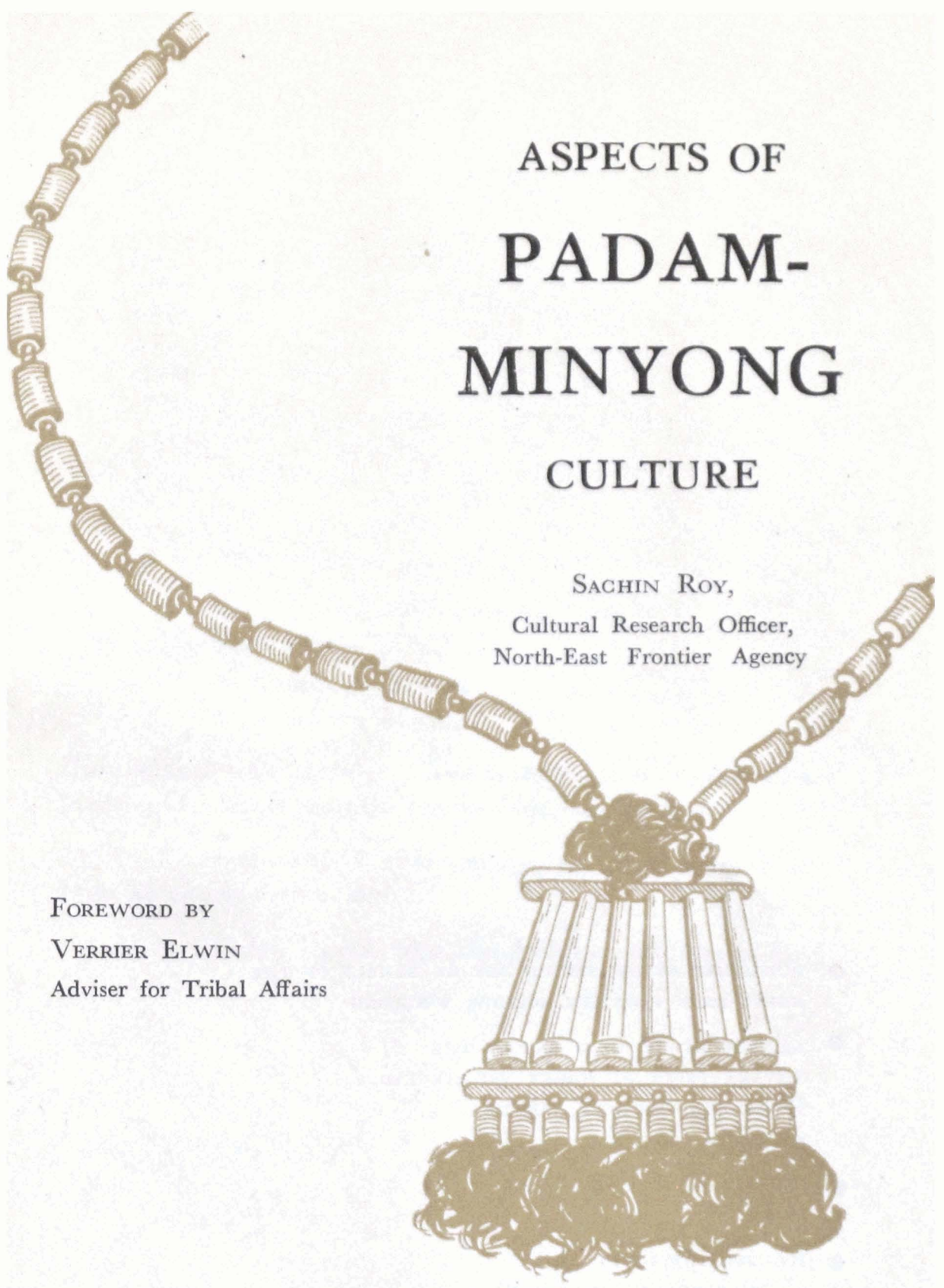


SACHIN ROY

NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

SIANG FRONTIER DIVISION





ASPECTS OF
PADAM-
MINYONG
CULTURE

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NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY
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Sim kitap sim

Shri Rokom Moyong

Shri Kalpan Dai

Shri Asam Borang

Shri Akam Megu

*Buluke Igul lok motung. Sim teyong amin binam abing
kidie sokke kitap monam legape bojerupe igulto.*

*Bulu supak tani among so duyimang, Donyi
Polo ke ekumlo ginyokkai.*

Delok legape Ngo sim bulukke aminpe bidung.

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FOREWORD

This is the first regular full-scale book to be written about any of the tribal groups of Siang. We have had reports on the Padams and Minyongs from the first quarter of the last century: Bedford and Wilcox visited them in 1825 and the inimitable Father Krick went to their country in 1853. He was followed by a long succession of explorers, soldiers and administrators, of whom the most notable was E. T. Dalton, then a young Captain of the Bengal Staff Corps, J. F. Needham who had the unique distinction of serving as a political officer for twenty-three years in Sadiya, and, during the present century, G. Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar, C. von Furer-Haimendorf and B. S. Guha. These, and many others have given us important notes and reports on what they saw, but rather curiously none of them worked up his material into a book. Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar's invaluable account of the 'Abors and Galongs' as they were just before the First World War, appeared among the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, but has never been reprinted (though it should be) separately. A. Hamilton wrote a sort of travel book called *In Abor Jungles*, but only part of it concerns itself with Siang; W. B. Hore's *Report on the Abor Country* is a useful, but severely official document; C. von Furer-Haimendorf's memorable article in *Anthropos* on the religious beliefs and ritual practices of the Minyongs is buried among a hundred other documents printed in that great journal. Dr B. S. Guha and his party of scholars from the Department of Anthropology of the Government of India have published many papers on these tribes in both popular and learned journals. But here for the first time is a *book*, accessible not only to scholars but to the general public, which describes in a scientific but readable form the customs and ideas of a singular people living in one of the most beautiful parts of India.

Shri Sachin Roy had a brilliant academic career at the Calcutta University where he had the advantage of studying under Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya. From 1945 to early

1956 he worked with Dr B. S. Guha, the doyen of Indian anthropologists, in the Department of Anthropology. He has been in the North-East Frontier Agency for the past four years. Even before that he had toured widely in the Siang Frontier Division, the home of the people he has come to love and has been privileged to study, and in 1948 went with Mr P. L. S. James right across the Division to Gelling on the actual frontier. It cannot have been an easy expedition, for when I followed in his footsteps ten years later it was still an arduous, though infinitely rewarding, journey. As a member of the NEFA administration, Shri Roy has become acquainted not only with anthropological, but administrative and development problems (he wrote, for example, a useful evaluation report on the Pasi-ghat Community Project), and his book therefore has a practical and human foundation which gives it special value.

As long ago as 1938, Mahatma Gandhi, describing his dream of India, said that he had pictured to himself 'an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a third-class or even a first-class copy of the dying civilization of the West.' More recently the Prime Minister has echoed his words, with specific reference to the tribes, in his famous directive that we should help them 'to develop on the lines of their own tradition and genius' and that we should not make them a second-rate copy of ourselves. If we are to do this we must know what that genius, what that tradition, is. Otherwise we may confine ourselves to a mere preservation of the more colourful and exotic aspects of tribal culture and be tempted to isolate them as a picturesque enclave in the rather drab and conventional modern world. Shri Sachin Roy's book provides a valuable antidote to this. He is excited, as we all must be, by the beauty of the tribal textiles, by their exuberant dancing, their songs, their games. But he realises that there is something more than this, and his study of political life, material culture and social organization is of importance for the administrator as well as of interest to the scholar. The planners in Delhi are disturbed about the kind of architecture that is being introduced into the rural areas all over India, the use of materials that are not available locally, the ugliness that is infecting the lovely countryside.

They are also worried, in their desire to promote cottage industries, by the fact that many good things are disappearing from the tribal scene. They now realize that the introduction of new methods of village self-government of a pattern suited to the highly-developed areas are less useful in the hills and forests, and are looking for something simpler and based on the democratic institutions of the past. Shri Sachin Roy provides a wealth of material to help towards the solution of these problems, and in fact we need human and scientific books such as his for the tribes (there are nearly thirty million of them) all over India.

Above all, Shri Sachin Roy has studied the problems of change, perhaps the most important subject for sociological research in modern India. There can be no question of isolating the tribes today: in an independent and rapidly advancing India, this just will not do. But as the tribal people come forward into the rushing stream of modern life, with its different economy, its technological superiority, they are often bewildered and afraid. It is the task of the sociologist to study how this transition can be related to their capacity so that they may raise their standard of living, come out of their shell, and develop a full integration with the people of the plains without losing those fine qualities which can make so unique a contribution to 'the rich and varied tapestry of India.'

VERRIER ELWIN

Shillong: 11.3.60

P R E F A C E

It would, I think, be true to say that this book has come about in spite of myself as will be evident from the circumstances stated below. My first contact with the Adis of the Siang Frontier Division of what is now known as the North-East Frontier Agency dates back to 1948 when I first went to their land as one of a team of anthropologists commissioned to study this wonderful people from different anthropological angles. My own assignment was the somatometry of the Adis who then used to be known to the outside world as Abors. A detailed report on my findings now awaits separate publication.

While so engaged, it was inevitable for me to come into contact with the larger aspects of their cultural and social life, and it was of no small interest to observe this singular people going about their unique mode of living. What constituted their uniqueness was, to all intent and purposes, their self-contained social structure, ensuring an efficient and smooth conduct of their social relations. As my admiration grew, I felt encouraged to keep notes of the salient features of the Adi society for my own edification, as far as my chief preoccupation permitted any leisure to me but, at no stage, did it occur to me to dress up my random notes in book form. Some years later, I was called to join the post of the Cultural Research Officer under the N. E. F. Agency and I was given an assignment very different from that of my first. This time, it was to conduct resarches into the social and cultural life of the Agency people. My first impulse was naturally to fall back upon my notes for whatever they were worth, as they came very handy, and I actually found them of considerable use to start with. All these circumstances put together, it was as though luck favoured me with opportunities to renew my acquaintance with the Adis, get to know them better, compare and verify notes I had taken earlier, and assemble further data on Adi life.

I need hardly say that my office also made it possible for me to read all available published material on the Adis. It was

also my good fortune to be permitted access to much unpublished material scattered through many tour-notes and tour-diaries of Government officials which often proved store-houses of information.

A note of caution is, however, necessary against treating this book as an exhaustive and adequate account of the Adis as a whole, comprising as they do, several groups, sub-tribes, moieties, clans and sub-clans. This book confines itself to the study of the social and cultural life of the Padams and Minyongs, two sub-tribes under the bigger family of the Adis who inhabit the eastern part of the Siang Frontier Division. Even as it is, this book can hardly claim to be a comprehensive account of all the aspects of their life. The possibility always remains that some important aspects which should not have been missed, have actually been overlooked. Further researches will in all probability continue to throw fresh light on hitherto unrevealed aspects of Adi culture.

I wish to acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to Dr B. S. Guha, in the first instance, under whose guidance I had my first initiation into the land of the Adis, then almost unknown to the outside world; and next to Mr P. L. S. James, the then Political Officer of the Siang Frontier Division, to whom I owe a great deal. In 1948, I had the inspiring experience of travelling with him right across the Adi country, to Gelling on the very frontier of India.

I cherish with gratitude the memory of Rokom Moyong, Kalpan Dai, Assam Borang and Akam Megu, the most renowned Miris of the old school, full of traditional lore and history of the tribe. It is to be regretted that this class of men is fast dying out. I was particularly fortunate in having them as my interpreters and it was due to them that I was able to establish some rapport with the people. It is sad to think that they are no longer in the land of the living. In humble acknowledgement of my debt, I dedicate this fruit of our joint effort to their memory.

I should not forget the friendliness and exuberant welcome and spontaneous help I received from other interpreters and elders of the villages I visited in the course of my itineraries. I treasure the nickname *payong*—given to me by them, and

it was a pleasant surprise to me to discover in my last tour in 1958 that I was still remembered by it, not only by old men who had known me before, but even by young boys and girls, who apparently learnt it from their elders.

It was a rare privilege for me to work under the inspiring influence of Shri K. L. Mehta, I.C.S., former Adviser to the Governor of Assam, whose interest in the cause of tribal welfare is today very widely acknowledged in the country. Himself a student of anthropology, he always took active and keen interest in my research work.

I can never hope to measure in words my indebtedness to Dr Verrier Elwin. It will not be too much to say that I have breathed in the atmosphere of his scholarship which continues to inspire and sustain me in all my scholastic endeavours. If I may be permitted to use a metaphor, I may perhaps correctly say that Dr Verrier Elwin has always been to me what Mentor was to Telemachus.

I am also very grateful to Shri D. M. Sen, Legal Adviser to the NEFA Administration, for his help on problems relating to the Adi political and judicial institutions; to Shri N. Sengupta, former Financial Adviser for NEFA, whose profound knowledge of art has been of great help to me; to Shri R. Yusuf Ali, whose affection for the Adis is matched only by his knowledge of them; to Shri S. C. Ray, former Director of Agriculture in NEFA, who made helpful suggestions on his own subject; and especially to Shri Daying Ering, himself a Minyong, who is now an Assistant Political Officer at Damroh. As an educated Adi who has maintained a keen interest in his own tradition, he was in a position to be of exceptional help to me.

I have at all times had the cooperation of my colleagues in the Research Department of NEFA. Shri B. Sastri, Philologist, has given me sustained and intimate collaboration and every part of this book has benefited from his assistance. He has always been by my side and plodded with me through the entire work in giving it concrete shape, as a friend, philosopher and guide. The Historical Research Officer, Shri L. N. Chakravarty, helped me in discovering references in the old literature and tour diaries; the Librarian, Shri J. N. Chowdhury was equally of constant assistance in helping me to get books. Shri

N. K. Syam Chowdhury, the office-in-charge of the Shillong Station, Department of Anthropology, clarified various points in the Adis' social structure.

Above all, my wife, Srimati Nilima Roy, has not only been a spiritual support to me, but has also enriched my book with valuable contributions of her own on various aspects of the material culture of the Adis.

The writing of this book required typing and retyping and in this Shri M. L. Lama, Stenographer, and Shri L. Jyrwa, Typist, have shown a degree of enthusiasm and hearty spirit of co-operation which has lightened the boredom and the dull hours of mechanical transcription.

SACHIN ROY

Shillong: 4.5.59.

'Hominem pagina nostra sapit'

— Martial

I. ORIGIN OF NAME

THE people who form the subject matter of the present study have recently started calling themselves Adis, in preference to their former appellation, Abor, and the Administration has accepted it. In this change of name they might have been most probably guided by the example of the inhabitants of the Lushai Hills. They too have given up their former name of Lushai or Lushei for that of Mizo. It may be noted, that both the words Mizo and Adi are used to denote hill people, but the reasons behind this change are different in the two cases. In the case of the Mizos, it was due to the reluctance of the rest of the tribes to be known by the appellation of one particular sub-tribe, the Lushei. But in the case of the Adis, the reason lies elsewhere. They have developed a dislike for the word Abor because it means 'unruly' or 'savage'.

The use of this name has been traced back to the first century A.D. when Pliny the elder mentioned a great valley in the Himalayas called 'Abarimon' inhabited by wild men.¹ Exact location and identification of these people is very difficult from the vague description given by him. But Dr Hutton² seems to think them to be identical with the present Adis, equating the word Abarimon with the Assamese Aborimanu. This, however, though tempting, is untenable on grounds of chronology. The modern Aryan vernaculars in India did not make their appearance before the last part of the first millennium A.D. and so Abarimon cannot be taken to be a Greek adaptation of the word from a language which did not then exist.

The name came to be more generally used during the Ahom period of Assamese history and became a subject of

¹ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (London, 1946), p. 182.

² *ibid.*, p. 274.

research when the name and the people came within the sphere of western inquisitiveness.

Today, despite official discontinuance, it is a familiar term used to designate the people who live between the Subansiri and the Dibang Rivers. But there are records to show that it was not always exclusively restricted to them and that it had wider significance. It has been applied¹ indefinitely to all the independent hill clans on both sides of the valley of Assam. S. E. Peale² refers to the tribes inhabiting the hills south of Sibsagar as Abor Nagas. Captain T. Brodie observes in a letter to Captain F. Jenkins—‘The whole of the Nagas may be classified under the heads of Abors or independent tribes and Bori or dependents; the former generally inhabit the hills of the interior and few of them only come down to the plains. The latter occupy the hills immediately bordering the plains. This division of these tribes seems to be very similar to that of the Garos in the Goalpara District who are classed as Mulwas and Bumulwas, tributaries and non-tributaries.’³

It would appear, therefore, that the word Abor was used in two senses. In the broader sense, meaning independent, unruly, savage and so on, it was applied to all the hill tribes round the Assam valley. In its narrower sense, it was applied particularly to the tribes of the southern slopes of that portion of the Himalayan ranges that lies between Dibang and Subansiri rivers. Now-a-days, however, it is used only in the restricted sense and designates the Adis only.

The word is said to be Assamese in origin, being derived⁴ from *bori* meaning subject or dependent from the root *bor*, meaning to submit or own allegiance to, with the negative particle *a*. The derivative meaning of this word is, therefore, one who does not submit or own allegiance, to anybody, and it has been variously explained as barbarous, hostile, savage. This lends to it a derogatory flavour and ranks it with such terms as

¹ A. Mackenzie, *The North-East Frontier of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1884), p. 33.

² S. E. Peale, *Notes on a visit to the Tribes inhabiting the hills South of Sibsagar, Assam*, p. 316.

³ Selection of Papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah and on the Upper Brahmaputra (1873), p. 286.

⁴ R. Wilcox, *Memoir of Survey* (1825), p. 17.

barbarian and *mleccha*. It is very strange that the people themselves should have accepted this name and used it themselves. This may be explained by the assumption that the people picked it up from the plainsmen during their casual contacts with them and, being ignorant of the language of the latter, did not notice the contumely it implied. An historical analogy may also be cited in support of such an assumption. The word Hindu has been accepted by the Indians as a common designation for all the inhabitants of the sub-continent, from foreign invaders as they had no such common name for themselves in their own languages. Hindu is a Persian word, meaning black and so is not at all complimentary when applied to a people. But still, the Indians have accepted it, they are known by it and they are proud of it. It may be argued that the word Abor also got acceptance in the same way. But still there is an unnaturalness in the theory of such an acceptance which makes one doubt its correctness. We rarely find derogatory names given by other people ever accepted by a people on a national basis. The Germans never call themselves 'Bosches'. No Frenchman will call his own people 'Froggies'. Europeans can never be made to call themselves 'Firanghis' and 'Yankee' as a national name will never gain acceptance in America. Barbarian and *mleccha* have never been able to stick to any people as their national name. As for the analogy of Hindu, it may have just been possible that the word got its meaning of black the other way round. The word most probably was a distortion of Sindhu, the Indian name for the Indus. A black complexion being associated with the inhabitants of the Indus region became later on one of its connotations. The same thing has happened with other racial names also. The word Hun, for instance, turned into a war-slang of 1914 to mean a barbarian, and was applied to the Germans for their supposed barbarity and cruelty. One, therefore, hesitates to accept this explanation of the word Abor; and, on that account, perhaps, alternative derivations have been suggested. These, however, have received little notice so far. According to Wilcox,¹ Bor in Abor is the same as Bara, meaning great. But his explanation

¹ A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 33.

is not satisfactory as it does not account for the initial 'a'. Chakma¹ has tried to analyse the word in a more detailed and informative manner. He seems to support an indigenous origin and thinks the word to be a compound of three constituent parts:—'a' an abbreviated form of *Ang*, meaning heart, *bo* usually, found as a male suffix, meaning man and *ri* meaning water or river in the Adi language. Taken as a whole, the word signifies—'men of heart living near rivers'. Explained in this way, the word, no doubt is a very flattering appellation of the people, but the derivation is too sophisticated and artificial to be readily accepted, unless some convincing proof of its correctness is available.

A more plausible suggestion would be to take the word as an Assamese adaptation of an original Adi word which has fallen out of use. It happens not infrequently that when a people come in contact with another, they try to get their name from the people themselves. But if by chance this name happens to have a similar word in the language of the former which signifies any prominent characteristic of the latter, even if it is slightly different from the original, this descriptive term gets currency with them. Attempt at such identifications of different words with different meanings in two different languages on a limited scale, may be seen in the famous episode of Pope Gregory the Great, declaring Angles to be Angels. The word Tartar may be taken as an historical example of such a distortion. This name has been given by the Europeans to the Tungusic tribes whom they met for the first time as ravaging hordes which spread devastation all over Europe. So ferocious did they appear to the Europeans that they believed them to be devils let loose from hell. This impression found expression in the word Tartar which is derived from Greek Tartaros, meaning hell and which has a very close phonetic resemblance to 'Tartar' the actual name the people call themselves by. It may be in the same way that Abor is an Assamese word phonetically very much alike to an original Adi word, and was used by the plainsmen for the tribes, and later on taken up by others who got it from them.

¹ U. Chakma, written communication.

But the difficulty is that no such word is available in the Adi vocabulary so far as it is known to us. Dunbar,¹ indeed, says that the Adis call themselves 'Abuit' in contradistinction to all foreigners including Tibetans whom they call 'Madgu'. This would appear to show that the Adis do possess a sense of oneness among all their own tribes and of a difference that separates them from others. This very consciousness would justify the assumption of the existence of two distinctive names. The two names given above would have finally established this contention, had their genuineness been beyond doubt. But unfortunately Lorrain does not notice any such word as Abuit and as for Madgu, it means, according to him, a trading centre and not foreigners as stated above. He remarks, 'This is not the ordinary word for any market; it is used of Sadiya, which is the trading centre of the Abors, and of Thibet, which is the country with which the northern tribes trade'.² There is another word which Lorrain seems to support as a general name for all the Adis. Tani means primarily a human being—a man, a person, but according to him—'The Abors sometimes use this word of themselves in contradistinction to the rest of mankind'.³ In support of this, he cites the phrase Tani-agam which is used to mean the Adi language, though literally, it would mean human language in general. However, this does not serve our purpose and so, we prefer to leave this question open with a very tentative suggestion that the word may have some connection with Abo, the first man, according to the Adi mythology, to whom they trace their origin. The final 'r' may be akin to 'rr' at the end of the names of tribes such as Aorr, Simirr, Yimchungrr, which means man. We will have occasion later on to discuss the question of affinity of the Adis to some of these trans-Brahmaputra tribes and, if our contentions are accepted, it will lend support to this suggestion offered here.

¹ G. D. S. Dunbar, 'Abors and Galongs', *Memoirs A.S.B.*, Vol. V. (1913-17), p. 1.

² J. H. Lorrain, *A Dictionary of The Abor-Miri Language* (Shillong, 1910), p. 130.

³ *ibid.*, p. 214.

II. THE COUNTRY

Boundary: The Siang Frontier Division is the home of different sections of Adis. Dr Verrier Elwin has described the Siang Division as 'one of the most fascinating and exciting parts of NEFA; the scenery, when it is not hidden by cloud and rain, is superb; the people are charming, hospitable and filled with a zest for life; tribal institutions still retain their vitality. It is a country of song and dance, of hard eager work, of fine spinning and weaving, where the "rich and varied tapestry" of NEFA is displayed.'

The southern boundary of this Division starts from the southernmost point of the eastern boundary—the old Sissirimukh, and runs straight in a south-westernly direction upto the fourth milestone on the Kobo-Pasighat Road. It then turns north-east to the junction of a nameless stream with the Remi river at Oyang. Then again, it takes a south-western course upto the point, where the river Jiya Dhol cuts across the Rajgar Ali. From there, it follows the right bank of Jiya Dhol towards north to a point, due east of a spur along which it continues westward till it turns again southward to Siplimukh—the point where the Sipli meets the Subansiri.

From the point where the Sipli meets the Subansiri the western boundary of the Siang Frontier Division runs along the left bank of the Subansiri to the point where it meets the boundary between Tibet and India in the north.

The northern boundary line starts from this point and runs along the Indo-Tibetan boundary to a point on it about a mile south-west of Khangri Khangro La pass.

The boundary in the east starts from this point, and runs in a southernly direction along the range dividing the Siang and Dibang valleys to Dirap and continuing south-eastwards to a nameless stream with its source below the Egadi river. The boundary then runs down the mid stream of this river to the Sisseri river and then to the junction of the Sissiri and the Siang. It continues by the left bank of the Siang and across the mouth of the Lohit to the left bank of the Brahmaputra as far as Rongdoi Ghat.

The land of the Adis covers over 8,000 sq. miles, and their

habitations are concentrated on both banks of the Siang and the Yamne rivers, extending in the north upto the border of India and Tibet, and extends as far as Pasighat and few miles below in the south. To the west the boundary is demarcated by the Gallong country and by the Siyom river. The eastern boundary is marked by high mountains, and on the south-east, the last Adi habitation are the Dambuk, Meka and Rayeng group. In the north-west corner their habitation extends as far as Tadadege and Mechuka.

Topography: The country to the right of the Siang is less hilly, whereas the area lying between the Siang and the Dibang has great snowy ranges ranging from 10,000 ft. to 15,000 ft. in height. On the north there are high mountains and the whole area consists of a series of spurs of these mountains thrown out at right angles. On the east of the Siang there are subsidiary ranges running east and west throwing spurs in a southerly direction. The 'outer ranges' south of the division gradually merge into ranges running from north-east to south-west and thus form a wall shutting off the valley of Assam from view. The valley of the Siang above the village of Kebang is clearly visible for many miles, but the valley below Kebang consists of low ranges of hills, densely covered with forest. The southern portion of the country, unlike the right bank of the river Siang, between the Domjur and the Siang rivers is comparatively flat and densely wooded except for places where there are settlements. The left bank of the river Siang is full of steep inaccessible mountains and consequently fewer habitations are found on this side. The area between the left bank of the Siang and the right bank of the Yamne river to Dambuk, the last Adi village on the south-eastern side, containing the villages Ayeng, Mebo, Silluk, Dapui, Memesepo, is for most part flat and favourable for habitation. The area below Renging on the right bank of the Siang upto Ledum is also more or less flat.

Rivers: The Tsang-po flows through Tibet and takes a turn southwards, approximately at the latitude 29.35'N and longitude 95.20'E. At this bend the river encircles some high mountains like Namcha Barua (24,445'). Beyond this turn, there are rapids for about 30 miles. Another few miles below, the river enters Indian territory, where it is known as the

Dihang or among the Adis, the Siang. Once the river breaks through the mountain ranges, it does not run north to south, but first flows South-South-West and South-South-East and lastly straight south to Kebang. On the whole, the course of the river is at right angles to the lie of the hills. All through the division, the river is fed by a number of tributaries. Some of these are like moderate sized rivers of the plains. The river enters the plains at Pasighat. A few miles downstream from Pasighat the river divides into two. The width and current of the river from the point where it enters the Indian Dominion to Bordak village are not great. It is not navigable because of strong current and innumerable rapids throughout its course. A few miles below Pasighat the river becomes navigable in all seasons. In the mountainous section above Pasighat, there are a few places where the river can be crossed with the help of dugouts in winter or in early rains. The two banks present completely different pictures, one sloping down to the river, while the other is sheer cliff.

The Yamne rises somewhere in the high snow-clad mountains in the north-east beyond Modi village. From its source, the river flows south-west until it meets another big tributary bearing the same name, which flows down from due north near the Milang village. It then turns south and, fed by many tributaries, flows down forming a curve towards the south-west near Dukku. It then runs south-east to meet the Siang below Jero village.

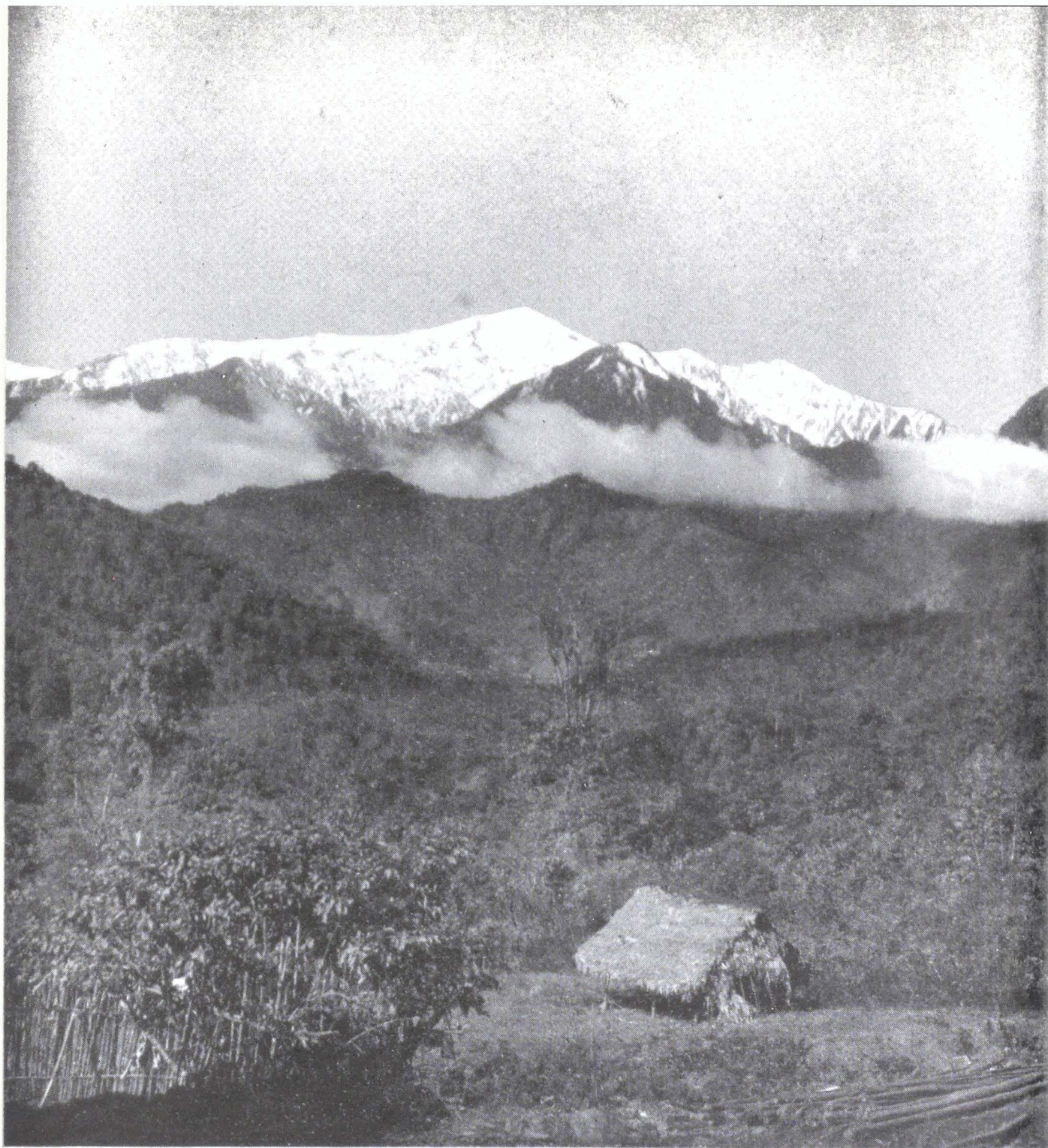
Another important tributary of the Siang is the Yang Sang Chu which originates from the mountains in the south-eastern side and flows north-west to meet the Siang near Jeru on the right bank of this side of the Indian border.

The third important river is the Siyom which rises in the Pari Mountains in the north-west corner and flows due east through the Bori country and then takes a turn south. A few miles down, the river again turns towards the east near Along village, an important stage in the Gallong country, and finally meets the Siang near Panging.

Flora: Almost the whole of the Adi Hills is covered by dense forest. There is a great variation of flora in this area due to the difference in altitude and climate, starting from



A panorama of the upper Siang River



A snow mountain of upper Siang

grass, reeds, swamps to large trees. In the south of the Adi Hills, the forest is full of evergreen sub-tropical vegetation with thick undergrowth and creepers. In the north the vegetation gradually changes. Here large trees are replaced by rhododendron and cypresses, while the central parts are clothed in bamboo and cane. The common vegetation in the south are Simul (*Salmalia malabarica*, Schoot), Hollock (*Terminalia myriocarp*), Heurek & Mvecull Pichola (*Meliosma simplicifolia*, Halp), Borpat (*Ailanthus grandis*, Prain), Walnut (*Juglans regia*, Linn) and the Oak, (*quereus* sp) Chestnut (*Castanopsis*), Screw (*Pandanus*) pine and Orchids of different varieties in the north. The southern areas are rich in fruit-trees like Mango (*Mangifera indica*, Linn), Jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn), Lichee (*Nephelium Chierensis*, Sononer), Yellow Raspberry (*Rubus* sp), Orange (*Citrus Aurantium*, Linn) and Pine-apple (*Ananas Camosus*, Linn Merr).

Fauna: Of the commoner mammals different varieties of Monkeys, Langurs, Civets, Himalayan black bear, Flying fox (Fruit-bat), Shrews, Giant squirrels, Rats and Mice may be noted. Big game includes Tigers, Leopard, Wild boar, Porcupine and various kinds of deer of which the Sambar, Hog deer and Barking deer are common. The curious Takin (*Budorcas taxicolor* Hodgson) is found only in the higher ranges of the Adi Hills.

The birds are representative of the whole Indo-Himalayan-Burmese Region. Green magpie, Tree-pies, Grey and Sultan tits, Parrot-bills, various Laughing thrushes, Babblers, Sibia, Siva, Rose-finches and Pheasants live in higher altitudes from 3000' upwards. Other commoner birds distributed over most extensive areas except on the bleakest high hill tops, are different kinds of Bulbuls, Cuckoo-shrike, Minivets, Thrushes, Forktails, Redstarts, Flycatchers, Warblers, Munias, Finches, Martins and Swallows, Wagtails and Pipits, Flowerpeckers, Sunbirds, Pitta, Broadbill, Woodpeckers, Barbets, Bee-eaters, Hornbills, Parakeets, Trogon, Owls, Hawks and Eagles, Pigeons and Doves, Jungle fowl and Partridges, Snipes and Sandpipers, and Ducks.

Of the reptiles, the Gavial, Turtle and several kinds of Lizards are the most familiar, and Blind-snakes (*Typhlops*), Tree-racers (*Elaphe*), Rat-snakes (*Ptyas*), Racers (*Coluber*),

Bronze-backs (*Ahaetulla*), Wolf-snakes (*Lycodon*), Keel-backs (*Natrix*), Cat-snakes (*Boiga*), Whip-snakes (*Dryophis*), Cobra (*Naja*) and Pit-vipers (*Trimeresurus*) are also frequently seen.

Among the amphibians, various species of Frogs and Toads are met with.

Mountain carps of various species, Loach, Mahaseers, Cat-fishes of various kinds, Eels and Murrels are the common representative of the fishes of this area.

Of the Arthropoda, the most interesting representative is *Peripatus* belonging to the primitive group Onychophora. Several species of freshwater Shrimps and Crabs represent Crustacea, and Moths, Butterflies, Bees, Wasps, Ants, Flies, Sandflies, Cockroaches, Crickets, Dragonflies, Beetles etc. are the common insects.

Climate: So far as the solar climate is concerned, the Siang Frontier Division may be considered a monsoon region falling within the hot belt according to Supan's¹ classification of climatic zones. But the solar climate is modified by great variations of the topography brought about by an intricate mountain system which cuts the country into numerous deep gorges and narrow valleys. A cross-section from the north to south will reveal a gradation in altitudes ranging from the ranges of eternal snow in the extreme north to the low hills bordering the valley of the Brahmaputra in the south through a succession of hilly tracts in a descending order of heights. The physical climate is, therefore, entirely different from that of a rather uniform land occupying the same geographical position. Due to this great variation in the physical features of the different parts, the division presents a variegated climatic picture.

To speak in a general way, the temperature is very high with little variation in the year in the lower parts. The seasons depend more on rainfall than on the temperature, and the Adis divide the year into two main seasons (i) the rains and (ii) the winter. But as gradually rising hills cut off the upper parts from the inflow of the moisture-laden winds of monsoon, the precipitation decreases in intensity as well as continuity as one proceeds northward. On the whole, however, the distri-

¹ A. Supan, *Grundzüge der Physischen Erdkunde* (Leipzig, 1896).

bution of rain and rain shadow area is very complicated on account of the tortuous paths taken by the winds through these gaps and passes in their labyrinthic folds. In the lower regions, the rainy season lasts from the last week of March to September when the sky is overcast almost all the time, and the rainfall is very heavy. The valley of the Siang, cutting a passage through the hills for the monsoon clouds, is specially noted for comparatively heavy rainfall. A steep descent of the streams, draining the entire accumulation of rain-water in the upper regions in their rapid downward courses, causes sudden swellings in the lower reaches occasionally flooding the adjacent lands which are completely cut off from the plains. It is the most unhealthy part of the year with enervating warm humidity and quick wild growth of underwood jungle so well known in these areas. From October starts the dry season which continues till the end of January. The temperature gradually falls, and so do the rivers. Heavy mist lies over the land which clears only in the morning. This season is noted for strong gorge winds. Between January and March, a brief spell, which might be termed spring, intervenes. This season is not particularly distinguished by the people themselves. To them it is merely a transition from winter to summer, as in the first part, it continues the cold of the former and ushers in the rains by intermittent showers in the latter.

This is true of the lower parts of the Division and in the valleys, on the windward side of the ranges. The leeward sides are naturally less wet and more open to the cold northern winds. The usual change of climate is noticed as one proceeds to higher latitudes and altitudes. The high lands are characterized by a cooler climate, the intensity of cold depending on the lie and height. The peaks of the outer Himalayas stand high above the snow line and represent an arctic climate in this torrid zone area.

III. DIFFERENT GROUPS—ORIGIN—MIGRATION AND PRESENT DISTRIBUTION

The Adis are divided into different groups, such as Padam, Minyong, Pangis, Shimong, Ashing, Pasi, Karko, Bokar, Bori,

Ramo, Pailibo, Milan, Tangam, Tagin and Gallong. Of all these, the Padam, Minyong and Shimong are the largest groups.¹

The origin, migration and present distribution of these different groups are described from north to north-east and then southwards.

From the legends available, it appears that the ancestors of the Ramos and the Bokars were brothers. The Ramos descended in a direct line from Dungram, the elder brother of Dungumi, the ancestor of the Bokars.

The Ramos appear to have originally settled in the valley of Tang San Po in Tibet. Their ancestors left their original settlement, moved from place to place in Tibet and finally crossed over to the Tadadege area and settled within the Indian territory. Their last migration from Tadadege to Rapum, which they still inhabit took place long ago.

At present, the Ramo area consists of Rego, Rapum, Hiri, Puryi, Kiposhi, Paduche and Harmé villages. Rego is the last Ramo village on the way to Mechuka. There is one village, called Dorjeeling, where both Membas and Ramos live together.

The Bokars claim descent from the first man, Abo Tani. Abo Tani had several sons. One of them was Nikar, whose eldest son Karbo, was the father of Bodung, who in turn had two sons. From the younger son, Dungumi runs the direct line of descent of the present day Bokars.

The ancestors of the Bokars used to live in a place known as Mate in Tibet. Due to pressure of population, they started migrating and settled near about Tadadege, in a place which is at present known as Pui. Another version claims that their ancestors came down from Tibet and settled near the Shimang river, presumably near the source of the Sike river, a tributary of the Siyom. According to yet another belief, the Bokars came originally from Samelo, near Lhasa, from where they were driven out by the Tibetans. Thereafter they migrated and settled down on both sides of Tungula Pass in Yumi and Nayu valleys. The Bokars are very alike to the Ramos and Pailibos

¹ Another section of the Adis, the Gallongs, of the Siang Frontier Division has been described by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava in a separate booklet.

and bear no resemblance to the Membas or Tibetans. There are altogether twenty-two small villages in the Bokar area. The biggest is Gesing. The less important villages are Pangri, Yangrang, Taihiyong, Rote, Pidi, Ruying, Kate, Luto, Ramni, Hemi or Mote, Pote, Karle, Manigong, Ingo, Pulom, Simegong, Papigro, Tadadege, Lapugora, Yorkongdo and Namasiba.

The Bori villages are situated on the tops of the hills on both the banks of the Siyom or Yomgong and the Sike. The area is surrounded by high ranges of hills on three sides—in the east by the Luyor range, in the west by the Piri hills and in the north by the wall formed by these ranges closing together. The important villages of the Boris are Yiyo, Dupu, Payun, Pame, Gasheng, Gatte, Gameng, Paying, Bogu and Mega.

It is believed that the Pailibos are descendants of Bomong. As far as we know, they used to inhabit an area originally near about Dosing. They started migrating southwards, but due to natural calamities, they had to turn back by the right bank of the Siyom and finally settle in the area near about Yapuik. They at present inhabit a small area of rough terrain on the right bank of the Siyom. Their neighbours on the south-east are the Gallongs from whom they are separated by the Bayor hills; to the east are situated the highly populated Bori villages; to the north-east are the Bokars and on the north-west the Ramos. They are a small tribe, and their important villages are Yapuik, Irgo, Yapu, Tadogitu, Tagur, Lipo, Pauru, Boge, Silli and Tato, which is the last Pailibo village on way to Mechuka.

The Tagins are believed to have migrated from Penji, a village in Tibet, to Tadadege region. From Tadadege, they seem to have migrated to their present settlements.

The Ashing area starts from Tuting in the north and extends as far as Ramsing village in the south. The northernmost village is Tuting on the right bank of the Siang, to the south of which is Ninging. Pango, a moderately big Ashing village, lies south of Ninging. In between Pango and Bomdo, the largest settlements of the Ashings, are the two comparatively small settlements, Minging and Mosing.

The Tangams originally inhabited that part of the Adi country which extends from the gorge, which the Siang breaks

through, to as far as the 29th parallel of latitude. More than a century ago, they were pushed down and were evicted from their best lands and forced to migrate towards Kuging.

They are now found distributed in Nyereng and Kuging on the right bank of the Yang Sang Chu, east of Jedo. Mayum is situated on the left bank of the Tsangpo, north of Jedo.

The Shimongs seem to have migrated very late. From their original home somewhere on the other side of the great snow ranges of the Himalayas, they came down to the Nigong valley. They could not move further south beyond the present Simong village, as the Minyongs, the Padams and the Pangis were already in occupation of that area. Thus in course of time, they had to turn back northwards as far as Jedo.

They occupy the northernmost region on the left bank of the Siang, Jedo, being the northernmost village situated between the Yang Sang Chu and the Siang. The area occupied by the Shimongs extends as far as Gobuk in the south. The principal Shimong village is Shimong. The next large village is Gete which lies on the bank of the Siang, north of Shimong. Less important villages from north to south are Anging, Singing, Paling, Rikor, Pugging. Gobuk is the southernmost village on the bank of the Yamne.

The Karkos believe that one of their ancestors, Dunkor, migrated from the upper Siang valley unobstructed upto Gosang village. From Gosang, they migrated to Didung and finally to Karko village. They followed the Padams in their migration. The Karkos occupy today the region on the right bank of the Siang, the area lying between the villages of Ramsing and Pankang.

Milan, Dalbin and Modi, the three villages that form a triangle between the upper reaches of the Yamne in the north and the Sidip in the south, belong to another section of the Adis known as the Milans.

The ancestors of the Milans are believed to have migrated from Pango to Karko and then to Riga. From Riga, they were forced by the Minyongs to cross the Siang and settled for some time in Riu. They were further compelled to migrate and settled in a place between the present Damroh and Milan. From there they spread to their present habitat.

It is said that the Padams came from the north and were originally the inhabitants of Bomi, a place near Ramsing. They started migrating, and passed through Sira Pateng, Dempui, Nugong, Ringong, Kilive, Pegu, Silluluak, Tayek Puigo. From Tayek Puigo, all the clans of the Padams other than the Legos, migrated to a place called Ngling. The Lego clan went to Milan land and finally to Damroh. The Irang clan of the Padams also left the main body and went to Jokan and finally to Damroh. The main body of the Padams went to a place called Anatko in the Komkars' lands and from there to Kesing and then joined with the Irangs and Legos at Damroh. The Padam area now starts from the Sidip on the left bank of the Yamne, covers the whole of the region on this side and extends as far as the Siku river in the south and the Dambuk village in the south-east. The northernmost Padam village by the side of the Yamne is Damroh, the next two villages towards the south being Padu and Silli. Bordak is the last Padam village in the higher region of the Adi hills. In the lower region, there are five Padam villages, all on the left bank of the Siang. The first of this series is Ayeng situated at the foot of the hill by the side of the Siku. The next village east of Ayeng is called Mebo. Further east, there is a group of three villages named Shilluk. The villages of the Padams on the eastern side are Dambuk, Meka and Rayeng on the bank of the river Sissiri, and are under the jurisdiction of the Lohit Frontier Division.

The Pangis are believed to have inhabited a part of the Siyom valley. They were too pushed southwards across the Siang by a more powerful section of people and finally settled in Yamne valley. The Pangis occupy the main Yamne valley and are confined to the right bank of the river. The important villages are Jeru, Sibum and Gekku.

The ancestors of the Minyongs used to live on some snow-ranges near about Telilidung. In their southward migration, they did not follow the course of the Siang. Instead, they came down the Angong valley to Mani-Pere and crossed the Takek-Adi near Dibok and finally settled at Riga past Pangkang. Later, they managed to cross the Siang near Taek-Pigo near about Riu and spread over the area from Kebang, Yem-

sing and Pangin as far as Ledum. The Minyongs now-a-days occupy an area on the right bank of the Siang and a part of the valley lying between the Siang and the Yamne. The northernmost Minyong settlement is Pankang and Renging the southernmost. The principal Minyong villages are Riga, Kom-sing, Riu, Panging, Kebang, Rotung, and Renging. There are, however, a few small settlements of the same group, such as Pangkang, Dosing, Jorsing and Yambung.

The Pasis took a different route in their migration. They were driven from Sigong (Sira Pateng) by other powerful groups of the Adis and migrated south, halting at Nugong, Ringong, Koliyive, Pegu, Silluluak and finally crossed the Siang at Tayek Puigo. They then proceeded to Nging and settled in a place halfway between Damroh and Adi Pasi. From there they followed the right bank of the Yamme southwards to Kuying Yive and then to Sire Kumu, north of their present village. They settled at Adi Pasi for some time, and then due to the increase in population, they came down near-about Pasighat and settled in Ramkang and Monku. At present, Adi Pasi is the only Pasi settlement and a solitary village in the upper regions, lying between Damroh and Padu. Their other settlements are in the lower region, a few miles from Pasighat. These villages are known as the Balek group, composed of Romkang, Tigra, Balek, Roing, Rasam, Monku, Kellek, and Gine.

A study of the legends relating to their original home, would suggest that the Adis came into India from the north across the Himalayan barrier. The real cause of their immigration cannot be ascertained at present. It may have been occasioned by some great natural upheaval in their home-land or by large scale racial movements set in motion by political happenings in those regions. Nor can it be said whether they came in a single mass or gradually in small batches in successive waves through centuries. In the former case, it is just possible, they might have come in a sweeping mass down to the plains of Assam and been driven back afterwards into high-lands, they occupy now, by a superior power. Anything definite cannot be said upto this point; but it is comparatively easy to picture their later dispersion. Once they had settled

in the mountainous regions below the Himalayas, growing communities would be forced to send out colonists in search of new lands. These colonists would establish settlements which, in their turn, would find others. In this way, expansion would continue in a sort of chain work. It may be taken for granted that, in the initial stages, the expansion was from east to west, particularly, in the Siang area. The southward expansion occurred later, when this area was fully occupied and could not accommodate any further settlement.¹

IV. RELATIONS WITH MODERN INDIA

Captain Bedford was the first European to visit a part of the Adi country in the year 1825-1826. He was followed by Father Krick who visited the same Padam area sometime before January 1854. The country was next visited by Dalton in 1855. The British Government tried in vain in 1847 to establish a trading post in the Adi country. In 1858, the first expedition was sent in consequence of a raid on a Beeah village but it was a complete failure. Another expedition was organized in 1859, but this expedition too proved almost a failure as the British soldiers could not reach the actual objective, and had to retreat after destroying a few Adi villages in the lower regions. The Government decided to send another expedition in the year 1862, but gave up the idea after an amicable settlement by which the Adis recognized extension of the British territory upto the foot of the hills. They also accepted a proposal for unimpeded trade and communication across the frontier in both directions. From 1866 to 1892, it was a period of non-intervention, though the Adis broke the treaty and created trouble from time to time. In the year 1894, another and a successful expedition was despatched to the Adi villages of Dambuk, Silluk and Bomjur under Captain Maxwell and F.J. Needham. After this, till 1903, there was no major disturbance in the Adi country. In the year 1911, Mr Williamson, Assistant Political Officer and Dr Gregorson

¹This is according to their own traditions. But for the author's view about their true and ultimate direction of migration refer to Chapter VI.

were killed near about Komsing along with most of their followers. An expedition followed next year and established the British authority over the Adis.

After this last Adi expedition, it was decided to create two divisions comprising the hilly tracts in the north of Assam; accordingly the western section and central and eastern sections were formed. The eastern and the central sections, lying to the east of Subansiri, were placed in charge of a Political Officer. Mr Dundas, the first Political Officer of these sections, brought all the large Adi villages of the lower region under proper control.

In 1919, the name of the central and eastern sections was changed to that of Sadiya Frontier Tract.

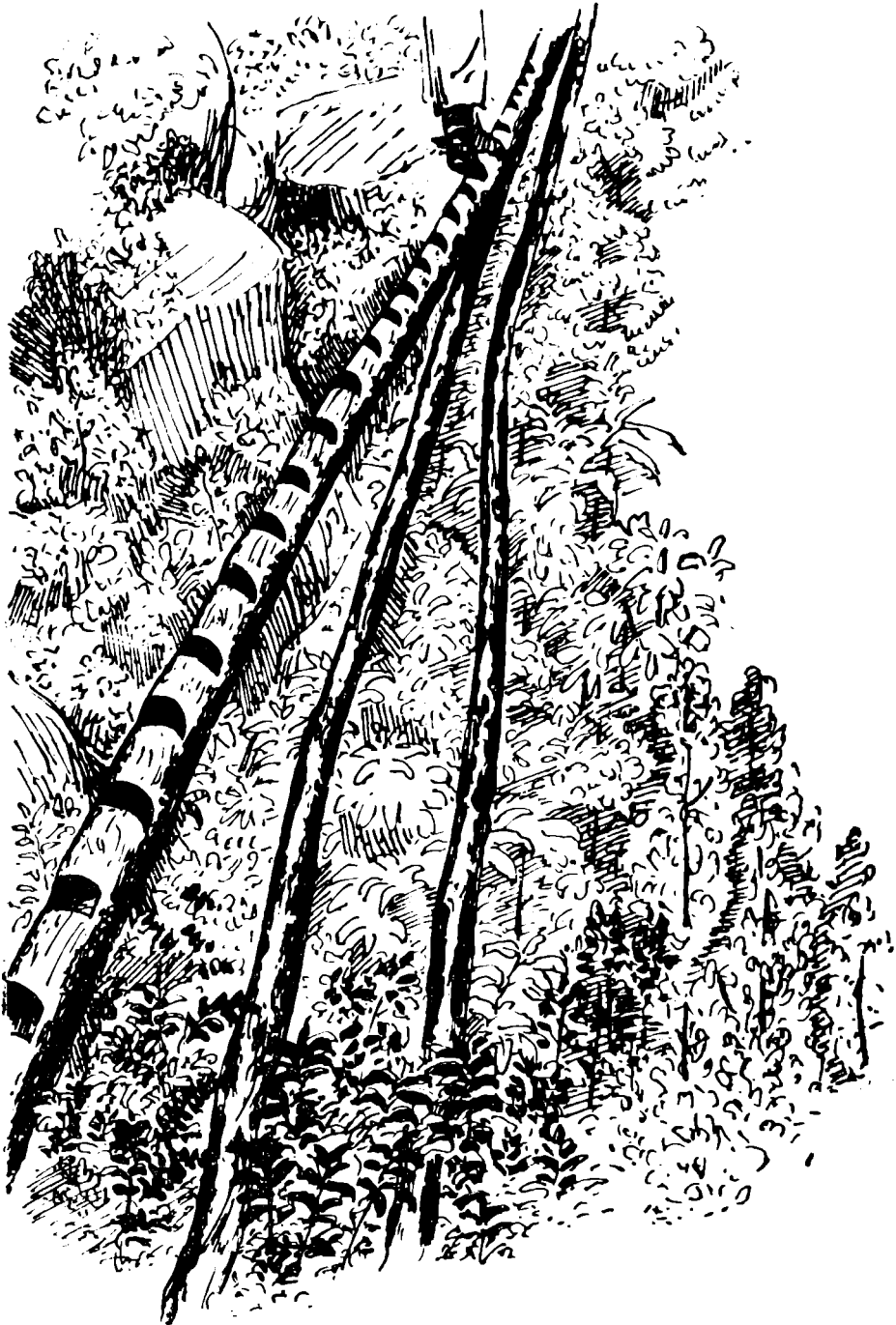
In the year 1936-37, W. H. Calvert, Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, carried out a tour in the unadministered territory of the Adi hills. He travelled to Yembung, Komsing and proceeded north to Riu, Pangin, and back to Pasighat. The relation was cordial and friendly. Calvert carried out another tour in the year 1937-38 in the same region and went as far as the Minyong area on the upper regions of the Siang, and of the Simong and Siyom valleys. In the year 1939, R. W. Godfrey, Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, along with J. H. F. Williams, Assistant Political Officer, Pasighat, made a tour, covering a total distance of over 230 miles and toured the heart of the Minyong country upto the Tsangpo valley from Pasighat. In April, 1940, Godfrey toured upto the Siang valley and Gallong country. The jurisdiction of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, extended as far as to the upper Siang valley in the year 1941 and two posts—one at Riga and the other at Karko—were established.

It was in 1942 that the Tirap Frontier Tract was carved out from the Sadiya Frontier Tract. Subsequently, in 1948, the Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into two separate districts, the Mishmi Hills and the Abor Hills.

In 1954, the name of the Abor Hills District was changed to that of the Siang Frontier Division.

V. COMMUNICATIONS

All travelling in the Adi land has to be done on foot. The river Siang is not navigable in most places because of its high current and innumerable rapids. The Adis are afraid of rivers, and are not good swimmers. Consequently, the use of 'dug outs' and bamboo rafts is not very common.



Notched ladder

Adi foot-tracks from village to village are narrow, and are maintained and repaired by the villagers, each village being responsible for the maintenance of those parts that fall within its boundary. The shortest routes are usually selected, even if one has to pass over high mountains. They are never, as a rule, tortuous. In cases of steep climbs over clay or muddy roads, they construct steps of stone slabs. Logs of wood are placed across swampy parts. Sometimes, they prefer paths by the river side and there, they usually depend upon big slabs of stone strewn there. Ladders of wood are in common use for climbing and descending steep rocks. These ladders are without hand rests, and during rainy season they become slippery and dangerous, as the foot-rests are very narrow. Foot-tracks outside the villages run through the jhum cultivations.

Shallow rivers are usually waded across except during rainy seasons, when the current is too swift and water is too deep to be so forded. The Adis are expert in constructing different types of bridges. 'The skill, as well as the labour shewn in the construction of these bridges is really surprising, and is such as would do no discredit to more civilized nations.'¹

Cane hanging bridges are common over the longer streams and in several places, over the Siang and the Yamne. Other types of bridges are also found all over the region. The simplest device of crossing a shallow river is by placing large boulders across it, each boulder placed at a distance of two feet from the other.

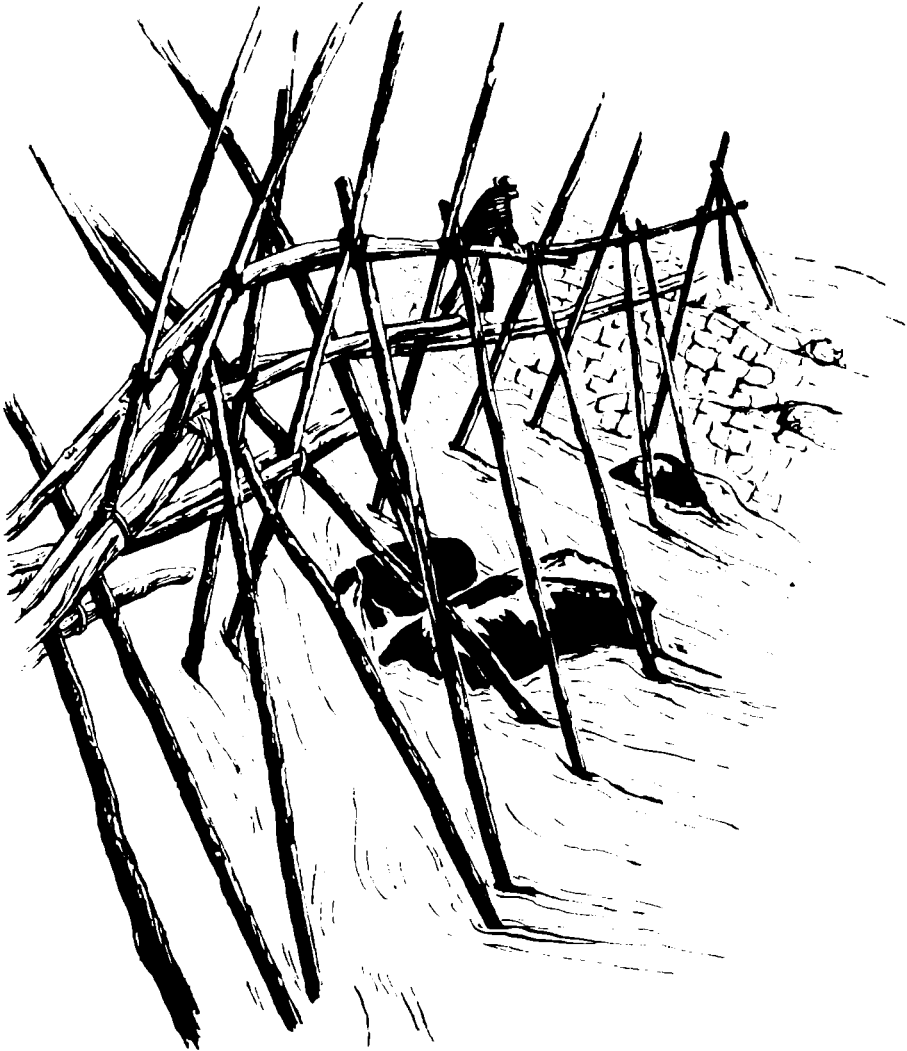
When the current is strong and water deep, the usual way of spanning a river is by erecting two stone abutments, one on each side of the river, facing each other, and by placing a long log of wood across the river, on the abutments. The upper surface of the log is planed flat and smooth with 'dao', but the under surface remains round.

There are then the cantilever bridges of bamboo weighted with piles of boulders, suspension bridges with rigid bamboo footways, trestle bridges and combinations of these types.

The cane suspension bridges display the Adi engineering at its best. At one end, the canes forming the main

¹ W. Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Assam* (1841), pp. 359-362.

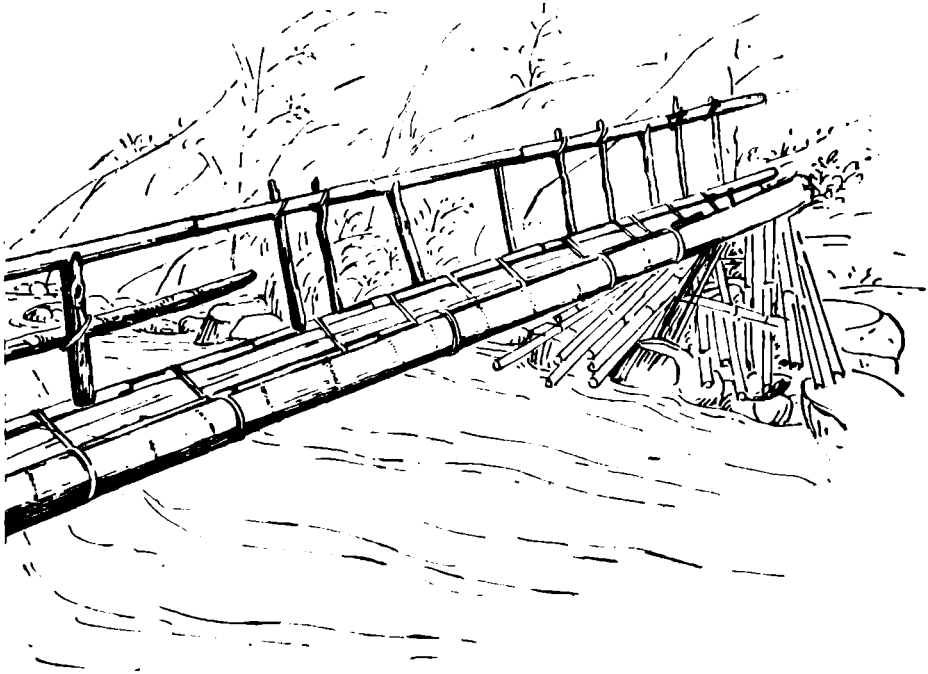
support of a suspension bridge are partly thrown across beams supported on a triangle of strong timber, and are partly stretched and fastened to groups of trees, conveniently situated. The other ends of the main supporting canes are then floated across



Temporary foot-bridge

the river and secured in the same way, on the other bank. Once the two main suspenders are secured, they attach to these some minor suspenders. On these are hung elliptical coils of the same material at an interval of few yards. Foot-rests of about ten to twelve inches are then woven with cane strips. Lastly below the main suspension cane, the rings are further strengthened with additional canes, which also serve as hand-rests during crossing. Now this structure including the foot-rest

and hand-rest are interlaced with cane strips which add to the stability of the suspension strings. These bridges sway considerably during crossing, but are safe and have never been known

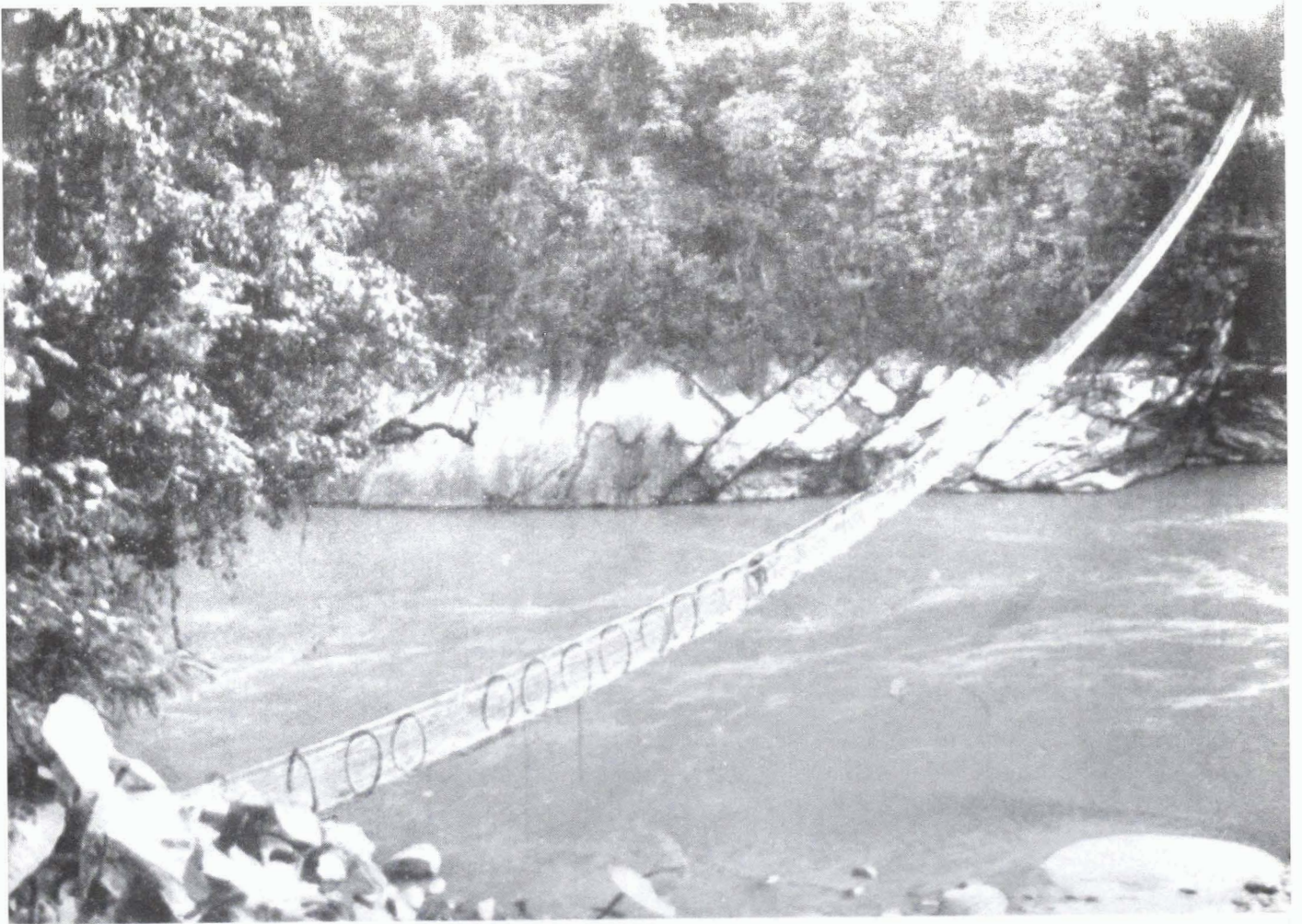


Single-span bridge

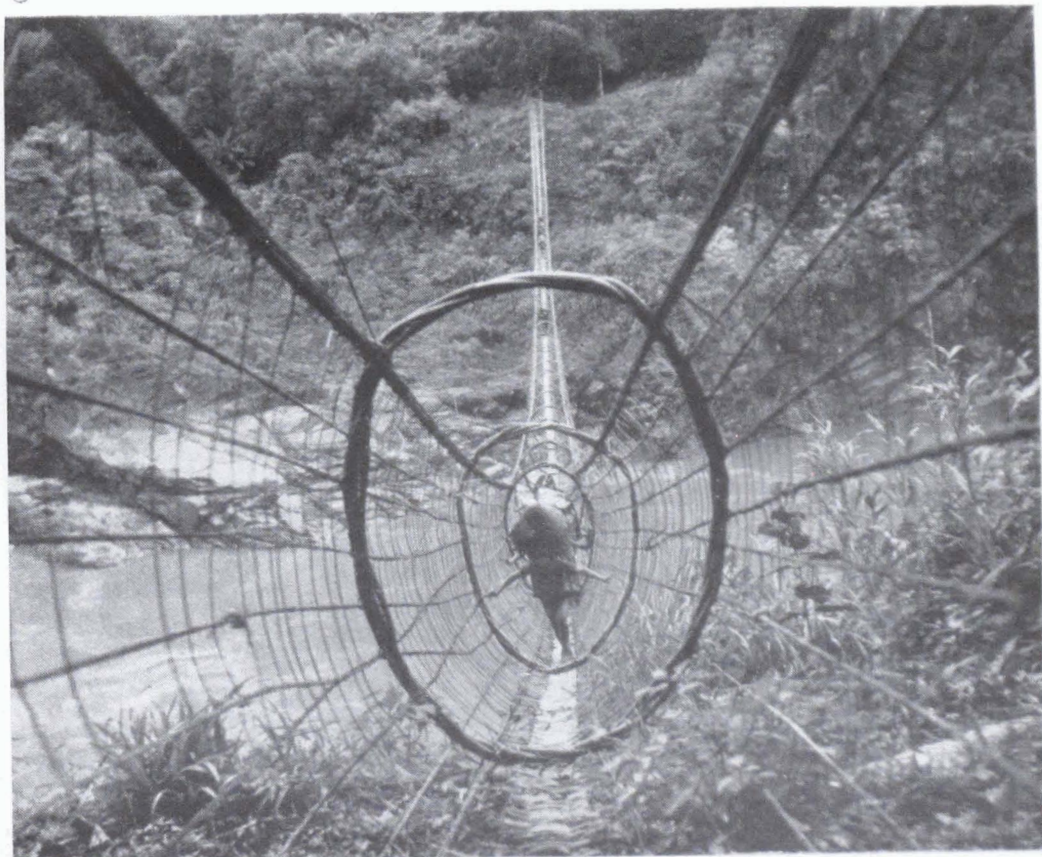
to break or fail otherwise. It is repaired part by part every year, so that after three or four years, the entire bridge gets renewed all over.

The length of such bridges depends on the width of the river. A very valuable and detailed description, with measurements of one of the longer cane bridges, is given by J. O. Neil, in Dunbar's book.

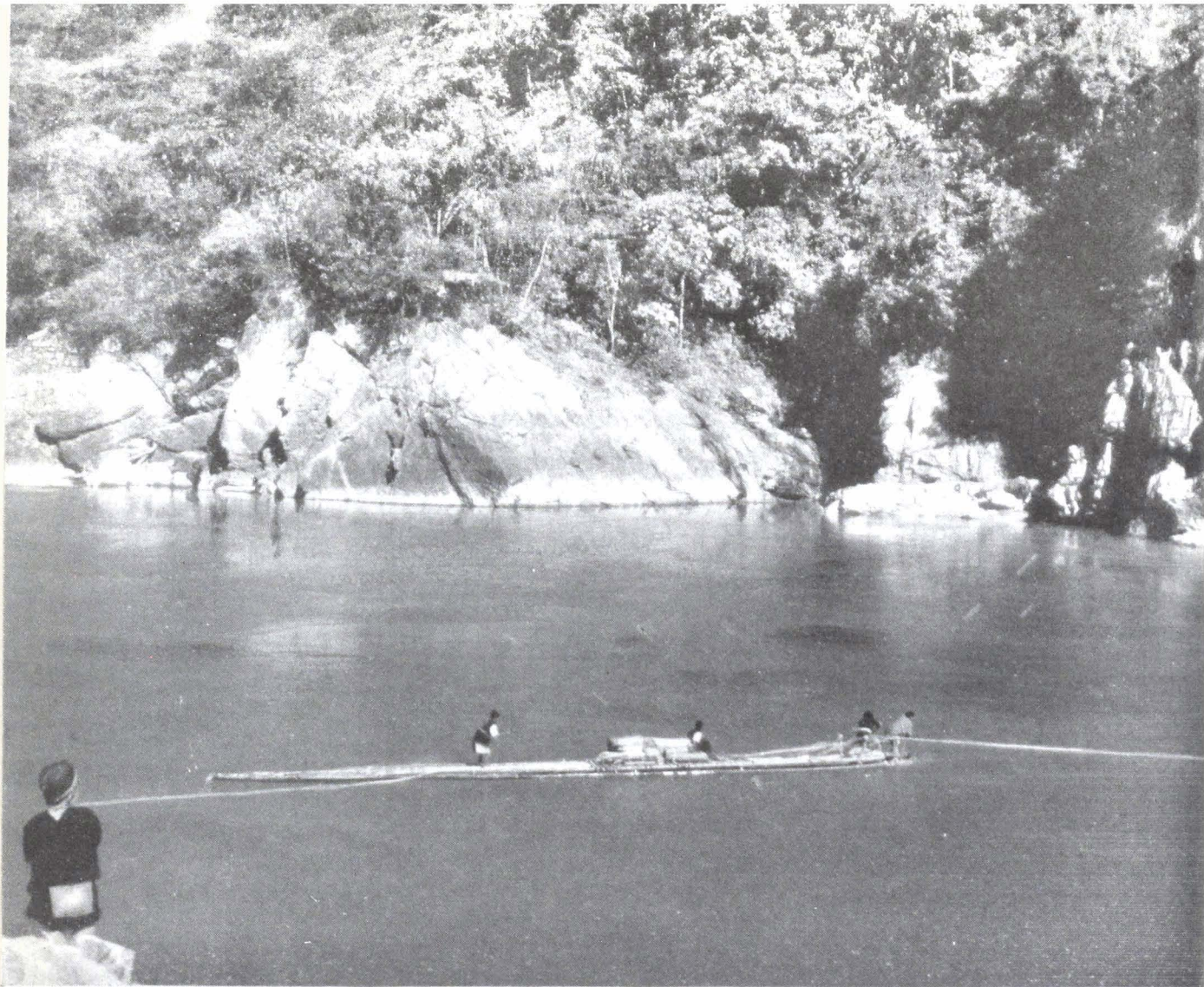
'The length of bridge-work measured along the foot-way from entrance to entrance was 717 feet, and the approaches were about 34 feet in length giving a total of 786 feet. The supports (on the bank) were 8-10 logs about 21 feet long and from $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 9 in. in diameter, with 10 feet buttress posts. The bridge was anchored on either side by about 30 strands of split cane attached to growing trees, living bomboos and rock. The open tube of cane-work of which the bridge was made consisted of a frame-work of 30 ropes of split cane varying from 20 feet to 50 feet in length, and from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 foot apart, the lengths of cane being tied together with



(a) View of a cane bridge



(b) Detail



Crossing the Siang River by raft

what Mr Kemp tells me is known as 'an ordinary knot'. Fifty-nine interlacing strands at varying intervals of from 3 to 23 feet along the bridge made of 4 strands of whole cane twisted together formed the hoops of the cage. The suspension cables were made of 6 strands of split cane twisted together; these cables varied in height from 4 ft. 6 in. to 6 ft. 6 in. from that precarious structure the foot way; 10 struts of bamboo, at various intervals, were placed transversely to separate the suspension cables. The height of the bridge above winter river level was found to be 50 feet at the centre and 130 feet at the entrances. As might be expected, the give of this kind of foot-way is appreciable (in places over a foot), and it is necessary to put a considerable amount of weight on the upper cables, that are grasped in either hand. Moreover the sway of these bridges is considerable at the centre; in windy weather it is so great as to make crossing such a bridge impossible'.¹

Sometimes rafts are also used to cross rivers. Bamboo rafts used by the Adis to cross rivers have been described by Bentinck:

'The Adi raft is built up of bamboos of a special kind, very large and light; it is some 20 feet long and 5 feet wide, carries a small platform for passengers and baggage, and is worked by three or four men with sticks, of whom the man in the bows does such steering as is possible. The only crossing places are where the river widens out, and the current in shore is, therefore, very slack. The raft is towed up the bank as far as the steepness of the rocks allows, and is cast off with the head well upstream. Then follows an exciting period of furious paddling, during which the raft goes slowly across the stream and rapidly down it until, if successful, it strikes the slack water on the far side. Bad steering results in its being carried far down; and there is no saying where it may stop.'²

Dr Verrier Elwin gives a graphic picture of the deep rooted fear of the Adis regarding crossing of rivers.

'The Adis are afraid of the rivers that are one of the most notable features of their territory, for they are believed

¹G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²A. Bentinck, 'The Adi Expedition: Geographical Results'. *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XLI, No. 2.

to be haunted by dangerous spirits, the Nippong, who drag men down into the water, and a number of drowning tragedies in the past has discouraged them either from fishing or crossing the river by boat or raft. It was, therefore, by no means easy to persuade the Ashings to help us make the raft at Bomdo and only one or two of them would venture on it, although scores of people gathered at the bank to watch the hazardous crossing. At Tuting, however, a very fine raft was constructed. . . . It could accommodate 11 persons and there was a fine seat with a Tibetan mat and a prayer-flag at the prow. On the bank, the Adis busied themselves in offering sacrifices for our safe crossing and the Membas and Khambas erected a sapling decorated with prayer-flags.

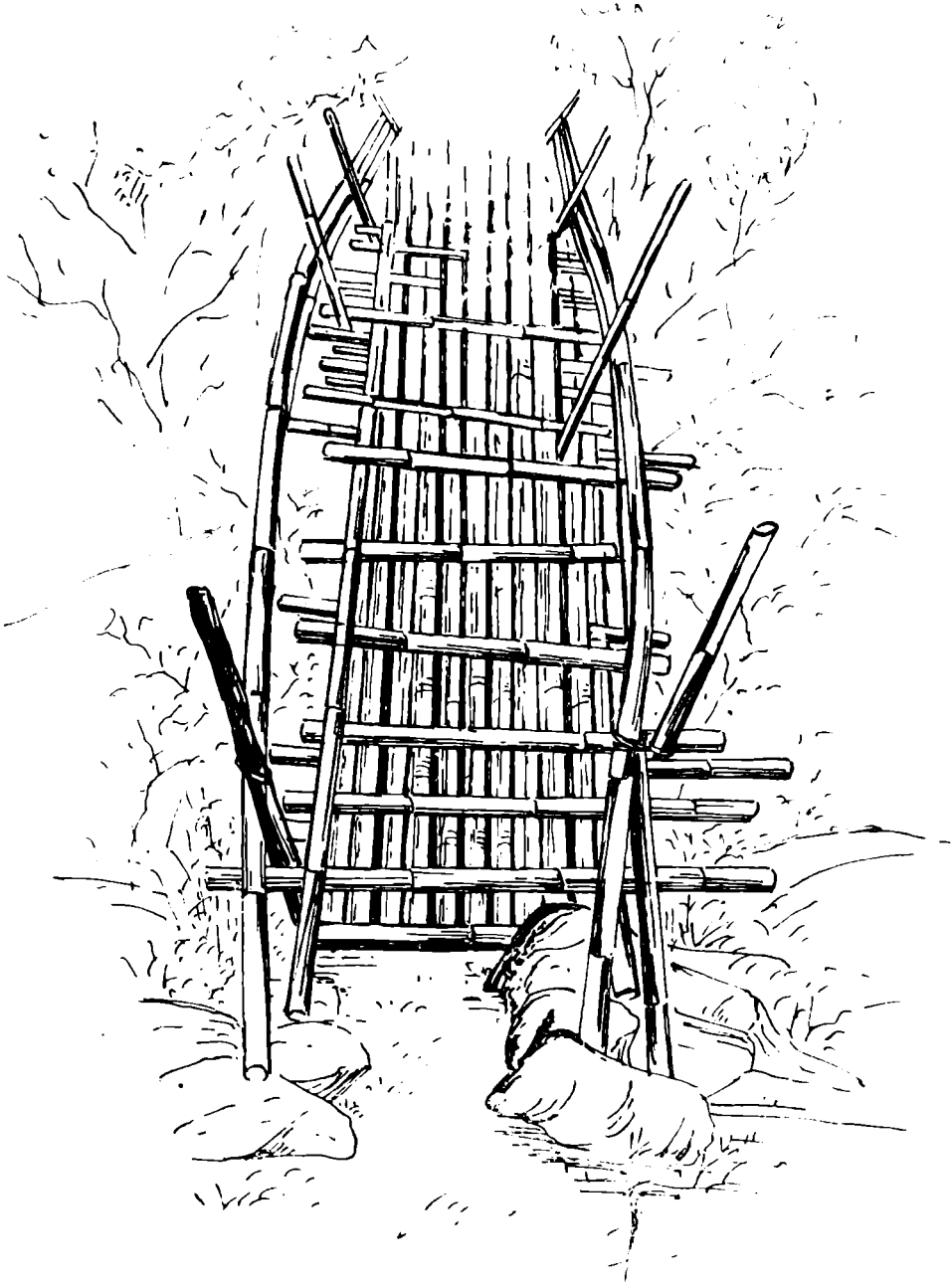
'The next day some of the Adis, very daring, tried to cross the river. They put 16 persons instead of 11 on the raft and threw away the oars and used bits of bamboo, which were of course almost useless, instead. The result was that when they reached mid-stream they were swept down by the current and came to grief in the rapids lower down. Two of them were thrown into the river but were fortunately rescued. This led to a regular orgy or propitiation of the River Goddesses who not only had to be implored to behave better in future but had to be persuaded to restore to their bodies the *aiths* or 'souls' of the two men who fell into the river and which had left them in consequence.'

A short description of the Adi track from the left side of the river Siang to Gelling and back will give an idea of the communication system of the country.

From a point opposite Renepego across the Siang, the track runs along the river over boulders, and then passes through deep virgin forests to a steep ascent of 1500 feet, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The track then goes 500' and then up a climb approximately 1500' again to Bordak village (2000'). There are two tracks from Bordak to Silli, one over the top of Pogo (+240') a hard march with a steady and a difficult climb, and the other skirting the hills. The first, though shorter, is rather risky as the track passes through a number of land-slides and over high spurs. The second, a recent construction at first follows the river course and then turns due north across

high spurs up to the Silli village (3500'). From Silli the track leads almost down to river bank and then gradually ascends 1000' where it runs along the hills and river to Paddu and Dukku villages. The foot-track from Paddu to Adipasi is long as well as difficult, as it climbs over 6000'. From Paddu the track as usual goes down again to approximately 100' to strungle up a steep climb 6000'. For few miles beyond it runs over the top of the hill and then drops down to the Adipasi village (3500'). The journey between the two villages is very strenuous. A second route from Paddu to Adi Pasi follows the Siang, but is longer and neglected. The major portion of the track from Adi Pasi to Damroh is comparatively easy, as it takes mostly by the side of the river and hills, with the last two miles only being a steep climb over stones steps (from approximately 1500' to 4000'). This journey is rather tiresome and fatiguing. The first four miles of the track from Damroh to Milan is not bad. From the fifth mile, there is a steep slippery descent leading to a river bed. A climb up from there leads to Milan village at a height of 4250'. As usual the track from Milan goes down for a few miles, followed by a climb of about 2500' which leads to the Dalbin village (4000'). First few miles of the track from Dalbin to Gobuk is a gradual descent over Jhum fields, until to the bank of the river Yamne. Here the river is crossed by means of small cane-bridge. On the other side of the river there is a steep climb of about 3000'. The track from Gobuk then runs by the side of the Siang towards Shimong which is in the north-west. The first few miles are over easy ups and downs, and are succeeded by deep forests. As one nears the village of Shimong, the tracks as usual leads up to a height of 3700'. Between Shimong to Gete, a quarter of the track runs over the jhum fields of the Shimong village and the rest over easy ups and downs followed by the usual climb near the village. Gete is only 3000' high. The major portion of the foot-track between Gete and Shimong can be described as less orclours in comparison with other foot-tracks. It runs mostly by the river bed until it reaches the foot of the hill on which lies the village Pugging (3600'). From Pugging onwards the foot-track is extremely bad up to the border of India and Tibet. The track between Pugging and Rikor is rough and is full of

ups and downs. The Paling village is situated at a height of 3700' but the track is extremely bad and the journey strenuous and exhausting. The track from Paling to Singing runs up and down for a major part and is consequently used as little as possible. There are many sharp climbs all through it. The



Ascent to arched bridge

road from Singing to Anging is also of the same nature, the track running mostly along the crest of ridges and at almost

the end, there is the usual ascent, this one of about 4000' to Anging village. The track from Anging is a steep descent over rocky beds althrough. The last few miles are a real relief as the track runs through the valley of the Siang and the Yan San Chu. The cane bridge over the Yan San Chu is very good and the track to the village Jedo (3000') is only a gentle climb. The first half to Erjon camp up to the cane bridge is very good as the track runs through jungle and the valley. Across the river, there begins a stiff march, a steady ascent over slippery rocks, when one has to support oneself with the help of hanging canes. The track then leads straight down to the river bed over boulders. From Erjon Camp to Sepo the



Poles spanning a stream

track is better as it runs along the river bank, excepting, of course, one or two climbs and descents. The track to Gelling, runs over extremely rocky hills with ladders to help the travellers in negotiating straight falls and rises.

The track on the return journey by the right side of the Siang is the same up to the cane bridge where the river is crossed for Jedo. From this place the track continues to ascend up to Tuting (3900') south of Erjon camp. From Tuting there is a

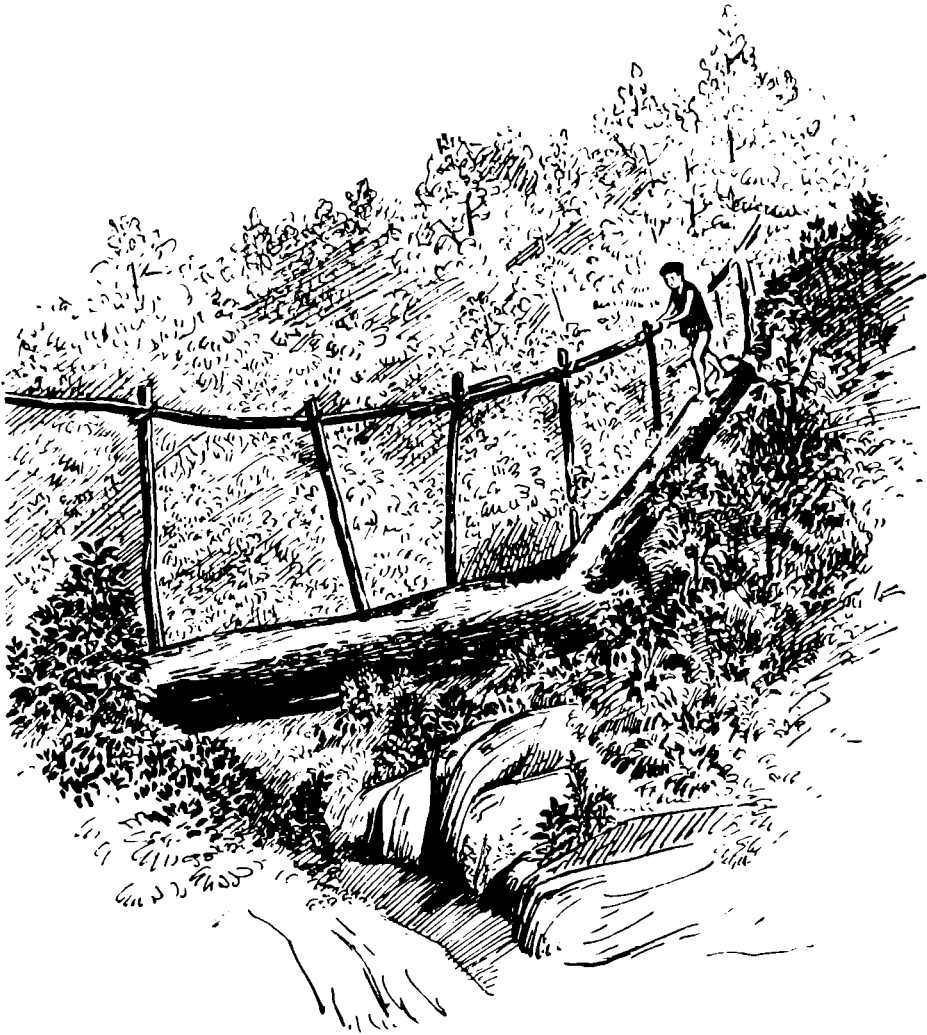


Scaling-ladder

sharp descent to Rengong river (1500') and after a turn to the east from the opposite bank a steady climb of 2500' followed by a sharp descent to the bank of the Longong. There is a steep climb of 3000' again before Ninging village is reached. The road

descends from there to a small river named Rebung from where the Siang is clearly visible. For three miles from the other bank of the river the track runs almost parallel to the Siang and then there is a climb over a spur on which lies the village of Pango (4200'). From Pango the road continues to descend. Many severe ascents and descents, with occasional level stretches by way of relief, have to be made between Pango and Minging (4200'). Between Minging to Mosing there is a descent to Siropate river succeeding a trying and tiresome march upto the village of Mosing situated on the top of a hill at an altitude of about 4500'. From Mosing to Anging river Camp, it is an unbroken gradual descent down to 1500'. The track from the confluence of the Angong river and the Siang is a climb of 4000' across Jhum fields. The track in this place runs parallel to the Siang and climbs up to Janbo (4300'). From Janbo it goes down to the bank of the Siang. This track runs over boulders and occasionally through thick forests up to the foot of the Bomdo village (3000'). It then goes straight up the hill, and getting steeper as it nears the Bomdo village. About two miles below Bomdo there is a cane bridge over the Siang connecting the villages of Pucing and Bomdo. But the straight route on the right bank of the river from Bomdo runs parallel to the Siang to Ramsing. From Ramsing to Karko the track is not very bad excepting for a few moderate ups and downs and a climb just near Karko (4000'). At Karko there is again another cane bridge over the Siang connecting the land of the Shimong Adis with that of the Karko Adis. From Karko to Pankang, the track runs, for the most part, over boulders along the Siang. The road is more or less level but for the last climb to the village. From Pankang (3000') there is a clear view of the Komkar villages. The track from Pankang to Riga is better, leading gently down to Riga village (3500'). From Riga it widens and is more or less level; only after a few miles beyond Riga, there is a sharp descent to the Dibang river bed and from the other bank a gradual rise to Dosing which is 15 miles from Riga and situated at a height of about 3000'. The first three miles of the foot-track below Dosing are rough and dangerous as it runs over boulders. The road from Yaksi village is really good up to the

Yambung river (Siyom). The foot-track on the other side of the river is still broader. Three different routes lead out from Panging (3000') one to the Gallong area, the second to Kom-sing area and the third towards Pasighat. The track from Panging is about 4' wide with a gentle gradient upto Yambung bungalow, at the foot of the Kebang village. The same type of road runs up to Rotung. From Rotung bungalow to Renging the travellers mostly take the usual Adi short-cut. The Adi route from Rotung to Renging is a steep climb of about 1000'



Single log bridge

and then a gradual descent to the Renging village (1350'). The road beyond Renging towards Pasighat slopes down gradually up to the Renepego point. Beyond, the road is very good upto Pasighat. In brief, a cross country Adi track is a monotonous

succession of climbs uphill to villages and descent down on the other side with occasional crossing of streams, skirting of hills, easy passages along rivers and moderate ups and downs in between villages.

In the Adi areas, the villagers have exclusive rights over the stretches of tracks falling within the boundaries of the village, and they are responsible for the maintenance and repairs. The question about repairs is generally decided in meetings held by the villagers. When a path is closed it is usually barricaded with twigs and the diversions are pointed out by appropriate signals.

Distances between villages are usually covered in single marches and so shelters for night halts are not erected. However, when the travellers want to rest, they do so by the road side near hill streams.

The village as well as the road boundaries are demarcated by streams and these streams are the usual resting-places while on march. The *moshups* provide shelter to travellers during halts in villages.

While marching they always walk in single files no matter how wide the path may be. They travel one behind the other and when carrying loads they are guided by the foot prints of the persons ahead of them.

While travelling they generally carry stick, haversacks with important personal articles, on their back and necessary weapons. The haversacks used by the Adi men are called *talis*. These are of thin cane strips woven in twill pattern. The outer side of the *tali* is covered with bark of trees to make it waterproof. To adjust it on the back, it is provided with straps on both the sides which are passed over the shoulder and under the armpit. Women on the other hand use the *sakiap*, a smaller type of cane bag, which is supported from the shoulder by one strap only.

In the Adi country there are no regular local porters; any able-bodied man or woman may carry the loads of travellers. The women and girls are as good, if not better than the men, at carrying loads. The load is usually carried on the back, supported on a strap which generally rests on the forehead and is slung through the armpits. It usually varies from 20 to 40 pounds and they prefer it to be long than broad. The usual

breadth of packages should not preferably exceed the width of one's own back. The length may go up to the knees. Small articles and luggages of less weight are carried in *kiros*. A *kiro* is a basket generally used by them for carrying water pots or wood from the forest. Its base is narrower than the open end. It is provided with plaited bamboo straps. The technique of weaving of these straps are simple twilling. The carrier usually slings the basket on his back with the help of these straps. Two open ends of these straps are fixed almost at the middle of the *kiro*; the central portion of the strap rests on the forehead of the carrier. Heavier loads are hung on stout bamboo poles which are carried on shoulders by two persons.

The Adis very rarely undertake journeys at night. When they do so, they usually carry torches made of dried split bamboo called *merum*.

VI. TRADE ROUTES, TRADE AND CURRENCY

There are several important trade routes in the Siang Frontier Division. Two principal trade routes from Tibet are through the Bori and Bokar countries and pass through Gelling. Beyond Riga, on the right bank of the river Siang, and beyond Damroh on the left bank of the Yamne, trade flows to a great extent from the north. Below this area, the Adis come down either to Along, Pangin or to Pasighat.

Previously, the Adis of the region below Pangin used to come down as far as Sadiya to barter whatever little they had.

Due to the proximity of their area to Tibet, the Boris mainly have trade relations across the border and pass through Gastreng, Paying, Komtheng, Dibong Niging, Mangu, Dele, Tungkur Lego Pass, Elling to a market in Tibet, called Nayi Lube. Their main articles of barter are raw hides, chillies, and in exchange, they bring down rock salt, woollen cloth, raw wool, Tibetan swords, Tibetan vessels, ear-rings, and brass bangles. They also bring down specially salt, iron and utensils in exchange and barter these with the other groups of the Adis. Like the Boris, the Bokars have trade relations beyond the border. They find a market for their surplus chillies, butter, hides and *tamen*, (a creeper used for dyeing), and in exchange,

bring down cattle (*zomos*), sheep and goats, swords and woollen goods.

With the opening of Administrative centres all over the division, the Adis from both the upper and lower regions have started to come down to Along, Pasighat and Pangin, and barter or sell and purchase from shops, salt, yarn, raw wool and cotton, blankets, and little luxuries, such as hurricane lanterns, electric torches, thermos flasks, beads, and tin boxes.

The Pailibos carry on their trade through intermediaries who happen to be the Ramos, the Bokars and the Membas. The Ramos have long been in contact with the Bokars and the Membas and from them they get cattle by barter against their local dye known as *tamen*, raw hides and chillies.

The Shimongs export cotton to their neighbours. Both the Shimongs and the Ashings produce a surplus of cloth; they take these warm, durable and dignified cloth to Tibet and exchange for salt, beads and other articles.

There is a relatively less important trade route through the Mishmi country, coming down the Aborka Pass to as far as Karko. The main items of merchandise are Mishmi coats, in which the Adis are trading for hundreds of years. These they sell or barter for mithuns or different varieties of rice.

From January to July, the Tibetans beyond Gelling come down through the Kepung La Pass with rock salt, iron, warm durable, aesthetically pleasing hand-woven cloth, swords, musk, imitation turquoise necklaces, blue porcelain beads, yarn of different colours, snuff, small quantities of china, silver and wooden bowls, and metal pots, and start exchanging their merchandise from the Ashing area and come down as far as Pasighat. In exchange, they carry back mithuns, raw hides, deer horns, white and red rice.

Currency: In any economic system, however primitive, an article can be regarded as true money only when it acts as a definite and common medium of exchange, as a convenient means in obtaining one type of goods for another. In so doing, it should also serve as a measure of values, allowing the worth of all other articles to be expressed in terms of itself, and it should also be a standard of value with reference to past and future payments, while as an economic reserve,

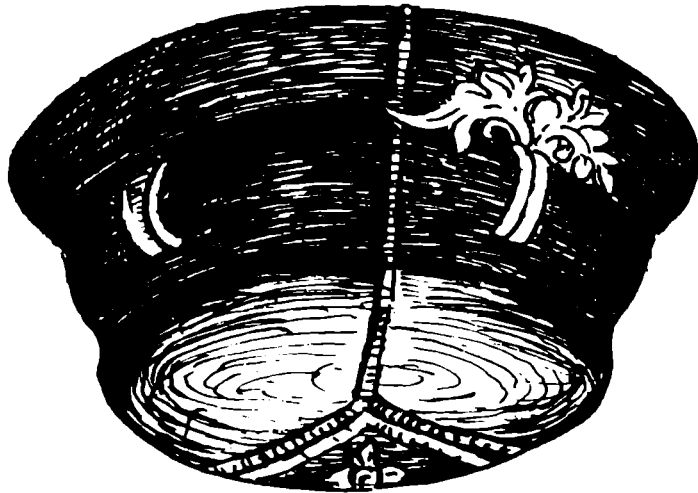
it should allow wealth to be condensed and held in reserve.

Judged by these criteria, Adi area can hardly be said to possess any true indigenous currency. So the following can be termed as money in a very elastic and restricted sense. In their society, two kinds of objects are used as money.

- (1) Articles of practical use,
- (2) Articles of decoration.

The first comprises articles of domestic use, generally of metal, and domestic animals and skins of wild beasts sometimes.

All metal utensils are used as money in Adi lands. Of these, *danki* (a bell metal cauldron), imported from Tibet, is of the highest denomination.



Danki

Of domestic animals, the mithun is the most important in the Sub-Himalayan regions west of the Buddhist areas in Kameng. This animal plays a very important role in the socio-economic life of the people. As in biblical days, a man's wealth is estimated by the heads of mithun he possesses. As indicative of social status and an essential item of requirement in most of their feasts and festivals and religious rites, they are also in great demand, and so are useful as a means of payment. But as the mithun is the highest 'denomination coin' which has to be taken and paid in full, it is used in big transactions only.

Pigs and fowls are also treated as money, naturally in petty business. It is extremely difficult to convert the prices of these bartered goods into our currency. The following table drawn on a local study at Damroh and Dambuk areas in 1948 may give some idea of the monetary system of that area.

Mithuns: Grade I (Lucky mithuns) with a black and red forehead or with the muzzle always wet.

Grade II (middling, i.e., smaller than the average-sized, but with a coat of plentiful hair or complete black in colour with spots on the flank and forehead).

Grade III (Unlucky, i.e., scanty hair on the chest or all white in colour or lean and thin).

The usual value of a mithun in our currency fluctuates between Rs. 100|- to Rs. 300|-.

Value of individual animals varied according to their worth within this range, grade III fetching the lowest price.

One mithun is equivalent to one *danki* or 10 Miri coats or 3 *Karli* and 3 *Kuro* beads. Rice is also exchanged for mithun in some regions.

Pig: Grade I (Lucky i.e., with short bristles or with lean legs).

The value of a pig fluctuates between Rs. 10|- to Rs. 35|- of our currency in the same manner, as in the case of mithuns.

One pig was then worth a Miri Kili Danki or 2 Adi rugs.

Fowls were equivalent to Re. 1|- to Rs. 2|8|- and can purchase one seer of rock salt from Tibet.

Goats are being reared now-a-days for earning money, but they do not belong to the indigenous economy.

Bronze plates of Tibetan origin are standard valuables, used for large payments, and Tibetan prayer-bells are used as barter objects.

VII. CHARACTER

Characterization of a people is a very difficult task. We are often given a subjective picture that depends more on the temperament, attitude and approach of the observer than on the real character of the people. The occasion and the purpose of the observer's visit also in its turn determine to a great

extent the nature of observation. This explains why the Adis have been painted in different colours, often contradictory, by different observers in the past. For the purposes of our present study, the reports on the character of the Adis by previous observers are considered under two heads. The first were by those who accompanied military expeditions. They naturally were prejudiced and unfriendly in their outlook. It is from this class that we get unfavourable pictures of the Adis who are said to be 'a blunt, independent and warlike race'¹ who are 'large, uncouth, athletic, fierce-looking dirty fellows'² 'a much taller race than the Mishmis, but clumsy-looking and sluggish'³ and so on. The state of belligerency that existed between the Adis and the governments in the plains has led some writers to attribute bellicosity to them just as in any war either party reproaches the other with aggression. It is in this light that Hamilton's remarks on this people have to be taken. 'For a long time past the Abors have been cocks of the Assam border. Very independent, quarrelsome, they had come to regard themselves as the rulers of this far-distant corner of India.'⁴

There is another class of observers who go to a people with an open mind or in a spirit of loving curiosity. From them, a better picture and one nearer the truth generally, is obtained. N. M. Krick belongs to this class and this is how he writes about the Adis:

'The Padam is very active, jolly, a lover of freedom and independence, generous, noble-hearted, plain-spoken, more honest than the average Oriental, not over-moderate in eating and drinking, at least as far as quality is concerned. I have not lived long enough among them to be able to speak of their morality. I confess I have never been able to discover what they understand by modesty; they seem to possess much of the child's simplicity.'⁵

Dunbar tries to give a more balanced picture.

¹ From a letter by Major H. Vetch, Political Agent, Upper Assam, dated 3rd January, 1848.

² J. Butler, *A Sketch of Assam* (London, 1847), p. 110.

³ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 22.

⁴ A. Hamilton, *In Abor Jungles* (London, 1912), p.

⁵ Rev. N. M. Krick, 'Account of an Expedition among the Abors in 1853' (translated by A. Gille), *JASB*, Vol. IX. (Feb. 1913).

'The more debased amongst the hillmen would, it is admitted, justify Portia's judgment on her German suitor, but the better type of Abor and he is by no means uncommon outside the Minyong and Panggi clans, does not fall so low. He certainly does his share of the work by clearing the "Jhums", helping at harvest and building the houses and bridges. If he is full of curiosity and avariciously inclined to set an inordinate value on his services to strangers visiting his country, he possesses a certain dignity, is hospitable, cheery and honest, and may be relied upon to carry a load to the place he says he will take it. This I have found by experience he will do without supervision. He is not, according to his own standard, treacherous, for unlike the Mishmi he will not deliberately invite any one into his village and then murder him. But in his character cunning takes the place of bravery, and he does not, most emphatically, court war like a mistress.'¹

W. B. Hore tries to explain why the first impressions made by the Abor on an outsider are likely to be unfavourable:

'The Abor is suspicious and sulky with strangers, but this is soon changed to a friendliness which sometimes becomes embarrassing.

'All the tribes are agricultural rather than warlike: indeed, fighting for its own sake is not an Abor custom. They are, however, quite ready to fight for their independence or in revenge for real or fancied wrongs.

'Treachery of the worst type has always been attributed to the Abor, but as a matter of fact he compares favourably with other savages in this respect.

'Treachery is after all only a relative term, and the Abors consider our method of outflanking a stockade to be treacherous. The Abor code seems to be roughly as follows, with uninvited strangers. A warning is almost invariably given to a stranger visiting the country uninvited, that, if he pursues a certain line of action, or forces his way to a certain locality, he will be killed. If this warning is disregarded, the Abor considers it perfectly fair to lull his victim into a state of false security by rendering him every assistance, in order that later on he may be killed

¹ G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

with the least possible chance of retaliation. Measured by European standards, the Abor of course is treacherous, and most of the regrettable incidents that have occurred in the past have been caused by our forgetting that we were dealing with savages, and by our attributing to them, with no possible justification, our own standard of honour.

‘The Abors are a kind-hearted people and children and animals are invariably treated well.

‘Their method of slaughtering domestic animals is, however, not very humane.

‘The Abor will tell the truth or will lie, with equal cheerfulness according to the whim of the moment. This makes the collection of accurate information a matter of some difficulty.

‘He can, however, always be depended on to give an entirely untrue account of a path when first called on to describe it, and to greatly exaggerate its difficulties.

‘This partly arises from the fact that he takes a pride in being supposed to have traversed a dangerous road and partly from his desire to dissuade strangers from exploring the country. This aversion to the intrusion of strangers is ever present and is due to the fear of disease: also to the fact that should disturbance occur, the village which permitted strangers to pass through would be held responsible by the rest of the community. This is especially the case when the boundry between the tribes has to be crossed: under such circumstances much passive opposition may be expected.’¹

A study of these reports on Adi character suggests that the people impress a visitor unfavourably at first, but improve on later and closer association. The factors that react unfavourably on the mind are the general appearance both physical and environmental. Some fundamental differences they have in their notions of morality and right conduct have also caused some misunderstanding of their real nature. In order, therefore, to eliminate subjective distortions as much as possible, it is proposed to depict their character on the basis of scientific observations of traits by presenting them as they are without any reproach or approbation.

¹ W. B. Hore, *Report on the Abor country* (Simla, 1913), pp. 21-32.

The Adis belong to the Mongoloid stock and as such their character may be presumed to conform in a general way to that of the Mongoloid people as a whole. Now—‘A great optimism and a cheerfulness of temper, combined with a bonhomie and a camaraderie that are the result of a sense of happy-go-lucky freedom, appear to be the most salient qualities of the character of the Mongoloid peoples. Self-reliance and courage, as well as resourcefulness, are other good points in the Mongoloid character. On the debit side, however, they appear to be rather credulous, and at times they can be very cruel to both man and beast ; and, besides, they lack depth of thought and possibly also a depth of feeling or emotion. A habit of indolence, after their immediate needs are satisfied, seems to be an occasional characteristic ; but when roused to action, they are capable of concerted and sustained work. They are factual and not philosophical, pragmatic and practical rather than argumentative. They have also an innate sense of decoration and colour and of rhythm.’¹

On the credit side the Adis have many of these excellent characteristics. Once the fear of attack and enmity disguised under the mask of friendship which constantly haunted the Adi mind in the past, disappeared from their lands, with the spread of the *pax indica*, the sullenness and suspicion, noticed by early observers vanished like a morning mist, disclosing the native frankness enlivened with a warm congeniality of heart and bright joviality of spirit which have charmed every visitor to their lands. One cannot read the reports of friendly journeys undertaken in their lands including the remotest parts, without coming across high tributes paid to them for their spirit of hospitality and winning manners. Every one has been struck by the high spirit they maintain inspite of great hardships and privations, natural calamities and diseases which would have rendered any other people depressed and miserable. At Ninging, to give an example, ‘there was an old woman with one arm. Sometime ago it has been bitten by a snake and had, as they put it, “rotted away” . . . the arm broke off at the joint and she recovered.’

¹ S. K. Chatterjee, *Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti* (Calcutta, 1951), p. 32.

At Miging also by way another example, 'a man had his leg bitten by a bear and suffered in the same way. The wound seems to have become gangrenous, the leg swelled monstrously and at last it too broke off at the joint.'

'Think of the incredible suffering', Dr Elwin exclaims, 'that these two people must have endured ; consider too the invincible will-to-live and the physical strength which, enabled them to survive such ordeals'. Of the Miging man, he says, 'every time we met there was a beaming smile, never a complaint and never a hint of begging for anything. Here was the true Adi spirit—proud, independent, courageous, filled with a zest for life.'

On the debit side the want of a depth of feeling or emotion seems to be confirmed by the callous manner in which they sacrifice mithuns. Judged by our standards and looked from our angle, the strangulation practised by them seems to be extremely inhumane. But we must remember that religious sanction and long practice acclimatize a people to acts which would appear to them in a different light if the context of the situation was changed. Nobody would accuse the Buddhists of inhumanity, but it is in their literature that we come across 33 traditional methods of tortures described with an equanimity as diabolical as that of Dean Swift in his famous 'Modest Proposal'. Except for this, the Adis are noted for their love and affectionate treatment not only for their fellow beings but also of the dumb animals which they do not domesticate in the true scientific sense, but which live with them almost on an equal footing. This is an anomaly, but such anomalies are to be found in all the peoples of this world. So, the Adis cannot be described as cruel and insensible to the sanctity of human and animal life in an offhand manner.

These are, however, more or less superficial traits which depend on extraneous circumstances. One of the basic features of Adi character taken as a whole is their co-operative spirit which distinguishes them from the Idus and the Gallongs, their immediate neighbours in the east and the west. This quality has enabled them to build up a society where the individual blends imperceptibly into the society and to combat the unkind nature which surrounds them with a unflinching brave

heart, smiling faces and to enliven it with their colourful dresses, merry songs and sprightly dances.

The tribes taken separately display individual traits some of which may be noted.

The Boris and Ashings have a certain self-abandonment about them. They have a indomitable spirit. They are free, casual and independent. The Pailibo young people look bright with smiling faces and are self-respecting.

The Ramos seem to be better off than the Pailibos and seem to be more independent and clever.

The Bokars are by far the most disciplined and self-contained of all these groups. They give the impression of being men of the world.

The Shimongs, the Pasis and the Padams on the left bank are energetic, and the Minyongs have a great village solidarity.

Adi character treated in this objective manner 'does not stir into life and show us the hill-man standing out, a living creature'.¹ Specially it fails to do justice to the fairer section of the people—the Adi women. It is they who bear the heavier part of the burden of life, and it is they who smile brighter in the face of hardship and distress. And yet their unsophisticated innocence has been vilified by those who have been taught only to admire artificial modesty in women. A life history of a simple Adi woman will show how false these aspersions are. She like all Adi girls had an *angong* (sweetheart) in the first prime of her youth. But she was not like him, all flesh and no soul. She did not take this relationship just as a passing amour to be forgotten as soon as over. It was a serious business of life—and sacred—a whole existence to her. But her *angong* was a mere gallant—all passion and no love—and without the least compunction—unhesitatingly took the choice of his parents as his wife. In deep agony at the news with a weeping heart she went to him, to seek confirmation and explanation. Before she said anything the unfeeling wretch jeered at her and declared to his friends that his bride was a beauty far fairer than his *rasheng* love. With a bleeding heart she came back without a reproach escaping her lips, no, not even in

¹ G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

gesture. A lonely life she led thereafter for she did not marry and had no second *angong*. She lived in the memory of the dream she had in her *rasheng* days. The gods however were not so forgiving and cursed the marriage of the false lover. He was unhappy with his wife, and came back to her to seek solace in a *rasheng* union. But how could she agree? To him she belonged—but so sacred was the spiritual bond that no light-hearted pleasure could be suffered to sully it with its gross sensuality. 'I can love no more—no, not even you,' she said. Blinded by passion he sought pleasure in forbidden company—was found out and disgraced. And none wept for him in his days of disgrace, but she whom he had betrayed so shamelessly.

And when I met her—years after, she was still leading the life of unflinching constancy—faithful to a memory—without a lover—without a husband.

Such self-effacing sacrifice, uncomplaining forbearance and unswerving constancy can be met only in imaginary heroines of idealistic romances, and this girl gives the lie to all who talk of looseness in moral and lack of ethical principles in Adi society only because their standards differ from ours.

VIII. PHYSICAL FEATURES

About the physical features of the Adis Dunbar wrote, 'Like most hill men, the Abors and kindred tribes are not a hairy race; weak straggling moustaches and beards were occasionally noticed. Men and women turn grey in the course of age, but I saw no cases of baldness. The hair is straight and black . . . The Padam are of fine physique, which is more than can be said for their neighbours, the Panggis, who are most degenerate in appearance. The Minyongs are superior to the Panggis. . . . The Pasis of the Balek group compare favourably with their Minyong neighbours . . . Speaking generally, Abors . . . have black eyes and are brown-skinned, but the colour of the skin has been observed to range from almost black to the softest olive. The hillmen, taken as a whole, are short and sturdy, and some exceedingly well-made specimens of manhood have been seen among them.'¹

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

N. M. Krick describes the Padams as follows:

'The Padams stand midway between the Mongolian and the Caucasian races. They are beardless ; hair and eyes are black ; the skin is brown ; the eyes stand at right angles with the nose. The forehead is flat, the face broad, the nose short, the cheek-bones somewhat prominent, and stature moderate.'¹

From a study of the Index der Körperfülle² or index of the body build, it is found that the Pasi and Ashings have a sturdier physic than the Padam and Minyong and even more so when compared with Milan and Shimong.

Compared with other Mongolian groups the Adis on the whole have an average body build.

The author³ of this book collected somatometrical measurements of the different groups of Adis totalling to 561 heads.

A short summary of his findings are given below. The mean statures among the men and women are found to be 1583.86 ± 3.36 and 1478.13 ± 3.47 respectively, and the main strain among the Adi is found to be short with a tendency towards short to medium.

Mean Cephalic Indices of the men and women are found to be 76.15 ± 0.15 and 76.38 ± 0.16 respectively. Occurrence of Dolichocephals is highest among the men and the distribution of next higher percentage is found in the Mesocephal group. But among the women it is found in reverse order.

Mean nasal Indices of the men and women are 73.45 ± 0.39 and 73.32 ± 0.44 respectively. Classification according to Martin shows that both the men and the women have Mesorrhine nose, with some percentage of Lepto.

Analysis of the combination of characters show that the main strain among the Adi men is short stature, dolichocephalic and hysicephal head, mesorrhine nose with mesoprosopic face. Short stature, mesocephalic and hysicephal head, mesorrhine nose with erryprosopic face is the main strain among the women.

¹ Rev. N. M. Krick, op. cit.

² Sachin Roy, 'The Body Build of the Abors', *Bull. Dept. Anth.* Vol. II, No. 2 (1953), pp. 99-104.

³ A detailed study of the racial position of the Adis by the author will be published.

Somatoscopic study of the Adis confirm that the main concentration of the men and women are in the dark brown group with a gradual tendency towards the lighter shades.

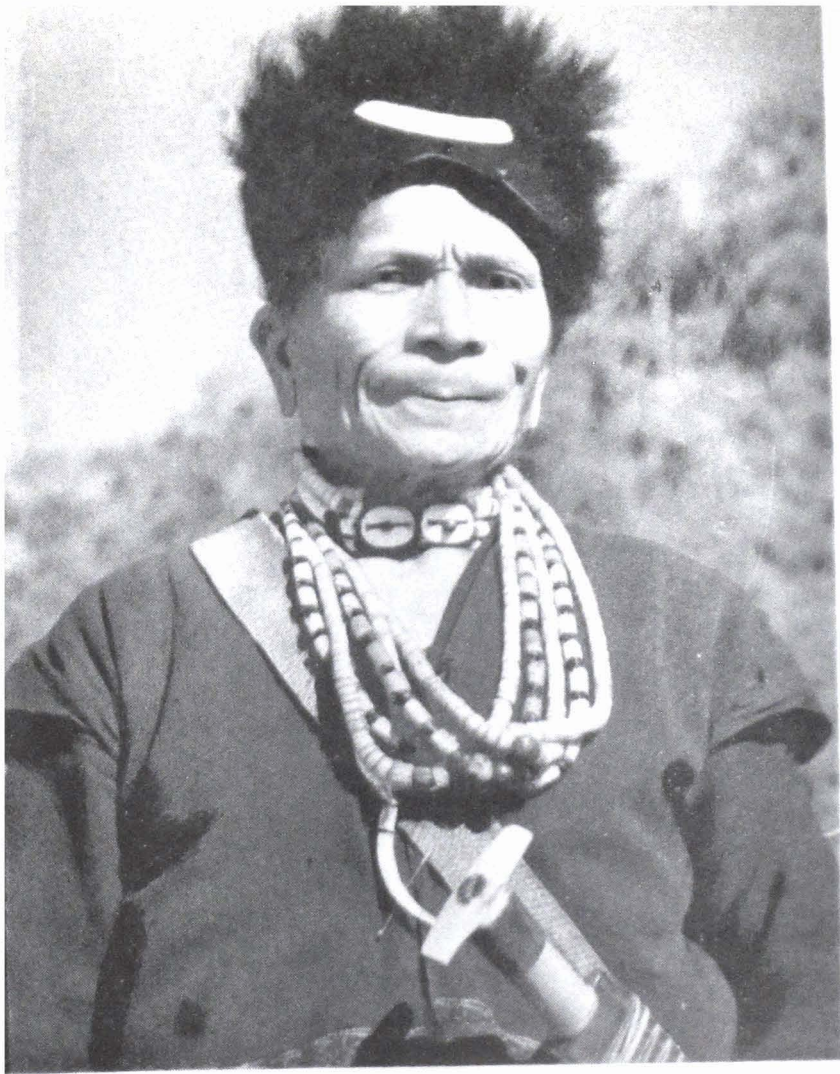
The Adis both men and women have the main strain in their hair colour which may be termed as clear black. Adis have medium to thick hair with a tendency mainly to straight.

They have dark brown eyes, the majority having a straight eye slit but the percentage of slight oblique eyes is not altogether negligible.

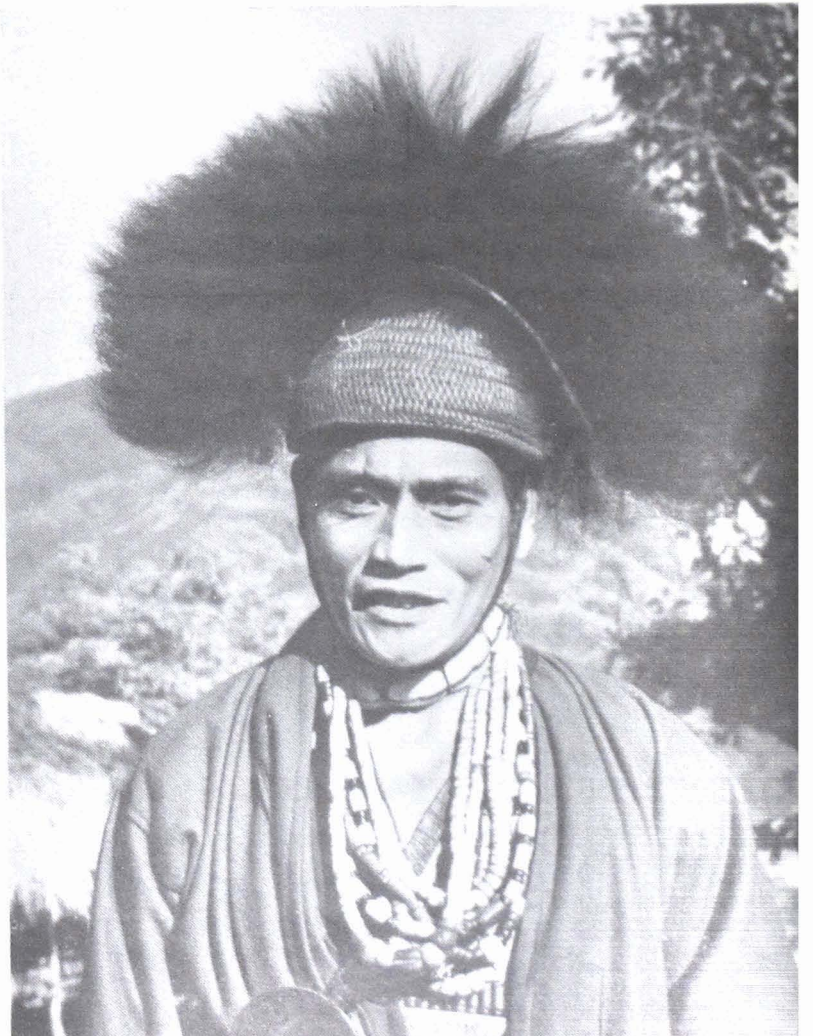


A Padam girl

Most of the men have a trace of the Mongolian fold with a medium opening of the eye-slit, whereas among the women the medium Mongolian fold with a medium opening of the eye-slit is prominent.



A Padam village chief



A Minyong



Slicing bamboo slips



Old woman knitting

The majority of Adi men and women have inverted oval faces, with medium thick lips.

The somatometric measurements and somatoscopic observation of the different groups of Adis agree with the characters of Dr Guha's¹ classification of 'the Dolichocephalic Mongoloid type.'

A study of Dermatoglyphics² also shows similarity to other Mongolian groups to some extent.

IX. LANGUAGE & LITERATURE

The Adi language, including Miri and Gallong, belongs along with Dafla and Apatani to what may be termed the Central Group which dominates the linguistic topography of the North-East Frontier Agency. This group is fortunate in having received the attention of more linguists and anthropologists than any other Agency speech form. But literature on the Adi language proper is still very scanty. The Linguistic Survey of India treats the Central Group as a whole, fixing its emphasis mainly on Dafla and Miri because it was only for these two that sufficient material was available at that time. The Research Department of the North-East Frontier Agency has deferred academic research on the Agency languages and has given priority to practical objectives such as—preparation of text-books, anthologies of folk-literature and dictionaries. The Anthropological Department of the Government of India undertook extensive tours in Adi areas from 1948 and collected data for a systematic and scientific study of the Adi language. But the results of its researches are yet to be published. Besides Lorrain's dictionary, a few text books, a grammar and some stray references and observations in books on wider subjects nothing special is yet available. This is not the place to try a systematic analysis of the language and I shall notice here only a few features that appeared to me to be characteristic of the language during the course of my study of the cultural aspects of the people.

¹ B. S. Guha, *An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India* (Calcutta, 1937), p. 138.

² P. N. Bhattacharjee, 'Dermatoglyphics of the Abor people in Assam', *Anthropologist*, Vol. XI, No. 2, (1955).

Classification of the Agency languages has long been a subject of controversy and a final decision is yet to be reached. The Linguistic Survey of India includes the Adi language in the North Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, only on the basis of its geographical position. In spite of obvious objections to this classification, we have to be contented with it at present, till this language is more thoroughly studied. The language itself consists of a number of dialects and it is, perhaps, the richest in the Agency in dialectical varieties. Padam, Minyong, Pasi, Pangi, and Gallong are the most important of these dialects while Gomru spoken in three villages of Milang, Dalbin and Modi is conspicuous by the apparent magnitude of its divergence from the other dialects.

It is agglutinative in type. The vocabulary consists of bases and a number of empty words which are used as particles, suffixed to the bases, to indicate their mutual relations when used in sentences. Though it perhaps does not reach the classic perfection of the Turkish language, yet the system of use of these particles is very simple and regular. They are added to the bases with the least phonetic change in them. It abounds in vowels of which, central 'i' and 'e' strike as peculiar to ears used to the Indo-Aryan sounds only.

Among the consonants, retroflexes are absent and alveolars are used instead of dentals. Phonetic changes are noticed in nasalization of final plosives before following nasals and changes of surds into sonants and sonants into surds, according to the nature of the sounds that follow.

Monosyllabism has been claimed to be one of the characteristic features of Tibeto-Burman languages. But in Adi, words with two or more syllables are far more common than words with single syllables. It may be that monosyllabic base words have been combined with prefixes or suffixes or other base words to give us the forms now in use. It is thought for instance, that 'A', 'E', 'I' and 'U' occurring at the beginning of words in this language and in Dafla and Miri, are different forms of an otiose prefix which is added to bases to give them force of adjective or noun. This theory seems to be supported by a number of words. *Ager* means work, and

ager-ger is a verb, meaning to work. It will be noticed *ger* is the main base; the original sense of action is modified by the prefix 'a' and the main base is repeated to bring back that sense. But it is not easy to trace back the original monosyllabic base in every word. The function of the otiose 'a' in *Adi* has been compared with its use in other Tibeto-Burman languages and its origin, therefore, may be ascertained only after a study of all these languages. A most interesting feature is the process followed in forming compound words. If the two component bases consist of two syllables each, both drop the first and join the second into a single word. *Damro* is the name of the parent village of the *Padams*. It is said to be a compound of two words, *Padam* and *Aro* where *Padam* drops its *pa* and *aro* its *a*. This dropping of the first syllable is very regular when it is unaccented. This system is followed not only in coining new expressions for new ideas and objects but also in forming masculine and feminine forms. For instance, *perok-ane* gives *rokne* or *rongne*, and *perok abo*—*rokbo* or *rokpo*. It is very effective, no doubt, in enriching the vocabulary of the language, but is rather difficult sometimes to trace the component parts in their original forms. To take one example, it is not clear whether *paglak* was formed from *kapak alek* or *tapak alek*.

The Tibeto-Burman languages are said to evince a difficulty in forming words for abstract ideas. But *Adi* has got a definite system of forming abstract nouns from verbs and adjectives. This is done by adding *nam* to the verb and adjective bases. This is a remarkable trait and here is a point, perhaps, for further research to find out whether it is a feature of native growth or an innovation due to contact with the plains.

Adi verbs do not distinguish persons and numbers, nor is any distinction of the time of happening made beyond the three broad tenses present, past and future. But *Adi* conjugation takes into consideration the condition of the action taking place, and the attitude of the speaker or the agent. *Tuwai*, a past tense particle is added to the base in order to denote discontinuation of an action rather than the actual time of its occurrence. *Dung* and *e* are two copulative verbs comparable in use with English 'be' and Tibetan *duk* and *re*. *Ai* added to *dung* implies that the reporter saw the agent to do the action while

tung implies just the opposite. *Ardungai* or *tidungai* conveys the ignorance of the speaker about the condition of the agent or the action at the time of reporting. By adding *yai* or *yape*, the speaker suggests the probable completion of action provided there were no obstruction while performing it. From these, it will be clear that Adi conjugational system is based more on moods than on tenses. Conjunctions are not used but it seems *delokke*, (literally meaning thereafter) is gradually being treated as an equivalent of 'and'. All sentences are simple in the sense that clauses are unknown. The function of relative clauses is performed by participles. Negatives are formed by adding *mang* to the bases and sometimes when conjugational particles follow, the final *ng* is dropped.

The Adi language till recently was without any script. But it is rich in oral literature, both religious and secular. The religious literature is represented mainly by rhapsodies known as *abangs* relating myths of creation, origins of social institutions and the original history of the people. The exact number of *abangs* is not yet known and the collection may be said to have merely started. One of them deals with the origin of the *moshup*. It is divided into three sections. The first narrates the creation of this world and the titanic struggles between the originator of the human race and his adversaries. In the second part, it deals with the progress of the race and the development of agriculture and war. In the third, it recounts how the *moshup* came into being and stresses its importance in the social structure of the Adis.

Similarly, there are *abangs* on the origin of the mithun, the most acceptable sacrifice for the gods. Fragments of *abangs* relating the origin of hunting and the use of poison have been already given in original with English translation. The *bari* is a special kind of *abang* which is sung by men only to celebrate the building of a new house in a village. It narrates how man first came to build houses and live in them. It is sung solo, followed by a chorus after each stanza.

The *abangs* may be compared with the *Purānas* of the Sanskrit literature and the sagas of the Teutons. They are written in an archaic esoteric language which is unintelligible to the uninitiated layman. They exist in the memory of a

special class of Miris and even among them, only the most experienced and learned remember them correctly, and understand and can explain their exact significance. This class, however, is gradually dying out and if the *abangs* are not recorded early, soon a time might come when they will be lost to the world. Dr B. S. Guha has collected a few and is engaged on a special study on them.

More sublime in tone are the funeral hymns known as *penge*. There are traditional compositions written in rhythmic prose and are endowed with the simple grandeur of biblical psalms. In them, the soul of the deceased is directed along the path to the land of the departed and in this, they resemble the Vedic funeral hymns, especially the famous *Setu sāma* and the Tibetan Book of the Dead. They are imbued with a pathetic appeal that moves the audience to tears as they are reminded of their sad bereavements.

Ponungs are lengthy ballads that draw their themes from the *abangs* and sing of the origin of things and of the Adi race. They assume familiarity on the part of the audience with all the details of the Adi mythology and the treatment is rather by allusion and mere hints than by full narration and detailed description. Their language too, as that of the *abang* literature, is archaic and they, moreover, use obsolete poetical names of tribes, places and persons. For these reasons, they are extremely difficult to understand for those who are not acquainted with the Adi mythology. Even the local people, excepting professional Miris, though they may know some of the *ponungs* by heart, have no deeper understanding of these ballads than a vague general idea of the topics treated. The *ponungs* are, however, very popular and are regularly sung to the accompaniment of dances for days together on religious occasions, each *ponung* being known after the religious festival in which it is sung.

This name has been extended to secular compositions which celebrate some non-religious special occasions, such as the arrival of an honoured guest. They are short lyrical extempore pieces depicting the sentiment of the composer at the time of the occasions celebrated. They too, however, have traditional forms beginning with well-known traditional lines which are used as refrains. But the successive lines which form the body of the

songs are usually changed to suit the occasions and the predilection and power of composition of the singers. So, they are mostly fluid in form, changing from locality to locality and singer to singer. Every song, in this way has got numerous versions formed round the same nucleus.

Abes may be taken to represent the political literature of the people. They are the introductory speeches delivered by *kebang abus* in *kebangs*. Naturally, they are in prose, fixed in form and phraseology with attempts at innovations and alterations interpolated here and there. They are recited in a cadence peculiar to them which lifts them from the plane of ordinary conversational prose of daily intercourse.

All this literature is more or less public in character in so far as they are meant to be recited in or to entertain public gatherings. There are two other classes of compositions which are of a more personal nature. There are a number of love-songs which nobody sings in public. They are meant to be whispered into the willing ear of a lover or a lady-love in seclusion and privacy. Lullabies are crooned by girls while rocking babies on the back.

Now-a-days, new fields in literature are being attempted, specially by young writers who have had the benefit of the school or college education. There has grown up an appreciable amount of writing, especially poetical compositions, in praise of the development work initiated by the Administration, exhorting the people to co-operate with the Administration in its schemes for the progress of the land, deprecating addictions such as opium and deleniating the duties of the younger generation to their land and people. These are, however, still limited within the educated class that is forming, and it is yet to be seen how they are accepted by the people. These compositions in some cases, have departed from the traditional *Adi* norms and have borrowed themes and forms from the more developed neighbouring languages. The old religious literature, on the other hand, is showing signs of losing its hold on the people, especially the young generation that is going in for modern education. Conversance with it is decreasing day by day and though *Adi* men and women do not yet find it difficult to recognize a particular piece when it is recited, yet there are few

that can claim a full knowledge of the themes. Familiarity with the refrains and rhythms of the secular *ponung* is still wide spread, and as soon as a Miri starts a song, the dancers immediately react with the relevant movements with appropriate rhythms and instantaneous repetition of the refrain.

Traditional Adi literature has been orally transmitted by generations of Miris who form a class of professional rhapsodists. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to ascertain how far they have been able to hand it down faithfully in its original form. The system of transmission no doubt cannot claim the perfection and rigorous exactitude insisted on by the transmitters of the Vedas, yet the great difference between its language and the speech of the common man to-day speaks for its ancient character. This process, however, is coming to an end—even sons of Miris renowned for their knowledge of the ancient lore are showing a marked preference for the modern methods of book and pen, and a great reluctance for memorizing a dying literature that fails to appeal to them any longer.

I. THE VILLAGE

LOCATION: The country of the Adis is a land of villages in a truer sense than the rest of India. Not a single township, except for Pasighat and Along recent creations of the Administration, is to be found in the whole land, and their language also has no word for 'town'. The distribution of the villages along the course of the three main rivers, the Siang, the Yamne, and the Siyom and their tributaries, is an indication of the migration of the tribe. It seems from this distribution, that they kept close to the river courses in their expansion. But they always avoided the low lands lying by the river beds. They preferred rather the nearest tops of the hills with declivities towards the rivers and steep unnegotiable falls on the opposite side. This is invariably the case until we come down to the southernmost part of the Division adjoining the plains, where we find villages such as Ayeng, Mebo and others, situated in level land by the side of the rivers. This may have been due to the example of the plains villages.

A study of village locations suggests the principles that guided the Adis in selecting them. The first need was to be near a river, ensuring constant and dependable supply of drinking water, facilities for washing and fishing.

The second need was security. In the early period of expansion, there was a widespread sense of insecurity among the tribes. Every village lived in constant danger of being taken by surprise by new waves of adventurers in search of fresh grounds for settlement. A vicious pattern of inter-tribal feuds, attacks and counter-attacks, over possession of land contributed to a sense of uncertainty and mutual suspicion. Under such conditions, the primary consideration for selection of a village-site was to ensure natural protection and a good defensive position against surreptitious attacks. In

a hilly country covered with dense forests, these two precautions were possible only on hill-tops which overlooked the neighbouring landscape. The features which were considered most suitable in such hill-tops were a gentle slope leading to the river which would solve the problem of water supply to the village, and difficult approach on other sides. Isolated hills with sloping descents to the water points, perpendicular and precipitous on the other sides were, therefore, considered the best. In cases where such isolated hills were not available, extremities of spurs were selected as village sites. Access to the villages was carefully guarded and artificial barriers and impediments were erected to strengthen the natural difficulties already existing. Steep and difficult climbs and man-made obstacles usually, therefore, confront one while going to any Adi village. When all other factors were favourable, difficulties of water-supply were solved by constructing bamboo pipe-lines for carrying water from streams or springs, in which remarkable skill is displayed. Sometimes, water is carried by this means from considerable distances.

The third important factor, which had to be considered, was the availability of suitable land. The main source of sustenance of the people is agriculture. It is shortage of food caused by overpopulation that forces them to find new colonies. They are ever conscious of the difficulties that shortage of food might cause. Therefore, sites otherwise suitable were not favoured, if agricultural land was not available in sufficient quantity. Agricultural land, in ideal circumstances, should be as close to the village as possible, with scope for future expansion to meet future demands as the village grows in population.

It is very difficult to say if scenic grandeur was consciously taken into consideration. But the fact remains that Adi villages are noted for the beauty of their location. The grand panorama, which every village commands all around, with rivers meandering far below through wooded hills, their gurgling flow gleaming in silver streaks through screens of the dark foliage, is such as could not be surpassed by the most fastidious of modern plannings. This feature is so uniform a characteristic of Adi villages, that it is hard to believe it to be purely accidental.

The question of beauty may not form an item of deliberate planning, but that an innate aesthetic sense which distinguishes this people, plays a great part in the location of their villages, cannot be denied.

Plan: That villages were founded not in a hapazard manner, but always followed careful planning in accordance with a well-defined set of principles, evolved by them after long experience and, perhaps, based on ancient traditions, will be apparent from the picture Dunbar¹ gives of the founding of a new colony. At first, a selected number of men goes out for prospecting. The time selected for this is about early in December after the harvest is out. This is the time when the springs are at their lowest and the question of water on the prospective site can be best settled. This is also the time when the sun is in the lowest in the horizon and the amount of insolation can best be studied at that time. They do not come back immediately after this. They settle down there on the site that they consider the most suitable for the location of the village, start clearing the forest and erect the first huts. Only when they are satisfied with the place after their experiences and observations during the short stay, they move their belongings and families to settle there down permanently. Others join them at later periods, if the reports are found favourable. And in this way, the new settlement grows.

The Adi village, in fact, usually grows from a small nucleus. The pioneers naturally occupy the highest part of the hill and those who follow them start building their houses at lower levels down the slope to the river sides or round the hill wherever possible. The first impression that an outsider forms about an Adi village is not likely to be favourable. It may appear to him to be just an assemblage of huts without any plan or arrangement. This is apt to be so, because Adi ideas of village planning are not the same as ours. It is too hasty, however, to conclude that 'they have no fixed plan for a village',² for, it is but reasonable to suppose that a people who take so much pains in selecting a site for a village would not be absolutely

¹ G. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

² Nilima Roy, 'Habitations of the Adis of the Siang Frontier Division' *Vanyajati*, Vol. V, (July, 1957), p. 125.



An Adi house



Water-line of bamboo pipes



Granaries outside the Minyong village of Riga

devoid of any notion about planning. Of course it is quite natural that they should have their own ideas about it. And it is for us to study the arrangements usually followed in the lay-out of their villages, and find out the rules that guide them in the planning. The Adis follow a few principles in the building of their villages. However, there is no concerted and conscious planning, but as in the case of their legal customs, a number of ideas as to where the houses should be built, lie at the back of their mind, which they all try to conform to. The village *moshup* for instance, is located in the middle of the village, overlooking the entire village and the entire stretch of the land around it. The houses always face the hill-side and the backs away from it. This is because the *regum* or the latrine is generally situated at one side of the house towards the back and the incline of the hill-side facilitates better drainage. The houses are arranged more or less in rows ranging round the hill-side from the top downwards. This is because the village starts from the top and extends downwards as the population increases. The process is just the opposite to that followed in the hill stations in other parts of the country, where the people concentrate on comparatively flat land and construct houses on the higher parts of the hill, only when lower level lands are not available. This difference, it will be understood, is due to different political conditions. It has been also noticed in the Padam and Minyong areas that there is a central road with steps from the top to the bottom of the village with houses on either side facing each other. There are also paths between the rows leading away from the central path. This arrangement is as of the ribs radiating from the back-bone.

Now this is a definite evidence of planning, followed by some sections of Adis, as if from compulsion of habit. The original reason for the pattern is, however, now lost to them. What, therefore, may appear to be a drawback in their planning, an attempt to conform to the contour of the land, was, perhaps, originally dictated by political exigencies. Camouflage rather than architectural symmetry seems to have been the aim. This presumption finds further support in the fact that the Adis surround their village with profuse plantations of all kinds so as to hide it from direct view. It often happens that a visitor

is hardly aware of a village until he is almost in it. It has also been observed that no principle is followed in the orientation of the houses. But the houses are constructed in such a way as always to face the hill-side and the paths along it, and to enjoy the maximum of sun-light throughout the year. Sun-light is one of the most important considerations in the orientation of houses, in such regions as these.

There is another factor which is noticeable only in parent Padam and Minyong villages. The clanwise arrangement of houses is still found to exist in them. This has been possible in those villages where in the distant past, the people came and settled in masses, comprising of several clans all in considerable strength. Naturally, each clan liked to settle close together and so, a clanwise arrangement was followed. But when these villages founded colonies, it was not always possible to arrange the houses according to clans, as all the clans might not have been represented in the small bands which formed the first nuclei.

Types of buildings: By far the largest majority of houses in an Adi village is for residential purposes. The *moshup* or *bange* is the bachelors' dormitory. It is a long barrack-like construction, more or less in the centre of the village, wherefrom a clear view of the village as also of the village entrance can be had. The *rasheng* or the maids' dormitory is not found in the lower regions, but most of the parent Adi villages in the upper region have *rashengs* arranged clanwise.

Granaries are found almost in every Adi village, a little away from the main village, for protection against village fire. They are constructed on poles and are higher from the ground than the ordinary dwelling houses, and the poles are provided with broad wooden discs below the platform to keep away the rats. The thatching is the same as in the case of a dwelling house. It is covered on all sides, with a single door in the front, and is known as *kumsung*. In constructing the platform of a *kumsung*, wooden planks are placed carefully to cover the whole platform and the walls. Apart from the normal use of storing grains, *kumsungs* are also used by the Adis to store all their valuables. The construction of the granary being complete, the owner takes extra care by pushing up or

removing the staircase.

Apart from these, there are other constructions which are found in the older villages. These are the security constructions which were essential in the early days of constant raids and warfare. At reasonable distances from the village, stone walls were erected, sometimes buttressed with tree trunks from within and with plantain trees placed in front to render gun shells ineffective. Big trees were cut down, and the trunks were used to reinforce the stone walls. Stone chutes were placed on the hill-sides above the approach to the village. Such constructions are no longer made, and those already in existence are neglected as the military tradition of the past is gradually dying out. But instead, in some villages which happen to be at convenient stages on the Government communication roads, there are rest-houses for officers on tour. Typical official structures have come up in these areas in recent years. These stand out in a marked contrast with the home steads of the people, and demonstrated how inferior the former are in imagination and comfort and suitability to the landscape.

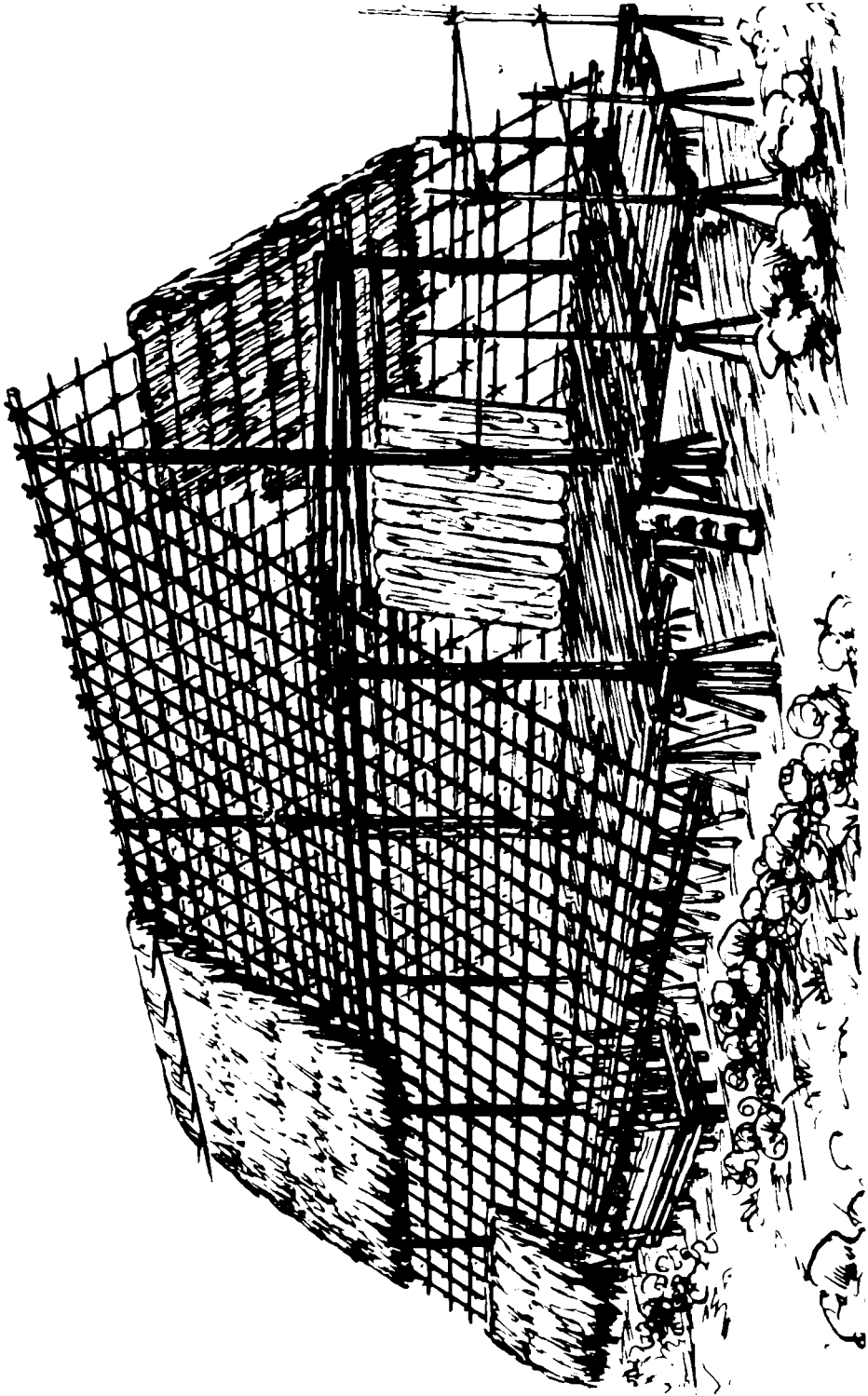
II. THE HOUSE

Adi houses are bamboo structures, strengthened with wood wherever available and secured with cane strings. No metal is used. The level for the floor is obtained by driving stilts, wooden or bamboo, in the hill-side varying in length with the fall of the slope. The shortest stilts are those nearest to the hill-side and the longest away from it. On these stilts are tied wooden beams and battens, leaving small square gaps between where they cross one another. On this solid framework are placed mats of thick bamboo splits to form the floor. This raised platform of the floor is approximately rectangular in shape and varies in length with the different sections of the Adis. Another rectangle of smaller dimensions, extends outwards from the main platform on one side in the front. The larger platform forms the main house. It is walled on all sides with rough hewn wooden planks or mattings of split bamboo. There is no window. There are only two doors—one in the front and another at the back. The front door has a ladder leading from

it to the ground. In the Padam, Minyong and Pangi areas there are no partitions into rooms or cubicles within the house which is simply one large hall. The most important feature within this hall, is the fire-places. These fire-places are constructed by fixing wooden trays in gaps in the matting of the floor and covering them with earth. Over the hearth hangs a three-tiered, bamboo shelf, square in shape, which is used to dry meat, fish and fuel. Every corner of this hall has its definite use and purpose, and every side of the hearth is reserved for different categories of persons. On the left hand, outside the room, separated by a small platform is the *regum*, latrine. The roof is of the *dochala* type with thatches of leaves or grass or straw supported on frameworks of bamboo or wooden rafters, cross-beams and purlins, held on posts and tringles of wood preferably. Inside it is always pitch dark as there is no arrangement for letting in light. The hearth is always ablaze emitting smoke, circling round the room, and finally finding escape through the thatch of the roof. A thick coating of soot covers the walls and the ceiling, thus preserving them from insect pests and keeping away mosquitos and *dam-dims*. The smaller adjoining platform is partially covered leaving the outer side open. The open portion is used for drying grains and sitting out while weaving. The covered portion is used for the same purposes when there is no sunshine and during rains. The space between the floor and the ground is used to keep their domestic animals; specially the *regum* is enclosed below with logs and used as a pigsty.

New residential constructions have first to be initiated in the form of proposals to be discussed and passed by the village community sitting in *kebang*. A young man has married and has a child. Now the wife has to be brought from her native village and settled in the husband's, to set up a home of his own, or perhaps, a new comer has come from another village and wants to settle among them, or a house has become dilapidated beyond all repairs, and has to be replaced by a new one. It may also happen that some accident has occurred, destroying a number of houses or the entire village. All these occasions form subject matters for communal discussion in *kebangs*.

The proposal being accepted and approved, a suitable site



Adi house type

has to be selected. The proposed site should not only accord to the traditional principles detailed above but also should have the blessings of the spirits that reside in air, trees, streams and on earth. Their wishes have to be consulted through dreams or omens.

Next, materials are collected on the site approved by men and spirits. The neighbouring jungle and forests provide the materials such as bamboo, cane, thatch and wood. Wood is used in the form posts—for which tall, straight trees are cut and the branches and bark removed. For planks, logs are planed by means of *dao*. Beams, rafters and purlins also are shaped in the same way with the same implement. Different varieties of bamboo are used for different purposes. Thick large bamboos, make post, thinner kinds serve as purlins. Cane is used to tie the pieces of bamboo and timber together. Different species of grass, straw and leaves such as banana and *toko* palm are used for thatching. These materials have to be collected in the jungle, and carried to the construction site. Men do the heavier part of the work. They cut down trees, straighten them, hew them into logs, planks, beams and rafters and finally carry them to the construction site. Lighter loads and the easier part of the work are allotted to women, who collect and carry bamboo and thatching materials. The method used in transport is the traditional string-round-the-forehead in case of lighter materials or carried on the shoulders of a number of persons where heavier articles such as posts and beams are concerned.

This work is done on a community basis, to which all the villagers contribute their labour. The days are fixed ahead after consultation in *kebang*, so that all the villagers may keep themselves free from other engagements.

For an average-sized house in Padam and Minyong areas pillars are planted in three rows; 30 in the first two rows and 25 in the third row is the usual arrangement.¹

The base poles being properly driven in three rows, the

¹ My account of the habitations, basketry, and domestic utensils is based on articles by Nilima Roy, 'Habitations of the Adis of the Siang Frontier Division', and 'Basketry and Domestic Utensils of the Adis', *Vanyajati*, Vol. V, (July and October, 1957), p. 125 and p. 173 respectively. Her illustrations in these articles are reproduced here with gratitude.

bamboos cleaned properly, are tied to the poles. Now a second set of bamboos is placed at right angles over the first row of bamboo and tied firmly to the first set with cane strips. The third step is to spread split bamboos over the second set for matting the platform. These too are tied with cane strips.

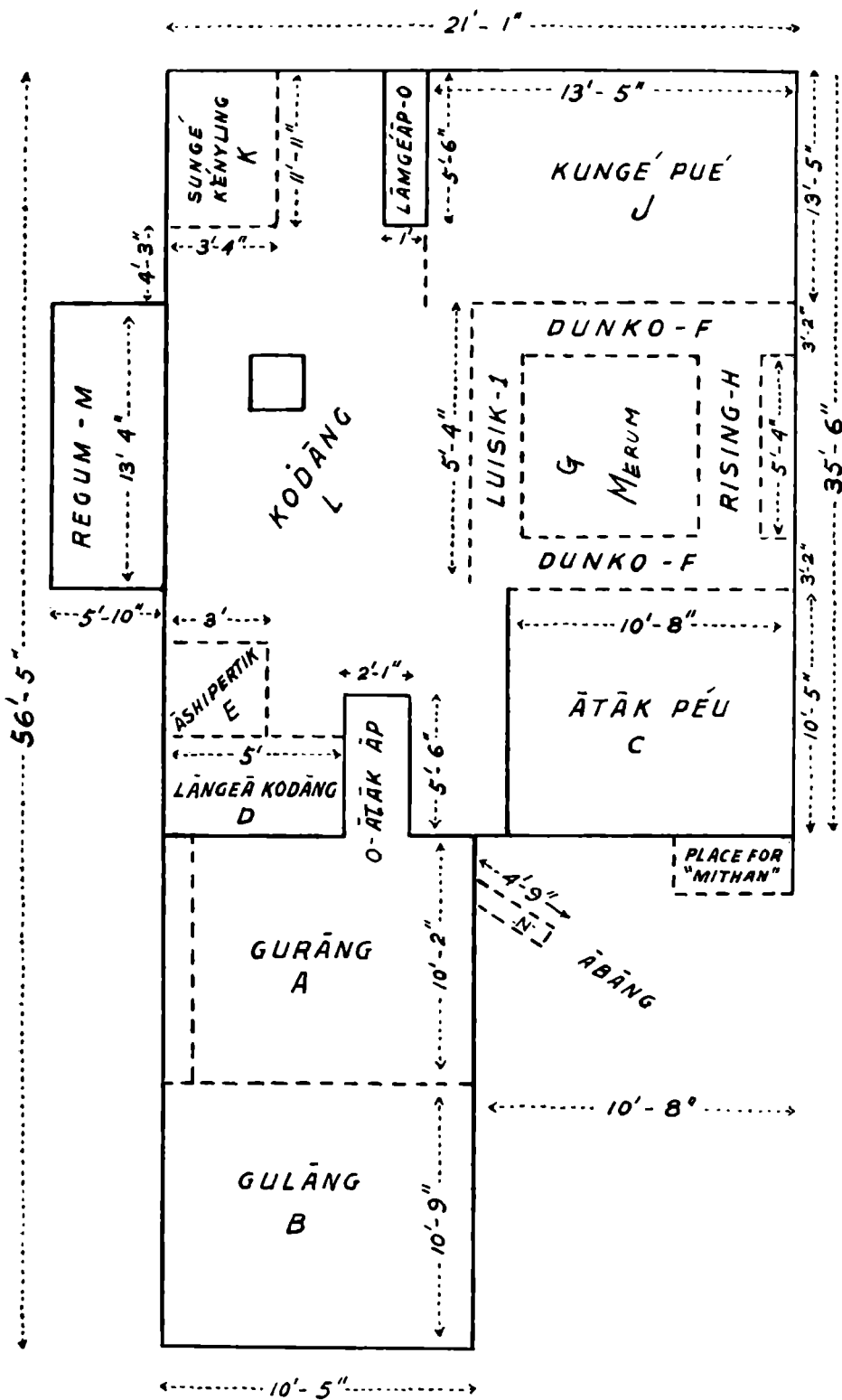
The platform constructed is more or less rectangular in shape with one part prolonged to form the portico.

The main entrance to an Adi house is in the front through a covered portico. The door is made of a heavy single wooden plank and has provision for closing from inside. The right corner of the main hall (C) is reserved for the son and his wife, when they come on occasional visits. The corner on the left side of the front door is reserved for keeping dead bodies (D). The place called *asi pertik*—(E) is reserved for storing drinking water in bamboo vessels (D). Spaces between 'C' and the fire-place, and the fire-place and 'J' are known as *dumko*—(F). The space is mainly used for sitting and for taking meals.

The fire-place starts from the boundary of 'F' and is away from the right side-wall. The space in between the right side of the wall and the fire-place (H) is considered very sacred and women are not allowed to sit here or to keep their cloth in this space. There is a shelf on this side suspended from the wall on which are hung the ropes with which the mithun is tied during sacrifice. Guests are, however, allowed to sit in this place.

The space after (F) and the back wall is known as *kunge pue*—(J). This space is reserved for the lady of the house with her children to sleep in. On the left side of the *kunge pue* is another door, at the back of the room. The space next to the back door on the left side (K) is a very important place, because it is meant for the preparation of rice-beer. Nobody is allowed to sleep here as the Adis have a belief that the soul of the dead of the house passes through this area; and it is also the entrance for the evil spirits.

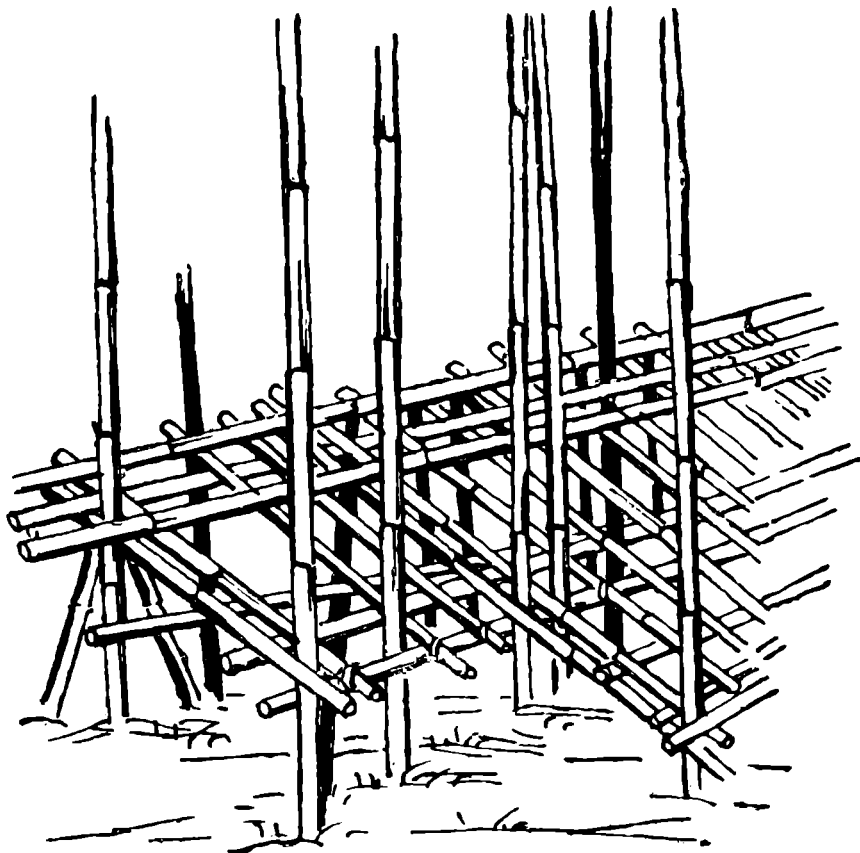
Kodang (L) is the space left in between *sung-kenyung* and *asi pertik*. The space is meant for storing rice and the mortar and the pestle are placed here for husking paddy. *Regum* (M) is an extension from the main platform on the left side to be used as pigsty and latrine.



Adi house plan

The staircase to the platform is on the right side of the house from the *gurang* (A). The staircase is termed by them *abang*—(N). It is placed in a slightly inclined position from the ground to the platform.

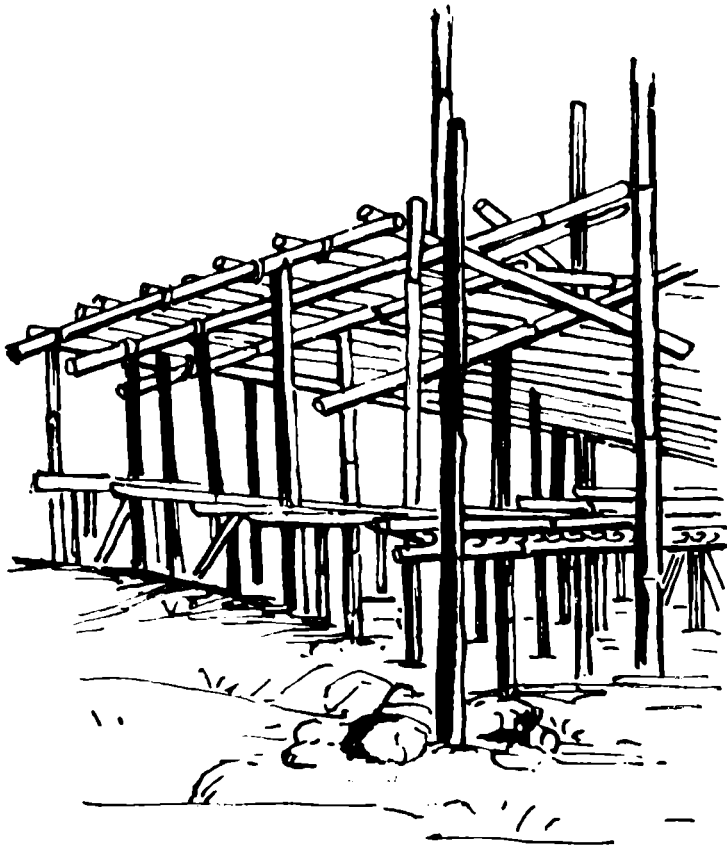
Over the platform described above, wooden poles are fixed in three rows. The length of the central row of wooden poles is the maximum from the platform. All these poles are tied with cane strips. One long bamboo pole (*lodang*) is



Frame-work of platform

fixed horizontally on the vertical central poles. In the same way two other bamboo poles are fixed on the two rows of vertical wooden poles on two sides. Bamboos are then tied at right angles over the *lodang* leaving some space in between. Over these again, long rows of split bamboos are tied parallel to the *lodang*. This completes the skeletal structure of the roof. The wall is constructed with wooden planks. These are secured with cane strips and slightly incline outside towards the roof.

The construction of the fire-place in an Adi house deserves special mention. It is specially carried out by old and experienced men. It is more or less square in shape. From the ground, four side-walls are constructed by means of wooden planks upto the height of the platform and these are tied on four sides with cane strips keeping a vacant square. This vacant space is then filled up with earth up to the height of the platform, over which the hearth is prepared. The hearth is very simple and is made of three stones which serve the purpose of a stand for the cooking vessels.



Frame-work of ceiling

The roof is thatched with dried cane leaves which are tied to the bamboo frame by means of bamboo strips. The thatching material varies according to the locality. The Minyongs use palm leaves and the lower Padams use cane-leaves. But upper Padams and Minyongs use cane and banana leaves.

The pitch of the roof in an Adi house is made high in order to help the flow of rain water. The roof slopes down

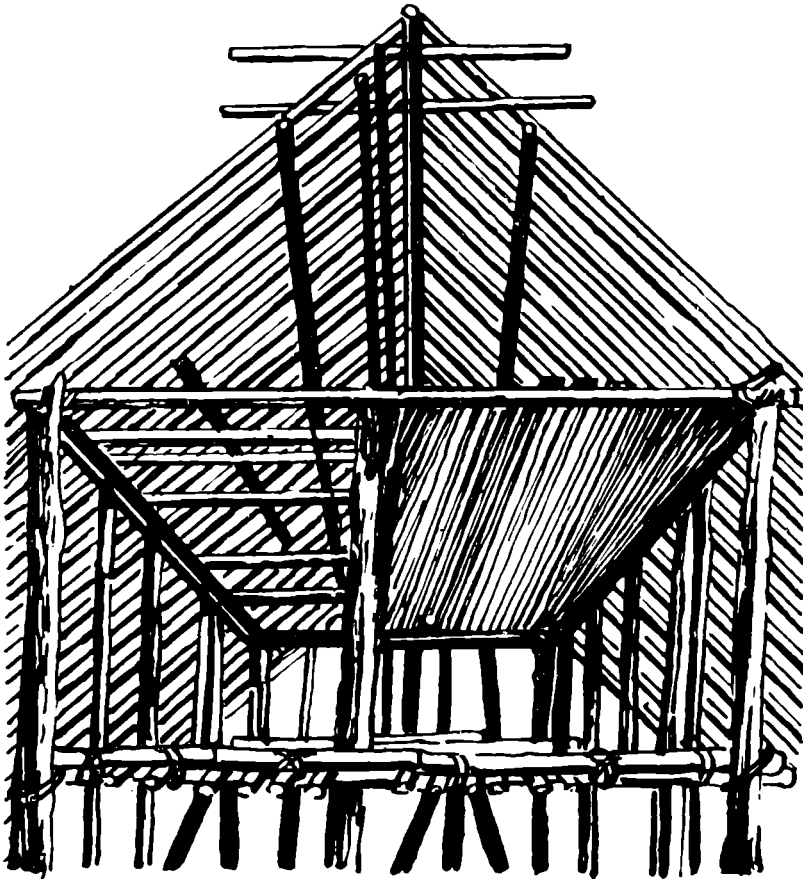
to the platform to protect the walls from high wind. The wall, roof and thatching being complete, bamboo poles are tied inside the house from one end of the side poles to the other horizontally, for giving additional support to the roof. Part of this ceiling is covered with split bamboos to be used for storing paddy and other articles. Three suspended shelves are constructed over the fire-place. The shelf farthest from the fire-place is made of wooden planks and is suspended from the ceiling. This shelf is used for drying paddy. The third shelf, the one nearest to the fire-place is made of split bamboo and is used for smoking and drying fish and meat.



Roof-rafters viewed from inside

From the left side of the wall there is a door leading to the pigsty, the construction of which is slightly different. Wooden planks are tied together to make the wall of the pigsty on four sides keeping the inner space empty for

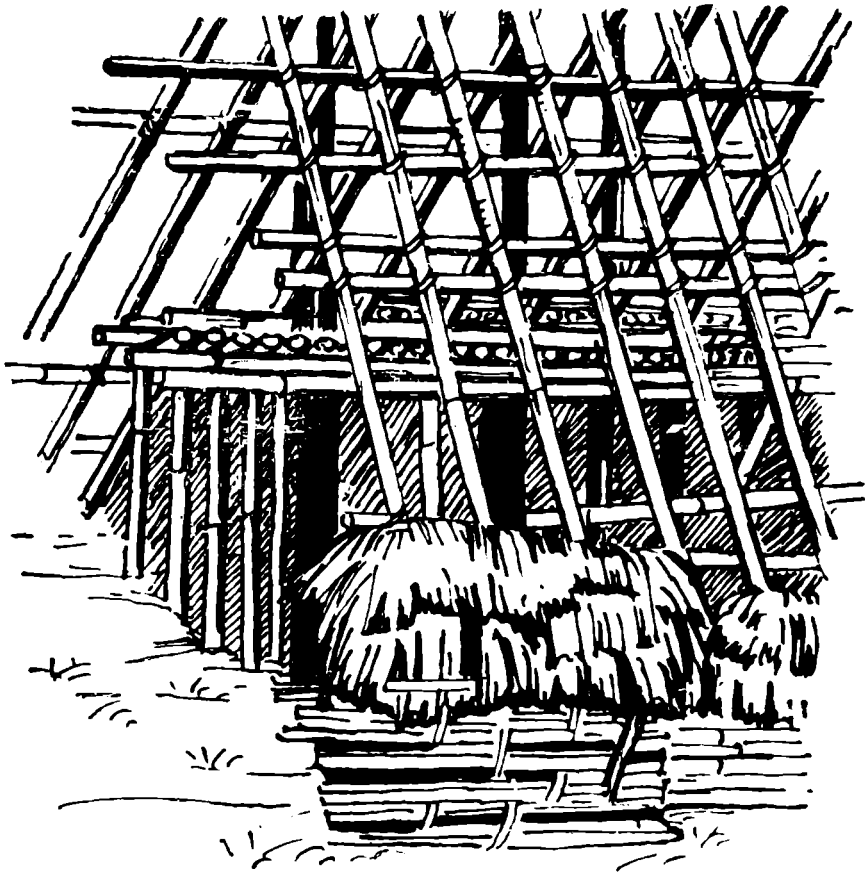
pigs. A narrow passage in one corner of the wall is provided for entrance with a provision for closing. The bamboo platform of the house is further extended over this pigsty with holes, which serve the purpose of latrines. This system provides effective sanitation. Mithuns are generally kept near the staircase underneath the covered space on the right side of the covered portico. Dogs are allowed to enter the room and occupy the space near the fireplace. Fowls are kept in special bamboo cages, provided with doors and kept hanging from the ceiling of the covered portico.



Loft between the roof and the ceiling

The wall on the front side of the covered portico is decorated with trophies of chase. On the wall of the left side of the covered portico, skulls of domesticated mithuns sacrificed on different occasions are hung, the number giving an estimate of the total number of mithuns killed during the life-time of the owner of the house; half of these accompany the dead body of

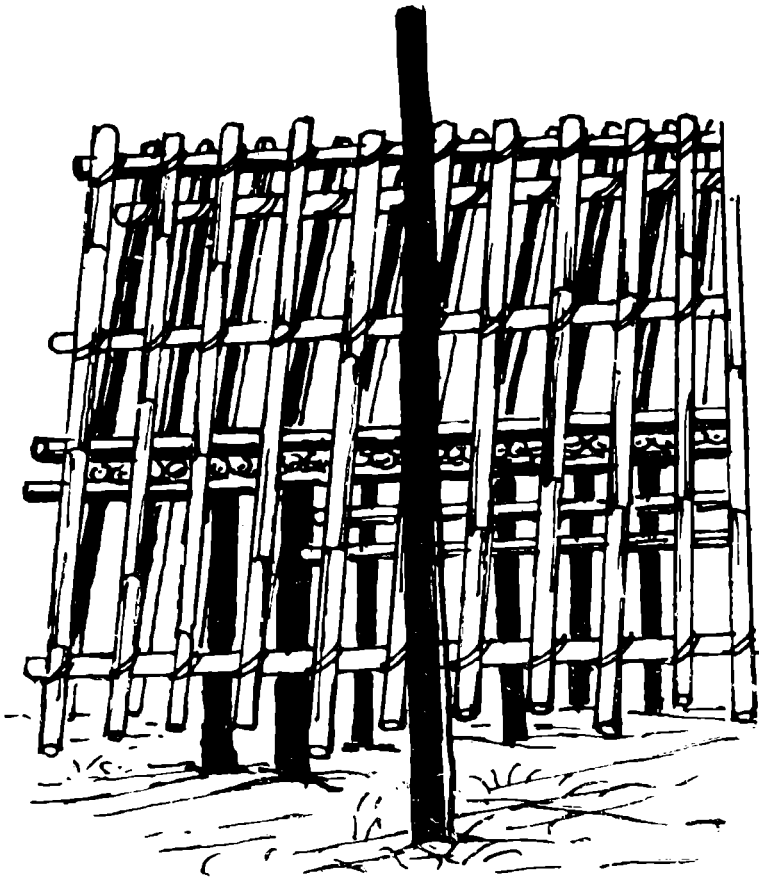
the owner of the house to decorate his grave. The wall on the rightside of the covered portico is adorned with other trophies like skulls of deer, the lower jaws of wild boars half of which also accompany the owner to his grave. Over and above these trophies, the lower jaws of domesticated pigs, killed during the lifetime of the owner, also add to the number of decorations. Occasionally, one or two monkey-skulls are found suspended from the tip of the front door of the house. These are kept as a preventive against cholera.



Thatching

The platform-type house of this area resembles that of the kindred tribes of the North-East Frontier Agency and other tribes of Assam. Almost the same type of platform houses with minor local variations is found among the tribes of Upper Burma and the Shan States and also among some of the Chin Hills tribes.

Platform houses are typical of the southeastern parts of Asia. Large single-room houses with different parts reserved for different purposes and persons and the anthropo-zoological latrine are two of the most characteristic features that distinguish the houses of the Adis and kindred groups from those of their neighbours. That this type of platform houses is rooted deep into the tradition of the people is evident from the fact that in the extreme north, the wood and stone construction of the Tibetan groups have failed, though more comfortable and substantial, to impress the Adis. Near about Mechuka and Gell-



Arrangement of rafters and purlins

ing, the two distinct types stand at a marked contrast with each other. This indicates that, from wherever the Adis came, they carried the tradition of their house-pattern with them.

Furnishing: The house is occupied as soon as the construction is completed, and celebrated with *bari miri* during which mugs of *apong* are freely circulated to enliven the parti-

cipants. The furnishing is as simple and indigenous as the construction. The main items of household furniture are baskets of various types, domestic utensils of wood, bamboo, cane, earth and metal, weapons of war and chase, fishing baskets, agricultural implements, and looms with accessories for weaving. These are simple things—and of their own manufacture mostly. No furniture for sleeping or sitting is required as they use the bare floor by the sides of the hearth for these purposes.

Domestic Utensils: The utensils are various types of vessels or containers. From bamboo are manufactured a number of vessels used for storing, and measuring.

(1) Bamboo utensils: (a) The *ambing dupung* serves the purpose of a rice container. It is provided with a cane handle and a bamboo lid. The lid is also made of bamboo sections.

(b) In shape and appearance *ambing tirkak* is almost like the *ambing dupung* but without a lid. The Adis use it mainly as a measuring unit for rice.

(c) *Kaksur* serves the purpose of storing *apong*. The appearance and the material used for this vessel is identically the same as the *ambing dupung*.

(d) *Ashi dupu* is a long bamboo vessel without handle and lid, mainly used for storing and carrying water from the streams.

(e) *Apupatak* is mainly used during the preparation of millet beer. The vessel is provided with a cane loop near the open end and with a hole at the closed end. The hole at the bottom is provided with a cane stopper to plug it when required during filtration of millet beer.

The long *apo* bamboo split into sections with one node kept intact at the bottom is the main principal material for these utensils.

(2) Wooden utensils: The most common wooden utensil used by the Adis is *eshing ekung* a wooden plate made with the help of *dao*. It is an oval tray with handles and a raised rim scooped out of wood.

(3) Gourd vessels: Gourd vessels are mostly used for millet beer. These gourds are grown in the *jhum* fields. When they are ripe, a hole is made at the neck through which

is poured some quantity of common salt. The inner soft part of the fruit thus gets soon decomposed, and is then washed out with water. The clean empty gourd vessel is now dried in the sun. Once the vessel is dried, the Adis smoke it over the fire and shape it with the help of a small knife. Three species of gourds are used for this purpose and vessels are named *epum*, *giri*, and *eguk*, according to the species used.

(i) *Epum*: *Epum* is a round and flat kind of gourd. The outer side of the vessel is woven round by cane strips in open with hexagonal pattern. The vessel serves the purpose of storing millet beer.

(ii) *Giri*: Adis use the bottle-shaped gourd vessel to carry water and millet beer to their fields or on journey. The vessel is provided with stopper and a cane handle.

(iii) *Eguk*: *Eguk* with an opening at the lower part serves the purpose of a ladle. The upper long, narrow end is used as the handle.

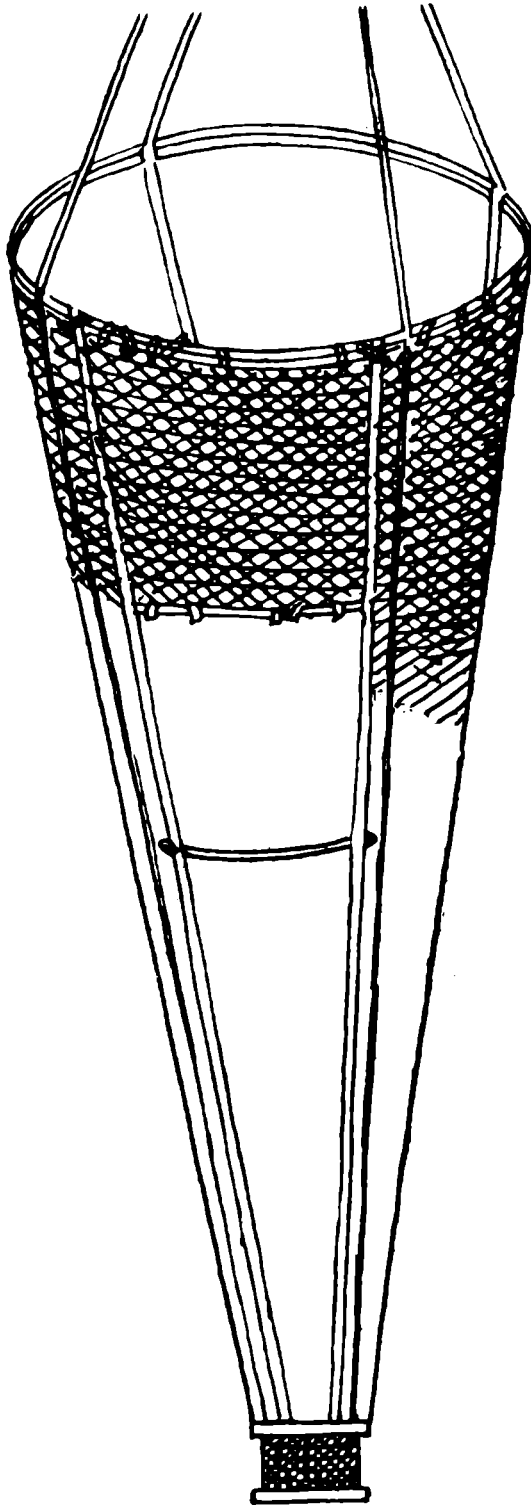
(4) Earthen vessels: The only hand-made earthenware among the Adis is the *kedi-pekong*, which is used for cooking. It is almost spherical in shape with a narrow neck and a wide mouth.

The outer side is not polished, but slightly corrugated, and is very thick. Due perhaps to the absence of suitable clay, the manufacture of these hand-made potteries is very limited. It is said that the only place where they are manufactured is the Pangi Adi area. The mouth is provided with a thick rim.

The pot is not very high. These vessels are now obsolete in the lower region of the Adi Hills.

(5) Metal pots: The Adis as a rule do not use any metal utensils for domestic purposes. Almost all the metal utensils found among them are either used as currency or as charms. These metal utensils are imported from Eastern Tibet in exchange for their local products or animals. The most important among these utensils is the ornamented Tibetan-made *danki*. The Adis consider these *dankis* as valuable objects of currency. The other type of metal utensils, commonly found in the Adi country, is the round metal gong. This too serves the purpose of currency to a great extent in the upper region. Some modern types of bell metal utensils are occasionally found

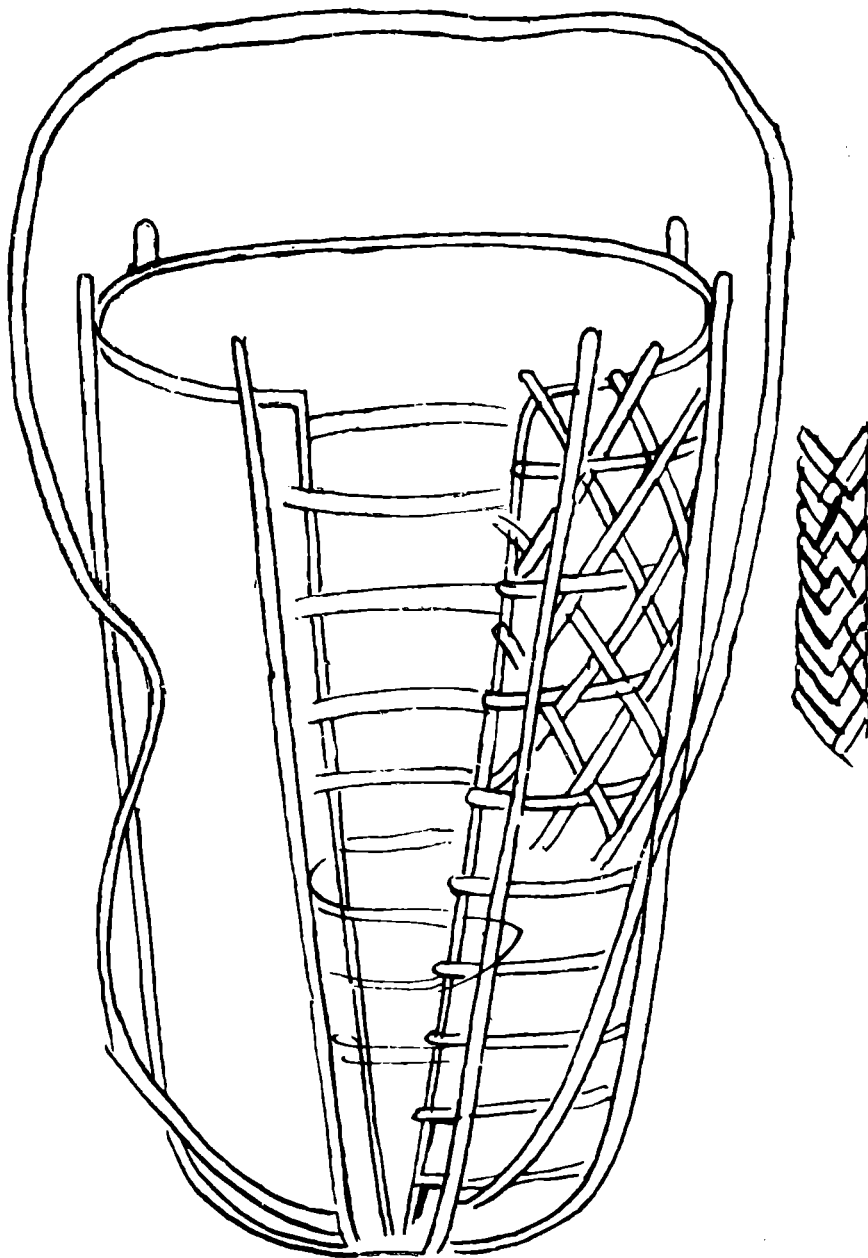
in the Adi villages of the lower region. These are all imported from the plains. Another metal utensil, used as a charm, is



Narang

the *merang*. It is a copper utensil believed to be of Tibetan origin.

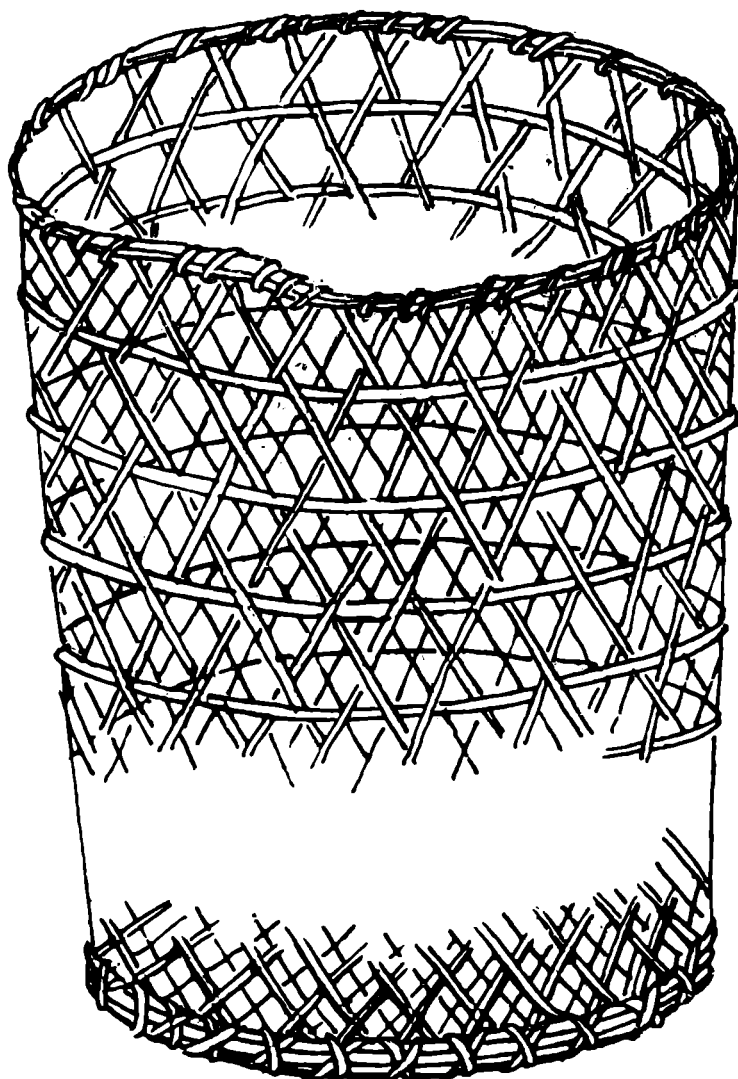
Baskets: Baskets of bamboo and cane are pieces of essential furniture in Adi houses. With them, baskets are not delicate fancy articles to swing languidly from fair arms, as their



Kiro

owners go shopping and on evening strolls or to holiday parties, to picnic on grassy lawns and in shady groves of easy access

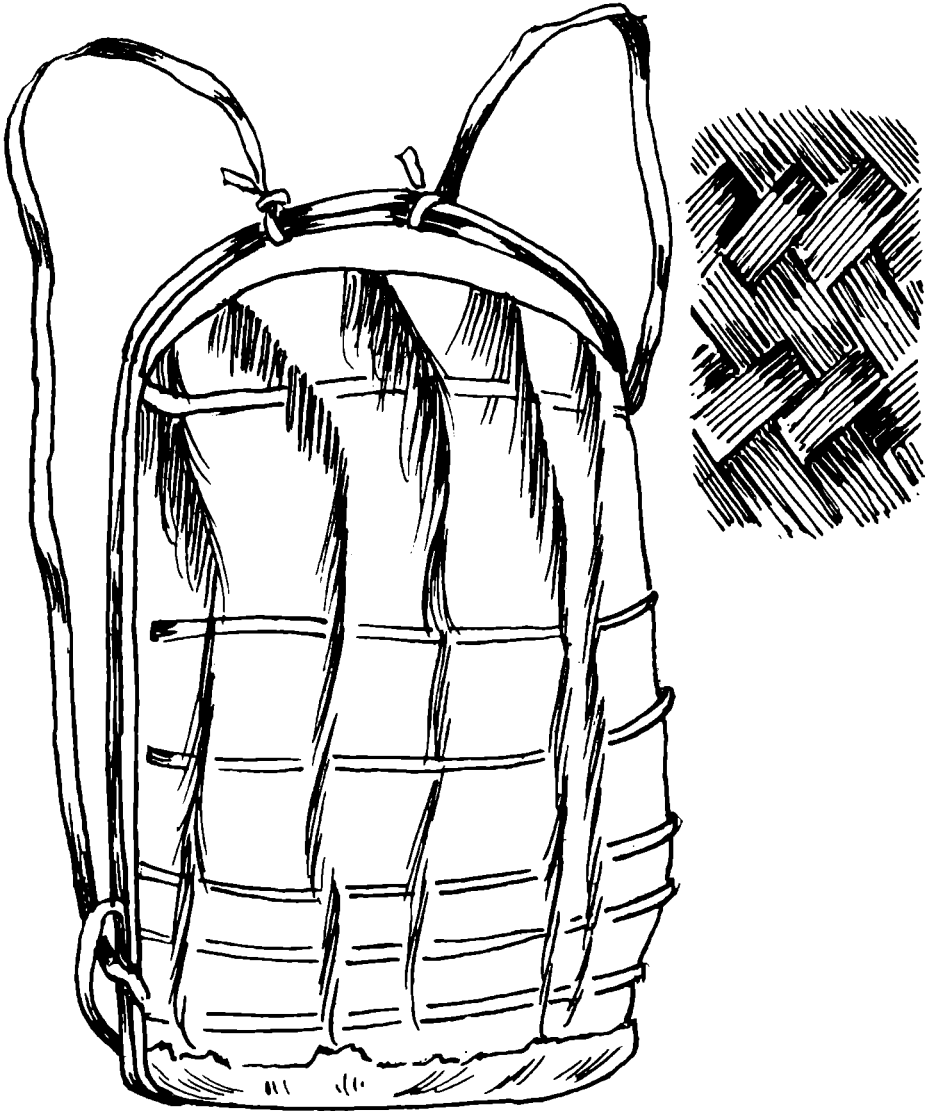
by comfortable motorable roads. Adi baskets are meant to render strenuous and hard service and to stand rough use and weather. They carry heavy loads of fuel, grains and water tubes along roughest of mountain paths and store agricultural products. So durability and strength are more conspicuous in them than delicacy and art.



Apong perop

The carrying baskets of the larger types have to stand the roughest handling. *Narang* is a basket with a square base and four legs; it gradually becomes circular towards the open end. The base is much narrower than the open mouth. From the base, two loops are provided on two sides. Just opposite those

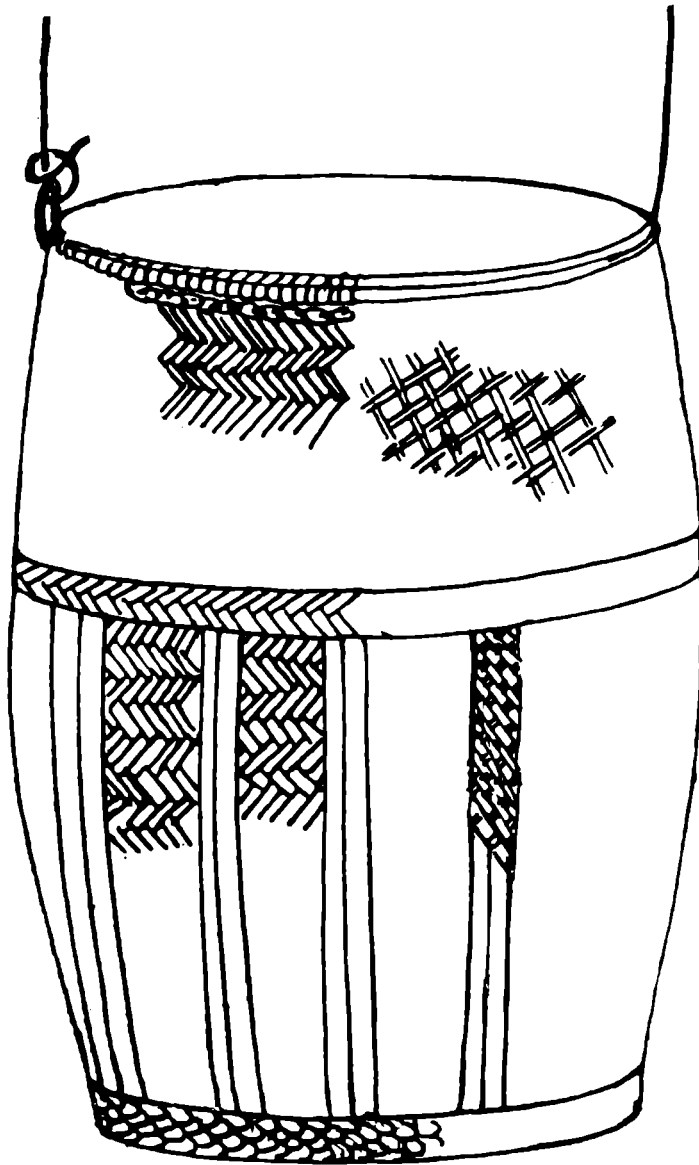
two loops is fixed another pair of loops below the open end. A long plaited belt passes through these loops. It is used for carrying paddy from the field. *Kiro* is used for carrying wood or water tubes. In it the closed base is narrower than the open end. The base of the *kiro* is woven on all sides upto one fourth of its length. From this point an open space is left on one side of the *kiro* upto the open circular end. This space is



Tali

again laced with cane strips upto the open end, with a provision for enlargement. The base is woven in checker design, though the whole body is of the open hexagonal type whereas a *narang* is woven in twill pattern. These baskets are provided

with plaited bamboo straps. The technique of weaving these straps is simple twilling. The carrier usually hangs the basket on his back with the help of these straps. The two open ends of these straps are fixed almost at the middle of the *kiro*. The central portion of the strap rests on the forehead of the carrier.



Sakiap

The techniques of twill weaving, open hexagonal and coil are used in manufacturing storing baskets. *Bari* in twill weaving is used for storing paddy, rice, and other grains in the granary. It is a cylindrical basket made of bamboo.

Apong perop is open hexagonal type and is mainly used for storing the fermented millet from which the *apong* or the millet beer, which is used as their national drink, is prepared. The inner side of the basket is covered with *toko* palm leaf. These baskets are cylindrical in shape with a circular base. It is made of bamboo strips.

Adum belong to the coil type. It is used in the Adi Hills for keeping cloth. It is made of cane strips. These baskets are provided with a circular-shaped lid. The base of the basket is square-shaped, and the open mouth is circular.

Haversacks: Men and women among the Adis always carry haversacks during their journey from place to place. These are woven of thin cane strips. The technique is twill work, and shape rectangular.

Tali is such a haversacks used by men. Its outer side is longer than the inner side. The breadth is uniform all through. The outer side of the *tali* is covered with a bark of a tree to make it waterproof. These are provided with straps on both sides and are slung on the back by passing the straps over the shoulder and the armpit.

Sakiap or the haversack for women are smaller in size. *Sakiap* is provided with one strap to support it from shoulder.

Kitchen accessories such as winnow and strainer, are also made out of bamboo and cane. The winnow or the *eppu* has one end raised and narrow while the other end is broader and flat. On the whole it has a parabolic shape. The bamboo strips are used for making these winnowing fans. The technique all through is simple twill.

Both hexagonal and twill weaving is marked in the *ape*. Technique employed on the sides is open hexagonal and that of the base is twill. Two loops are provided on two sides to serve as a handle. The *ape* is made of bamboo strips and is used for straining as well as for keeping vegetables.

Dorea is a stand for food plate and is circular in shape.

Bodi is a woman's parasol for protection against rain. It is a parabola-shaped bamboo basket, one side of which is narrow and raised. The technique is open hexagonal.

III. DRESS

Dress may be defined as anything appended to the body by man out of a sense of natural deficiency. This sense may be promoted by a need of protection against the rigours of the climate, supernatural influences and natural enemies or by propensities for imitation of the fur and feather coats of the creatures of the earth and the air, or by aesthetic impulses or tendencies to display physical charm, rank and wealth. Thus dress combines in itself all the motives of attraction, concealment, exhibition and functional distinctiveness. It is, however, very difficult to identify and distinguish them categorically in each individual case. The best that can be done, for a scientific analysis, at the present stage of our knowledge is to find the main purpose or purposes of each item of costume of a given people at a given period of time. An attempt has been made below on this principle, and for the sake of convenience, dress has been classified under three broad heads:

- (1) Apparel proper: It includes such articles of personal attire as are used mainly for the purpose of covering.
- (2) Ornaments: By these are meant articles which are used for adding to the attractiveness of the personal appearance of the wearer.
- (3) Decoration: It signifies devices such as mutilation, deformation, tattooing, cosmetics and marks on the body, permanent or temporary, with the idea of beautification and in certain cases of uglification and horrification and identification in this world and the next.

All these three may again be of two distinct types—(a) general for everyday use and (b) special for particular occasions such as war, festival and ceremonial functions. There are some articles which are not easy to classify under any of these heads exclusively. Head-gear is such an article. It is very difficult to determine where it ceases to be an item of apparel and tends to become an ornament.

The Adis are on the whole a handsome people. Young men possess magnificent physique. Girls are very attractive in

appearance and are of a cheerful disposition. The Adi dress adds to their beauty and gives them dignity. An Adi woman in her colourful skirt and upper garment with many ornaments looks extremely handsome. The Adis have an eye for beauty and fashion. They are good at weaving, and their taste in colour scheme and artistic designs is excellent.

Descriptions of the Adi dress are available from various old writers. Father Krick wrote in 1853:—

‘I have very little to say about their mode of dressing, as their clothing is reduced to a minimum somewhat to primitive; however, the full dress sometimes worn by men deserves a short notice. It is composed of 1st, a loin-cloth; 2nd, a long loose mantle open in front, and sprinkled all over with designs of shining colour such as star, etc.; 3rd, a cuirass painted black and made of camel hair: it covers the chest and the back, the head, passing through a hole in the centre, and is used as a defensive covering against the thrust of lance.’¹

Dalton in 1872 described the Adi dress thus—‘The dress of the men consists primarily of a loin-cloth made of the bark of the Udal tree. It answers the double purpose of a carpet to sit upon and a covering. It is tied round the loins and hangs down behind in loose strips about fifteen inches long, like a white bushy tail. It serves also as a pillow by night. When in full dress, the modern Abor is an imposing figure. Coloured coats without sleeves, of their own manufacture, or of the manufacture of their neighbours, the Chulikatas, (Idu Mishmis) are commonly worn. Some wear long Tibetan cloaks, and they weave a cloth from their own cotton with a long fleecy nap like that of a carpet, which they make into warm jackets.

‘The dress of the females as ordinarily seen consists of two cloths, blue and red in broad stripes. Worn round the loins forms a petticoat just reaching to the knees; it is retained in its position by a girdle of cane work: the other is folded round the bosom, but this is often dispensed with, and the exposure of the person above the waist is evidently considered no indelicacy.’²

¹ Rev. N. M. Krick, *op. cit.*

² E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.*

Butler wrote in 1874 as follows—‘The dress of the Abor Chiefs consists of Thibetian woollen cloak, and a simple piece of cotton cloth, about a foot square, which is passed between the legs and suspended by a string round the waist: but not so effectually as to screen their persons from exposure every time they sit down. Of delicacy, however, the Abors are as void as they are of cleanliness’.¹

Dunbar wrote—‘The dress of the two sexes is dissimilar and especially as regards men, costume differs considerably. The cloth is either coloured and worked into patterns of bands and lines or in plain white. The coloured cloths are woven in many different designs, none of which is distinctive of any particular community.

‘The Minyong and southern Gallong cloths are usually red with blue lines running through the material. Amongst the Pasials, yellow and black, white and red, or red and green are not infrequent combinations of colour. But in modern local products of the Balek Pasi-Minyong group it is unsafe to consider any variation from the usages of other localities as indigenous and true Abor, since the influence of the plains is very marked and is growing stronger. The coloured cottons used in weaving by these southern communities are frequently bought from Marwari traders. These coloured cotton cloths are woven in narrow strips about a foot wide. Two pieces of similar design are sewn together so as to bring the pattern into horizontal lines when worn as a skirt, or upper garment.

‘The usual length for a skirt of two of these pieces is about 3’ 6” by 2’. The cloths are further ornamented by a band of needle-work, sewn across the cloths and at right angles to the woven pattern. In a rather striking yellow and black cloth seen in Balek, the band of needle-work was an inch broad in a diamond design of red, black and white, making good imitation of the markings on a snake’s skin although of course differing entirely in colour from any known reptile, save possibly a chameleon on a tartan rug.

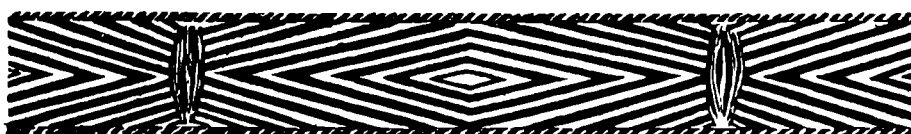
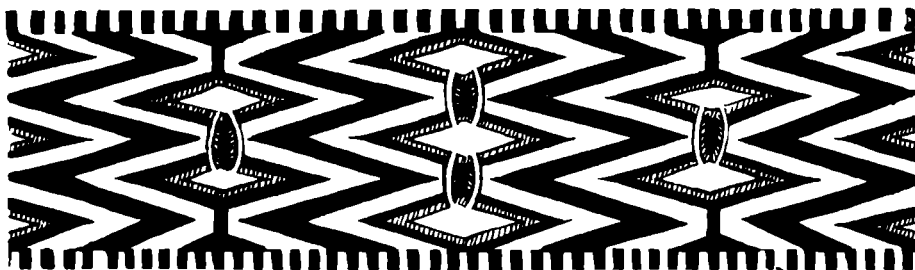
‘The plain white cloths are still made of local cotton even in Balek. They are ornamented with a band of really artistic

¹ J. Butler, *op. cit.*

needle-work, in various colours, generally red and blue, along the short edges. These cloths are used as shawls, or for carrying children, or sometimes grain, but the ordinary upper garment is a second coloured cloth wound round the body so as to cover the breasts. Loin cloths for the men are made either of material similar to the plains white cloth, or of vegetable fibre.¹

The common Ashing, Bori, Bokars and Pailibo coat is long and blue and is secured at the waist with a cane or leather belt, set with bones or white stones. Sometimes woollen coats, made of serge-like material and open in front are worn instead. Often a long piece of black coarse woollen cloth, with a hole in the middle for passing the head through is used in the manner of a stole especially during the rains or hunting. Close-fitting brimless cane hats and strips of cloth tied puttee-fashion protect the head and the legs respectively.

Ashing woman's costume consists of a maroon skirt, either plain or with horizontal bars in light chocolate, reaching down the ankles, a blue cotton pelisse over a short bodice and a cane ferret round the crown of the head.



Various types of design on Adi fabrics

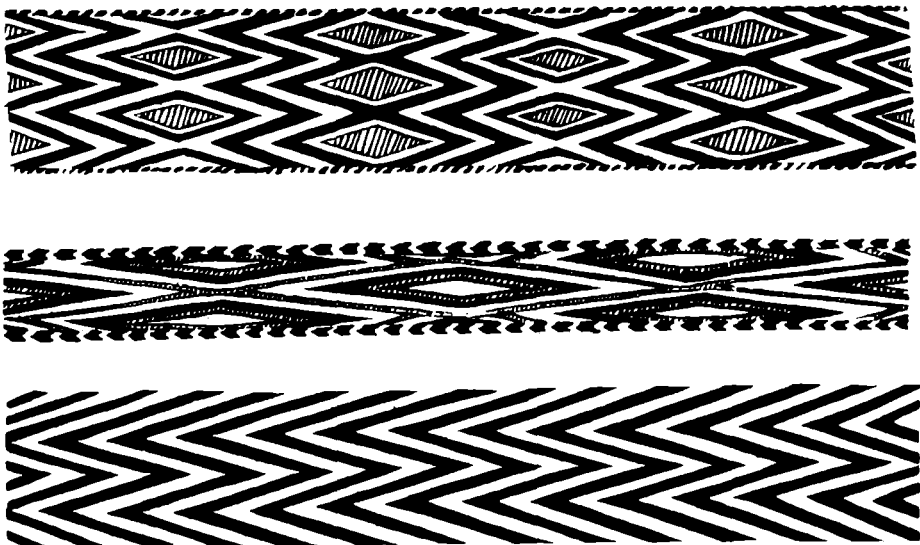
¹ G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.

Shimong and Karko men wear short white sleeveless coats open in front having a band with zigzag designs in red across the back over the shoulder, and close-fitting cane hats with the rim strengthened with a ring of stout cane. The women wear short blouses made of local cotton, white or blue, and open in front and skirts, either with stripes in chocolate on white ground or black with brown stripes, which are worn far below the navel.

Pangi fashion dictates short and white coats with black borders for men and chocolate-coloured jackets with short sleeves and vertical stripes and skirts reaching down the knees for the women. Men use hats of the same pattern as that of the Shimongs and women carry rough white shawls with chocolate borders.

Three types of coats are seen among the Padams, Minyongs, and Pasis: one is long, blue with full-length sleeves, and dotted with circular designs in white and chocolate; another is what is generally known as the Mishmi type short-sleeved, black with bands of a triangular motif across the waist and lower ends. The third type now used by the Pasi-Minyongs is shorter in length, full-sleeved, green in colour, with narrow bands of designs round the cuff-ends of the sleeves.

Padam, Minyong and Pasi women of the upper regions usually wear full-sleeved black blouses with yellow bands of de-



Various types of design on Adi fabrics

signs at the cuffs, and skirts with free ends either pinkish red with a number of yellow horizontal lines or yellow with black horizontal lines running across the middle. There are vertical ornamentations in zigzag and triangular patterns also in the centre by bands of needle-work embroidered across the breadth of the cloth at right angles to the horizontal woven pattern in yellow, green and red wool.

In the lower regions girls have started using full sleeved blouses both of velvet and mill-made cloth, and tailored in the styles obtaining in the plains.

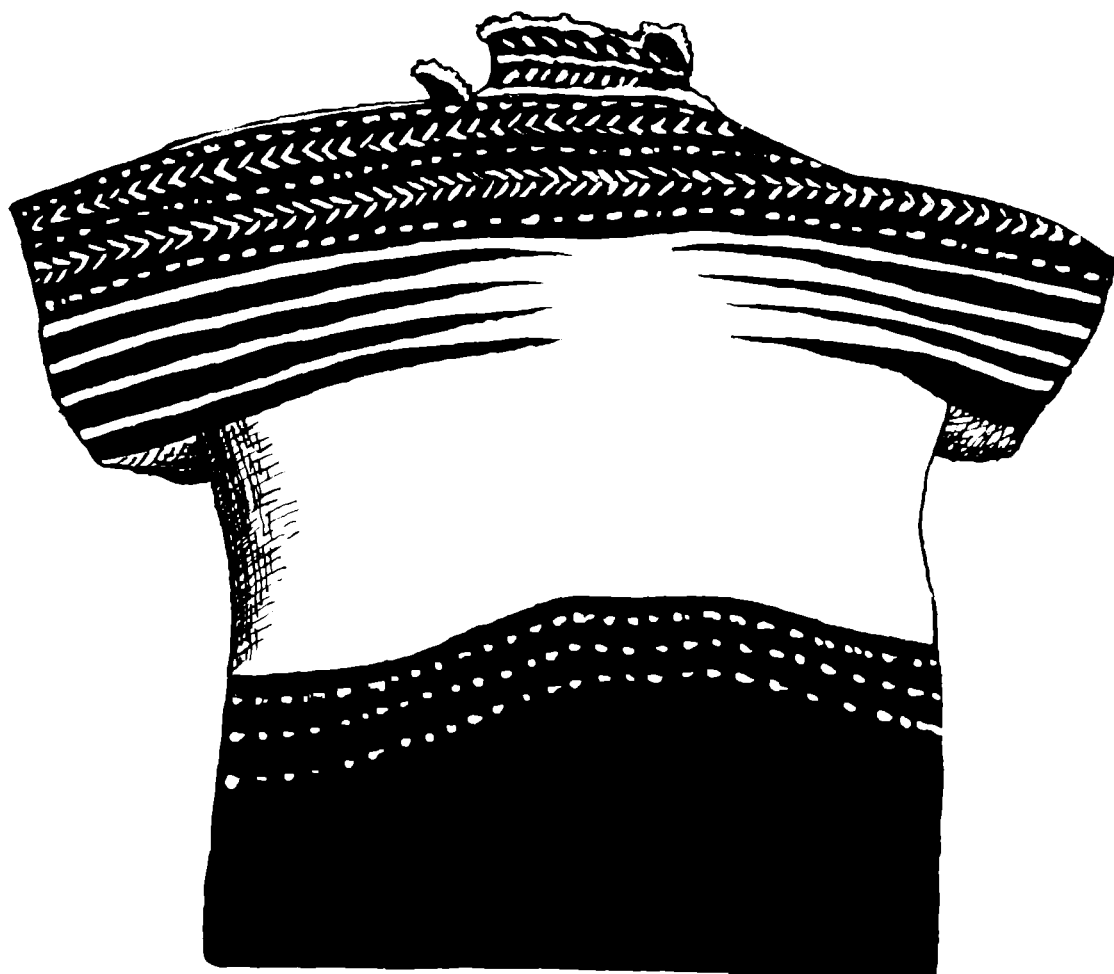
A skirt folded so as to form a cone or flat padding at the top is worn as a kerchief over the head.



Front view of a war-coat

War Dress: (1) War-Helmet. War helmets are of coiled whole cane, round in shape and without any projection. Full or half cane strips are fixed on the upper

side of the helmet from one side to the other. The purpose of the latter is to strengthen the helmet further. The helmet is usually decorated in front with two boar's tusks placed cross-wise, while the top is occasionally decorated with bear skin or



Back view of a war-coat

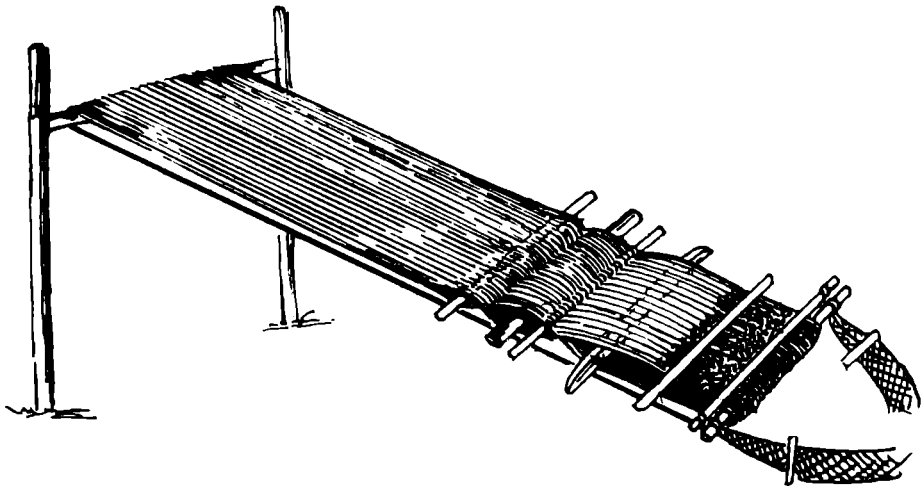
yak tail dyed in scarlet. Sometimes beaks of birds, specially Dhanesh, are fixed on the top of the helmet. A strap is fixed to the helmet which comes below the chin and keeps the helmet in position.

(2) War-Coats: These coats are specially used during war. They are made of coarse wool neatly woven and decorated on the back and front. They are open-breast, with high collars, specially prepared to protect the neck and body from sword cuts. This dress is becoming obsolete in the lower region while in the upper region it is still used

during the rains and winter. The coats are considered valuable. Adis themselves used to prepare these coats from the coarse wool they bartered from the Tibetans.

(3) War-Coats: They are made of pieces of black coarse woollen cloth and are not stitched. There is an opening in the middle which allows it to pass over the head. The sides are not sewn so that the hands can be moved freely. In the front and back it reaches down to the level of the knees. It is still used during the rains and for hunting by the Padams, Minyongs and Pangis, and as daily wear by Boris, Bokars, Pailibos, Ramos and others.

Dancing dress: The Miri generally wears a red skirt over his usual dress and hangs two *kirings* (bunches of small bells tied to a plaited band) from either side of his neck.



Adi loom

Spinning and weaving: Today, as a rule, yarn is bought from the market but some Adis still grow cotton in the *jhum* fields. Ginning and spinning is usually the work of women. The ginning machine constructed locally and called *sipyak doket* consists of two vertical wooden posts, fixed to a flat piece of wood. The rollers are geared to move in opposite directions. The operator sets the rollers in motion by means of a crank attached to the end of one of them. With one hand she moves the crank and with other feeds the machine with cotton. After the seeds are separated the cleaned cotton is put in the sun to

dry. The rolls of dried cotton are then spun on a simple spinning wheel. The threads thus produced are then boiled in rice-water for sizing and are stored for weaving on the loom. The Adi loom is a single heddle tension or simple loin-loom with the following parts:

Galong: A horizontal bamboo pole is fixed. This purpose is also served by any pole on the side of the house. One end of the warp passes round the pole and the other end is fixed to the another pair of sticks at the free end. A Galong is usually a log of about 50" in length with a circumference of about 7".



A woman at the loom.

Gekong: Two pieces of wood with tapering ends. One of these is placed in between the folds of the warp and the

other is fixed with the first one, keeping the warp in between the first and the second.

Tai: A belt made of bamboo strips. The two open ends of the belt are attached to the two ends of the *gekong*.

Anno: The entire warp is termed *anno*. Its length varies with the length of the cloth.

Sumpa: It is a straight flat piece of wood with two tapering ends. It is mainly used to regulate and compress the threads.

Kitan or *a shuttle*: It is used for shooting the thread of the woof between the threads of the warp in weaving.

Weaving is confined to women. They weave well, with patterns and colour which are almost in perfect taste. The colour sense of the Adis is very well marked and is particularly adapted to the surroundings. The original colours were chocolate-brown, black, dark, blue, green, scarlet and madder, which the Adis used to produce from the bark of trees. Now, they purchase dyed yarn from the Marwari shops. The cotton rug commonly known as *badu* is of a special type which they themselves weave. It is used for bedding or as a wrapper during the winter. They are woven on handlooms in comparatively narrow strips. Two strips are usually required for skirts and blankets.

Ornaments: In describing the beautiful ornaments of the Adis, Wilcox noted in the eighteen twenties the large necklaces of blue beads looking '... exactly like turquoises and had the same hue of greenish blue'.¹ Father Krick described the Adi ornaments in 1853 thus:

'The women wear heavy yellow necklaces, iron copper bracelets; but the most peculiar article of their ornamental apparel is their ear-rings which are long spirals of wire about two inches thick, sufficiently heavy to tear the ears, and stretch them out of shape, so that the ornaments dangle on the shoulders. The men wear but one kind of necklace, it is composed of blue stones strung together, of unusually neat cut. This article is highly valued, and transmitted from father to son, as they pretend to have received it directly from God. Some stick into their ears silver or wooden (bamboo) tubes.'²

¹R. Wilcox, op. cit.

²Rev. N. M. Krick, op. cit., p. 118.

Dalton noted in 1872: 'Their necks are profusely decorated with strings of beads reaching to the waist, and the lobes of the ears, or as usual with the hill races, enormously distended for decorative purposes. Round the ankles, so as to set off to the best advantage the fine swell of the bare leg, broad bands of very finely plaited cane-work are tightly laced, and some of the belles, most particular about their personal appearance, wear these anklets of light blue tinge. But the most singular article of their attire remains to be described. All females with pretensions in youth wear, suspended in front from a string round the loins, a row of from three to a dozen shell-shaped embossed plates of bell-metal from about six to three inches in diameter, the largest in the middle, the others gradually diminishing in size as they approach the hips. These plates rattle and chink as they move, like prisoner's chains'.¹

Butler described the ornaments of the Adis in 1847:

'The ears of the man and woman are perforated, the aperture, one inch in diameter, being distended by a piece of wood, worn as an ornament; and the necks of the Abor women are loaded with innumerable glass bead necklaces of all colours. Their arms are likewise adorned, from the wrist to the elbow with brass rings; the legs are exposed from the knee downwards, the calf of the leg being bandaged with cane rings to the ankle.'²

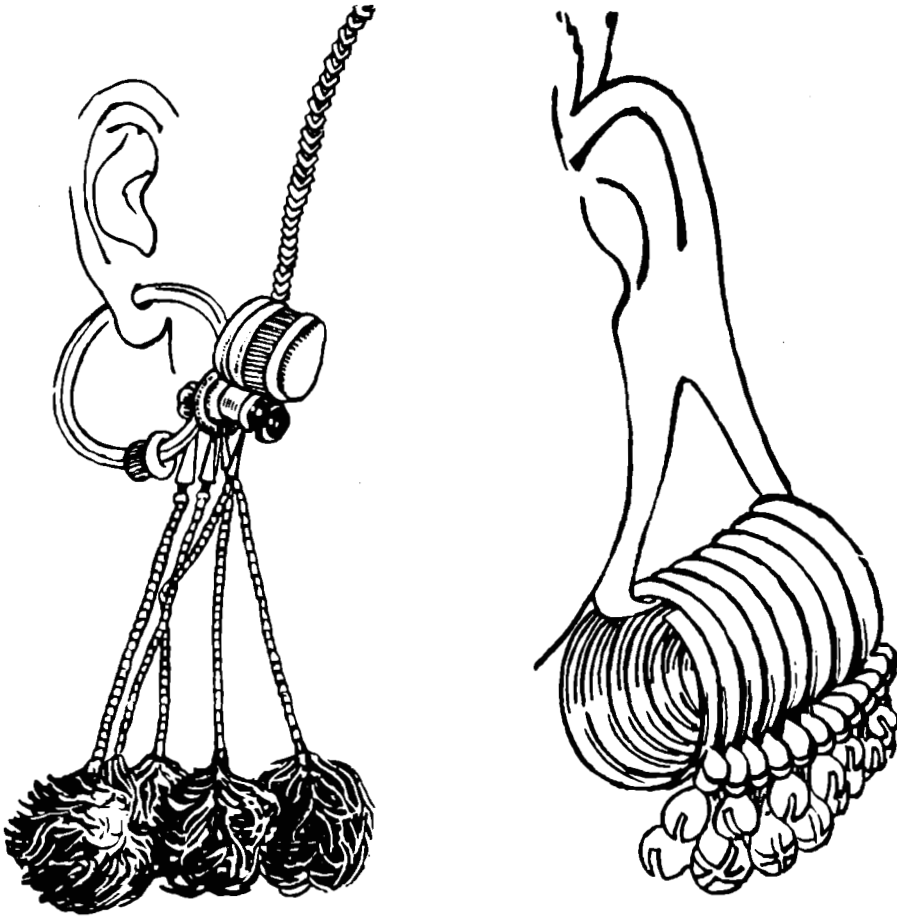
Many years later Dunbar supplemented this account:

'Adi ornamentation consists of the blue and green porcelain beads that come from the North and strings of beads from Marwari shop-keepers are common near the plains. These beads, if they are old, are regarded as heirlooms of considerable value. Brass bracelets of local manufacture are universally worn'. About the women he said: 'As soon as they can walk, the girls wear a disc or two about the loins, or perhaps some metal charm, or a few shells. This, in a few years, expands into the beyop, the girdle worn by every maid and woman from Dibang to the Subansiri until the birth of her first child. The beyop consists of locally-made discs fastened on to a band of

¹ E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² J. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

cane, screw pine or a strip of hide. The mythical origin of the beyop is that a spirit, Gingor-Shingor, fell in love with a woman and whenever he had intercourse with her, he gave her a beyop disc. When a child was born, she took off the girdle of discs; and that is how they first were worn, and why they are discarded on the birth of a women's first born.....Girls and women wear rings of cane round their waists whether they wear metal studded bands or not; and they weave for themselves very



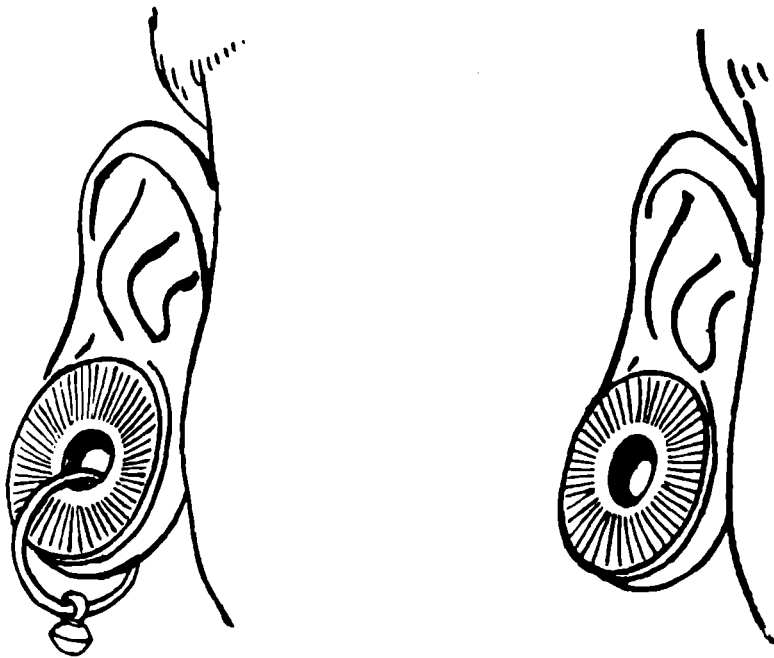
Ear-ornaments

fine belts of cane in white, relieved by patterns of black interwoven through the material. The women wear, sometimes in great profusion, necklaces similar to those worn by men. Their brass bracelets are of lighter stamp than those of the men'.¹

¹ G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Ashing women as well as men wear large ear-rings with three stones set on a base in the front. From this base hang strings of beads down the sides of the neck ending in a pair of tassels of red cotton wool. In the case of women, the rings are secured with a silver chain, joining the two and passing over the head.

The ear-rings of the Shimong, Pangi and Karko men and women and those worn by the Padam, Minyong and Pasi men are small with single-coloured stones which pass through bamboo tube plugs stuck in slits in the lobe of the ear.



Ear-ornaments

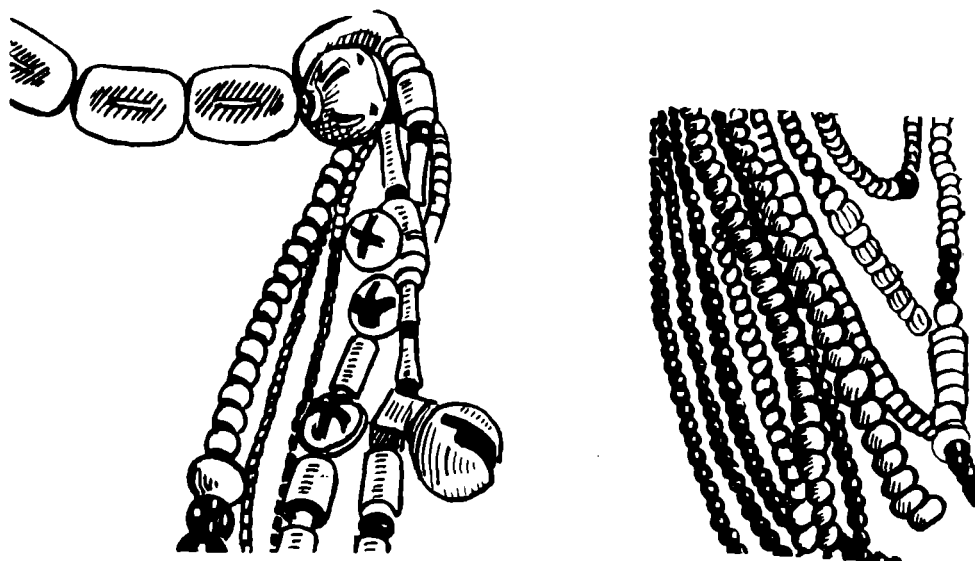
The northern Padam and Minyong women have an elaborate type of ear ornament. It is a spiral of six to seven coils of silver wire which is inserted into a hole in the lobe and stretches it wide. Through the spiral passes a cane string, holding a number of beads and small bells suspended below the spiral. There is another type which is simply a bamboo plug with a hole in the centre, stuck into the perforation of the ear-lobe.

The lower Padam, Pasi and Minyong women use besides the simple wooden plug, decorated silver plugs with a front

shaped to resemble a flower and a screwing device to hold it in position at the back.

The neck and the chest of Ashing men and women are loaded with a mass of strings of beads of various colours, the blue beads, imported from the north, predominating. The Karkos prefer simple small brass chains with a *dudap* or two as pendants. While Pangi men are satisfied with a few strings of multicoloured beads, the women like to display a neck-band of white discs of bone in addition. A similar fashion prevails among their sisters in the higher Padam-Minyong and Pasi regions. But in the lower regions, the women have five types of neck ornament.

- (1) a necklace of two lines of beads between which is set a row of four-anna bits (*galpatang*).
- (2) a short necklace of beads with a drum-shaped amulet as pendant. It is worn on certain occasions.
- (3) a flat square Tibetan charm-box (*nok*) with a pair of tiger's claws fixed at the bottom, hanging from a double-stringed necklace longer than above, and with a number of silver chains hanging as tassels.



Neck-ornaments

- (4) a still longer double-stringed bead necklace with rupee-coins attached at the lower end by means of silver loops fixed to them.

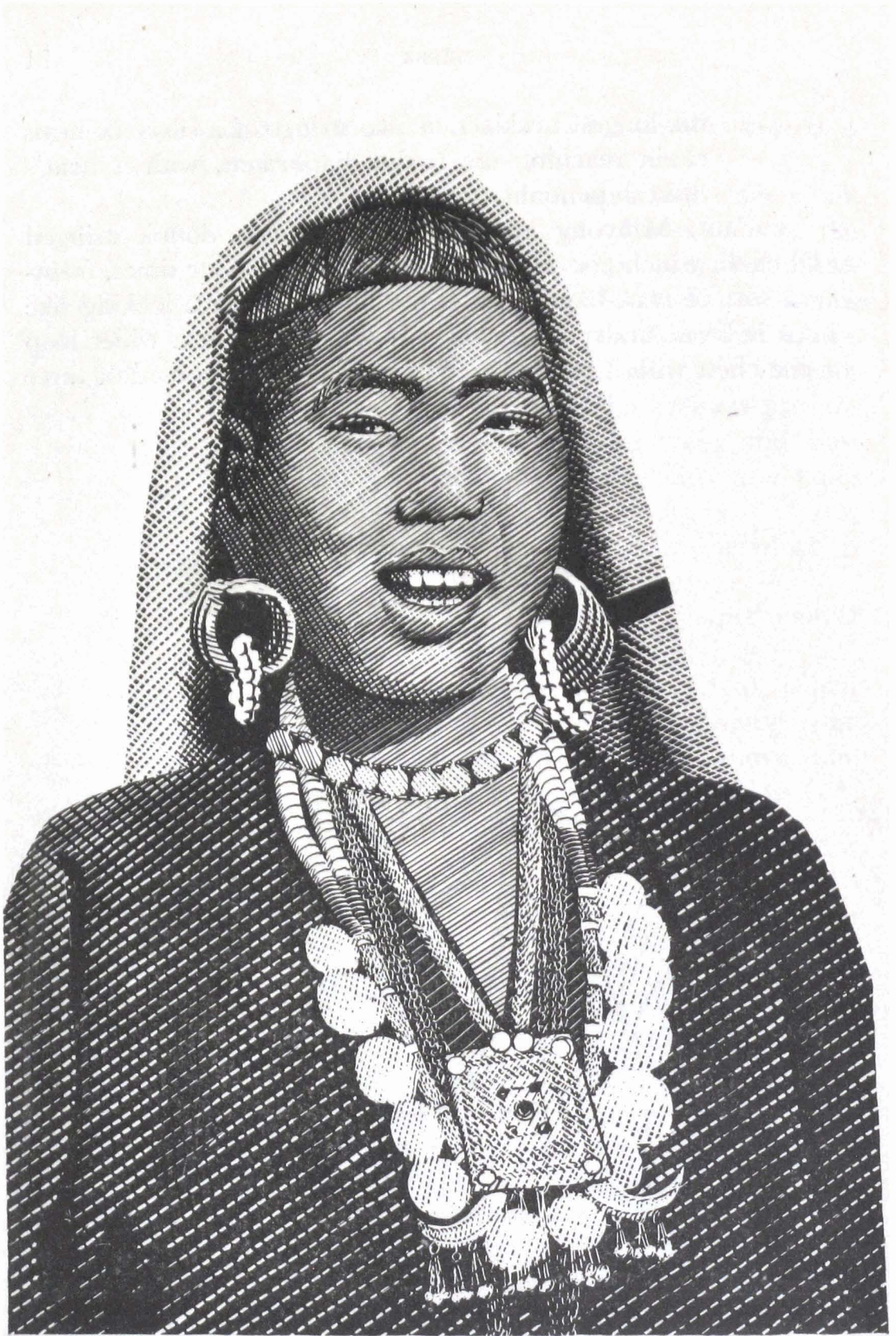
- (5) the longest necklace of two strings of a silver or brass chain reaching down the diaphragm, with a boar's tusk as pendant.

Padam, Minyong and Pasi men wear a double-stringed bead chain which goes round the neck three or four times, forming a sort of neck-band with two white bone discs looking like clasps in front under the chain. It then hangs in a wider loop on the chest with a pendant. The pendant is composed of three



Adi man with ornaments

horizontal bars of bone with seven vertical brass cylinders resting on white beads between the upper two bars, and seven rows of three beads, black, blue and white in a vertical order, between the second and the third bars. The whole ends in a number of tassels of red wool. Over this double stringed chain three other strings, two of large green and white and the third of

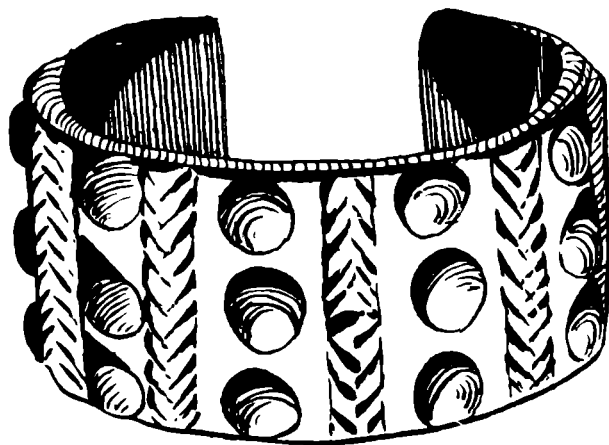
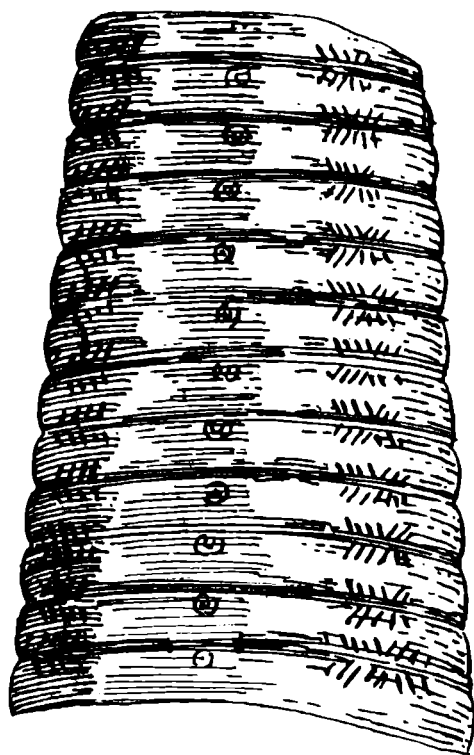


Ornaments and hair style of an Adi girl

smaller white beads, reaching down to the chest are worn. One of these holds a pendant of a boar's tusk.



Bracelets of different types

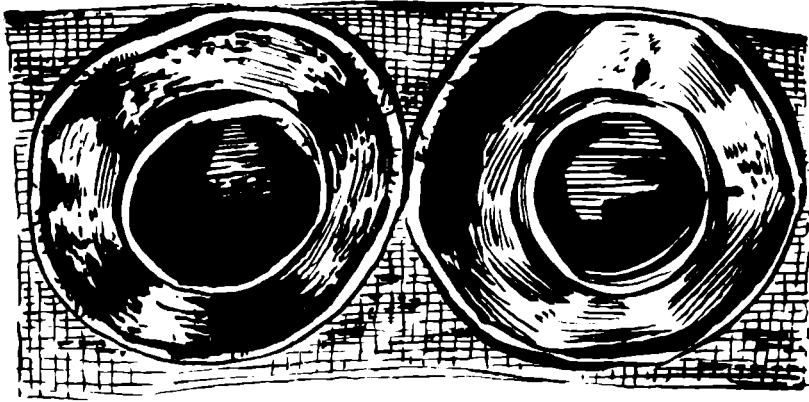


Bracelets

All the sections of the Adis, both men and women, wear a brass bracelet, sometimes two, made locally, with geometrical patterns and about an inch in width. Padam men have a special variety with spikes along the outer rim.

The Ashings have waist-bands of plaited cane set with white stones or bones, worn belt-fashion over the dress. Only the women among the Shimongs, the Karkos, the Upper Min-

yongs, the upper Padams and the Pangis wear similar bands which in their case are leather straps studded with brass discs from one to one inch and a half in diameter, or an intricately plaited cane band with zigzag patterns in black. The well-known *bayop* is a girdle of locally made brass discs with concentric embossed designs with two diameters crossing at right angles on the front side only. The largest disc is worn in the centre in front, with smaller ones hanging on either side. All these discs have loops at the top formed by smaller *bayop* discs, folded and soldered on the two sides of the main discs which are secured by a cane ring passing through the loops.



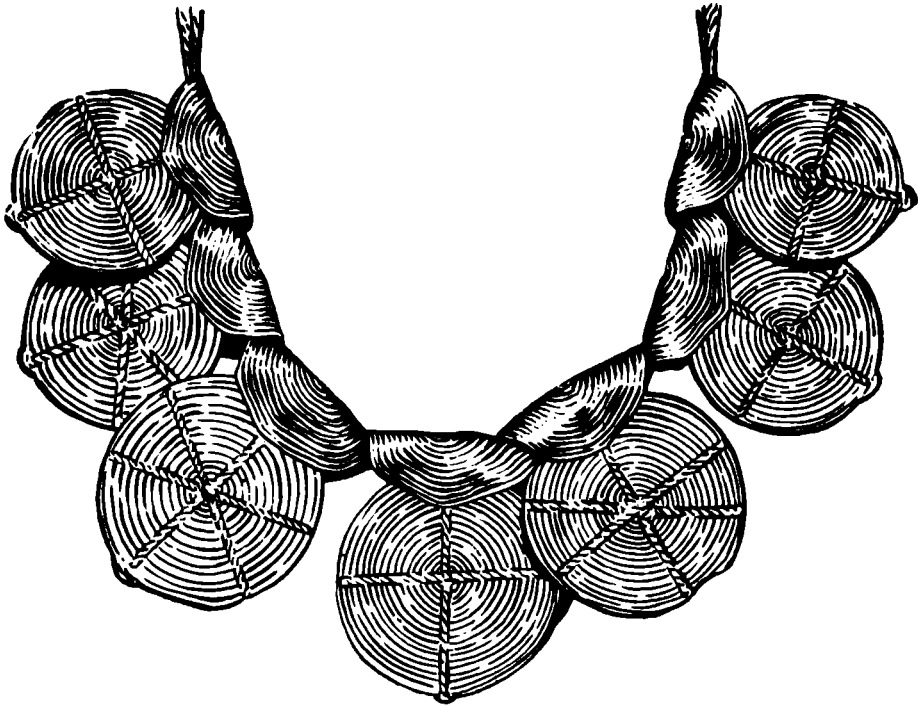
Waist ornament

In the lower regions, the *bayops* are slowly going out of fashion and are generally worn under the skirt.

Plaited cane bands, mostly black or dark blue about 6" in width, are worn on the small of the leg by the Karko Shimong and Pangis women.

Tagin men and women are extremely fond of beads. Children from very young age wear necklaces of beads. The beads commonly worn by men and women are white, blue and dark blue and vary in size. The women and young boys wear ear-rings made from deer's hair, which are fixed in a wire and decorated with a light blue bead for each. Women as a rule wear ear-ornaments. These are thick metal rings which look like almost small flower vases of silver. Men do not usually wear any metal bangles on the wrists. But girls and women of all ages always do. Men wear a plaited cane-cover on the right

hand. It is sometimes decorated with hair of wild animals. The women put on a number of cane rings round the waist, and so do the men. An item of decoration among the men is a belt of cowri-shells.



Bayops

Hair Style: As in the case of dress, we have some descriptions of the hair-style of the Minyong and Padam Adis given by some old writers.

Krick writes of the Padams in 1853: 'Neither women nor men are fond of long hair; they do not allow it to grow beyond 2 or 3 inches in length.'¹

Dalton recorded: 'The hair of both males and females is close cropped; this is done by lifting it on the blade of a knife and chopping it with a stick all round.'²

Butler wrote: 'The hair of the women is cut short, like that of the men: in a circle round the crown of the head it is

¹ N. M. Krick, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

² E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

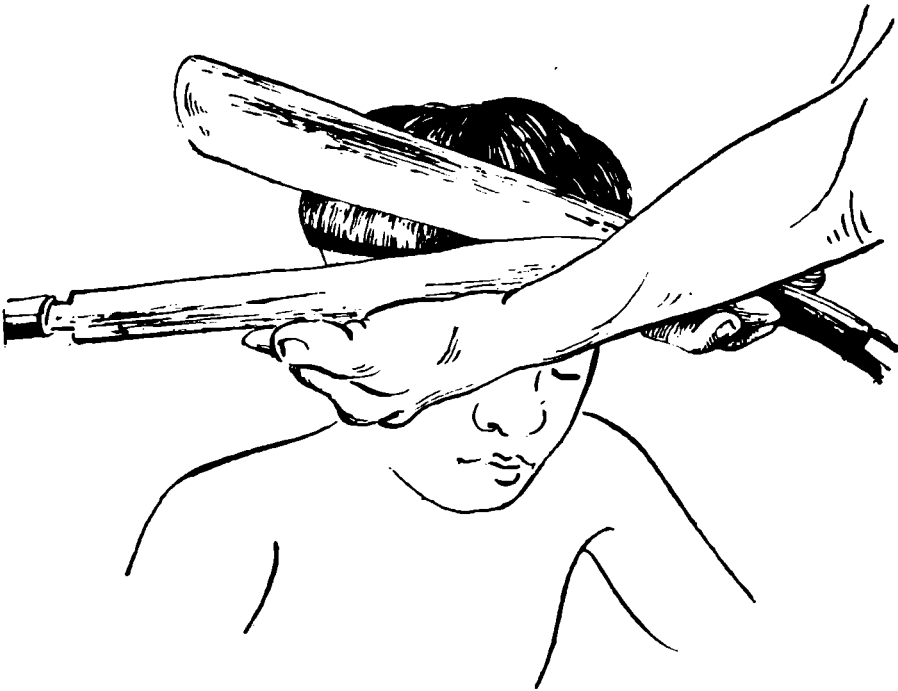
two inches long, but the hair in front and behind, below the upper circle, is only about half an inch long.¹

Hair-styles now in vogue among the different sections of the Adis are detailed below:—

Ashing men cut their hair only in the front along the upper edge of the forehead from ear to ear, and let it grow at the back of the head down to the shoulder. The women plait their hair at the back into pigtails which are passed across the crown from opposite sides and tied into a knot. The plaits are decorated with a few beads and cowries.

The Shimong, Karkos and the Minyongs, both men and women, cut their hair round the crown, the line of the cut running about an inch above the ears.

The Pangi hair-cut for both the sexes is the same as that of the Shimongs, only the line of the cut is about half an inch higher.



Indigenous way of cutting hair

The line of the cut among the Padam and Pasi men is higher still by another half inch. It is the same among the

¹J. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

women of the upper Padams and Pasis. But the majority of the lower Padam women wear their hair half an inch lower down than their sisters of the upper regions.

The lower Pasi-Minyong girls wear their hair longer, either free as bob or in coiled plaits.

The Gallongs, their neighbours, dress their hair in a different fashion. The men cut about two inches of their hair round the head and make it pointed towards the nape of the neck. Gallong women wear their hair long, parting it in the middle and making a roll on the neck.

Tattooing: Although it is not common among all sections of the Adis, a considerable portion of the tribes practise tattooing even today and there is ample proof to show that it was formerly almost universal. Today however, the art is gradually disappearing from the Adis who are in constant contact with the plains. The Padams have given up the practice altogether, but among the women of the Minyong, Shimong, Karko and Pangi Adis, it is still in vogue. The available information does not give any evidence as to any totem object being tattooed on certain parts of the body, neither does the information collected give any clue that tattooing among them is practised with the idea of terrifying their enemies during the wars.

The most probable motive behind tattooing appears to be a sense of beauty, to ornament or improve the appearance. The custom of tattooing grows more common as one moves north. The earliest description from Father Krick's note is quoted below:

‘The males are tattooed at the age of eighteen; the pattern is, in my opinion, of evidently Christian origin. The majority wear on the forehead a perfectly shaped Maltese cross of bluish colour, other wear ordinary cross with vertical beam running along the nose, and the cross-bar above the eyes. Others wear the Lorraine-cross, with the upper cross-beam on the forehead, and the lower lying across the bridge of the nose. Others again wear the Maltese cross on their calves. The women have the Maltese cross tattooed on the upper lip, and on their legs Lorraine-cross with two St. Andrew's crosses drawn on either side.

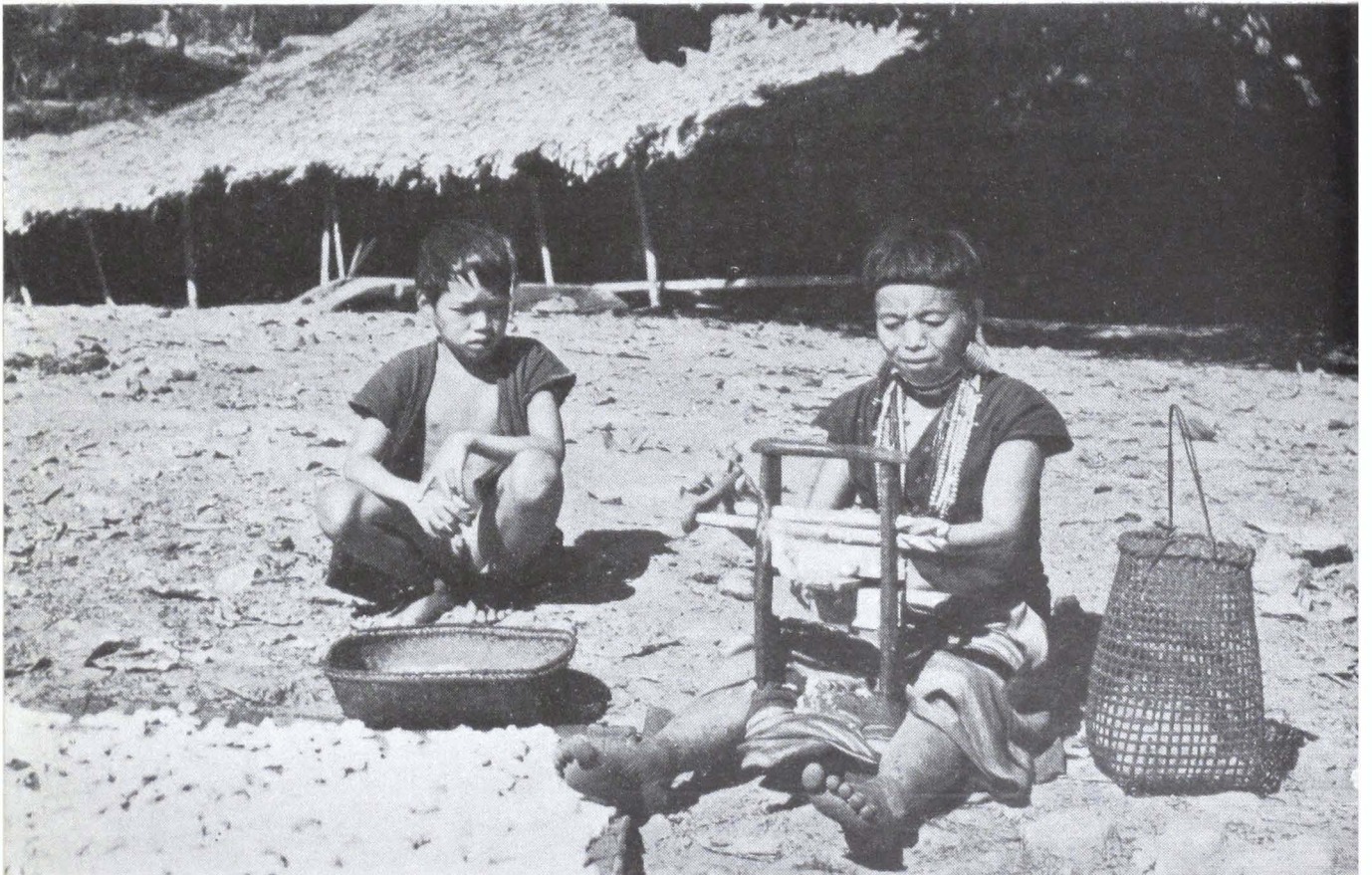
The men have as a rule chin tattooed with three vertical



Hair dressing



At the water point



Ginning of cotton

and parallel lines; the women have five or seven of them, as the case may be, on the chin, and four on the upper lip, two on either side of cross and the whole set is bracketed'.¹

Dalton in 1872 described Adi tattooing as resorted to by both sexes. 'The men all wear a cross on the forehead between the eye-brows. The women have a small cross in the hollow of the upper-lip immediately under the nose, and on both sides of it, above and below the mouth, are stripes, generally but not always, seven in number'.²

Dunbar suggests: 'It is just possible that there may be some remote affinity between the Abor chevrons and the Aka marks of the Nagas that proclaim the successful head-hunter.

'And he points out that one of the commonest designs is the main component of Tibetan trigram, hor-yig, and that the X is the emblem of the Kar-gyu-pa Lemaist order.'³

Though the Adis do not consider tattooing a religious rite, yet in some areas when the boys and girls refuse to undergo the strain of tattooing, they are told that in the life after death, one with a tattoo can obtain food in exchange for it, while those without it are deprived of food. The Adis puncture the skin with a thorn of the jungle cane along a design marked out with fine lines, made by some kind of ink; blood will ooze out through those punctures over which charcoal paste is smeared until it is stopped. The colour employed in tattooing is generally black and is prepared by powdering charcoal mixed with water. Generally the tattooing is finished at one sitting, but if necessary it can be continued for two or three sittings. Among the Adis, there is no professional tattooist since in almost all the villages there are experienced men and women who can execute the work. They are either remunerated in cash or in kind for their job. It is said that in the olden days, different clans used different designs, but no such distinction is now marked in the designs of tattooing. The Adis consider certain designs suitable for certain parts of the body. The designs usually selected are not very artistic, neither are they drawn in the forms of human beings or animals. They

¹ N. M. Krick, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

² E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³ G. D. S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

are in almost all cases, confined to dots and straight lines. Adi men tattoo mainly the forehead, chin and lower arms. The women, on the other hand, tattoo their legs, calves and breasts. 'It has been gathered', Dunbar writes, 'that the Minyongs tattoo their children when they are about ten years old, and that the Pasi girls are not tattooed until they reach the age of puberty.'¹

There is no fixed age limit for tattooing among the Adis, though generally men are tattooed when they attain boyhood and the women usually after puberty. Men occasionally add to their designs, when they start visiting the dormitory for girls, and women do the same when they become mothers. Certain items of food such as meat, and the drinking of *apong* is tabooed after tattooing for some days, to prevent fever. The main diet allowed is rice, salt and a moderate quantity of water.

This description of the different types of Adi dress indicates that sheet dress preponderates over the ligature type which is confined to a few cane girdles. This is particularly absent among the people of the lower regions. Regarding sheet dress, a great similarity is noticeable with all the neighbouring tribes of the Agency. The style of the sheet dress gradually changes as one goes southwards. The Ashings of the extreme north are clearly influenced by their Tibetan neighbours, while the lower Padams, Minyongs and Pasi groups are taking progressively to plains fashions and styles. The same tendency is working in the case of ornaments also, beads in profusion and the heavy ear-ornaments gradually giving place to the plains types of the silver necklaces and tight earrings.

Till recently, the lower regions had their own distinctive way of clothing themselves, which was artistic and well adapted to the conditions of their life. But contacts with plains markets have to a great extent, affected their economy, and the newly adopted 'alien' costumes are likely to bring adverse effects on their health. Gradual establishment of administration over these regions is breaking down the static formality of costume and is introducing changes in the culture of the people so that everything now seems to be in a process of change and movement.

¹ *ibid.*, p. 26.

IV. WAR AND CHASE

Methods and weapons: The Adis with this warlike tradition in the past, still maintain a number of weapons both defensive and offensive. In the following pages, we shall attempt a description on these weapons.

The weapons as a whole may be broadly classed as either defensive or offensive. Their defensive weapons, and more specially their defensive tactics, start from the very selection of the village site.

(1) *Village Site*—Almost all Adi villages are built on the spurs of hills as a protective measure. There is only one approach to the village through the forest and stone walls. The actual village stands on an open site but immediately behind is a patch of forest which serves the purpose of safe retreat. Access to the village, other than the usual approach, is very difficult as the two sides of the hill involve usually a very steep climb and in the event of war, the advancing enemy party runs the risk of being ambushed only too easily.

(2) *Stone walls and Stockades*—These are erected at a reasonable distance from the village itself. The stone walls are sometimes buttressed by tree trunks from within, while in the front are placed a number of plantain trees so as to render the gun shells ineffective. 'The stockade on the north side of Kebang was reported by Mr. Williamson to be 14' high, with ditch of 12' broad'.¹

In the expedition of 1894, the stockades near Dambuk were found to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and shell-proof. Wherever the villages are a little exposed, strong stockades are built on all sides. 'They chose sites for stockades, where topographical difficulties, in their estimation, presented insuperable difficulties. The stockades were usually concealed and situated behind some physical obstacles'.² Occasionally two stockades were constructed one behind another with the usual provision for ditches.

Stockades are also built for defence by other Assam tribes.

¹ *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India—official Account of the Abor Expedition, 1911-12, (Simla, 1913), Appendix VI, p. 103.*

² *ibid.*, p. 103.

Thus stockades among the Thadu Kukis are made of several rows of trees of about 8 inches in diameter.¹ The Ao Nagas fix wooden stakes round their village, leaving only those portions which can serve as natural defence due to high precipitous ground.² But the Sema Nagas have a double fencing with a ditch in between, and the roads leading to the fencing are panjied.³ In olden days, Angami Nagas used to erect high stone walls around their village. The system of digging ditches, the bottom is studded with panjis, is still in practice.⁴ Rengma Nagas also used to have the same type of defensive ditches.⁵

Hostility between the different sections of the Adis necessitated the preservation of the stockades long after the punitive expedition of 1911-12. Today the Adis have practically no fear of raids either from the neighbouring areas or from within their different sections; so most of the Adi villages in the lower region do not any longer possess very good defensive stockades. Remnants of the stone walls are still found in many of the upper region villages, such as Damroh, Shimong, Bomdo, Janbo, Tut-ing, Karko, Kebang, Komsing. The area leading to the stockade was further fortified and barricaded in different ways:

(a) *With Big Trees*: Big trees were cut, and the trunks used were for reinforcing the stone walls. They were thrown in a haphazard manner all over the foot-tracks leading to the stockade and village to impede the movement of the enemy. Secondly, the clearing obtained by the felling of the big trees from the vicinity helped the scouts of the village to gain a clear sight of the movement of the enemy from a distance.

(b) *Hidden Bows and Arrows*: A common method was to fix a number of bows and arrows in ambush near about the path. Poisoned arrows were placed in hollow bamboo tubes which were fixed to the bows. The string was tightened and then tied by means of bamboo fibres, the ends of which were so placed in the foot-track that a slight touch would immediately release the arrows. These contrivances were set in

¹ W. Shaw, *Notes on the Thadu Kukis* (Assam, 1929), p. 143.

² J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), p. 72.

³ J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), pp. 34-35.

⁴ J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), pp. 43-46.

⁵ J. P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937), pp. 47-48.

hundreds and the arrows were fixed at different angles.

A second type of arrangement is simpler but not very effective. The trees overhanging the tracks are almost cut and the tops are tied with bamboo fibres up to a long distance. With a slight stroke from the dao, these tree trunks are released and the enemy proceeding by this track is crushed under their weight.

(c) Panjis are made from pieces of bamboo, sharpened like spikes and hardened in the fire, the points being smeared with poison. These panjis or bamboo spikes are considered by the Adis as very effective. They are stuck into the ground firmly, in an inclined position, and are concealed skilfully under bushes or paths leading to a village. The points stick out only inches above the ground and are very dangerous to the bare-footed or soft-booted, unobservant enemy. The panji sticks are approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and a little over half the length is inserted firmly inside the ground. As panjis can be made easily and quickly and locally, their use is widespread throughout the Adi Hills.

The same type of panji is used by the Thadu Kukis to protect the approach of the village.¹ The outer sides of the fences of the Ao villages are protected with the panjis.² Angami Nagas also use the same type to protect their villages from invasions.³ Panjis in the Sema Naga country vary from 8 inches to 4 feet in length, and are very hard-pointed. Both the short and the long types are used for defensive purposes.⁴ Rengma Nagas stuck these sharpened bamboo panjis of the same type round their villages as a measure of defence.⁵

(d) *Stone Chutes*: Adis placed great importance on these stone chutes, which are placed on the hill-sides and above the approach to a village. They consist of strong bamboo poles arranged horizontally to serve as a platform over which are piled up a large number of boulders. The ends of the bamboo poles are inserted in the ground and the outer ends are suspended by

¹ W. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

² J. P. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³ J. H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴ J. H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁵ J. P. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

bamboo lines or canes. When released by cutting the bamboo lines with a dao, the whole mass of heavy boulders rolls down the hill-side, crushing whatever comes in the way. The chutes are sometimes so concealed and the lines so placed in the path



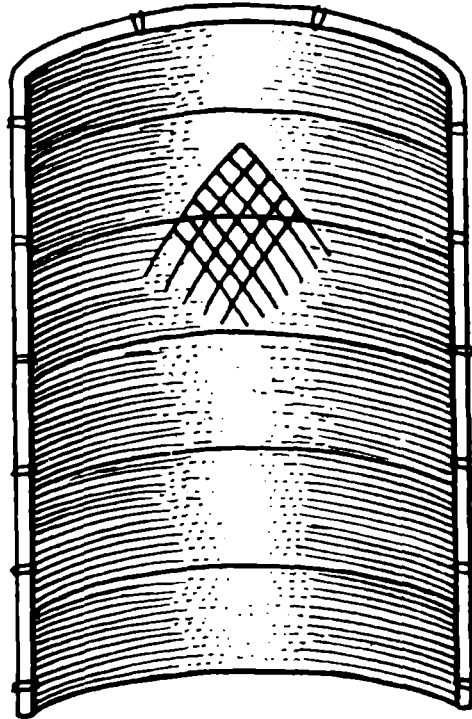
Adi stone chutes

of the enemy, that the enemy themselves release the chutes unknowingly. All the possible approaches to the village are protected with stone chutes. In fact, they were a source of great trouble to the expeditionary parties, and were described by them in the following terms, 'great reliance was placed on the rock chutes. The Adis were specially clever in this method of defence, and all their stockades were flanked with them. The hill-sides also for some distance in front of the stockade were covered with them. The searching out and destruction of these chutes was a troublesome operation'.¹

In ancient times, there were two brothers by the name of Nui and Gambo who were very famous hunters. In order to kill a wild boar, that destroyed the cultivation, they started making different types of weapons.

¹ *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India*, op. cit., p. 159, Appendix VIII.

They found out a special type of bamboo which bends with weight. On cutting the bamboo into two, they found two insects inside. With the help of great craftsman, Yongmo, the insects were turned into a dog and a wild cat. The bow being



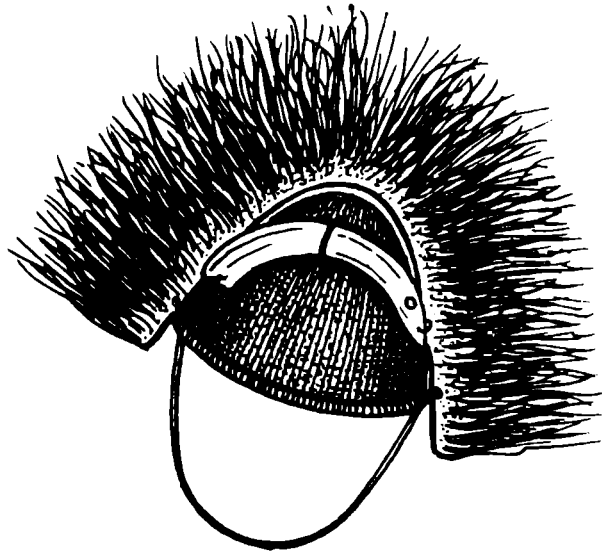
Shield

properly fashioned, they started preparing arrows from split bamboos. They somehow got the information that poison trees grow in the north and are in the possession of the daughter of Pedong Nane. With the help of a bird, they managed to collect some poison. The great smith prepared arrowheads of iron, which they got out of nails of Lingen Sobo. With the help of a plant, *talo*, they smeared the arrowhead with the poison.

Thus goes the story of the evolution of their defensive weapons. These implements of defence are:

(a) Shield: Adi shields are generally made of a species of bamboo with interlaced cane strips. They are rectangular in shape, concave inside and convex on the outer side. There is a horizontal handle, made of cane, fixed to the inner side. Rare specimens of shields covered with mithun hide are found in the higher regions. Adi shields are never decorated but are proof against arrows and swords.

(b) War Helmet: The Adis possess two types of helmets: one for everyday use and the other specially for war purposes. War helmets are of coiled whole cane, round in shape and without any projection. Full or half cane strips are



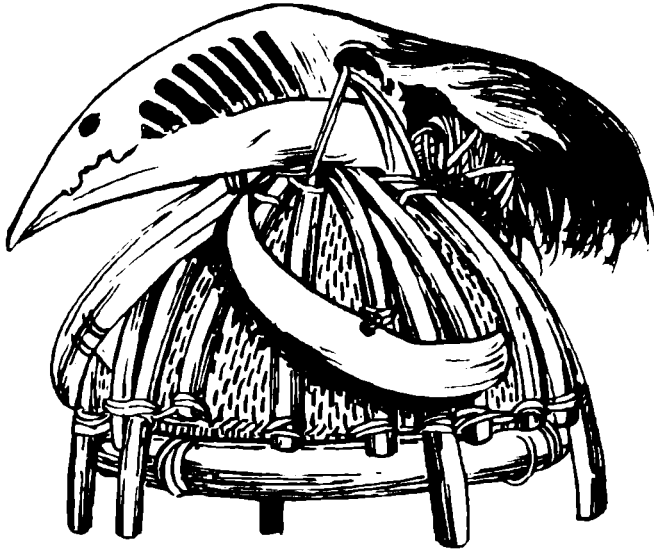
War-helmet

fixed on the upper side of the helmet from one end to the other to strengthen it. It is usually decorated in front with two boar tusks placed crosswise, while the top is occasionally decorated with bear skin or a tuft of hair of the Tibetan yak, dyed in scarlet. Sometimes beaks of birds, specially hornbill, are fixed on the top of the helmet. A strap is fixed to the helmet, which comes below the chin and keeps it in position.

Their weapons of offence may be classified in the following way:

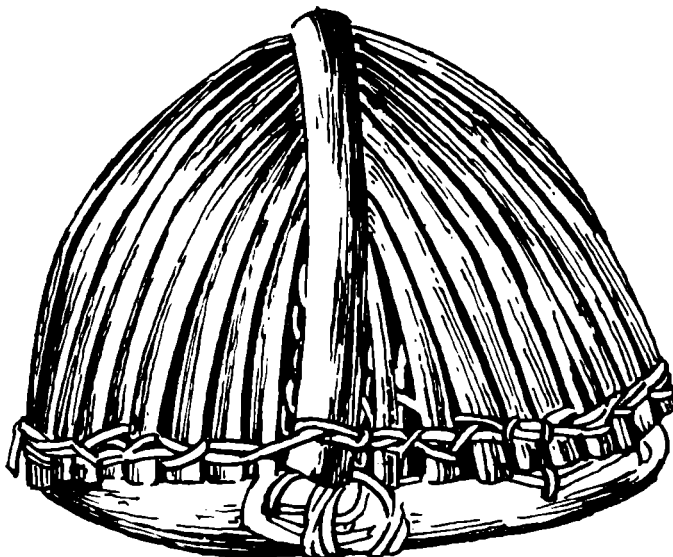
(a) Spear: The Adi spear consists of three parts, the head, the shaft and the butt. The head is again divided into three parts. It has a socket into which the shaft of the spear is fitted. The shaft is pointed and is rammed into the socket. No gum or any material for fixing the shaft in the socket has been noticed. The socket, shank and the blade are made from one piece of iron. The socket, from the open end narrows down to the shank, which again spreads into the blade, which has a laurel-leaf shape. The blade, almost plain is more or less thin, and has a shallow mid rib and ends in a sharp point. At the shank.

there is no marked projection. The shaft is made from the stem of the palm tree and finely scraped and polished with the help of a knife. It is not uniform in diameter which attains its maximum near about the middle. Both the upper and lower ends



War-helmet

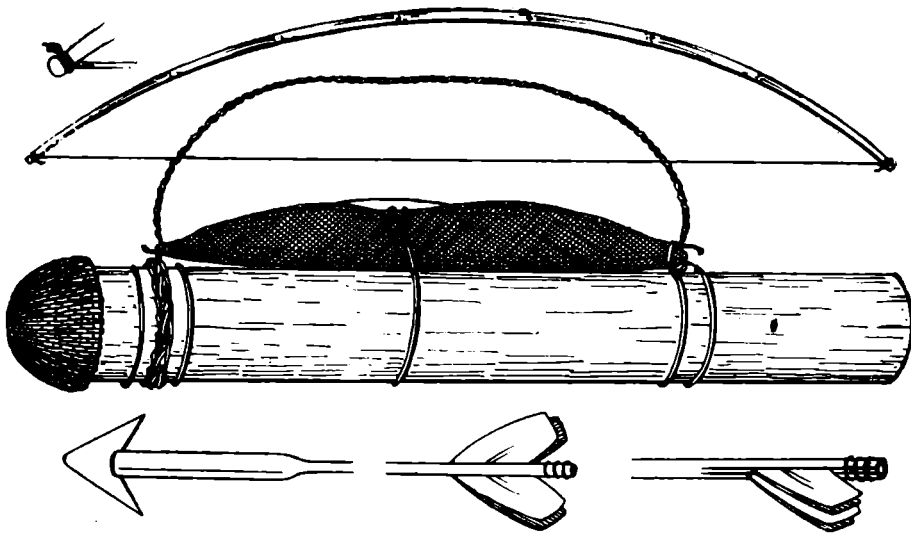
of the shaft are pointed for fitting into the sockets of the blade and of the pointed iron butt-end respectively. The butt-end, which is also made of a single piece of iron, can be divided into two parts, the socket and the pointed end. The butt-end as a



War-helmet

whole, from socket to spike, is circular in cross-section. The main use of the butt-end is to keep the spear shaft fixed in the ground when not in use. It also helps the owner in climbing hills when it serves the purpose of an alpenstock. The shaft of the Adi spear is not much ornamented. The only decoration generally noticed is a tuft of yak hair, dyed in scarlet and fixed at the junction of the socket of the head with the shaft. The Adis use the spear for thrusting and not for throwing.

(b) Bow: Adi bows are simple, and made of a single piece of bamboo. Their bows are made of split bamboo. A straight bamboo piece is allowed to dry partially over a fire, when the stave is shaved down to the required thickness and shaped with the help of locally made knives. This stave is occasionally left to season above the hearth of the house on the *machang*, a process which changes the green colour to deep brown and maroon. The stave is not reinforced by any other substance. The central portion of the stave is broad and almost flat. In section, the bow is markedly convex on the outer side and concave on the inner side. From the middle, it tapers slightly towards each end. At each end there is a shoulder or horn.



Bow, quiver, arrow with reed shaft and iron head

No ornamentation is marked on the stave. At one end of the string, a loop is made which is semi-permanently fixed in one of the horns of the stave, which is generally in the lower end; the other end of the string has a loop which is of sufficient

length to slip down the other end but not beyond the limit of the other end but not beyond the limit of the horn of the stave.

The string is mounted on the stave only during use, so that the strength and elasticity is maintained. To string a bow, the lower end of the stave is rested on the ground, the top end being held in hand. Knee is pressed almost at the middle of the stave and the top of the stave is drawn below. The knots at both ends of the string face inwards. The bow is then ready for use.

(c) Arrows: Arrows are generally of two kinds:

(1) Bamboo shaft with a bamboo head: A thin piece of bamboo is clean shaved; one end of this is pointed and hardened in the fire. The other end of the arrow is feathered by means of two strips of thin leaves. In the lower end of the shaft, a slit is made and two thin strips of cane leaf are inserted diagonally opposite one another. In order to keep the feather in position, this portion of the shaft is again tied by means of thread. There is a concave notch at the butt-end of the arrow for fitting the arrow on the bow-string properly. These arrows are ment to kill birds.

(2) Reed shaft with iron head and poison: The shaft is made of reed and feather is fixed as before but the head is made of iron. The iron head of the arrow is pointed and small. The arrow-head is, however, barbed on two sides at the shanks ending in a sharp point. The pointed tang of the head is inserted inside the shaft and is tied round with thin cane strips. Poison is plastered on the shank of the arrow and for about 2 cm. on the shaft, over the cane strips tied round the place of insertion of the arrow-head in the shaft. The whole portion plastered with poison, is expected to go into the body, and even if it does not, a simple cut is enough to cause death to the enemy or game.

(d) Carrying case for arrows: This is made out of a bamboo, closed at one end, by the node, the open end being provided with a cover. On the outer side, a pocket made of cane strips plaited in hexagonal open work is provided to keep additional reserves of the strings. The carrying case generally contains assorted arrows and its capacity varies from 12 to 15. The carrying case is suspended by means of a string attached to it.

The Adis hold their bow almost perpendicularly gripping the stave at the middle with the left hand, the string towards the body. The arrow is held with the fingers of the right hand and is placed on left side of the stave, and rests on the index finger of the left hand. The string of the bow fits the notch of the arrow and the arrow butt is held in position by thumb and the index finger. The string along with the arrow is fully drawn towards the belly and released suddenly after taking proper aim. This drawing requires only a slight pull to shoot the arrow with a great velocity. A good shot from an Adi bow will strike accurately at a distance of a 100 yards or more.

Adi arrow-heads are smeared with aconite. This they collect from the snow hills of the north, powder it and mix it with *talo* and *mane* (a variety of creeper and wild potato) and paste it on the blade and for about 2 cm. on the shaft, covering the tang of the arrow. This paste is allowed to dry slowly for some time. The action of the poison starts after it mixes with the blood. 'The action of the poison is very rapid, sometimes less than one hour, and rarely more than six hours. Violent convulsions are set up, and tetanus supervenes.'¹ But the poison is ineffective if the arrow is drawn out timely and the wound is immediately washed. The local antidote for a poisoned arrow is to wash the wound and apply a mixture of fowl's droppings and opium, if obtainable. The Adis go in batches to the high north-eastern hills to collect this poison. They believe that evil spirits guard the place, who assume the forms of their wives and try to deceive them and thus deprive them of the precious poison. So when they start to collect the poison, they shout five times '*Hoh! Hoh!*' to drive away the evil spirits. While on the way to the village, they are received by the women of their village well ahead of the *moshup* with rice-beer. Having seen the women of the village, all the spirits, if still accompanying in the female form, will run away. The women of the village brush the legs and hands of the men with broom-sticks in order to drive away the evil spirits. After this ceremony, they come straight to the *moshup* and will sing songs clan by clan. On the night of the

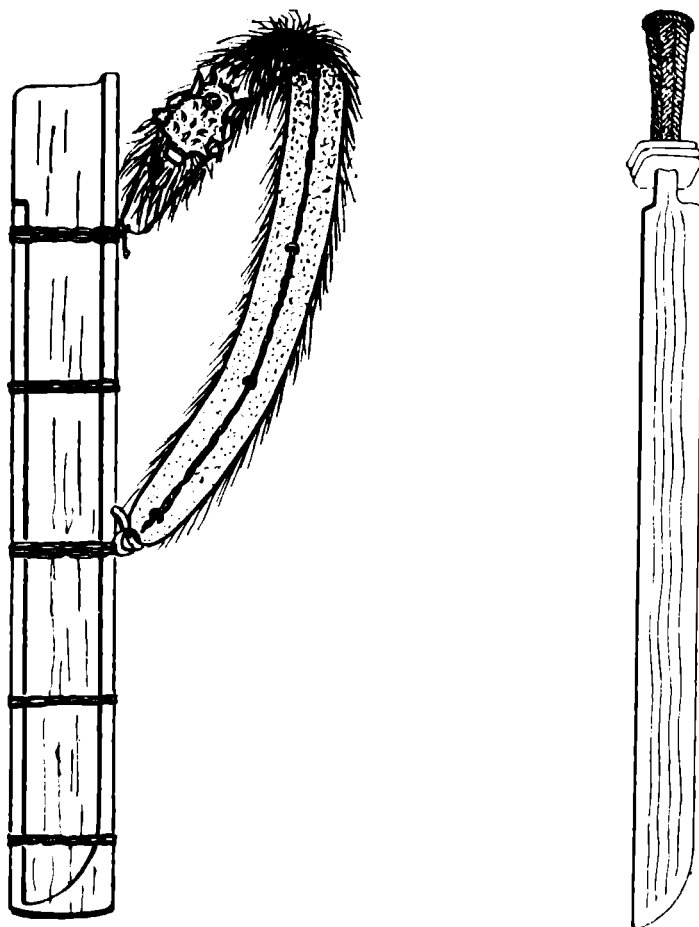
¹ A. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 27.

return, they sacrifice a fowl and ginger. The poison is kept at the spot of the sacrifice, and the blood of the sacrificed animal is sprinkled over it to increase its potency. After the sacrifice of the fowl, the poison is divided amongst the adult male members of the village. They dry their own shares in the sun and grind it to powder. The juice of the poison is mixed with *mane* and smeared on the head and part of the shaft of the arrow with a branch of *tale*. This mixture of poison and *mane* should not be plastered with the fingers as the slightest inadvertance may lead to serious consequence. The young men who plaster the poison are not allowed to sleep with their wives for three nights. Poison being thus plastered, the arrow with the blade is kept on the *machan* over the fire-place for drying. During this period, they do not drink *apong* except from a leaf pot and do not eat hot rice. They believe that heat has a bad effect on the poison. Salt and vegetables are tabooed during this period. Women are forbidden to husk paddy and prepare fresh *apong*. When the poison is well dried, the men go out for a hunt to test its effect. After they have left the village for hunting, the women of the village are allowed to husk paddy. In this way, the ceremony of the pasting of poison on the arrows and collection of poison from the far away hills is carried out once in a year (see Appendix Ia).

(e) Sword: Adi swords are straight and one edged. The grip of the sword is carefully plaited with cane strips. The other end of the blade is narrow, blunt and curved. The Adis do not thrust the sword into an enemy's body, but cut with it when he is within the range. The swords are always carried in wooden scabbards, and are kept in position with the help of a transverse band of cane strips. The sword with the scabbard is slung from a belt made of mithun hide.

Adis swords are mainly imported from Tibet, by the Boris and Ashings of the northern Adi hills. The Adis assess the value of a sword by the number of welding lines marked on the blade. These are very prominent on the swords imported from Tibet. Among the Adis, Minyongs and Komkars are reputed for manufacturing swords, but the Tibetan swords available in the Adi country are much superior to those made locally. A sword of Tibetan make will easily fetch Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The price

of a sword to an Adi does not always depend on the make or on the quality, but to a great extent on the history and tradition of its use in different wars.

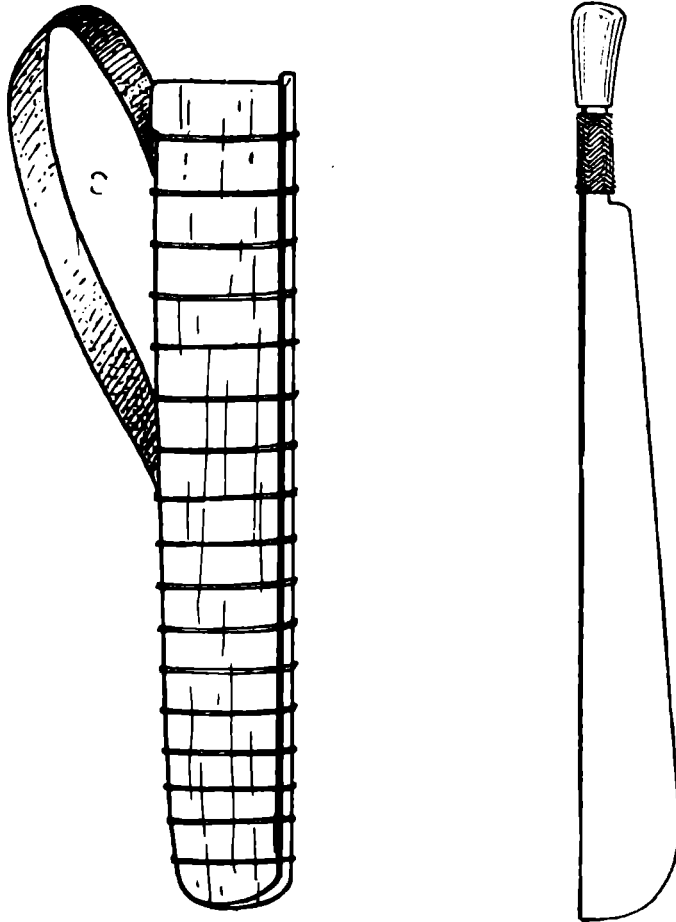


Sword and scabbard

(f) *Dao*: The Adis do not possess any special *dao* for military purposes. The same *dao* serves domestic as well as martial purposes. The blade of the *dao* is narrow towards the haft and broad towards the tip. The *daos* are without point and have a single edged top-heavy blade. The blade has a tang which is inserted into a wooden handle which is occasionally plaited with cane. They are always carried in wooden cases, one side of which is open. Several transverse cane bands keep the *dao* in position. The sling of the *dao* is generally made of mithun hide.

(g) Small knife: The Adis always carry a knife. It is used even in war. The Adi knife is sharp, pointed, one edged

and thin-bladed. It is invariably carried in a case made of bamboo strip finely plaited. The handle of the knife is made of wood and plaited with cane strips. The blade is fixed to the handle by a tang at an obtuse angle.

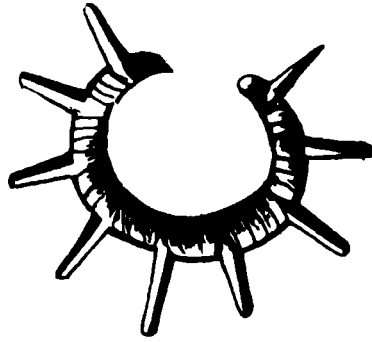


Dao and scabbard

(h) Spike Wristlets: Wristlets are weapons with strong spikes. Typical Adi wristlets are now-a-days obsolete. Wristlets are locally made from brass with strong sharp spikes on the outer side. It is generally used by them during a hand to hand fight. Variations of this bracelet with less sharp spikes are used now-a-days as ornament by the men and women.

(i) Guns: Over and above these locally made weapons, almost all Adi villages possess muzzle-loading guns of Tibetan make. These guns are now-a-days replaced by modern guns available in the market.

War: Adi tactics of warfare can best be described from the records left by different expeditionary parties and from the description obtained from two very old Adi headmen of the upper region of the Adi Hills, who actually took part in the fights. The report of the Adi expeditionary party of 1911-12



Spiked wristlet

states: 'The main column followed the newly constructed path until the Yernu ridge was reached. From here the Abor track was followed. On reaching the Lalek stream, two companies were detached to climb the hill in order to outflank the pass on which it was expected that a stockade had been constructed. None was found however and the descent to the Igar stream was commenced. This was very precipitous and in several places, rock chutes were found, showing that the enemy were active in the neighbourhood.....Soon the scouts reported a stockade ahead and suddenly a shot was fired, wounding one of the guides.....This was followed by a shower of arrows, and several stone chutes were started. Several of the leading men were brushed off the path by stonesa party of six men under.....were sent to outflank the enemy's right. The party had a steep and a perilous climb, in the course of which they had to pass below part of the stockade. They were in full view of the enemy and were treated to showers of arrows and the discharge of several stone chutes, which fortunately caused no loss. Eventually the detached bastion on the right of the stockade was entered. Here there was some hand to hand fighting before the enemy fled, its capture enabling the party to enfilade the main stockade. The Abors, finding themselves taken in flank, abandoned the position, which

was then occupied by our troops. On the following day, the force marched to Rotung which was found to have been burnt by the retiring Abors. Abors apparently trusted, not in a strong stockade, but in the natural difficulties of the position backed by over a hundred stone chutes'.¹



Adi in a charging pose

‘Judging by previous experience, the favourite method adopted by Abors is to hold up the head of the column by a strong stockade impossible or difficult to turn, and, at the same time, to rush in one of the flanks of the line of coolies. As the

¹ *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*—op. cit., pp. 34-35.

paths are so narrow that they only permit of moving in single file, and as the jungle is too thick to permit of the use of flankers, the guarding of the coolies is a matter of considerable difficulty.²¹

Any and every major and minor problem of Adi life is decided in the village council. Whenever they learn of any enemy advance towards their village, they do not lose any time in summoning a council, where the Gams of different villages also take part. After much discussion, they agree upon certain points of action, mainly defensive of which stone chutes are the most important. But side by side, they prepare for offensive action and train the young men of the village for attacking the enemy on the flank with swords, bows and arrows.

It has been noted earlier that they used to stick into the ground bamboo spikes (*panjis*) in the way of their enemy. The enemy unaware of these *panjis* get hurt and the wounds on their feet render them helpless. The Adi warriors then come down on the enemy who have thus been wounded and cannot take to their heels. That is called *mignag* warfare.

In the third type, Adis start in two batches carrying enough food for two or three days and conceal themselves in the way of their enemy, one batch in the upper side and the other in the lower side of the hill path. When the enemy approaches, the batch on the lower side allows them to proceed; but when they reach near the upper batch, then the upper batch suddenly attacks them. As the enemy starts to run back, they are confronted by the batch in the lower side. This type of warfare is called *magbi*. (See Appendix I.b).

In a fight, whenever they are able to kill an enemy, they return home claiming to be victorious and have to perform certain rites on the following day. When an enemy was killed in war, they draw a picture of a staircase for the easy march of his spirit to heaven. If it is not drawn properly, then the man, who has killed the enemy, will turn mad and will forget the usual tracks in the forest. While returning from war, they used to carry the right hand of the enemy killed, in a basket wrapped up with creepers. Approaching the village, the warrior shouts out Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! five times, and thus the villagers

² *ibid.*, p. 103.

are informed. The villagers welcome him; the village girls put on his shoulders new skirts, and present him with bead necklaces. All these ceremonies have to be performed; otherwise the evil spirit of the person killed will have control over him. Then an



Adi in full war-dress

emul is beaten to drive away the evil spirits of the dead enemy. This *emul* is then put on the neck of the warrior and secured with a string. The girls of the village, when welcoming him, come with a *sumpa* and all other women lead the warrior to the

village, keeping the hero in the middle of the whole group. As the party comes near the village, the old men of the village will come and perform the *patar* ceremony. They light a fire and lead the man to the village. The hero is required to sacrifice a fowl at the place where the old men perform the ceremony. This sacrifice is made to satisfy the hunger of the evil spirits. After this ceremony, they again proceed towards the *moshup* where they assemble and dance. The hero is now expected to stay at the *moshup* and is not allowed to go to his own house. At the *moshup*, they perform the Keming ceremony in which they sacrifice pigs and mithuns. They take all these animals to the place where *patar* was performed, and placing the animals in the centre, all male members call out Hih! Hih! and continue pricking the animals with *yoksa*. Then the intestines of these animals along with the blood is scattered on all sides. Next a horizontal bar-like frame is constructed with bamboo in which the hand of enemy is hung along with the hind and fore legs of the animals killed. A basket containing *mapur*, *tale*, *talo*, *tatke* (creepers) is also tied. After performing all these activities, the hero is allowed to proceed to the *moshup*. While the hero is to fix a hollow piece of bamboo in the ground below the *moshup*, pointing towards the place where the enemy has been killed. Constituents of *apong* and rice are put inside it and a red fowl is sacrificed. After some time, the bamboo piece along with sacrificed fowl and all other things is carried to the place of the *keming* festival and is thrown away. The ceremony being over, the warrior returns to the *moshup* to stay there for three nights. During his stay there he is not allowed to use any pot other than the ones prepared by him for food and drink. The rice is not to be cooked by his wife. In the night, all the village girls and the old men will stay with him in the *moshup*. In the following morning, they start on a hunting expedition with the warrior and hunt for three nights. Every time while going out for hunting, they pierce an egg and a piece of ginger with a bamboo stick and throw them away on their way to the forest. All these are offered to propitiate evil spirits. When the hero returns from their hunt, he has first to proceed to his mother's brother's house and after resting there for sometime, he is allowed to proceed to his own house,

where his wife keeps hanging a piece of white cloth and ginger in front of the door and a *tanjum* on the wall. All these customs are observed to prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. (see Appendix I.c.)



Adi in full war-dress

Treaties among them are very simple and effective. Whenever any party after prolonged warfare wants to stop it, it

usually sends a message seeking treaty, in code signs. The opponents if satisfied with the signs agree to a treaty. The boundary of the village is generally selected as the suitable place for the meeting. Both the parties meet there, a council is held and after prolonged discussions by different Gams of both the parties, they usually come to a settlement. Mithun from two sides are brought and are sacrificed by strangling. The meat of the animals, along with sufficient quantity of *apong*, is distributed to the members of the two villages. And thus the treaty is ratified. A treaty, once concluded, is very rarely flouted.

There are scheduled places for keeping each weapon in the house. Weapons are generally kept inside the house in the following order which rarely varies in different villages:

The spear is kept generally on the ceiling of the covered portico of the house outside the main room. (The ceilings are not very high and are easily reached.) But bows, arrows and the carrying case for the same are kept inside the house and on the ceiling. The sword is usually kept hanging on the wall of the room near the head of the owner's bed.

As a rule women do not use any of the weapons excepting the *dao* and the small knife, which are necessary for their daily use.

During peace time only, women are allowed to touch the bow and arrow-case kept inside the house but during their menstruation period and war, they are not allowed to touch the implements of war and chase, swords, spear, bow and arrow and arrow case. The touch of women who spin and brew may cause entanglement and loss of self-control during fights.

If a woman by mistake touches the weapons, to avoid disaster in war, they sacrifice one fowl to the *piang* deity and the woman will perform *takuk*. To test the effect of the sacrifice, they first of all go out hunting. If they are able to kill an animal easily, then it proves that the offering has been answered. If not, they are to perform *gammang*, *mabat*, *piang* ceremonies with sacrifices of fowls. (See Appendix Id).

The Adis manufacture most of their weapons locally; almost in every village, there is a local smith who is an expert in metal work. These smiths are not of a separate clan, but

the profession is generally inherited from father to son or by the nearest male relative. Once a man takes up this profession in a village, nobody competes with him. The Adi smith is not distinguished from other villagers in any way, and leads the same kind of life as the other villagers do, excepting that he, by this profession, adds a little to his agricultural income. His charges are paid either in cash or in kind. Generally the forge is situated in one corner of the village, and the house is small with stone walls of about 3 feet high with the roof made of thatch. The plinth is made of mud, the house is thus not supported on pillars. In between the side walls and the roof, some space is left open on all four sides, for light and air to pass.

They do not extract iron from ore, but purchase pig iron from Pasighat or get by barter from the Tibetans.

The contents of an Adi blacksmith's workshop are very simple and consist of the following articles.

1. A wooden pot scooped out in the middle for storing water.

2. Pincers: The tips are made of iron, and the body is of split bamboo. Such pincers with iron tips are very useful to the black-smiths as they easily hold the red hot iron. With the help of these iron tips no heat is transmitted through the main body of bamboo.

3. Hammers of different sizes with wooden hafts are purchased from the local market.

4. Anvils are of two types:—

(i) Flat stone of moderate size is buried inside the ground, having its flat edge flush with the ground.

(ii) ordinary type anvil with a wooden base is purchased from the local market or prepared locally.

5. The work of a chisel is generally carried out with the help of a *dao* or in some villages, an ordinary chisel is purchased from the local market.

6. A basket full of charcoal prepared locally from jungle wood.

The hearth is prepared just in the centre of the room as a circular shallow depression, which is filled with charcoal. A semi-circular hard mud-wall is made on the side of the hearth

covering up to a certain height. The cylinder bellows described below, extend as far as the place where the operator sits.



Double cylinder bellows in action

Thus this semi-circular mud-wall protects both the operator and the bamboo cylinder of the bellows from the heat of the furnace.

The bellows consist of a pair of vertical hollow bamboo tubes about 4 inches in diameter. The lower ends of the tubes are buried in the ground side by side. From the bottom of each cylinder, a bamboo tube protrudes and joins the other at a point barely a few feet up from the hearth, and then the joined tube enters into the hearth. The construction of the piston is very simple. The handle of the piston is made of bamboo; at the lower end feathers are so fixed that, when the piston is pulled up, air from the open upper end of the cylinder easily makes way into the tube; but when the piston is pressed downwards these feathers stop the air from escaping and is pushed into the furnace.

An assistant to the blacksmith stands behind the cylinders to operate the vertical bamboo bellows, taking the two pistons in two hands. He works the pistons alternately up and down, thus maintaining a constant draught in the furnace.

The blacksmith takes the help of pincers to take out the red hot irons from the furnace and with the help of chisel, anvil and hammer gives it the shape required.

The Adi blacksmith is expert in manufacturing *dao*, spear-head, knife and arrow-head. In rare cases, they manufacture swords, which are generally obtained from the Tibetans.

When a warrior is dead, some of his weapons, which he used during wars, accompany him to the grave and decorate it. The rest of the weapons (mostly swords, bows, and arrows) are inherited by his sons. Women have no share in any of these weapons.

When an Adi is too poor to pay a fine imposed by the village council, he will surrender his weapons which are valued according to fixed rate.

For paying small fines of two to three rupees, they are allowed to offer their spear, whereas for heavier fines amounting from ten to thirty rupees a sword can be offered. Wristlets can also be offered for fines amounting to two to three rupees.

In spite of all this tradition of war and valour, the Adis of the present day, lost much of their spirit during British rule,

and have since given up fighting. The young men of the present generation have not even seen a fight. But they still preserve the weapons of their forefathers and manufacture new ones, though not for any war purpose, but principally for hunting, for which they generally use the bow and arrows. The spear on the other hand is an official insignia of the head man of the village. Swords are at present used by the Miri during dancing.

V. FOOD

Agriculture: Food and shelter are the two primary necessities in life. They determine the fundamental nature of man's relation with his environment. In the earlier stages, sparse populations could easily feed free at the bountiful table of nature. That was the age of gatherers. But gradually, growing concentrations of population and the irregularity of natural supplies forced man to establish a more permanent relation with nature, based on something more dependable than her mere whims. This resulted in human control over the vegetable and animal world and so domestication started. With the domestication of plants, agriculture came into being and as plants can be better controlled than animals, agriculture as a means of procurement of food, has gained predominance over the other sources such as hunting and fishing. From the earliest time to which the history of the Adis can be traced back, they have been at that stage where hunting, fishing and gathering continue to be significant occupations, though subsidiary to agriculture. It is the principal means of support. But it is still mainly in the subsistence level; though in places, especially towards the frontier, surplus crops are bartered for other essentials and luxuries.

The purpose and method of cultivation and the nature of crops raised determine the character of agriculture. From the point of view of method, Adi agriculture has been described as shifting cultivation or slash and burn cultivation. These two names together bring out the most characteristic features of this system. In this, at first, a patch in the forest is cleared by cutting down the under-growth and felling the trees which,

when dried, are burnt. Crops are raised for one to three years, the period depending on the retention of the fertility by the soil. Periods of fallow intervene between the periods of tillage, and normally every third year, cultivation is shifted to a fresh clearing. This cycle of cultivation, fallow, shift and clearing by slash and burn, goes on as long as there is a village situated in the locality. Thus, cultivation moves in a circle as it were round the village which forms a permanent nucleus. This type of agriculture is generally known in these parts as *jhum*. But the Adis who till recently knew and practised no other type of agriculture, do not have any distinguishing name for it and call cultivated fields in general *arik*.

This system is an outgrowth of various natural factors. The land of the Adis consisting of rainy low lands, and sub-tropical and temperate high lands falls within the tropical belt round the world where the infertility of the soil among other factors has given rise to this type of agriculture. Soils in the Siang Division are said to be clay loam, loam and sandy loam with few stretches of alluvial clay in low lying areas at the foothills and in the bottom of the valleys. The soils of the hills have been classified as loam and sandy loam, sometimes mixed with gravel. On the whole the distribution of soil on the hill sides is uniform-sandy loam with an upper layer of humus. Soils freshly cleared of forests are usually rich in organic deposits with thick layers of leaf mould. Quick growth of tangled vegetation at low levels renders the task of clearing very difficult, and hardly any considerable stretch of level ground with proper soil conditions are available that would yield itself to an intensive and permanent cultivation. So, only the hill sides are available for cultivation, and the rain washes away nutritive minerals of the soil, the land soon gets exhausted. On the other hand, of course, the rain washes away exhausted layers and brings fresh surface of the soil to the top. This also, if it helps the cultivators, impoverishes the soil. Thus quick exhaustion of the soil, and speedy growth of tangled jungle have forced man in these areas to this migratory type of agriculture. Natural drainage, ease in clearing, salubrity of climate, and defense facilities have led the Adis to select hill sides in preference to the narrow level strips at the foot.

Theoretically the land belongs to the people. There is no such land as may be considered free or unoccupied. But as the people is not a single political unit, but is divided into villages which are independent of one another, every village has its own territory demarcated by prominent natural features such as rivers and mountain ridges. These boundaries are well known and respected. Within these, the entire land falling under the jurisdiction of the village belongs to the families inhabiting it. There may be clanwise groupings of holdings in some ancient villages such as Damroh and Riga, but division is not generally made according to clans but according to families. Every inch of soil has its owner and his right to it is absolute though this right concerns cultivation only as by theory land belongs to the village as a whole.

Its right descends through the male line, all sons equally sharing the estate of his father. This right also persists in all the phases of operation that the land passes through. Only during fallow periods, individual ownership stands suspended for the grazing of the village cattle. No one can object to the cattle grazing in his land in that period. There is no legal restriction of the transfer of the right nor there is any restriction in theory about the transfer. But in practice it is limited to relatives and within the village. Transfer is usually effected through sale, lease, and exchange. Land, however, is never rented out. Disputes regarding ownership of land are rare but not unknown. In such cases it is customary to induce the disputing parties to agree to submit their cases to the decision of a *kebang*. The aim of the *kebang* is to bring about a compromise between the parties. In case the *kebang* fails to secure acceptance of either or both the parties, divine intervention is sought through an ordeal. In case both the parties are proved to be in the wrong by the ordeal, the land is equally divided between them. In case one of the parties refuses to face the ordeal the decision goes in favour of the other.

Three types of use are made of land. One type is used for residential purposes, and the second type is a fresh land reserved for hunting. The third type is the agricultural land, which as stated above serves as grazing land in fallow periods. There are no technical distinction between all these three cate-

gories. They are selected on the basis of advantages and disadvantages. For agricultural land there is no codified idea about fertility or exhaustion of soil, but a latent idea may be detected in their tillage cycles and selection of land for different crops in different parts of the year. This knowledge has grown out of long experience and being translated in our terminology it would appear that the Padams grade soil as *mane*, *marak*, *mongham*, *liru* and *liyak* in a descending scale of order in fertility.

But this idea of fertility is taken into consideration only at the time of sowing. The cultivation depends upon what is known here as *patat*. The entire agricultural land of a village is divided into a number of blocks, which are ear-marked for tillage after a definite number of years of fallow. Such blocks are known as *patats*. To take an ideal case, a village has eleven such blocks. In the starting year blocks 'A' is brought under cultivation. Next year 'B' is opened newly and 'A' continues to be tilled. In the third year 'C' is opened and A and B continue under cultivation. Supposing this to be a three year tillage period area, in the fourth year 'A' is left fallow and 'D' is taken up. In this way the cycle continues till after tenth year 'A' is taken up again. This allows ten years fallow to every block. The following table will, describes the *patat* cycle in the village of Padu, where it will be noticed every *patat* has its own special name.

This cycle is commonly called *jhum* cycle, and ensures against the exhaustion of soil. The cycle depends on the number of *patats* available.

1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
Eying	Eying	Eying	Fallow	Fallow
	Pipulimuk	Pipulimuk	Pipulimuk	„
		Rangeng lumbesoko	Rangeng lumbesoko	Rangeng lumbesoko
			Rangeng lumberinging	Rangeng lumberinging
				Ginkong Kaying

6th year	7th year	8th year	9th year
Fallow	Fallow	Fallow	Fallow
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
Rangeng lumberinging	”	”	”
Kaying Ginkong	Kaying Ginkong	”	”
Situng Kirung	Situng Kirung	Situng Kirung	”
	Upsing yokel	Upsing yokel	Upsing yokel
		Berung garang	Berung garang
			Ralek
10th year	11th year	12th year	13th year
Fallow	Fallow	Fallow	Fallow
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
”	”	”	”
Berung garang	”	”	”
Ralek	Ralek	”	”
Rasing	Rasing	Rasing	”
	Jonging	Jonging	Jonging



Jhum above an Adi village

Harvesting by plucking



Harvesting with knives



A girl winnowing



Due to the custom of frequent shifting, land for cultivation has to be selected every year afresh. Now the selection of land is an extremely important decision to the Adis. 'Land is the habitation of man, the store house upon which he must depend for all he needs, the material to which his labour must be applied for the supply of all his desires; for even the light of the sun enjoyed, or any of the forces of nature utilised, without the use of land or its products. On the land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again—children of the soil as truly as is the blade of grass or the flower of the field. Take away from man all that belongs to land, and he is but a disembodied spirit'.¹ It is true of the Adis and so they bestow the greatest care on all their dealings with land. The selection is a very important event in their annual life. It is usually the headman of the village who decides on the patches to be cultivated, but he always consults the other elders of the village and the wishes of the spirits are also ascertained by means of omens. The main feature in this area is the utilization of as large blocks of land as possible. Even the largest village with over two thousand inhabitants have only two or three patches in use in any one season. Large scale use of single blocks is characteristic of the Adis and contrasts very sharply with neighbouring areas, such as the Dafla country to the west, where sometimes as many as 20 different patches are cultivated at a time. A large Adi village, specially in the Minyong area has, therefore, a very large continuous block of land amounting to a thousand of acres cultivated at a time. Gentler slopes of the hill are usually preferred, but in some cases, the fields are extremely steep. 6,000 ft. is the highest altitude for agricultural land.

The Adi year is divided into twelve months which are, however, not very clear cut divisions. The arrangement differs from place to place and sometime the same month appears to have different names. This is because they reckon their seasons according to the agricultural activities. They usually start their year with the season of sowing. According to the system followed in the Padam area, the year begins with the month of Terrem

¹ Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (New York, 1921), p. 211.

which roughly corresponds with January of the Roman calendar. Terem is followed by Buising, Kombong, Galling, Kijir, Diking, Lobo, Ylo, Tanno, Iyo, Yite and Disang.¹

As agriculture is still mainly on the subsistence level, usually no hired labour is engaged. In cases, however, where death or disability deprives a family of its working hands, or in cases of accidental taboos which upset the agricultural programme, outside help is required. To meet such emergencies, there are two systems. According to one known as *riglap*, labour is hired on payment of cash. Payment in kind also can be made in which case the system is called *enlik*.

Once the land has been selected and approved by the spirits, a day is fixed for clearing it. Clearing comprises cutting down of jungle and trees and burning of the debris when dry. A festival known as Mopun is performed during the cutting of jungle. The old people of the village collect some bamboo poles and plant these on the ground along with two branches of *tan* and *sinkang* trees. A cane basket called Mopun is hung on these two branches. The basket is filled with earth, and jungle leaves, which are supposed to represent crop grains. Pigs are sacrificed near the poles and the blood is sprinkled over the Mopun with the following incantations: *Ngoluke arik anam ali aye takameem Kine Nane no aipe ibilanka emla Ngolu Doni Aji takame nom Siki Mopumem punbidung. Noke Ngolu doibotemela Kine Nane Nom Siki Mopunem punbidung.* The major share of the sacrificed meat goes to the aged, the rest is shared by the young. The function is followed by dance and drinking in the *moshup* and *rasheng*.

The cutting is extremely thorough. Natural vegetation is completely razed to the ground and no trees are left standing beyond mere stumps. On the day fixed for the clearing, the whole village except the invalids goes out to the selected spot and do the work on a family basis. As the clearing of the new fields and weeding of the old fields are done simultaneously, they adopt a rough division of labour. In the old fields with crops

¹ In Pasi area Buising corresponds with January of the English Calendar and Buising is followed by Gitmur, Kombong, Gatling, Kijir, Lobo, Yiollo, Tonno, Iyo, Yite, Disang and Tarem.

require only weeding which is usually entrusted to the women, whereas the new fields which require a good deal of hard labour is undertaken by men. On cutting the jungle the big logs of woods are used for demarcation of boundaries between individual fields. The rest ensures them a good supply of firewood. Cutting of jungle usually takes about a month and the debris collected are left to dry for about a fortnight. The implements used for clearing are locally made *dao* and the common axe purchased from the market.

This operation of clearing of jungle is performed first in the months of March-April for Job's tears, and the second time in July-August for winter crops.

The debris is burnt in the month of May and September. *Eme rinam* is a male prerogative. After burning, the land is cleared of heavy charred logs and branches, which in some parts are collected and burnt again.

The conclusion of the clearing activities is marked by propitiation of domestic spirits (Gumin soin). The festival is known as Aran or Pombi. The entire village abstains from work in field for five days and fasten to the house posts offerings of ginger, meat and rice, to the spirits. The adults then go out in the jungle for collecting bamboo for constructing a platform near the *moshup*. A few bamboo poles and branches of *sinkang*, *tan* and *pejang* trees are thrust into a hole in the centre of the platform. A pig and a chicken are sacrificed with the incantions: *Doying Ginjing a Ane Ginjing a no takamem rune takam noke amine no sibo Doying Ginjingem ginbilanka. Noke aminlok Ngolu Siki Nane melang Doyi Bote me imoton-tula Nolum Ngolu takame Siki pombiem bibidung. Delokke Siki Tapuem silo rebidung. Delokke Ane Gumine Sikin Gumin eteng gumin kangabem serap bilanka.*

'Protect us all Oh Doying Ginjing a. All will be looking up to you and to your name. We are calling upon the god of fields also inviting him to the feast. To you we offer the Pombi aran offerings. Tapun too we perform in your honour thereafter. Oh deity of the hearth and deity of fields—take us unto your protecting care.'

Pigs are sacrificed by suffocation and fowls by cutting the throat. Blood of the sacrificed chicken is sprinkled over the

platform along with some rice paste. Old people of the village are invited and are feasted with the meat and rice and *apong* especially prepared there for them. The festival is performed to propitiate the spirits, some of whom are believed to preside over the field. Two of them control the fertility of soil and jungle treasures, and another concerns itself with domestic animals, while the Doying Angong is a spirit of rain.

Sowing starts on the completion of this festival. In the month of March and April they start sowing vegetables, cotton, and maize. Job's tears, paddy, foxtail millet, finger millet and sweet potatoes are sown in May sowing operation taken place in the months of September, October and November when they grow winter vegetables.

While sowing, sowers line up in a row at the bottom of the field. Each of them takes seeds straight from granary in a small basket which hangs from the left side of the shoulder. They carry a *dao* or a digging stick each in their right hand. They slowly march upwards, stopping to dig the implements held at an angle to the body, into the earth, to make small holes. About a foot and a half apart from one another. In each hole seeds are placed from the bamboo basket with the left hand. In case the line of sowers fails to cover the width of the field, on reaching the upper end the party comes down and continues the same process. A second party now starts broadcasting another type of seeds and subsequently cover them with soil by means of broomsticks.

Paddy, Job's tears and maize are sown by dribbling; but finger millet, foxtail millet are sown broadcast in between the former.

Sowing over, the fields are fenced to keep away the village cattle and to mark out the foot paths leading from one field to another.

The work of fencing is carried out on community and not on individual basis, by both the sexes, young as well as old. This is also the time when a stock taking of the mithuns is carried out and all the animals are driven out of the fenced area.

The fences may be sometimes very extensive, covering a whole hill-side and ladders across them are placed for the com-

ing in and out.

This is followed by rest day and the Ettor festival is performed at that time. The day is fully enjoyed with feast and offerings to the Agam, lord of the animals. The major contribution comes from the owners of the mithuns.

The first weeding starts about a month afterwards when the seeds have sprouted and grown about one foot and a half high and is usually continued in the months of June, July and September. They erect scare crows after the first weeding in the form of man and place them on bamboo poles, *ik*, a horseshoe shaped bamboo scraper is used for weeding. The implement is held at the joint and the soil is scraped by the horseshoe end. The second weeding is carried on when the crops are almost ready for harvesting.

After the first weeding all the women of the village perform Lune Solung or Taku-Binnyal in their respective houses. This festival has all the paraphernalia of Mopun excepting that two pieces of ginger are stuck on an arrow planted near the house. Then a chicken is sacrificed near the granary and the blood is strewn round the granary and the body of the bird is kept inside for a whole night. The feathers are taken out and planted on the ground near the granary. In the night dances are organized by the girls and Miris sing Solung Abangs, rhapsodies on the origin of crops.

Just before the final weeding the Adis perform the Luttor Solung festival for propitiation of Togupyogam and Agam. It is meant for the prosperity of the cattle. All the families that possess mithuns, bring them home from the jungle and tie them to the posts in the yard in the front of their houses.

Every family then sacrifices pigs and chickens according to its means, and the sacrificial meat along with pieces of ginger is offered to the spirits. A bow and a few arrows are hung over the door of each house. At night every owner of mithun makes it a point to hold a feast of *apong* and rice. Sometimes this festival continues for four or five days. The climax of the festival is the Solung dance, performed each night near the *moshup*. The Miri sings about the evolution of the crops, and mithuns and the girls follow him in chorus and dance to his tune.

The main bulk of agriculture products is food crops. Both

grain and garden crops are cultivated. Rice is by far the most important grain crop, Rabi (*Oryza sativa*) species. Most of the paddy grown is of the upland variety. The kharif crop is only of three types. They cultivate paddy in their best lands known as *manne*. Second to rice in importance are Job's tears (*Coix lachryma*). Only five varieties of these cereals are grown. They are raised in the *maruk* fields, inferior to paddy lands.

Four varieties of finger millets (*Eleusine coracana*) are grown mainly in the second and third grade soils. Though far less important, than finger millet, fox-tail millet. (*Setaria italica*), is also one of the chief grain crops. Its importance lies in providing food to the people before the main rice crop is reaped. These are grown in the second and third grade soil only.

Appreciable quantities of maize (*Zea mays*) are also grown as a mixed crop in the first grade and second grade soils. Maize is an important crop with the Ramos, Bokars and Pailibos. *Namdung* (*Perilla ocimoides*) is a kind of oil and grown mainly in the fourth grade soil. These seeds are eaten whole or ground, but never used for extraction of oil.

The green vegetables are of two types according to seasons. The winter vegetables in this region are mustard, country bean pumkin, white gourd, small onion, soya bean and flat bean.

Brinjal, bitter gourd, french bean, small mustard plant are grown in summer. Bamboo shoots are not cultivated but are gathered from jungle and eaten. Potatoes and tomatoes have been introduced recently and are gaining in popularity. Nine varieties of *enge* (*Colocasia antiquorum*) are grown in second, third and fourth grade soils in lines or small patches in the *jhum* fields.

Jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) and citras fruits including oranges are the main fruit trees. Jack-fruit trees are cultivated in large numbers and are a characteristic feature of some areas. Every tree belongs to one of the families in the village. Oranges are mainly confined to the lower valleys and are all of the soft skin type.

Papaya and banana are some of the other fruit trees common in these areas. Pine-apple introduced recently is attracting

the people and is developing into a commercial crop.

Chilles and ginger are the only spice crops cultivated. Sugar-cane is another recent introduction and its cultivation is spreading rapidly as the use of gur and sugar is gaining ground.

Besides the food crops, the Adis raise a few fibre crops. The most important is cotton grown in the *jhum* fields. Other fibre plants, locally known as *Ridin*, *Repung* and *Sajok* grow wild in the jungle. These are generally used in making bags and nets. Tobacco is grown in most villages along with cotton in the *jhum* fields.

The last important agricultural operations on the field are reaping and thrashing. Crops are reaped from one to one and a half month after the last weeding. The universal method of reaping is stripping the ears by hand. Occasionally for *anyat* and paddy they use their small knives. Girls and women go to the field with their conical baskets and start stripping and empty their hands directly into their baskets. The straw if left



Threshing paddy in the field

in the field is burnt to use as manure. The usual daily collection amounts to one basket per head. The grains after reaping are carried to the field house for thrashing. *Arik ippo* is a small temporary house in the *jhum* fields, built by

the owners of the field. While harvesting, they spend nights in these houses. The grains are put in large flat baskets (jare) and threshed with bare feet. They are then cleared of chaff with winnowing fans and then carried to granaries where it is



Husking paddy

stored in large baskets. In some villages the storing is celebrated by the Rikti ceremony to purify the granaries. The festival is performed by each family independently. They prepare

rice-cakes and sacrifice a chicken near the granary and sprinkle the blood all round the granary. The rice cakes (*etting*) are eaten with *apong*. Occasionally the festival concludes with dance and song. Their daily requirement is taken out every day from the granary and husked with wooden mortar and pestle every morning. The chaff is collected, burnt and used for mixing with the rice beer.

Husked rice is put unwashed into an earthen vessel of local manufacture, or of brass wherever available, and set to boil on the fire of the hearth, perched on three pieces of conical stones to serve as a stand. When half boiled the mouth of the vessel is covered with a leaf and it is taken off the fire, but placed very close to it so that the rice cooks on slow heat. The gruel is not extracted but allowed to soak into the cooked rice. When ready it is served hot, round the fire place—where the members of the family sit round and eat, three to four from the same plate. The meal is seasoned with a curry which consists of leafy vegetables. Here also the process is simple boiling and adding of salt and powdered chilli to taste. Meat and fish are not everyday items of food. They are occasional delicacies—fish when a catch is organized and is successful and meat whenever there is a sacrifice or festival in the family of the village. These two are also merely boiled and taken with salt and chilli. Meat and fish are however preserved by means of smoking against times of scarcity and occasions of epicurean enjoyment. This is in the main the principal food of the Adis. Only *anyat* or *nandung*—replace rice in the upper regions where they are more important as crops than paddy.

The Adis rarely practise any process of cooking other than boiling. Frying is absolutely unknown.

There is no variation in the menu at different meals. Breakfast and dinner form their main meals with a lunch in the fields. The same items are served in all these three meals. Early morning as the cock crows the lady of the house husks and cooks and serves before they go out to the field, each carrying a packet of lunch in his or her basket. In the evening the return from the field is immediately followed by another husking, cooking and eating.

The gaps between these meals are filled up by sips of

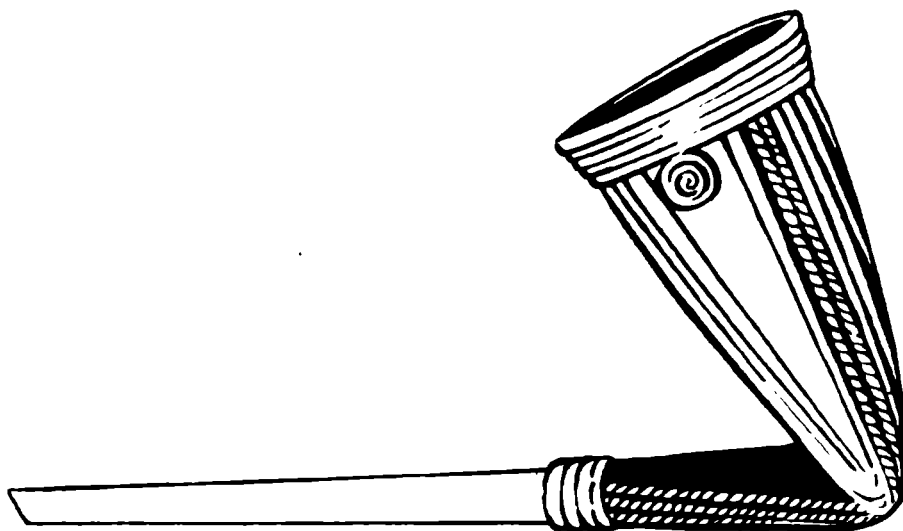
apong from gourd jars. It is a beer—brewing from rice, mirun and other cereals. Every household brews its own *apong* and serves it as a drink—and a food through the whole day for everybody young and old. The process of brewing has been described by Dr Sen Gupta. 'Apong is an extract in hot water and sometimes in hot and cold water, made with slightly fermented millet ragi, locally called *Mirung* (*Eleusine coracana*),



Adis at a meal

or with a mixture of *Mirung* and other cereal or with red variety of rice locally called *Amkel*. The millet after boiling with water is slightly cooled and then mixed intimately with sufficient quantities of paddy husk charcoal and the required quantity of powdered medicinal cake *Seea* and kept in a bamboo basket tightly covered with banana leaf. After two days, the contents are mixed and again kept in the same way. After another two days, the mixture is ready for extracting *apong* and it is extracted with boiled water from the fermented millet in a funnel-shaped vessel made of bamboo strip and lined with banana leaf. Sometimes this is extracted first with hot water and then with cold water and the two extracts are mixed together before consumption. The fermented mixture can be preserved in a tightly covered basket for months but *apong* after its preparation cannot

be preserved even for 24 hours. Besides disintegrated cereals, *apong* contains a quantity of charcoal dust. When *apong* is prepared from *amkel* rice alone, charcoal is not added and extracts are obtained by pressing the mixture with water through a small bag made of cane stripe.¹



Tobacco-pipe

Adi diet including *apong*, has been declared to be satisfactory on the whole and the health and body-build of the people are good. The main difficulty lies not in the quality but in quantity, in some areas and bad seasons. Absence of fat, animal or vegetable, and sugar as distinct items of food is conspicuous, but this deficiency seems to have no bad effect on their health.

Narcotics are represented by tobacco and opium. Tobacco is taken in various ways. It is smoked as cigarettes, or through pipes or chewed, with or without betel leaf. Betel leaf seems to have been introduced from the plains and is taken profusely mainly in the lower regions. *Lerang* in the upper regions serves the purpose of catechu and betel nuts. It is a bark of a tree and has the effect of staining the lips and the mouth red.

Opium-smoking is not common, though there are a number of addicts. It is smoked through bamboo pipes which in system

¹P. N. Sen Gupta, 'Investigations into the Dietary habits of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Abor Hills (North-Eastern Frontier)', *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 40, 2, (1952).

resemble the Indian *hookka*. Opium diluted in water is boiled on slow fire to a thick sticky liquid. Citrus juice, sugar and *koling* thinly sliced, baked and powdered are mixed with it. The mixture so formed is then smoked.



Smoking opium

Hunting: Hunting and fishing as a means of procuring food stand in the same relation to the domestication of animals as gathering of wild fruits and roots stands to agriculture. They may, therefore, be described as gathering of animal food. With progress in domestication of animals, hunting and fishing gradually change from a means of livelihood into a form of entertainment.

With the Adis, they are in a tranistory stage—where they have developed a few traits of the latter, though retaining still their main economic character. This stage has, however, been long static as domestication of plants and animals has not made any appreciable advance. So it is as economic activities they are still to be considered.

For catching birds and small animals like rats, squirrels, porcupines, the Adis usually use different kinds of automatic traps, improvised and manufactured by them from local materials. For hunting big animals like deer, wild boars, leopards, tigers etc., they usually employ bows and arrows, and their constant companion, the locally made *dao*. Bows and arrows are of primary importance in hunting, whereas the *dao* is a tool as well as a weapon. A small percentage, the fortunate ones, now possesses shot guns. Domestic dogs are constant companions of the Adis in their hunting expeditions.

As hunting is important for livelihood, the Adis start practising it from childhood. The elders teach the youngsters the use of various weapons and traps, and the young are always eager to accompany hunting parties whenever they get an opportunity. The Adis hunt both individually and in groups. Young children are generally allowed to join group hunting parties for beating the forest, and they always carry bows and arrows.

The hunting bows and arrows of the Adis are of the same type as those used in their warfare.

The Adis hold their bows almost perpendicularly, gripping the stave at the middle by left hand, the string towards the body. The arrow is held by the right hand, and is placed on the left side of the stave, the fore part of this shaft resting on the forefinger of the left hand. The string enters the notch of the arrow, and the arrow at this end is held in position by the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand. The string along with the bow is pulled towards the person of the wielder and is released suddenly after a proper aim has been taken. A very slight pull can discharge the arrow with great velocity. A good shot from an Adi bow can hit the target at a distance of 190 yards or more.

Besides bow and arrows, the Adis use different types of traps for catching small animals and birds.

The simplest type of the trap is the *Nnkig*. A pit is dug on the frequented tracks of the game. Some sharp bamboo sticks smeared with poison are planted inside the pit. The mouth of the pit is covered with grass and twigs, and some bait is placed over it. Generally these pits are dug near some wild fruit trees. Such pits are also useful for catching big animals, and are of much longer dimensions, when they are intended for big games.

Another common trap used by the Adis for killing birds is *etku* which is a bow-shaped noosetrap. At one end of the bow is made a small triangle by means of cane or bamboo strips. On the other end of the bow is fixed a string with a wooden spike. In order to set the trap, the bow is given tension by fixing the wooden spike lightly inside the triangle forming a noose, on which the bait is placed. As a bird, attracted by the bait, sits on the noose, its weight presses the wooden spike and releases the bow which shoots up and strangles the bird in between the string and the side of the triangle. This trap is very effective for killing small birds within a very short time. The trap is usually fixed on the branches of the trees near paddy fields or on such trees which the birds generally frequent for fruits.

The third type of trap, common among the Adis, is *sankit*, a trap meant for catching porcupines, and hares. A small rope noose is fixed at the mouth of the burrows in which animals live. The noose is worked through a system of lever, so that when the animal attempts to pass out of its burrow attracted by the baits outside, it has no other way left than to pass through the noose. The spike fixed to a bent branch of a tree along with the noose, is let loose by the animal, and as it shoots up in the air with a jerk, it strangles the animal.

A fourth type of trap, *egum*, used for killing rats, is also very common all over the Adi hills. A box like cage is made with two sides closed with iron spikes. The base is made of wood. A stone is supported on the top of the box by means of two bamboo sticks which are adjusted to the baits inside. As soon as the rat gets inside the cage through the open passage and touches the bait, the two bamboo sticks supporting the heavy stone give way and the animal is crushed inside the cage. This trap is found to be very effective.

As a rule, the Adis go hunting in parties. Whenever a hunting excursion is decided upon by the village council, an announcement is made on the previous night, and all young and able-bodied men assemble at the *moshup* or dormitory, next morning with their bows and arrows and dogs. Almost in all cases, the party is led by an experienced village elder who is also a good hunter. With burning sticks in hand, all march towards the hunting-ground, in the vicinity of which they make a halting place, and there make a bonfire with the help of the burning sticks they carry. This is the place where they decide their future course of action. One batch, mostly consisting of the youngsters with dogs, go in one direction and form a semi-circle, which may extend to as much as a quarter of a mile. The actual hunters take up their position facing the beaters, each at a distance of ten to twenty yards, the gaps depending upon their number. They hide behind trees and wait, ready with their bows and arrows to shoot at any game that may come within their range. The beaters aided by the barking of trained dogs, beat the forest in order to scare the animals and drive them towards the hunters. If any animal comes within sight, the dogs are set after it, and the animal is ultimately driven close to a position from where a hunter can easily get it. No net or any other protective measure is adopted by the hunters.

Among the Adi hunters, there are some very skilled track finders, and they find out from various indications if there is any game in the vicinity, and can also tell what kind of game it is. When hunting individually the hunter either chases the game by stalking, or takes his seat on the branch of a big tree under which an animal is likely to come in search of fruits.

Generally, the animals are tracked by following certain indications. Poisoned arrows are used on such occasions. When they notice trace of blood on the track, they go after the animal. Even from a number of foot prints, they can indentify those of an wounded animal by the trace of blood left by it on the trail. Being pierced by the poisoned arrow the wounded animal cannot travel far and lies down before long. Before approaching such an animal at close quarters, they pierce it with a second arrow to make sure that it is dead.

Lured by the fruits of certain jungle trees, some stray deer

or an entire herd of them visit a particular area. There the hunters wait concealed from view on a *machang* high up on a tree. The deer usually come at dusk. When the hunters see a deer approaching, they take aim and hit it with poisoned arrows. Wounded, it tries to run away with the broken shaft of the arrow still implanted in its body. The headless shaft portion of the arrow is picked up. The foot prints and trail of blood-drops indicate the direction in which the quarry had fled. As a search in the dark is likely to prove fruitless the hunters return home, but abstain from taking rice or rice-beer. The same night they inform their own brothers and clan brothers that a deer has been wounded and it has to be stalked next day. The search starts the next morning and generally they come up on the deer, either dead or dying, not very far away.

The deer is then carried to a clearing where a bonfire is made ready. The quarry is cut up and distributed among the members of the party.

Big game is also killed with bows and poisoned arrows.

Tiger hunting: For hunting tigers, the hunters break up in two parties; one goes out to locate the place where a tiger is supposed to be hiding and the other sets to build *machang* on trees, sufficiently high above the ground so as to be out of the reach of the animal. The first party encircles the forest and raises up a terrific noise and gradually closes their ring on the spot where the tiger is supposed to be. The tiger, as only to be expected, starts up at the noise, gets scarced, and tries to escape in the opposite direction and is thus driven unaware to the place where the hunters wait for it with bows and arrows. If the beat is successful, and the tiger turns up, the hunters on the *machang* shoot it with poisoned arrows, either killing or injuring it. When it gets away wounded, the hunters wait patiently till it succumbs to the action of the poison.

After sometime the hunters climb down from the *machang*, join the beaters and start searching for the dead animal. There are several rites to be performed after the kill is traced out, and before the hunters return to the village with their trophy. The man, whose arrow first hits the tiger, is not allowed to enter his house, except after a scheduled time limit, at the end

of which he is to observe certain rites.

Annual hunting: The headman along with the villagers hold a *kebang* before going on annual hunting. After holding a *kebang* they enquire and search for fish, birds, deer. The hunt is usually undertaken after harvest. While searching for animals, they are expected to sleep in the forest for three nights. And then on the fourth day, they hunt during the day and the animals killed are distributed to the old men of the village. The old men in their turn prepare rice and *apong* in the *moshup* and treat the young hunters. The day is considered *gena* (*nyonam*) and after cutting a banana leaf, they proceed to the field.

While at the *moshup* on the day previous to the annual hunt, they worship Ampu and at night, the *moshup* boys purchase beer with the *Kebang* money and share it among themselves and drink the *gaming apong*. After one or several rounds of *apong*, they sing *ampibari*, which gives an account of the origin of hunting:

In ancient time, there were two brothers, Car and Tara, who were very good hunters and lived on hunting. They died suddenly, and after their death, Dengor came out, but he had no knowledge of hunting and so did not hunt. Doing Angang Abu and Siki Ani asked Dengor why he did not hunt. They thereafter started hunting together and from that time onwards, hunting has been practised by the Adis.

The first three days, when they are in the forest, they carry with them *etkus* or traps for birds. If they succeed in killing any, they take it home. But on the day of the *ampu kirug*, all catches are to be deposited in the *moshup* for distribution mainly among the elders of the village. On the fourth day, they perform the *mannam* ceremony. In the evening, they hold a collective feast of rice and *apong* in the *moshup* for all the male members present. The old men are expected to prepare the rice and *apong*. The next day the young men again proceed to the forest for hunting which they call *donio kirug*.

Girls and women observe *nyonam* for these three days and are not allowed to go to the fields. They resume their field work only after the *donio kirug*. The ceremony is over by a feast in the *moshup* in the last night.

When an animal is killed, the man, who first spotted and wounded it with the arrow, gets the major share, including the horns as trophy. The trophy may, if the hunter likes be given to the *moshup* or he may carry it home himself. The rest of the meat will be shared by the relatives who helped him in hunting on that particular occasion.

In group hunting, the rule is different. All collections go directly to the *moshup*, where all the members of the village assemble. The old and the invalid, who cannot accompany the party, stay back in the *moshup* and prepare rice for the party. All the game of the group hunting are handed over to these old persons, who take the share, out of which a portion is cooked along with rice for the feast arranged by them for the hunters, while the rest is stored for their future use. What remains after the elders have had their shares is distributed among the hunters. The trophies like horns, teeth are the property of the hunters and it is up to them either to make presents of these to the *moshup* or to take them home. Generally in a group hunting, trophies are kept in the *moshup*.

On some occasions, the party takes out the liver and heart of the animal killed and eat them roasted on sticks on the spot. The rest of the meat is carried to the *moshup* for distribution among the old and the invalids of the village.

On rare occasions, the hunters themselves consume the whole of the animal killed. In the month of February and March, the Kebang or the village council fixes a day for hunting, and all the young men of the village together go out hunting. They bring home whatever they killed on the first day, the girls in the village prepare a profuse quantity of *apong* and cook vegetables for the hunters. The food stuff and the meat are exchanged with the girls and are consumed in the respective houses. When the ceremony of the first day is over, a dance is performed in the *moshup*. The second day of the festival is mainly occupied by the young men in erecting the posts for sacrificing mithuns. On the third day, mithuns are killed. Dancing is prohibited on the third day. On the fourth day, the meat of the mithuns killed on the previous day is distributed to different clans. Women get a share of their own. The fifth day is mainly the day for preparing the mithun meat

and its distribution to the poor people of the village. The same procedure is followed on the sixth day. The seventh day is mainly for performing ritual for the welfare of the mithuns by their owners. The eighth day is a taboo day for the whole village and the mithuns are let loose. On the ninth day again, all the able-bodied persons of the village in the evening with the game, they go straight to the *moshup* and consume the meat after cooking it there. Women are not allowed to enter *moshup* on that day. The festival is called Unning.

In the lean months of the year when the stock of food is small, the Adis observe a festival called Yage. They go out for a community hunting by beating method. The game collected in such hunting is shared equally among the hunters and brought back home. On return to their village, before entering their respective houses, they keep a piece of ginger and a bunch of millet near the entrance to frighten away the evil spirits.

The Adis do not eat the flesh of tigers, wild dogs, jackals, wild cats and snakes as these animals kill their domestic animals.

Kites, hawks, crows and bats are also not on the list of edibles.

They like the meat of barking deer, dambars, wild boars, spotted deer, squirrel, rats and a variety of birds. When they kill an animal with a poisoned arrow, they usually cut out a portion of the flesh from the body where the arrow struck, and the rest of the animal is considered free from poison. Copious quantities of ginger are added, while cooking, to neutralise the effect of poison, if by chance there remains any, even after the precaution taken as indicated above.

The skulls collected by the hunters from different individual expeditions are kept hanging in front of the entrance to their houses as souvenirs of their hunting. The best trophies usually presented to the *moshup* for permanent display. The remaining ones, which decorate the front of their houses, accompany them and their wives to graves in equal proportion. But once a trophy is presented to the *moshup*, it can never accompany the owner to its grave but remains the property of *moshup* members, who keep watchful eye on its preservation. Beaks and feathers of birds, teeth of wild boars and lower jaws of tigers are occasionally used for decorating their war hats and

sword straps. Monkey skulls are considered by them as auspicious and are fixed just over the front door. The Adis perform a certain rite when they kill wild animals. This is performed by the man who kills the animal to enable him to kill more animals in future. Two different kinds of leaves are collected; reed leaves of one variety are hung on the inner side of the wall of the house. The leaves of the other along with reed leaves are kept in position inside a bamboo network. A portion of the ear, tongue and a small bit of ginger are also placed there. The weapon is also kept near by. The performer then sprinkles some water over the whole thing and sacrifices a cock or a hen, uttering some words which are meant to draw the attention of wild animals.

In important expeditions such as tiger hunting if any adult male member of a village remains intentionally absent, he is fined by the village elders, and the fine is realised either in cash or in kind, and deposited in the general *moshup* fund.

The Adis have given up their warlike habits, and their martial spirit is disappearing. They are now essentially an agricultural people. Agriculture plays the most important part in their economic life. But hunting also still plays an equally important part in it. They practise it to supplement their protein food and to maintain their age-old hunting tradition.

Fishing: The absence of fish from the traditional list of offerings prescribed at sacrifices, and the methods employed in catching it, point to an exotic origin of fishing among the Adis. It is, however, so firmly established for over such a long time in the country and is so widely practised by all the sections of the people that it may well be taken for all practical purposes as an indigenous mode of obtaining animal protein for food. It is everywhere reckoned as a delicacy and a nutrient and the surplus of catches is always smoked and laid by to supplement nutritive deficiency and to relieve the monotony and scantiness of menu particularly in lean periods of the year. As a sport, it is more national in character insofar as it is, unlike hunting, open to both the sexes; and at the end of the agricultural season, it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and of both the sexes go out in gay batches for fishing.

In group fishing, the entire village usually takes part; a

kebang or meeting of the village council is held in which the method and the place for fishing are decided upon.

Usually lots are cast before the party sets out for fishing. The method of casting the lot is as follows:

They take 16 pairs of pebbles and arrange them at random on a winnowing fan into three groups. They take out two from each group at a time and if ultimately at the last count the two outer groups have one left in each and the central one two, then they are sure of a good catch. Other combinations indicate a poor catch. If the omens are favourable, they decide to go on the trip; otherwise, the trip is postponed.

The methods are as follows:—

(1) By hand: In small pools of streams, they catch fish simply by hand. This requires swiftness and a considerable practice.

(2) By pelting stones: When the water is not deep, they generally make a kind of pool by erecting artificial barriers and pelt the pool with stones, thus killing the fishes. Although not very effective, this is a very simple methods.

(3) By poisoning water: A small pool is selected and an artificial barrier is formed with stones. A kind of poison obtained from a specis of herb locally called *tamir esing* is mixed with jungle leaves and pounded together and the juice dissolved in the water has a fatal effect on the fish in the pool. This poison, however, has no adverse effect on the system of the persons taking the fish.

(4) By drying up the river bed (Sibok): The Adis divert a river into a small channel at the end of which the waters collect to form a small pool. The channel mouth is then barricaded with stones. The artificial pool is then emptied out with the help of various pots. As the pool dries up, the fishes are exposed and are caught easily.

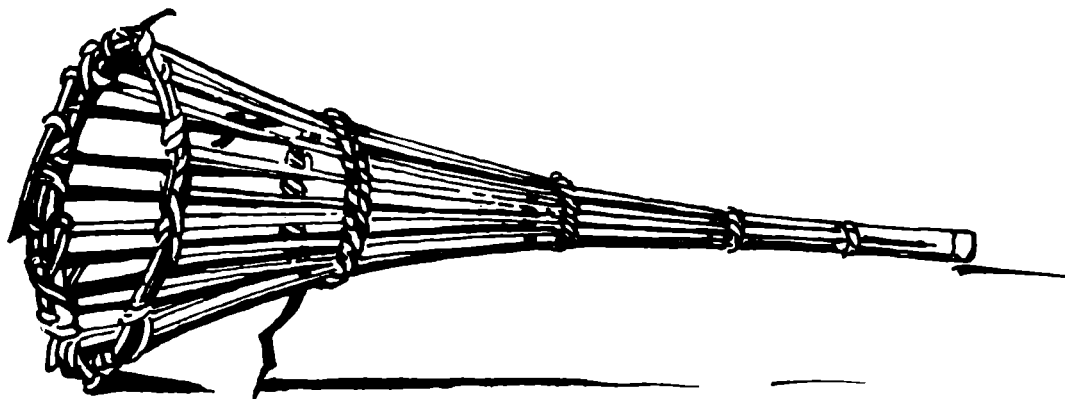
(5) Another method is to arrange stones on a shallow river as to leave holes in between them for the fishes to enter and settle in these during the winter. After some time, they fence around these pits with close knit bamboo fencing leaving just enough gap for inserting a trap below that. Thus when the stones are shaken, the fishes have no alternative than taking refuge in the *edil*.

The total catch in group fishing is usually collected in one place and is divided among the villagers who take part in the expedition.

A few types of traps and nets used by the Adis in fishing are noted below:

(1) *Porang*: A simple bamboo trap made of a single piece of bamboo. A single bamboo pole is split up at one end and the other end is made round by tying the split up pieces with cane and bamboo strips. It is a sort of conical trap with a wide circular mouth.

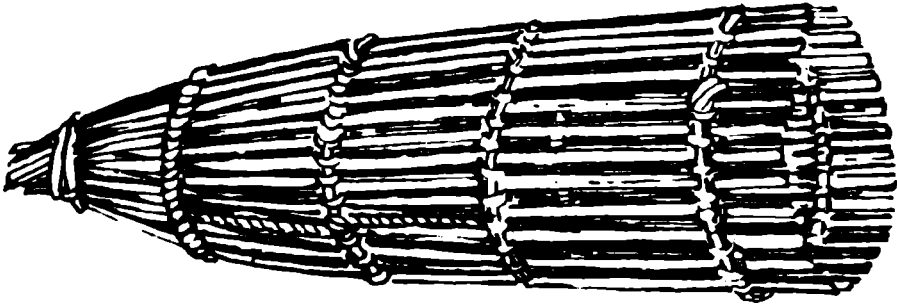
Usually, several of these *porangs* are placed in a row near a stone barrier in the river or streams, the open mouth facing the current, once the fish jumps into the trap, it cannot escape owing to the narrowness of the back portion of the trap and due to the presence of the thorns put inside. The size of the fish caught inside these traps varies according to the diameter of the mouth of the trap.



Porang

(2) *Edil*: a cylindrical valved fish trap. It is a bamboo woven basket, one end of which is open and fitted with a valve made of bamboo spikes. The other end of the trap is closed but can be opened when required. The valve at the open end is fixed in such a fashion as to allow the fish to get into the trap unimpeded but once having entered the trap, it cannot get out of it. The fish caught inside the trap is taken out through a slip at the bottom, which can again be tied up with the help of bamboo strings.

This trap is also set, as in the first case, against the current.



Edil

(3) *Subjang*: a conical net with the open end fixed up in a circular cane strip. The circular cane handle of the net is held by two hands when it is dipped in the shallow water. At the sign of the presence of fish inside, the net is pulled out with a jerk. This is essentially a net for use in shallow water.

(4) Cast net: these nets resemble the common *khepla* nets of Bengal. Adis use these in shallow as well as in deep water. At the open end of this net, a pocket is provided with oblong pieces of lead attached to it. A strong rope is attached to the closed end to draw the net after it has been cast. When drawn, the fishes are caught in the pocket provided for the purpose.

Livestock. The control exercised by man over the conditions under which those animals that are necessary for his existence or well-being, that, in other words, are useful to him as food or means of transport or in chase and self-defence, flourish and propagate, relieving his mind of anxiety about uncertainty of the whims of Nature, is known technically as domestication. In its strictly scientific sense, the term can hardly be applied to the way in which the Adis keep their animals. If, however, life within or about human habitations with a vague sort of dependence on human charity for food and shelter justifies the use of the word, mithuns, pigs, dogs, goats and chickens may be reckoned as the chief domestic animals of the Adis.

The most important of these is the mithun (*Bos Frontalis*). It is a heavy, clumsy-looking animal of the bovine species, some-

what of a mixture of a cow and a buffalo in appearance. It has a large massive head with a pair of huge horns on either side of the forehead and pale blue eyes. The hump after a gentle incline upto the middle of the back ends in an abrupt dip. The forelegs are larger than the hind ones, a feature which proclaims its identity even from a great distance. Its hide is very thick and the coat varies from coffee brown to blackish brown in colour. The mithuns are generally left free to roam unattended in the surrounding jungles and forests. Only occasionally they are gathered near the steps leading to the owner's houses, to keep them from damaging fields under crops. But usually it is the fields which are fenced rather than the cattle tied up. The only link between the owners and the cattle is the loud 'iihhs iihhs', calling them to fixed places where they are given salt. The animals never fail to obey the familiar call. So it is used to get them whenever they are to be secured for some purpose or other. Since all the mithuns of a particular area herd together, ownership is distinguished by means of identifying marks of various fashions of slitting or punching the ear-lobes. As they always graze in the extensive wilds nobody troubles about the fodder. It is only when they are kept tied that they are fed with jungle leaves gathered from the forest. But specific treatments or medicines are used when the animals suffer from any disease.

Three types of cattle disease are distinguished:

Lebak Kinam—is a gradual decomposition of the hoofs. Flies and other insects aggravate the disease and the consequent torment. So the cattle suffering for this disease are kept with their hoofs submerged in water. This protects the sore from the bite of flies and insects and is reported to effect a cure.

Napa Bangnam Kinam—is a disease of the mouth and the tongue. The mouth gets sore all over in the inside and the animal, unable to feed, dies of starvation. To cure it either ginger paste with salt is applied to the affected parts or the food covered with *siië* leaves is put in the mouth of the animal.

When attacked with Sagi Kinam the animal only grows thinner every day but does not show any other symptoms. A paste of ginger, *siië* leaf and salt is prepared and administered along with the food. It is believed that ginger, wrapped in a *siië* leaf, hung from the neck is also an effective cure.

When cattle diseases assume the form of an epidemic, supernatural aid is solicited through a special sacrifice known as Esokilli. Some distance away from the village an artificial gate is constructed at which a pig or a fowl is sacrificed. The carcass is pierced with arrows with the idea that the spirit will also be killed if it tries to enter the village.

Why the mithuns are kept in a semi-wild or semi-domesticated state is easily understood when we remember that milk does not form an item of food of the Adi who shares the general Mongoloid dislike of it. Hence daily milking does not come within the routine of duties in an Adi household. Tending the cattle and calling the cattle home are unknown to them. The main and only purpose for which cattle are kept is their flesh which, however, is taken only during seasonal festivals and important domestic ceremonies. In case of drought continuing for months together, Pedong Mopum is performed with the sacrifice of a mithun.

Punying Mopung, performed when there is no good crop for years also requires a mithun to be sacrificed. In Dodgang also a mithun has to be sacrificed for the welfare of the soul of a deceased owner.

In Solung and Arang, two important agricultural festivals, a mithun is included among the sacrificial animals.

These are the occasions on which sacrifice of mithuns is more or less obligatory. There are other occasions in which mithuns may be sacrificed to bring greater glory and more bountiful blessings on the sacrificer. Marriage is one of such occasions. The mithuns are sacrificed by strangling. Two ladder-like bamboo frames are prepared and tied together at the upper ends. The lower ends are then fixed apart in the ground making a triangle. Thus the structure looks like an upturned 'V'. The mithun to be sacrificed is secured with cane ropes round the neck and legs and hauled before it. As the framework has the appearance of a common fence, the animal does not see anything abnormal in it, and unsuspectingly allows itself to be dragged to it without any serious struggle. The ropes are then passed over the top end of the ladder-shaped sacrificial structure. Persons holding the free ends of the ropes stand on the side of the ladders opposite the mithun. They pull the ropes

together thus dragging the mithun up the structure until it is strangled to death. Before the animal is completely killed someone pulls out the lolling tongue and drives a pointed bamboo pin through it, so that it cannot be drawn in. When the animal is dead, the people cut it up starting from its breast. Then the animal is skinned and cut into pieces, and the meat is distributed. The pieces of meat are boiled in water with a little salt and chilli. Boiled mithun meat is considered a delicacy. Occasionally pieces of meat are preserved for future use. These are smoked over the open hearths of the houses. The hide of the mithun is not of much use to the Adis, excepting that they use a portion of it as belts or straps for their dao or sword cases. The horns along with the skull are hung in front of the house and are supposed to be a mark of prosperity. After the death of the owner, half of the total number of these skulls is placed in front of the grave.

But H. H. F. Williams refers in a tour diary to a slightly different manner of mithun sacrifice practised by the Karko Adis during a Koja feast. 'Three large mithuns were then cruelly done to death by strangulation, not on the usual ramp, but by all the fighting men pulling on the four ends of two ropes lopped round the necks of the wretched animals. When the third and largest of the three mithuns had gasped its last breath, its huge body was dragged down to the open space in front of the *moshup*; a hole was cut in its side into which all the men plunged their swords to blood them and then continued their procession round the arena. Often a man would leave the line and give an individual exhibition of sword play with terrific energy in the centre of the circle. The intention behind these rituals is to appease the sword spirit which is said to be thirsty for blood, having had none to drink during recent peaceful years.'

This mode of sacrifice by strangling is said to be unique. Its origin is described in the following legend.

Dadi-Somi, the most benevolent spirit who blesses mankind with all useful animals, donated one mithun and one pig to the Adis. The mithun and the pig were tied near the staircase of a house. The dog, a constant companion of the Adis, seeing two new animals started barking. Both the animals got

frightened and ran away to the jungle. The Adis again went to Dadi-Somi and offered him food and drink. Dadi-Somi gave the two animals back on the condition that they should not be frightened, not even while being sacrificed.

Fürer Haimendorf¹ however suggests a probable origin of this custom in the sacrifice by suffocation practised by the nomads of Amdo in eastern Tibet, who kill all animals by suffocation. The legs of a sacrificial animal are tied together and it is then thrown to the ground; then a thin rope is wound tightly round its mouth and nostrils until it dies by suffocation. The dead animal is cut open and the entrails are removed; the blood is collected in the abdominal cavity and should not flow down on to the ground. This similarity is apparently very striking and the suggestion of Fürer Haimendorf tempting. But he himself offers it with reservation in absence of further information on the subject. The similarity also dwindles down to a vague parallelism, on closer examination. Suffocation by tying up the mouth and nostrils is not exactly the same as strangulation by hanging. The idea, if borrowed from the Amdopas, would not have been changed in the most essential and central parts of the ritual. The origin should rather be sought in some primitive traits of culture of which both these types are parallel developments. Fürer Hermanns may be right in seeing in it 'a characteristic trait of the most archaic civilization of cattle-breeding'.²

As mithuns are mainly used as means of appeasing deities and spirits, for bringing good luck to, and averting bad luck from, the sacrificer, they are considered good or bad according to the good or bad luck they are supposed to bring. The quality of individual animals is judged from special marks they bear, certain peculiar formations or particular features of appearance to which is ascribed ominous significance.

A mithun is invariably considered unlucky if it has only a little hair on its breast, or if its colour is entirely white, or it is lean and thin. The price of the animal consequently goes down in such cases.

¹ C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Religious Beliefs and Ritual Practices of the Minyong Abors of Assam, India', *Anthropos*, vol. XLIX.

² *ibid.*

On the other hand the animal is considered lucky if the colour of the forehead is partly red and partly black or if it has moist lips. Animals are sometimes considered moderately good if they are shaggy even if the body is smaller than average, or, if they are entirely black and lastly if there are white spots on two sides and one or two on the forehead.

The price of a mithun in Adi land varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. It can also be exchanged for a *danki*, or for ten Mishmi coats. Valuable necklace beads are often exchanged for mithuns, three *kurkli* and three *kuro* beads being the normal price of one of them.

The Adi pig is of the common Indian variety and is locally called *ekk*. It has a body of heavy build covered with coarse bristles varying between blackish brown and black.

The pigs are kept in a pigsty or *regum*, which is attached to the side of the main house of the owner in the Padam and Minyong area. Its walls are made of bamboo, without any platform, and the roof is partly formed by the platform of the main house, and partly thatched from outside.

In order that a male pig may put on more fat he is not ever allowed to walk about in the open but is confined in the *regum*.

For pigs, the Adis do not use any identifying marks. When they want to call home their pigs they shout *ehh* with their mouths as close to the ground as possible.

Pigs are still found in a wild state in the jungles that surround Adi villages. Wild boars are distinguished from the domestic pigs by different local names. The males are called *rabo sira* and the females *rane sira*. Wild boars with tusks more than two inches long are called *yirrom*.

Pigs like other animals are often attacked with various diseases.

In Sokpong Kili—the throat gets choked and the animal cannot eat anything. No effective medicine for this is known to the people.

Lebak Kinam is a disease in which there is a gradual decomposition of the hoofs.

Dried tail of *gui sap* or root of a creeper called *engo tang*

are crushed to powder and mixed with the food to cure it.

The importance of the pig for sacrificial purposes is also very great. It is sacrificed in Punying Mopung with a mithun. Punying Mopung, a festival that celebrates the first start of harvesting, is another occasion for the sacrifice of a pig. So is Ettor when they make a new fence for their fields and Ekkum Arang which celebrates the completion of a new construction. Amang Ekk, a fertility rite, also demands the offering of a pig.

Lunkang Ekk—is a pig given as marriage price. After marriage of the newly-wed wife may proceed to her husband's house, only after he has killed a pig in honour of the occasion. Half the share of the meat is sent to the father-in-law's house.

Pregnancy, and death also require immolation of pigs.

Keming—In times of war if a man killed one of his enemies, he usually celebrated his success by distributing pork among the members of the boy's dormitory.

Tale Patum—is observed when by accident any part of the body of a man is injured and blood cannot be staunched. Offering of a pig is resorted to, in order to secure the aid of the spirits.

Pigs are sacrificed in the following way. The neck of the pig is placed between two parallel poles fixed in the ground. Death is caused by pressing the neck and thereby choking the windpipe. Then the bristle is singed over a fire, and the burnt portions of the skins are cleaned by scratching. The carcass is then washed and cut into pieces along with the skin. The meat is boiled with a little salt and chilli and taken with rice. The lower jaw with the teeth of the domesticated pig is preserved and is hung in front of the owner's house. When the owner dies half of the total number of the jaws is kept hanging in front of his grave. Tusks of wild boars are used for decorating war helmets.

Pigs which have short bristles or white spots on the forehead or on two sides are considered lucky and fetch high prices. But pigs having both front and hind legs flat and the bristles long, are considered unlucky.

Pigs are generally sold at a price varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 35 or can be exchanged for a pot called *miri kili danki* or for two Adi rugs.

Adi chickens (*perok*) are of medium size. Red is the predominant colour. They are found in large numbers in Adi houses. The indigenous breed is very small and is not a good layer.

Occasionally the Adis use identifying marks for his poultry by cutting one or two nails. Their gathering call is 'Peru Peru Peru'.

Chickens too suffer from various diseases of which the following are very common. The Adis try to cure them in their own way:—

Nabak Kili—When attacked by this disease the bird ceases to take food and discharges water. It is a fatal disease for which the Adis have no remedy.

Tabum Kili—This is a disease of the eye. Birds attacked by this disease cannot open their eyes due to sore inside.

Cure—A paste of ginger and chillies is prepared and applied to the eye and the animal is cured.

Rio Binam Kili—It is common dysentery for which the Adis do not claim to know any cure; the bird is left to nature and in most cases it dies.

Chickens of some colours are considered lucky and are only suitable for sacrifice. Hens with feathers of mixed colours, white and grey, are considered lucky and suitable for sacrifice, whereas black hens are never used for sacrificial purposes and are always considered unlucky. Similarly, cocks with red blue and grey feathers are considered lucky and can be sacrificed.

A red cock with a black tail is prescribed for Ero dying epak, a propitiation rite for head troubles.

If a woman develops disease after child-birth, a religious ceremony, Mimelambe epak, is performed in which a grey hen is sacrificed.

When by accident any portion of the body of a man is injured, he has to perform the Lamroh rite and the sacrifice is a red cock.

Whenever there is an epidemic among chickens Perok Agam is performed with the sacrifice of one grey hen.

When some epidemic breaks out among the pigs, a similar ceremony Batum Yonmo is performed and in it also a grey hen is sacrificed.

Sikking Kedeng—The offering of a black fowl with one

egg is believed to cure stomach ache. A branch of *lalu* tree is fixed near the place of sacrifice, underneath is placed a basket in which is kept the sacrificed fowl. The sacrificial meat is not eaten and the sacrifice is usually done down below the village as there is a belief that the Sikking Kedeng is a spirit of the low land.

Epom Wio—It is believed that when this spirit wants some sacrifice the spirit usually kidnaps a man. If the missing man is found out by a searching party then a sacrifice is to be made of a white cock and a hen.

The spirit causing eye disease is propitiated with a sacrifice of white cock.

Dorung—A red cock is sacrificed after annual repairs.

Chickens are usually sacrificed by cutting their throats. The meat boiled with salt and chillies makes a good dish. Feathers are used by the blacksmith for making washers of his bellows.

Chickens are sold at Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 and in the upper region it is exchanged with at least one seer of Tibetan rock salt.

Ekki, or the dogs are not of any distinct breed and are of medium or small size, with almost no hair on the tail, which is usually docked.

There are no special kennels for them. The animal is allowed to enter and sleep inside the house of the master near the fire-place.

The Adis do not use any special identifying marks for their dogs. The usual call used in the Adi Hills for dogs is 'Pope pope'.

Dogs like other animals suffer from various diseases.

Karak Kili—indicates skin diseases of various kinds, which are cured by leaves of a creeper called *rugji*.

Nabak Kili—is a kind of sore in the mouth, which prevents the animal from eating.

Oil extracted from snake is administered to the mouth to cure it. If the dog refuses to take it, the oil is mixed with food. The medicine is said to be very efficacious.

The Adis use domestic dogs as offerings in sacrifice. Dogs are however, generally used for guarding houses and helping their masters in hunts.

Dogs are sacrificed on religious ceremonies, such as:—

Mopung—A religious rite performed for the fertility of the land. Doni Mopung—performed during the rainy season for sunshine. Pedong Mopung—a ceremony against drought in the summer months. Gamsi Mopung—a purificating rite when by accident a rice field is burnt down. Ekki Patar—performed when any new-comer enters a village. A gate is constructed at the entrance of the village and a dog is sacrificed, disembowelled and suspended from it. The blood from the stomach drops down on the head of the new-comer when he (or she) enters the village. This is done with the idea to prevent the entry of any evil spirit or disease accompanying a traveller.

Nipong—is a religious rite in cases of difficult delivery, in which a black dog is sacrificed. Two human figures one representing the man and the woman are made. The sacrificed dog is hung by a leg in front of the figures.

The Ramos and Bokars have quite a number of cattle including Yaks and Zomes. They have learnt the art of milking and making butter from the Membas, their immediate neighbours.

Cats or *kadar* and goats, or *soben*, are not common domestic animals, and have only been introduced very recently in the lower region of the Hills. The cats, wherever kept, have no fixed place for sleeping. Cows too they have started rearing up recently in the lower regions. The Adis erect a special hut with a low platform (sometimes without one) for sheltering their goats and cows.

Cows, goats and cats are never used in any Adi sacrifice. Cows are reared in the lower region of the Adi Hills for ploughing. A characteristic feature of cow-rearing is that Adis do not milk the cows, and the calves are allowed to have all the milk. Goats are now being reared in a few villages of the lower region as a source of extra income. The only purpose of keeping domestic cats seems to be protection of the grain against rats.

VI. ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

Living is a dreary business. It binds down man to a chain of routine duties which if they help to keep the body alive

deaden the soul. The joy of living vanishes with the serious business of living. Hence, man with a soul ever yearning for something beyond mere food and shelter, is never satisfied with bread alone and invents activities which tend to the aspirations of the spirit. Such activities are known as recreation.

Human life, however primitive it may be, is found nowhere without such occupations. In the earliest stages of civilization, procurement of food and shelter takes up the major part of man's activities; still man finds out time in which he indulges in such recreations. In Adi society, every age has its allotted task. Age and infirmity sit in the house, tending the fire, slashing bamboo and cane, and taken care of the children. The adult goes out to the field to clear jungle, to sow and to reap, prepare food and build houses. Adult valour used to march out to battle in former days, but nowadays seek excitement in hunting and fishing. Matrons cook and feed and dress the household, and young girls fetch fuel and water and help them with husking and pounding of grains. These tasks are imposed on them by the unwritten pattern of their lives and they accept them as everything else in nature. But this rotation of domestic duties is enlivened with a number of recreations which are as equitably distributed as the dreary tasks. Age has an honoured place in Kiruk festival with the venerable grey-heads feasted with choiced portions of the game. Youth and beauty find relaxation in songs and dances and boys and girls have their own games and plays.

Games. A detailed account of games played by Adi boys has been given by Miss M. D. Pugh.¹ A few games only which have not been included there are being described here.

1. *Kopom Amannam*: A wooden disc is rolled down the hillside between two rows of boys standing on either side with bows and arrows. They try to hit it while on the move, with arrows. This game is usually played by boys from 5 to 10 years of age.
2. *Agin Epo Dogung Dokap Imannam*: Little girls of 5 to 10 years of age play this game. It is an imitation of the domestic duties performed by their elders. They collect leaves, gravels and dust and imagine

¹M. D. Pugh, *Games of NEFA* (Shillong, 1958), p. 17.

- them to represent fuel, pestle and mortar, paddy and baskets and play at pounding and winnowing of rice, fetching of fuel and water and cooking of food.
3. Hide and Seek: This is a common game and known by the name Tut Imannam.
 4. One-Legged Race: Is known as Letu Pokduk Runaka and one legged jump as Letu Pakbong Kisunam.
 5. Yesoinamnam: One boy pretends to be a mithun bull holding a stick in his hand with rope tied to it. Others try to catch him and bring him back from the jungle to the village. It is played with much shouting and running about.
 6. Pekong Ian Mannam: It is a competition with tops spun on a winnowing fan. He, whose top spins the longest, wins.

Rhymes and Rhythms. Dancing has been described as life expressed in muscular movements. The pattern of life lived by a society is the creation of the human spirit in its endeavour to adjust itself to its surroundings. These efforts again produce vibrations in the soul that are translated into expressive rhythms of the body. So the dance has been the natural method of expressing individual ideas and emotions and of celebrating communal joys and sorrows, aspirations and fears, love and hatred, achievements and ideals. Frequently it is accompanied by singing of rhapsodic pieces which crystalize the same ideals in so many myths and legends. Such dances are the most controlled, refined, beautiful and profound revelation of the soul of the people.

The country of the Adis is noted for its beautiful scenery, where—

The fabled river skirts the verdant bank.

Inciting youth to break the bond and dance.

And the people for their charming disposition, colourful costume and enchanting music and dance. The last, rooted in their religious and magical beliefs as they are, have blossomed also into art of recreation and entertainment. And many a festive night follows wearisome labourious days in which youthful feet tread the lawn in rhythmic glee to chase, around the melo-

dious Miri, gaunt hardships and lank privations ever haunting the hillmen's life.

Occasions for such dances and songs are many and varied. They have all their characteristic traditional songs.

Ponungs and distinguished by a restraint imposed by art on the gay abandonment of merry souls and it has the symmetry, balance, melody and rhythm which one expects in songs however primitive they may be. These songs are sung by the Miri, and the girls repeat the first line in chorus before every new line, and dance to the rhythm.

The Ponung song below narrates the story of the origin of paddy, and is sung during Solung (harvest) festival. The catching line is Lekale abule.

LEKOLE ABULE
 DARALE ABULE
 LEKOLE ABULE
 MEIUM DOYING BOTE
 MEIUM SEDI
 DIR IRMI MIKI KINE KAJE NAME
 MAIUM DAING KAJE BATE KELA TUMI
 GIRIK SUTA
 KINE MITE NAME GINNING
 MELA GINNING GIRIK SULA
 KEYUM SEDI DILLING LITUNG
 KINE MITE NANE BESING
 NANE PEBA JATE PEBA RUDDUNG BITO
 MEYEM SEDI SOBO
 DOYIN IDEN DENDE SOBO
 DEND SOBO MENA MELA BUJGER JERDAK DELO
 DELDE MENA BUJGER JERUK DINRING ANGING
 KANEM
 GANE PANGA RASING PENA
 DINBING LIILONG PYABANG TAKU
 GANE AMKU SABIANG KAPE
 TEI MATPE KAPE
 MANNE AMKU SABIANG KAPE
 DINBING BELUM BEPUNG KAAKU
 GANE SABIANG REDSANG TAMPENG BOMKAI

DINBING PELE ABANG KANEM
 BOMI A KEEPE
 DENDE DINBING ANGGING KANE
 KINE NAME BEGA IRANG BELA
 DENDE TARAL TUMTI
 TARANG TEGAR NAME
 DENDE TUMTI ANGING DENA
 NEI BELUNG MEPUNH KANE
 KINE MITE NAME BESI
 NAME REDENG TAMPENG BOMLANG
 ANGI NEI NEANG NAKO
 ANGI BELUNG NEPUNG KAANE
 DOYING BOTE DOUI ANE
 AJI MENA ANGI TERANG
 TEGAR BILANG
 DENDE PEBA JATE PEBA
 RADUNG TAKU
 KINE TARANG TEGAR BITO
 DONI GACGA SEKAP PALANG
 ANGA PEBA JATE PEBA RUDUNG NAMENG
 KINE MITE NAME BESI
 DEPANG SEGENG SAMAN SEGENG
 GENBANG BITO
 DOUING LUPA GEGUL BITO
 DONI ANE AJI
 ANGIE ERUNG E SANTUNG KAI
 ANGIE MIMUNG E ERUNG SANTUNG KAI
 DOYING BOTE DONI ANE AJIME
 MEYUM PEDONG DAPUNG PUMMU
 PIKU LULUNG LAGE
 MII KETING KETAN NAKO
 MII BELUNG DUBUK NADEM
 MEYUM PEDONG PUMU ANE AJI MENA
 MEUM PEDONG DABI BISI BATE
 DENA API BELI PITO
 MII KETIN KETAN NAKO
 MEMANG BELO YATTO
 MEYUM ATA TABI PAPE
 MII KETIN KETAN LENKAI

DOYING BOTE MEYUM ATO
 TABI MENA KINE TUMI GINA LANKA
 DADUM TUMI GIBI TAKU
 MEYUM ATO TABI MENA
 KENE TUMI GINA
 ANI DAYARI MIMUNG MENA
 DARI SANTUNG ERUNG NADEM
 DORI MIMUM MUMMA NAKU PE

Summary. Sons of Sedi had a talk with Daying Kaje Batte, Their first issue was a son named Indum. Indum's son was Saba. In due course small plants grew at the following places, Panga, Rasing and Pena. People of those villages claimed those plants to be their own property and from those plants grew seeds which are now called paddy. The villagers gave some of these to Mite, Name and Basi and in exchange they received some animals. But this entire stock of paddy was once destroyed by flood. Then the son of Yongmo prepared something like an egg from which came out the cock. Daying asked all villagers to sacrifice the animal to Kine in exchange of paddy. From that time onwards there is a custom to sacrifice a cock during Solung festival for better and richer harvests.

Another Solung rhapsody describes how growing paddy was saved from insect pests—

ELANG E EIANG YAKKA DELANG¹
 (ABA) DEIGA RANGEM YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) LAMEA RANGEM YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) KEKANA RANGEM YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) MEUME UNIE YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) DARINE MENA YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) DARIKE SANTUM YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) ERUNA DEM YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) MEUME DEING E YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) KAJE BATTE YAKKA DELANG
 (DENA) DAING BATE TUMIE YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) GIBI DAGDEN YAKKA DELANG

¹The song was collected from Taling Tayeng of Mebo village.

(DE) MEUME PEKIANGE YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) ABIANG PEKIANGE YAKKA DELANG
 (DE) BABU EYABA YA A DELANG
 (DE) KEYABA KE KARIE YAKK DELANG
 (IE) EBIGE NAME YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) KINE KE DEGUA YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) IRANG KE BELA YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) KARI KE PEJENG YAKKA DEIANG
 (IE) CEJENGE NAME YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) KILUNG KE RUGLING YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) RUGTANG BULU YAKKA DELANG
 (IE) DEBAKE TATKIN YAKKA DELANG
 DE BALI BULU YANNA DELANG
 DE BENA DARIME YAKKA DELANG
 DE DABIBAM KALA YAKKA DELANG
 DE ANIKE SANTUM YAKKA DELANG
 DE ERUNG NA DEM YAKKA DELANG
 DE MEUME NA ATUM YAKKA DELANG
 IE TABI MENA YAKKA DELANG
 IA CENAME MUGLING YAKKA DELANG
 IA GIDANNI LANKA YAKKA DELANG
 IE BALINA BULU YA A DELANG
 E GINA UPE YA A DELANG
 MEUME NA ATUE YA A DELANG
 GE TABIMENA YA A DELANG
 GE TABI E DABIAME YA A DELANG

Summary. In ancient times, Daying Batte saw that the paddy they grew in the field was destroyed by insects that looked like lice and were trying to go under the ground. They found that these numerous insects were white ants. Meume, and others talked over it and with the help of Kine Nane found an egg. From that egg came out a cock. The cock was ordered by Kine to kill all the white ants and so the insects were destroyed and paddy was saved.

A second type of songs which usually are known as *Abangs* are mythical stories narrated on festive occasions such as Ettor and house-warming ceremony. People gather round the fire and the narrator starts singing the old *puranas*, in the

same way as Tulsidas Ramayana is sung in Northern India. Here the story predominates and the chanting is calculated to enhance the effect of the narration. Rhythm and symmetry do not count for much—and it is the singsong narration that brings it within the domain of music. These songs are sung by men and young boys, and are rarely accompanied by dances.

Two such *abangs* sung during Ettor festival (on the evolution of mithun and cock) are given below. Both these songs are sung by men and inside their dormitories.

*Evolution of mithun*¹

DALI DALIE
 DALOA DALOA YENG
 KEUME DADIE BATE DE
 DADIE MIJUEI AOE
 TAPUELEGUE PUNDAPELAMEM PAKATO
 TAPUMEGUMUE GUMNASIM
 INKOE TAPUMBELIEM PILENNE
 DADI BATE BATE DADUNG EM
 TUMI DADUNG EM LURUNG KAI
 KEUME PEDANGE DABIE BISIKA
 TAPUM BELIEM PITAKA
 PEDANGE DABIE BISIKA BATENE
 DADI BATE
 BATE TARANGEM
 GAMU TARANGEM NETMATO
 KEUME BISIEM BATE
 TAPUM BILIEM PIKAI
 BISIBATE KE BISIE DALUE IAGGATE
 IRMINGE LAINGE
 KAMKINGE LAINGE DATKA
 MEUME SEDIE
 DILLING LIMIR SABAKE
 SABUE MIGABUGANGE PUTETA
 LIMIRE LIAKA

¹ Collected from Damroh village.

AGADANG EASINGE
 SITAG TAMPPING
 BAPACA DEMPAKAI
 TAKAPANG PURULA PARALA
 BISI LAING KAMKING LAING DATKA
 TELA IRKI LANGAR TETAR GELANG
 TAMPING TALAK TALAM NAME
 TAMPING LANGAR TETAR KAKU
 TAPUM BELI MIMNGMI BELI
 LETAN TAKU
 TAPUM MIGA LALA LENKAI
 KEUM LIMI SABAKE
 LIMIR SABA LETENG BARENG LAGE
 NEI BELUNG
 LEPUNG KAANE
 KEUM DUGLA LEGI
 TITANG LELADA
 BISI BATE
 TAPUM BELI LETAN TAKU
 TAPUM LEGI TITANG LENKAI
 TAPUM LEPEDA BEDKENG LIGAT
 TAPUM LEBAK PELANG LENKAI
 PASUNG SIRING SARAT GELANG
 PASUNG BELI LETAN NAME
 KAJUM JUMJANG JAPO
 MEUM GUMGUM NADENE
 JAPO BELI LETAN TAKU
 TAPUM MEPUM GAMGUM LENKAI
 TAPUM KANKIM ERIM LEGU
 MEUM LIMIR SABA MAKSUNG
 SENJJUR KANEM MAKSUNG RIMANG
 RILE NAME
 SABA MAKSUNG SENJUR KANE
 MAKSUNG BELUNG
 NEPUNG NADEN LIMIR MAKSUN
 SENJJUR KANE
 MEUNG RESING KADAB KAPE
 NEI BELUNG NEPUNG NA DEN
 TAPUM BELI LETAN NAME

TAPUM REI RETHANG LEGU
 KEUM LIMIR SABA KENA
 LIMIR KARI EBI KANE
 MEUM RESING NUNI KAPE
 LIMIR MEME TAPEK GELA
 MEUM RESING NUNNI KANE
 NUNNI MEME TAPEK MINDA
 LIMIR MIRMI KEPIN GELA
 NUNNI IARING KEBANG NINDA
 MEUM PEDANG DABI BISI BOI LETAN LIKAT
 PUBA MEME TAPEK LENKAI
 KEJO GINE RAPUM PUBA EURTUNG
 SUPANG KEUM DHONI AJI NO
 INKOPE AMIN BIDUNG PUEKUDI EMTA
 TANI KEM ESA EMTAKU

Summary. Bisi, son of Dabi and grandson of Pedong, created the white ant. When the insect started moving, he took out an eye from the Limir's body and went to the Yongmo's house. From this eye grew a tree with large leaves, which looked like the eyes of a mithun. These eyes were then dipped in water and kept in a pot in the house of the Yongmo. There they became as clear as water. From a portion of Limir's leg grew another tree named Dugla. The Yongmo fixed this tree and it became the feet. The branches were a little curved and forked which formed the hoofs. The Pasu tree was fixed and became the sharp tongue. The Kamgang tree was cut and fixed so as to grow as a tail. From the body of Limir grew another tree which was called Takat. The tree was then fixed on the head and thus became the horns. He then found a bee-hive which was hanging from the branch of a tree. The Yongmo then fixed it in the animal and it looked like the hump.

Then Rapum, and Puba thought over the name of the animal and at last decided to call it *eso* or mithun.

*Evolution of cock*¹

MEUM PEDON DAPUNG PUMU
 PUMUKE PERI LIPIKA TELA
 PUMU API GEMUL LENTUNG
 DEM KEUM MINUR AJIME
 PEDONG NANE DIBI DITA
 ALA GALLANG GALATA
 DELA PEDONG RUANG KADANG TELA
 KINUR EUM AJI EUM SUMDUEM
 KINE IOMANG RAJANG DELA
 MINUR EUM SUMDA EME
 MINUR BAYAB KINE BAYAB
 MANJING BAYAB YABLENG DAGENG
 KINE SIKENG DAJENG ATA
 PEDONG BISI BABING KENA
 BISI IAKKU SIGA IAGALANG
 SIGA GAMAN KALA
 MANJING SIKING DAJENG ATA
 PEDANG MANEME MINUR LUPA IEGULA SUTA
 NANE SUGI TAKIL SUGI PAPITAKU
 MINUR DUDUNG KEBUNG LENKAI
 TAKIL SUGI PAPI NAMDEM
 SINGING LABBE KENU DELAG
 MINUR DUDUNG KEBUNG DEGEM
 PEDUM DAPUNG PUMU PERI LIPIK TELA
 PUMU APII AJI APII GEMUL NANEM
 MINUR LIPIK GEIKA ALA
 APII REUM SUMTA
 PUMU APII GEMUL NAMEM
 MINUR KANGKEN KANGA KIRAM
 BISI BATE MENA APII LIBAM BAMKN LEHAT
 BISI BATE APII KANGKEN KANGA TAKU
 PUMU DIBI DII NAMKEAI
 DEM KEUM BISI BATE AENA
 APII BELI PITAKA EMATA
 MEUM BATE BISI BATE DE
 KALAGII BELI PILAPEN

¹Collected from Riga village.

BISI DADUNG MIRUNG KANE
 BISI LAING DATAK TELA
 APII BAMPI LETAN KAANE
 BISI BATE IRMIN LAING DATAK TELA
 APII MIGA LALA LENKAI
 IRKI TAPII TALAP KANEM
 APII BAI LETAN TAKU
 DELA IPANG GAI LETAN TA
 DELA SEDI MITTING ANGING KANEM
 KEUM NEI BAIKA SEPU MURMU NA DEM
 APII BAI LETAN LENADA
 APII SEPU MURMU LENATA
 DELA BISI KAJE BATE KENA
 BISI REU KETTUNG LAGE
 NEI BETUNG NEPUNG NAKA
 RADA BELUNG NEPUNG LENDUNG
 KARAM LEKANG SEANG NADEM
 API, BAI LETAN NAME
 APII LEKANG SEANG LENKAI

Summary. At the place where the great river rises near the Ruang valley, Pedong Nane gave birth to a child, named Minur. At night Minur had a bad dream. He then travelled through many villages and at last came to a place where the Yongmo had his workshop. He had a talk with Pedong. Manjing and Siking also came down to that spot and joined in that discussion about the dream. Pedong Nane did not believe Minur and said 'you are telling a lie'. At that Minur fled away. But he lurked near about and secretly watched the movements of Pedong Nane. He saw Pedong Nane concealing objects looking like eggs. When Pedong Nane had gone away he took one of those egg-like things. He could not recognise what it was; so he went to a famous Yongmo named Bisi. Bisi recognised the egg and said that it had come out of Pedong and Pummu. Minur said that as Bisi had been able to identify the egg, he was the proper person to prepare something out of it. Bisi then started giving it a shape. He first prepared the eyes by throwing hot iron into a pot of cold water.

In the same way he prepared the beaks. Next he made the feathers with the help of Sedi's hair. Bisi, a great craftsman, fashioned the legs with the leaves of Rada tree. In this way he created a full grown cock.

There are songs within this group which relate to the origin of death and also brings forth the importance of the Miri. This differs from other *abangs* in this that the girls also may join the choir and also dance.

AIE AI MAMANG GO DELO PE
 IE SINUNG AIE GO DELO PE
 DEKE KEYUM DONI AJIME PE
 GE DONI ANYI AJIME PE
 GE MEYUM DOYING BOTELANG PE
 DOYING ENA BARIE BOTOLANG PE
 GE RIKAP KAPSI BOTELANG PE
 IE KAMMANE TABE DE BOTELANG PE
 MELA DONI MIRIEM IRGNE BOTELANG
 GE DOYI RIKAPE KAPSILENI PE
 DE TABE KANE SILUNG A PE
 IE SASUN KAI PE
 DE DOYI RIKAP TABEKE PE
 MELO TABE KENA PEBUOKO PE
 GE GORUNGE PEBAKA PE
 TAPUP ERENG JENEBE LENG KAKU PE
 DE TAPUMKENA GOMUOKO PE
 IE BEUNE RUDO PE
 GE GONGGANG KENA RAMTAGE BEYAGE DUNGAI PE
 DENA MEYUM DONI AJIKING PE
 DE TAPUMKENA PIRIE PE
 DE MANGINE LANGKULANG
 DONI MAMI MIRIKO PE
 DE DONI KIRIEM IRGETOKU PE
 GE MEYUM DONIA AJIDE PE
 DONI TABEMA BENGGE KAKU PE
 GE DOYI MIRI IRTUNGEM DELO PE
 DE DANA TABEM BENGGEKAKU PE
 DE KEYUM DONI MAMI METENG PE
 GE DONI MAMI MIRI METE PE

DE PEDONGE DAMIE PE
 MIGI ANE AJIME PE
 MOLA MILI AJI KEADE PE
 GE IANMENE LENTOKU PE
 MEYUM NA RIPUNKING PE
 DE MILINANG RIPUNKING PE
 BISIKENA GALSIAK PE
 DE GALNA KAPENA PE
 DE DHONI MAMI MIRIME PE
 DE GALSIMENAM NAMLANGKULA PE
 DHONI METE TAEKA PE
 DE ALAM TANEM ABAM KAKUNE PE
 DE DHONI PUNAM DUKKAKE PE
 DE TAKE PUNEMA DUGLENKAI PE
 GE TAKE PUNEMA DUGLENKAI PE
 DELAK MAKI TANIKE SILIE PE
 DE MILI KENA GAINE PE
 DE MILIKENA GAINE REBINGE PE

Summary. Doying was the first Miri. His son was Rikap and Rikap's son was Kapsi. After the death of first Miri, the soul started searching some man into whom he could enter. During this transitional period all music and songs disappeared from the land. At last the soul found a place in Kapsi. From that time onwards all men started singing Doy's songs. Mete, an old woman gave them a kind of fruit, which was for the Miri only. A special *gale* was also given, which the Miri should put on while singing. If men other than the Miri were to partake of that fruit, they would die. This taboo was broken and that is why people die now-a-days in large numbers.

On very light occasions such as the welcoming of guests, girls are allowed to take the lead and they compose extempore songs suiting the occasions and sing and dance to the tune. Not infrequently they achieve true lyrical effects as the three specimens will testify.

Song—I¹

ADIE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE ADANG ARINGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE DILU LEBINGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE RUMNE BULUA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUGI LEBINGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE RUMNE BULUA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE SINNEKE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE BAMBENG E LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LANGENA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE RUSIME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE PARAKE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE BAMBANGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LANGENA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE RUSIME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE SINUMITE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE MIGAM NOLU LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUKI ANE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE AJI N GOLUM LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMAN MEGUE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE GENNAME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE BILAN A LEELA ADIE
 ADIE EMLA TARUME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE NETTANME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE TAKKAME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUGIANE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE AJI N GOLU LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMANEM TENGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMAN PAPLE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMIE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LENO KENMANG LEELA ADIE
 ADIE TADO PAPIE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMIE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LENO KENMANG LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUGIANE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE AJI N GOLU LEELA ADIE
 ADIE ENGA DIKUE LEELA ADIE

¹Collected from Lukku and composed by Miss Ayam.

ADIE TAPUPE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE TAPUM EBUME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE DUPPUSU LEELA ADIE
 ADIE NAMAKA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE SALAME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE DUEDE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LAMAKA LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMAN MIGAME LEELA ADIE
 ADIE N GALEGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE NAMENG TEM LEELA ADIE
 ADIE TADA MIDANGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE DALINGE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE NAMEM TENG LEELA ADIE
 ADIE LUMAN PAKPEN LEELA ADIE
 ADIE REENE LEELA ADIE
 ADIE NAMAKA LEELA ADIE

Summary. To-night young boys and girls of the village will all be dancing and singing before the visitors to our village. O my young boy and girl friends permit me to join you, so that I may also get a chance to sing and dance before the distinguished visitors.

Song—II¹

GAO GATATO TANMANG
 GAO DILU LEBI TANMANG
 GAO RUMME BULUA TANMANG
 GAO TAMAG ARUME TANMANG
 GAO RUMME BULUA TANMANG
 GAO LINGUM EKUEM TANMANG
 GAO LINGUM EKUM TANMANG
 GAO LINGUM EMUE TANMANG
 GAO E BIDUNG TANMANG
 GAO LINGUM GABI TANMANG
 GAO LABLIDING TANMANG
 GAO METEBULUA TANMANG
 GAO TADANG EME TANMANG

¹ Composed by Miss Nagan Irang.

GAO DIBANG E TANMANG
 GAO SAMAN TAKA TANMANG
 GAO ELMA NIDA TANMANG
 GAO DALIG DAMIN TANMANG
 GAO ANJONAKO TANMANG
 GAO DIABG EME TANMANG
 GAO SAMANE TANMANG
 GAO GAISA TANMANG
 GAO GAISA TANMANG
 GAO TADATAKU E TANMANG
 GAO GANE IARE TANMANG

Summary. O my friends with beautiful voices, it pains me and shames me that my voice is not sweet and it is difficult for me to sing. I fear there is something wrong with my voice.

I request you all to teach me the tune and the words of the beautiful song you all are singing.

But, O! my friends you are neither lending your ears to my request nor are you trying to bring me up to your standard.

As I would like very much to join you, I request you again to teach me the melody.

Song III¹

GE LARINE DAME ABULE LA
 GE LARINE DAME ABULE LA
 GE DILUNGE LEBINE ABULE LA
 GE RUMNENA BULUA ABULE LA
 GE TAMAGE ARUME ABULE LA
 GE RUMNENA BULUA ABULE LA
 GE TAMAGE MAMIE ABULE LA
 GE MITENA NLU ABULE LA
 GE TADGENG DIBENG ABULE LA
 GE SAMAME BAMAPE ABULE LA
 GE MITIGE NINE ABULE LA
 GE NETTANGE SINA ABULE LA
 GE AING KE DANGUE ABULE LA
 GE KEPAL DU MAKKA ABULE LA

¹ Collected from Dapui village.

GE LARILE DAME ABULE LA
 GE LARILE DAME ABULE LA
 GE MITIGE MAMIE ABULE LA
 GE NITENA BALUA ABULE LA
 GE TADIE MIMIE ABULE LA
 GE NITENA NALU ABULE LA
 GE TADANGEM TAKKUE ABULE LA
 GE TABABE BAMAPE ABULE LA
 GE MITIGE NINE ABULE LA
 GE NIYANG GE SINNA ABULE LA
 GE TARANG EM NALUE ABULE LA:
 GE KEDENG NA SIME ABULE LA
 GE TADANE N GOLUE ABULE LA
 GE KEDENGA SIME ABULE LA
 GE LARINE DAME ABULE LA
 GE LINE II NANIE ABULE LA
 GE TADAEM NANIE ABULE LA
 GE LULIEM KENMANG ABULE LA
 GE TADAEM BANKAE ABULE LA
 GE TADAEM BANKAE ABULE LA
 GE SEYANU KENMANG ABULE LA
 GE NITENA BULUA MIDAN GE ABULE LA
 GE DALINGMAPEKA ABULE LA
 GE LARIN GE DAME ABULE LA

Summary. O my young and old friends, you will all sing and perform your dance. But I, the youngest of you all will have many songs in my mind which I do not know how to express in words.

O my senior friends, you all will sing during the festival; unfortunately I will not be able to sing as I do not know the words. You should have rehearsed before, so that I could have the opportunity to learn them and to join you in dancing and singing.

Our survey of Adi music would be incomplete if songs of an individual and private nature were not included in it. Young girls carrying younger brothers and sisters on their backs are a common sight in Adi villages. The child generally lies quiet but when it starts weeping or otherwise fretting, the elder sister

gives her body rhythmic jerks and rocks and sings lullabies. Such lullabies are known as Yo Yo Gognam. The most popular is given below.



Young girl carrying younger-brother

YOYOLO O PEYOLO OI
 O YOYO GAGE O PEYO GAGE OI
 O NGOKKE SI O ANI SI O TONI SI OI
 O INGKO KOI O APUK MUJIR O GEYIR DUNE OI
 NGOKKE SO O MIMI KE O LAMKU SO O KELU SO

O ASOPE O DAK LANGKA OI
 O NGOKKE SIM O ANI SIM O TONI SIM
 O INGKO MIBO O PADANGEI O LUTUNE OI
 O INGKO MIBO O PADANGEI O METUNG BULLING
 ODOTUNE OI
 O INGKO MIBO A PADANGEI O MEGAP BUIDONG
 O SUTUNE OI
 O NGOKKE SIM O ANI SIM O TONI SIM O METUNG
 BUILING O DINA DEME OI
 ONGOKKE SIM O MEGAP BUI DONG A SONA DEME OI
 O NGOKKE ME O YAYI ME O POBISUYE KU OI
 O NGOKKE ME O TETE ME O YOYONG ME O YIYI ME :
 O POBISUYEKU OI
 O YOYO LO OPEYO LO O GAYOLO OI
 O INGKO MIBO O PADANGEI O LUTUNE OI
 O MILO KO MILO O YAYI KE O RALING SITE O
 TETUNG LO
 O TEMIN GEMO PE OI
 O MIME KO MILO O MAMIKE O RIKBILO
 O BITULO O BIMIN GEMO PE OI
 O MIMI BULUKKE O MONGKO TAODDE O KOTTULO
 O KOTMIN GEMOPE OI
 OYOYOLO OPEYOLO OYOYO GAGE O PEYO GAGE OI
 O NGOKKE SIMO ANI SIM O TONI SIM
 O AJI TI TUE OLILUNA SIM O OLO KOM PANGE
 O RANGGA NA SIM OI
 O NGOKKE NO O ANI NO O TONI NO
 O APUK RANGAGE O BEYO MAPEKA OI
 O AYIN MUJIR OGE YIRE O MAPEKA OI
 O AYIN BUINE O EDEM DO YIKA
 O APUK BUINE O EDEM DOYIKA OI

Summary—Oh! hush baby do not cry,
 I rock you on my back,
 You are my younger love,
 Do not be angry with me,
 Stay quiet, rest silent
 On this loving back.
 Does any unknown face frighten you?

Does any one come to beat you?
Oh! do not fear, I will beat him
With this stick.

(In the case of a boy)

Oh! you are a boy and you will
Succeed your father in the work
On the field, when you grow up.

(In the case of a girl)

Oh! you are a girl and when you grow up
You will help your mother in the field
And your elder sisters in fetching fuel
And water.
We will all work together when you grow up.

Moshup life is rich in love and it would have been surprising if such a musical people as the Adis are would have had no expression for it in songs. Actually, there is a large number of such songs, but they are difficult to get at, because they are sung in seclusion and privacy. There is many a love-lorn swain who sings amorous melodies to his sweet-heart behind a granary or in a secluded corner of the *rasheng*. These he will rarely sing in public. Such an outpour of heart is meant solely for the ear of the beloved. There are also compositions in dialogue form where both pour out the yearnings of their heart to each other. One such is given below.

DOBO GOGNAM¹

DE YAME DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU DAGALO
EKE DEKE YAME YEM ADA SISANG BOSU
DAGALO ADAI
DE MIMUM DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU
DAGALO EKE DEKE MIMOM DEM
ADA SISANG BOSU DAGA LO
ADAI
LOME PEBO SUDUAMA YUMTUNG KO

¹ Collected from Silli village.

LOME PEBO SU DUAMANG ADAI
 GILE IK PENG BOSU DAGAMA MITIGE GILE
 IKPENG BOSU DAGAMA ADAI
 BOMPE TEYI DUA ALO BUIDUNG KE BOMPE :
 TEYI DUA ALO ADAI
 MUILO MIYAN SUDUAMA, YAME DE
 MUILO MIYANSU DUAMA ADAI
 MUILO MIYAN SUDUA MA MIMUM DE
 MUILO MIYANSU DUAMA ADAI
 TAYI GAM SI YAI BOMI ARUME
 RUMNE ME TAYI GAM SI YAI
 LOBO LOYIRU NAKUAI I SIN KELOBO
 LOYI RUNA KUAI ADAI
 ISIN GOP NGORU NAKUAI BUIDUNGKE
 ISIN GOPNGORU NAKUAI ADAI
 APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA MIMUME
 APUI BOMBOSU DUAMA ADAI
 APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA GAME YE
 APUI BOMBOSU DUAMA ADAI
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA MIMUM DEM :
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA YOMANGE
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA YAME DEM
 GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI
 SHEDANG BYARTAN KI DUAMA
 BOMI LEBING RUMNE ME SHEDANG BYAR TANKI
 DUAMA ADAI
 SHEDANG BYARTAN DO AMA BOMI LEBINGE
 RUMNE NGOM SHEDANG BYARTAN DUAMA
 ADAI
 DOLO DOMAN GE DUAPE MINAM NOM
 DOLO DOMAN GE DUAPE ADAI

Summary—

Among the boys there, who is he who matches me in age and status? Oh! could he be mine!

Among the girls there, who is she who matches me in age and status. How could I win her!

Oh! what a joy it would
be if we could sit
together at night and I
could have him close.

I like him for his age
and beauty.

How I wish he would like
me—oh, how it could be done!
It would be nice if his
heart inclines the way as
mine.

Oh! what a joy it would
be if our houses were
close and we could always
be near each other.

She is quite my match.

Oh! My friends, just tell
me how I could win her.
It would be nice if her
heart and mine grow one and
the same.

Besides these, there are two other types of performances which may be included in songs. These are known as *Jadu Baris* and *Delongs*. The *Jadu Bari* which is a mere mock debate falls very far from any semblance to art.

Delong is more of a frolic and fun by boys, who in exuberance of youth and enlivened by deep potations jump and frisk about in circles to the accompaniment of what for want of a better word may be described as songs. But then the songs and the dances here never try to keep company of each other and go their own ways as directed by the merry moods of the participants.

The *Boris* have a dance drama known as *Tapo Rija*. It is a war-dance, by young men. There is another dance known as *Banji Noki*. It is a symbolic dance. It depicts a married woman kidnapped by her lover and his associates. They are pursued by the husband's party. In it the losing party appears with their faces besmeared with soot. And others cherish clothing such as gunny cloth.

In *Adi* dances, there are usually two parties—one consists of a single individual, the *Miri*. The *Miri* originally the medicineman, is the repository of all tribal myths; through oral transmission he learns by heart traditional ballads, which are usually very long, relating the stories of creation, of the origin of the people and the animals, of the discovery of poison for their arrows, legendary histories and geneologies of the tribes and so forth. He is the authorised musician in these dances. Girls who are to dance deck him in his official attire: a red

gale over his usual dress, two *kirings* hung from his neck, so that one dangles on either side of his chest. He holds a sword upright in the right hand. Thus attired he takes his stand in the centre of a circle formed by the dancers who are



Miri in dancing attire

generally thirty to forty in number. He chants his songs and jerks his sword jingling the metal discs loosely attached to the hilt keeping time with the music. No musical instruments are used. The girls catch the refrain and sing it in chorus and dance to the rhythm. The office of the Miri is normally a male prerogative in the lower region. But women officiating as Miri are quite common in the north. The steps in the dances are almost the same all over the Adi country and are not very difficult.

The dance proper is performed by the other party which consists of a band of girls. The participants stand in a circle,

shoulder to shoulder, facing the Miri at the centre. If the number of participants is large enough, the circle is completed, if not, the girls form an arc or a semi-circle facing the Miri.

We begin by giving description of the special features of these dances and then, different sets of dances will be described by showing the sequences and arrangement of these component features. The main movements of the dance are confined to the main body, legs and arms.

I. Body:—

Position—

- (a) As in the normal standing posture with legs together or apart side by side.
- (b) One behind the other.

Movements—

- (a) The most characteristic movement of the body is a dip achieved by a sudden bend of one knee or both resembling to a certain extent, the gesture of courtesy by European ladies to superiors in rank. During this movement, sometimes, the hips also are given a rhythmic swing.
- (b) Of all the other movements, turning right and left with each refrain is most conspicuous.

II. Legs:—

Position—

- (a) The position of the legs at start is generally as in a normal standing position.

Movements—

- (a) The legs are moved forward from the standing position alternately.
- (b) Sliding of the feet forward and backward and with stops in between sometimes.
- (c) Side-way steps either right or left with the other foot taken to meet the first. In a quick dance, this step may appear to be graceful side-jumps.
- (d) A slight forward movement of the feet followed by rhythmic tappings with the toes to keep time.
- (e) One foot is moved forward and then, side-ways with the other following it.

- (*f*) A half step forward followed by a number of taps with the heel, followed by a full step forward, and brought back to its first position, after a brief halt.
- (*g*) One step forward with the right foot and another backward with the left foot, and the right drawn back to its former position.
- (*h*) One foot crosses the other and point to that direction.
- (*i*) Rising on tip-toe giving a forward tilt to the body.
- (*j*) One side-way step followed by a back and from with the other drawn up to meet it.
- (*k*) Running forward and backward contracting and expanding the circle from opposite directions.
- (*l*) On tip-toe with heels moving side-ways.
- (*m*) Moving forward and backward.

III. Hands:—

Position—

- (*a*) Hands lie relaxed on the side.
- (*b*) Arms akimbo
- (*c*) Hands are kept on the shoulders of the neighbours on either side.
- (*d*) Hands hold the upper arms of the neighbours.
- (*e*) Hands hold those of the neighbours.
- (*f*) Hands round the waists of the neighbours.
(These positions of the hand are usually at the start.)

Movements—

- (*a*) Hands are raised alternately to the temple.
- (*b*) Hands at a level with the waist or a little higher, the fore finger of one touching the palm of the other.
- (*c*) One hand is swayed to and fro at the side.
- (*d*) The same as (*b*) with palms facing down.
- (*e*) The hands make delving movements in the position as in (*d*).
- (*f*) Swinging of one hand backwards and forwards.

- (g) Same as in position (b), the hands are thrown forward from the waist.
- (h) Up and down movement corresponding with the movements of the feet.
- (i) The hand swing in the front.
- (j) The two ends of a piece of cloth round the back are held in two hands. As one hand is held still the other is given swings.
- (k) Palms face each other side-ways and hands move up and down as in flailing or chopping.
- (l) Hands claped as in position (e) are raised and flung down alternately till at the end of the refrain they are unclasped to slam on the thighs.
- (m) The same as (k) above, but with one hand only.
- (n) Hands are stretched forward from the waist and palms are turned up and down to the time of the song.
- (o) The hands are dipped along with the body towards the right or to the left.
- (p) One arm is raised to the cheek, with the other lying athwart in front, the elbow of the former resting on its palm.
- (q) Hands are moved side-ways following the feet and clapped to the hip.
- (r) Swaying the hands from side to side.
- (s) Saluting motion with the hands.

IV. Clapping:—

- (a) Clapping to time with the tapping of the feet.
- (b) Clap-clap-clap-clap . . . pause.
- (c) Clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap-clap, very slight pause.
- (d) Clap-pause.
- (e) Clap-clap-clap-clap.
- (f) Clapping without any pause to time with the rhythm.

These postures, movements and steppings are arranged into various permutations and combinations to form various dances. The specimens below are intended to give an idea of the



Girls in dancing dress



Miri leading a dance

A group of Adi war-dancers



patterns of dancing movements most common among the Adis. The numbers indicate the sections above describing the positions and movements. It will be understood that each pause synchronizes with the rhythm of songs and the final stops marked by double vertical strokes mark the end of the refrain.

Patterns of dancing movements:—

One	Position	Movement	Movement	Repeat alternative hand and change of direction	
	I(a), III(b)	II(c), I(a)	II(a), III(a)		
Two	Position	Movement	Position	Movement	Repeat with change of feet and hand
	I(a), III(b)	II(a), III(a)	I(a), III(c)	I(a)	
Three	Position	Movement	Repeat		
	I(a), III(a)	II(c), II(a), I(a)			
Four	Position	Movement	Repeat		
	I(a), III(a)	III(b), II(c)			
Five	Position	Movement	Movement	Change direction & repeat	
	I(a) (Half sideways), III(a)	III(a)	III(i), I(a)		
Six	Position	Movement	Repeat		
	I(a), III(a)	II(c), I(a), III(e)			
Seven	Position	Movement	Slow Repeat		
	I(a), III(d)	II(c), I(a)			
Eight	Position	Movement	Quick Repeat		
	Position as 7	Quicker movements than 7			

	Position	Movement		
Nine	I(a), III(a)	IV(c), IV(a), IV(b), IV(c), IV(a), II(d)		Turn full round and Repeat
	Position	Movement		
Ten	I(a), III(c)	II(j)	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Eleven	I(a), III(c)	II(k)	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Twelve	I(a), III(a)	II(c), I(a), III(f), I(a),		Repeat
	Position	Movement		
Thirteen	I(a), III(c)	II(j), IV(e)	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Fourteen	I(a), III(a)	III(e)	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Fifteen	I(a), III(e)	II(d), Kissing sound II(l), II(d)		About turn & Repeat
	Position	Movement		
Sixteen	I(a), III(a)	II(a), III(f)	Repeat with change of hands	
	Position	Movement		
Seventeen	I(a), III(a)	II(f), Repeated thrice and then turn complete round		Repeat
	Position	Movement		
Eighteen	I(a), III(a)	III(h), II(b) Ten times	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Nineteen	I(a)	III(j), Change hand and direction		Repeat

	Position	Movement		
Twenty	I(b)	III(a), II(d)	Turn round & repeat	
	Position	Movement	Movement	Movement
Twentyone	I(a), III(a)	III(k), II(b), III(k)	III(k), II(b)	III(i), left
	Movement	Movement		
	III(k), II(b)	III(i), right	Repeat	
	Position	Movement		
Twenty two	I(a), III(e)	II(m.f), III(l), II(m.l)	Repeat	

Tunes are not rich in number and variety. A few popular traditional tunes were recorded by the author on a violin. These are offered here to give an idea as to how genuine Adi songs are sung.

*‘Wo man singt,
da lass dich ruhig nieder.
Böse Menschen haben
keine Lieder.’*

Tune - I

Solo

Chorus

Solo

Chorus

Tune - II

Solo

Chorus

Tune - III

A few Adi folk-tunes

Tune - IV

Solo *Chorus*

+ *f*

Tune - V

Solo *Chorus*

Tune - VI

Solo *Chorus* *Chorus* *etc*

A few Adi folk-tunes

SOCIAL LIFE

Birth in Adi society creates less stir than death. The family life goes on as usual, without much disturbance and there are no religious rites to encumber the normal process. The mother continues with her daily work almost to the very moment of delivery. During pregnancy, she has to observe a few simple rules of diet. She should not drink water from the leaves of the wild potato, 'otherwise the child will be born with defective eyesight'.¹ The Doric pheasant should also be abstained from, for it might give spots and marking on the body of the infant. She should not kill snakes or frogs, 'lest, the child be born with a darting, snake-like tongue, or crooked limbs'² In some places, doves and jungle fowls and *pitta nepalensis* are also taboo. In no case should she eat the head of any creature. Double fruits should be shunned by both the parents to avoid the unwelcome birth of twins.

The first child may be born in the house of its maternal grandfather. Uptil then the father is perhaps a *magbo* and has not started house-keeping of his own. In that case, the child brings with it the problem of a new household. Now the father has to take the mother with the new born child to a new house and that entails feastings and elaborate preparations and ceremonies.

When the pains start, any woman, who is known for her skill at child-bed, is called in for assistance. The mother is taken into the corner of the ordinary living room. Children and the male members keep out of the house and only the authorized women attendants remain in the room. The mother clings to a horizontal bar and delivers in a kneeling

¹ G.B.S. Dunbar, op. cit., p. 57.

² *ibid.*, p. 57.

position. If there is any difficulty, she stands up and is assisted by the women attending her. If the labour is difficult, pigs and fowls and sometimes, mithuns are sacrificed to Nipong. A string is tied round the umbilical cord in two places and the cord is cut with a split bamboo sharpened into a knife. The placenta and the cord are then taken away into the jungle and are either thrown away or buried in a pit dug to receive it. The period of defilement lasts for three to six days. During that period the mother neither touches the fire-place nor cooks. On the expiry of the period, she goes to the water-point and cleans herself and her clothes there. The water-point itself is not used, but a stone is brought and placed at a little distance from it, on which a ceremony and the abolutions are performed. Her father's father, father's mother, mother's brother and mother's brother's wife form into a circle round her, to protect her from evil spirits. After washing, she returns to the house and takes her seat near the fire-place. The name-giving is not an important event. As a rule, the father or any old man names the child at the time when the umbilical cord is cut. The name is usually of two syllables, the last syllable of the father's name forming the first of the son's. The day of the birth may be celebrated with a feast to the children of the village, if the parents can afford it. The mother starts going to the *arik* along with the child after the purification period, but refrains from any hard work. Field work in real earnest starts a little later. After about a month, she performs the ceremony of Erang Abo to which all her relatives, her mother's brother in particular, are invited and entertained in a feast.

For the first six months, the baby lives entirely on mother's milk. Afterwards, the mother starts giving rice, merum, and sweet-potato to the child, three times a day. She, however, chews it into a paste before giving it to the child. As soon as the child cuts its teeth, it starts taking all kinds of food without any restriction, but first chewed into a paste by its mother. Breast-milk continues until conception of the next child; this period may be taken as two years on the average. *Apong* may be given as early as the age of one. In case breast-milk fails after birth, the child is fed with *apong* mixed with the juice

of sugar-cane, or mother's brother's wife or sister, provided they have children of the same age, may suckle the baby. In order to ensure a copious supply of breast-milk, the suckling mother takes *apong* mixed with juice of a number of leafy vegetables. The child's hair is first cut in the local fashion after ten days of the birth.

Upto six months, the child continues to be the whole-time responsibility of its mother and is carried by her wherever she goes. Afterwards, when it starts crawling, it is placed under the care of its elder sisters or brothers. The elder girl carries it on the back tied up in a *gale* and most of the day it passes there in sleep or rocked into silence, if awake. The father does not think it unworthy of him to take care of it and whenever he has leisure, and the mother is away in the field, he looks after it and fondles it. Only in the evening, the mother comes back and takes over the baby and suckles it, sitting by the fire-side. From this tender age, in this way the Adi man and woman start a life of independence from parental guardianship and care. This goes on from the age of crawling to that when the baby turns into a toddler. Only the watchful eye of the aged and the senior boys and girls (which is not however as watchful and fond as a mother's) continues to be the only restraint on the child's free movements.

By this time it learns to observe the behaviour of the elders and imbibe the ways of life. It knows and accepts the routine of duties of the grown-ups, their times of coming and going, the division of responsibility towards it among the father, mother, brothers and sisters and other members of the family. In absence of the constant company of a fond and indulgent mother, it rarely develops waywardness and obstinacy and grows a sense of restraint regarding its own wishes and fancies. An Adi baby at this age is usually a quiet type of being rather grave, smiles and prattles little, and cries but rarely. It recognises the indifference of the world around to its baby complaints and sufferings and takes lessons in roughing and self-help.

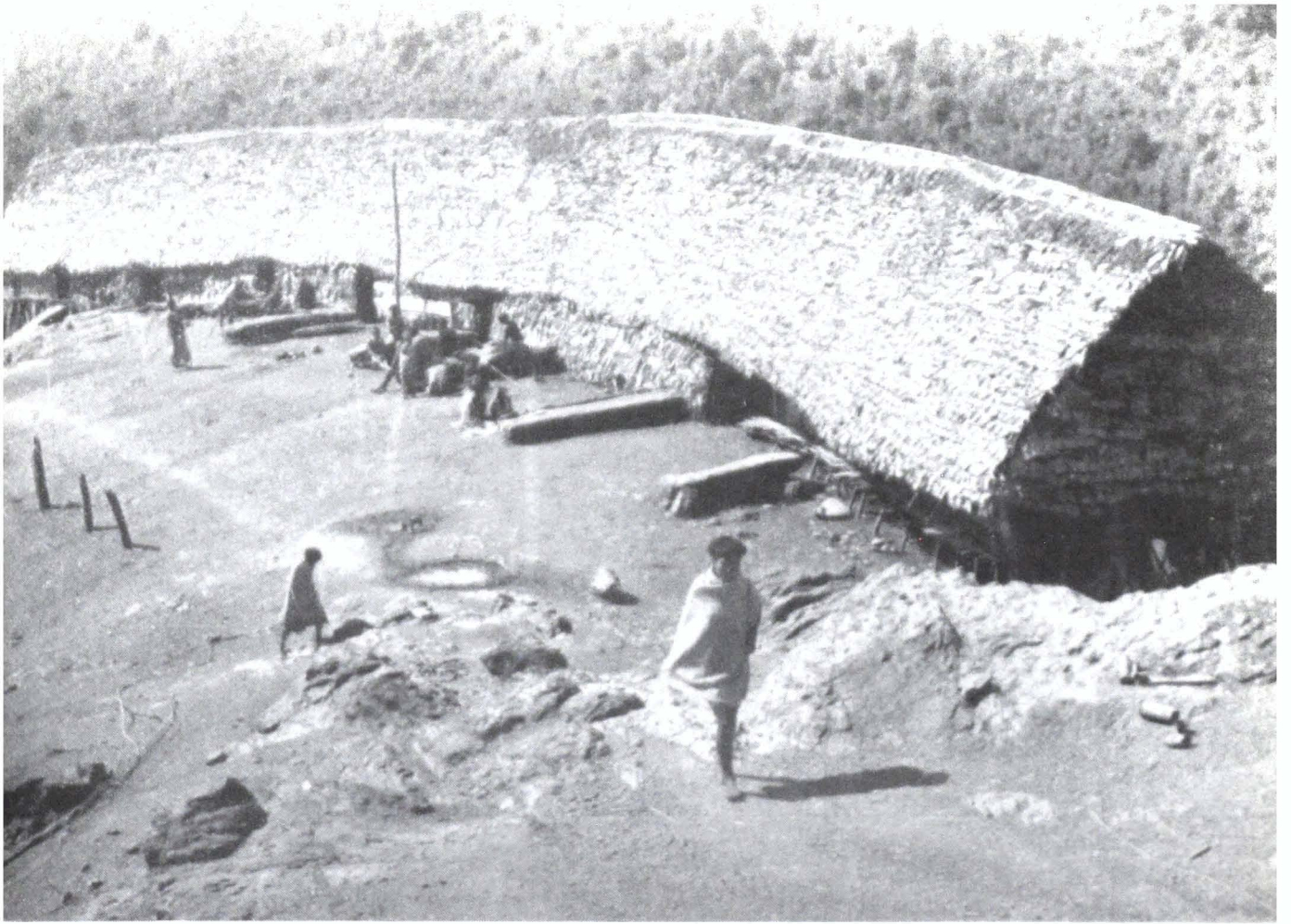
In this way, the child grows up mostly uncared for in its own way more in the lap of the nature than that of its mother. It imbibes rather than is taught any knowledge. The father

may occasionally tell it something about the spirits and deities and ancient heroes, customs and festivals. With the village society it gradually adjusts itself as it grows. Games and sports are not many. 'Knot tricks are known and children play knuckle bones with pebbles. In addition to bamboo spears and swords and toy bows and arrows the children make pop-guns with a pithed stick as the tube and a half berry as the pellet.'¹ Sometimes, 'they make little bamboo *merangs* and idols in imitation of those made by their parents'.² A few other games have already been noted, but altogether an Adi child's life upto ten years of age is a blank with no engrossing diversion and so, hallooing groups of boys and girls intent on absorbing games and excited over 'win's and 'lost's are rarely met with in Adi country. Within this period, however, the difference between the life of a girl and the boy begins to manifest itself. A girl, as soon as she learns to take care of herself and that she does very early is expected to do odd jobs to help her mother and elder sisters. She is asked to look after her younger brothers or sisters, to fetch water from the water-point in small bamboo tubes, to carry fuel and other articles from the jungle and *ariks* in small baskets. She has still less games or sports to play than a boy. A boy idles his time away in play or otherwise with no particular duty. But she has odd errands always allotted to her. Thus, they grow up in different ways, one already a small helping hand in the family, the other just a blank adjunct to it till they attain the age that qualifies them to enter the community life through two different organizations, the *moshup* for the boys and the *rasheng* for the girls.

Moshup. The *moshup* or bachelor's dormitory for boys is a very important institution in Adi society. 'There are two underlying principles on which the institution is built, namely, the creating of the habit of discipline among children at their formative stage of life and in the developing of a spirit of co-operation and collaboration so that the tribe can act as a unit, and fissiparous tendencies within the body politic of the tribe may have very little room for growth. In addition, it develops

¹ G.B.S. Dunbar, op. cit., p. 58.

² *ibid.*, p. 58.



A Moshup



Inside a moshup



A mithun



Girls carrying fuel

among the young a spirit of responsibility, alertness and habit of taking risks in the face of danger which are essential for the existence of the tribe. Although emphasis is laid on the training for the groups to work together and face a common danger, there is also a provision for showing respect and consideration to the elders of the tribe, specially those who are old and infirm and dependent on the younger members for their living'.¹

The institution is called by different sections of Adis by different names. The Minyongs call it *dere*, Padams term it *moshup* and among the Milan and other allied groups, the institution is known as *ngaptek* and Boris and Ashings call it *bange*.

The *moshups* are usually constructed in the centre of the village from where different approaches to it can be watched and guarded. The construction is carried out by the people of the village, and is similar to that of dwelling houses with the difference that it is a longer construction without any compartment as a rule. The back side of the *moshup* is covered with wooden planks as protection against cold wind and other three sides are left open. In some villages *moshups* are covered on all sides with provision for numerous exits. The entrances are on the low side and on the high side there are rows of pigsties. The walls, the floors and the partitions, if any, are usually made of rough hewn planks and not well fitted. Logs of notched woods are used as staircases and are many in number. There are a number of fireplaces or *merums* in a *moshup*. These *merums* have occasionally partition walls in between. The number of *merums* in a *moshup* corresponds to the number of sections in the village which also are known as *merums*. Each *merum* has a separate entrance to the *moshup*, and has a platform or a shelf for keeping the belongings of its members. There are suspended trays over each fireplace on which are kept the trophies of animals killed during community hunting.

Pedong Nane was the daughter of Liming Litung born of Sedi Melo. Pedong Nane married Idum Bote, a son of Sedi Melo. They had numerous children of whom were Robo and Doni. In a great *kebang* held to bring about peace and order in the world, presided over by Tusing Imite and Lero Rodange

¹ B. S. Guha, 'The Abor Moshup as a training Centre for the Youth, *Vanyajati*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1953, p. 83.

Migong, an equitable distribution of the land and the wealth of this world was made among the children of Sedi Melo. In this distribution, Doni and Robo got the largest and best shares, but later on, rivalry grew between these two in which, Doni prospered and incurred the jealousy of Robo who was supported by all others. Jealousy at last broke out into an open hostility in which Robo with all the evil spirits and wicked beings as his supporters proved too much for Doni, the man of peace. His parents Idum Bote and Pedong Nane, therefore, decided to save him from the machinations of Robo. For this purpose, a shelter was built where Doni could learn the art of war and where he could live under the protection of the good spirits and be thus saved from the harm attempted on him by Robo. This is the origin of *moshup*.

For the construction of *moshup* such trees, bamboo, canes and leaves are used, as are not good as fuel. For instance, the posts for the *moshup* are made of Tapit and Takinag trees, and the Tale, Tagiang, Tagmo and such other trees are used for other purposes of construction. These trees are used as they are either favourite of the good spirits or repugnant to the evil spirits. After the first *moshup* was completed, the spirit of Nui, the great hunter and the gods of the under world, good friends of Nui, were called to live there. *Apong* and yeast were brought to the *moshup* for the hunters. Ginger was kept in it because of its good smell and a large number of poisoned arrows was also kept ready. To feed the hungry gods, a large quantity of food was also stored. This is how the first *moshup* was built and the same custom and procedure are observed even today.

The *moshup* is used as a sleeping house by all young men from the age of ten till they take wives to their homes. Any man of the village or stranger can sleep in the *moshup*. Boys belonging to different *merums* on completion of their day's work for their household and after their night meal come to the *moshup* to sleep round their own *merums*. Younger members are expected to light the fire in the fireplace, from wood collected by all the members of the *merum*. Each *merum* is in charge of a senior boy and he is responsible for the maintenance of the discipline of his *merum* and is empowered to punish any defaulter. 'Side by side with the *merums* there is another

hearth called *romsom* where the old and the infirm male members of the families belonging to the *merums* sit together, gossip during the day and may even sleep at night. Each *merum* has a *romsom* attached to it, both of which must act as a single unit and supplement each other¹.

The *moshup* are used for holding different types of *kebangs*, more specially *kebangs* relating to war and communal hunting. They are also used for different types of feasts and festivals. During some festivals, girls are allowed to dance inside the *moshup*. Hunting expeditions are arranged by each *merum* under the guidance of a senior and experienced member for the training of the younger members.

'The personality structure of the Abors grows through the *moshup* in a manner most suitable for the welfare of the tribe where struggle for existence is very great and where there is very little scope for the weak and inefficient persons of fissiparous nature'.²

Rasheng. The *rasheng* or the dormitory for girls is erected in each village on the same principle as the *moshup*. The *rasheng*, a small hut having only one square room with a fireplace in the centre is constructed by experienced old men who in return are supplied with rice and *apong*. The *rasheng* members help in collecting the raw materials. The adolescent and unmarried girls of the village sleep in their respective clan *rashengs*. It remains unoccupied during the day. The inmates come after their night meals and carry on their spinning and weaving until they retire to bed. They return to their respective houses early in the morning. Like the *moshup* each *rasheng* is under supervision of a senior and experienced girl. It is the training institution for the girls in discipline, comradeship, responsibility and leadership. Here they are friendly and free, and learn to obey the seniors, and are taught that disobedience is punished. After adolescence, a girl really starts her romantic life and in the *rasheng* she starts her courtship which leads her to choose her mate in future life. Young boys from different *moshups* come and join the girls in the *rasheng* in the

¹ B. S. Guha, op. cit., p. 84.

² B. S. Guha, op. cit., p. 85.

night. A girl is free to entertain any boy of her choice and there can be no reflection on the girls or the boys. The *rasheng* is not only a training centre for all serious teachings of life but also gives opportunity to its inmates to develop finer aspects of life. Older experienced girls teach the younger, different types of dances, their traditional songs, and heroic myths. The younger members get some training in spinning and weaving from their mothers but more so from their senior *rasheng* friends. 'It also helps the growth of a spirit and comradeship among men and women and a life of healthy relaxation which provides the outlet for the release of tensions and repressed forces which otherwise would have developed into fractionism and marred the development of a healthy tribal life'.¹

The *moshup* and *rasheng* are central institutions where boys and girls get practical training in the traditional mode of life. Here the boys and the girls are allowed to find their way into the mysteries of life; in addition to the social and communal life, to the mysteries of sex. In this, the dormitories may be considered as schools of preparation for matrimony. The training period falls into two: one what may be termed probationary period and the other, the advanced and qualifying period. In the first period, the novices are placed under senior members who act as their tutors and guides. They have to obey these instructors and carry out their instructions. After taking meals in their homes in the evening, they go to the dormitories and do odd jobs such as fetching fuel for the *merums* and water for *apong*. Usually, in the beginning, they fall asleep early round the fire-place and know not what happens in the night. But gradually as they grow up, they start noticing the conduct of the older members and learning things by simple observation as they have been doing at home. From what they see and what they hear, they discover the meaning behind the meetings that go on between the *moshup* boys and *rasheng* girls and as inhibition is one of the least drawbacks of an Adi character, their growing curiosity does not remain unsatisfied for long. In this way before they reach adolescence, they become well in-

¹ B. S. Guha, op. cit., p. 85.

formed about sex and soon start love adventures of their own. The girls are allowed to join *ponu* parties and come into more intimate contact of the same age group of the opposite sex, and liaisons start which are free from any embarrassing apprehension of irremediable catastrophe if the first uninformed and uninstructed selections do not come out successful. Partners are changed if they do not come up to expectations. Want of partners is not allowed to stand in the way of such experimental contacts, if it can be helped and refusal by free girls on the ground of dislike alone is not countenanced by the social code. In this way, experimentation goes on till an adjustment is reached. If both the partners are satisfied with each other, they think naturally of establishing their relationship on a permanent footing. Though the will of the intending partners is supreme and they may unite in matrimony inspite of opposition from their elders, yet the custom is that the actual negotiation should be done through the parents. The boy makes his desire known to his parents either himself or if he feels shy, through his friends. If his parents agree, the mother of the boy prepares one *chunga* of *apong*, two or more smoked squirrels and ginger paste. With these, as presents, she repairs to the girl's house and makes a formal proposal on behalf of her son to the girl herself as well as to her mother. If the presents are accepted, the proposal is considered to have been agreed to, and from that day on, the boy and the girl become formally engaged. The girl from that day starts wearing a cane appendage on her neck. This engagement gives the boy right to visit the girl's house and spend the night with her there. In the beginning of this friendship, the boy spends the evening only in the girl's house and spends the rest of the night in the *moshup*. He starts staying the whole night with her in her house at a later stage if the girl agrees. The boy shows his attachment to his girl by presenting *apong* and meat to his would be parents-in-law from time to time. With the Ettor festival following the engagement, starts a formal exchange of presents, which is known as *lungkang*. During that festival, the girl prepares a large quantity of *apong*, meat and food and sends them to the boy's home, and the boy responds by killing a pig and sending it to the bride's. This formality is observed

every year as long as the girl continues at her father's.

This is among the Padams. Among the Minyongs, the parents of the boy consult all the elders of their clan as soon as the son proposes to marry. If the elders agree, an elderly woman is selected as *arebina*, go-between. She goes to the house of the girl with presents of *apong*, squirrels and meat, which is known as *apong-kadung*, and places the marriage proposal before the parents of the girl in a traditional formula which means—I have come to you for vegetable (*oying-kadung*). If the parents agree, the *apong-kadung* continues for one month; if during this period nothing unfavourable turns up, a day is fixed for *reying-apong* (final decision). On that day, the mother of the boy takes a plentiful supply of mithun meat, pig, fish, squirrels and *apong* to the house of the girl. There, all the matrons of the clan to which the girl belongs, are invited and entertained in a feast. The mother of the boy distributes the food which is flavoured with salt and ginger paste only but never with chilly. Each woman is given one squirrel to carry back home. The meaning of *reying-apong* is the *apong* that cools the heart. On the completion of this ceremony, the engaged pair is declared as a formally married couple.

The girl, after the marriage, may continue staying with her parents if the boy in the mean time has not been able to have a house of his own and still lives with his parents. It is expected, however, he should have his own house and take his wife there with the coming of the first child. The maximum period allowed for keeping a wife at her parents is generally upto the birth of the third child. But if the girl refuses to leave her parents and follow her husband to his house, there is no legal compulsion to make her do so and the matrimonial relation may continue with this dual residence in such cases. Cases have been known where the wife has joined the husband after as many as twenty years after marriage. During the period of the wife's residence at her father's, the husband is known as *magbo* and thenforward has to perform Yegling which is the first ceremony in his new status in the wife's family. It is an optional one and is performed only if the *magbo* can afford it. In it a pig is sacrificed and the portion between its neck and the lower ribs with one foreleg intact, is offered to the parents-in-

law. The other foreleg goes to the sister of the bridegroom. The clansmen receive the heart, the liver and the intestines. No game killed in chase may be offered because poisoned arrows are used in chase and so presentation of hunted game is considered discourteous to the parents of the bride. After Yegling whenever there is a sacrifice in the family of the bridegroom, or games killed in *ampi kiruk*, the chest portion goes the parents-in-law.

Among the well-to-do with whom the economic aspect of matrimony is very important, the wishes of the girl or the boy are not always consulted. The father of a rich girl is naturally against a union with a poor family and so is the rich father of a boy. Where the families are equal in status and wealth, consent is not normally withheld, but where one family is rich and the other poor, parental consents are very difficult to obtain. On the other hand, the liking and dislikes of the children are ignored for marriages of convenience settled by the parents. If the proposal comes from the parents of the girl, there is no formal procedure; they simply communicate their desire to the parents of the boy, who are then expected to start the formal procedure if they agree to it. If the girl is of age and agrees to the arrangements by her parents, she allows the groom selected to visit her at night. If she does not, the groom goes on trying to make her agree. If he succeeds in winning her over, he is received by her at night in her own residence, which amounts to her acceptance of him. As long, however, as the girl refuses to accept the groom selected by her parents, she demonstrates her unwillingness by continuing to pass her nights in the *rasheng* in the company of her own chosen mate. The groom in such cases cannot raise any objection. If the *rasheng* choice culminates in matrimony, then only the groom selected by the parents may demand from his successful rival compensation for what he has paid as the price for the girl. If the marriage is settled by the parents in the childhood of the partners, the boy and the girl are free to separate if both agree to do so and render the marriage null-and-void without any complications. No compensation can be claimed by the contracting parties in that case. If, however, it is the girl only who objects but the boy is agreeable, her objection has no legal value

and she can have her man only if he pays the traditional compensation to the boy. Boy's objection is legally valid inspite of the consent of the girl and the marriage is annuled without any compensation.

Every girl is considered an asset in the family to which she belongs. So, depriving a family of a girl by taking her away in marriage has to be compensated by payment, commensurate with the status of the family and the personal belongings of the girl, such as *tadaks*. This payment of the bride-price is known as *are*. This is no fixed lump sum payment settled at the time of proposal or marriage either in cash, household property or domestic animals. It takes the form of a continued supply of meat by the husband and his relatives to the parents of the wife. The husband gives his entire share of fish caught in organized fishing and half his catch by a trap or rod; of rats and squirrels caught, half the number goes to the girl. If the catch is poor, the wife's family claims the whole of it. The whole share in a community hunting goes to the girl and only a hind leg of the game bagged individually. One foreleg with five ribs of a wild boar or a bear killed by the brothers of the husband or his clansmen is treated as a share of the clansmen of the bride to whom it goes through her parents. The father-in-law gets the upper portion of a mithun sacrificed by the husband, but, if sacrificed by his brothers or clansmen, the entire chest including the neck is presented to the girl's parents. Wife's father gets the hind leg of a pig so sacrificed. Of the pigs sacrificed on the Sulung festival, the neck and the chest excluding the ribs and the lower jaw are presented to be the girl's parents. Both the boy and the girl exchange their shares of meat whenever that forms an item of menu at home.

There are two ceremonies which are performed when a man is lucky in marrying a girl from a rich family who comes with personal possessions rich in *tadaks*, specially when these beads amount in price to fifteen mithuns. The first of these ceremonies is known as Maruk. It may be performed any time after the marriage at the convenience of the husband. There is no fixed time, but it has to be performed at the time of the Uning festival. For it, a huge quantity of food consisting of ten loads of rice, at least two pigs, ten tubes of *apong*, four to five loads

of cooked rice, two to three loads of dried meat, the same quantities of smoked rats and squirrels is prepared by the husband. A mithun has also to be presented on this occasion. All the youngmen of the clan rig themselves out in their war-dance costume and go out with the presents in a gay boisterous procession towards the home of the bride. The youngmen of the bride's clan also proceed towards the home of the groom in the same way but without any presents. Both parties meet half-way and there they stage a mock-fight, the bride's party blocking the way and the groom's party trying to force passage. Daos are taken out and flourished menacingly but harmlessly, the air reverberating with war cries and helmeted heads bobbing up and down as so many combed heads of fighting cocks. This goes on for about two hours. By this time both the parties feel tired, the tempo comes down and the bride's party yields passage to the groom's party, which passes on in a joyous mood. A few yards from the house of the bride, they are received by the women of the bride's clan with *apong* and food which are offered only after the mithun and the food brought by the groom's party are handed over. All the clan-members of the bride assemble by this time and the bride's parents also kill some pigs or mithuns and both the parties join in a grand feast. The second ceremony is known as Minyam. In it, pigs are offered in place of the mithun.

This is the usual and normal marriage. But there are other forms which, if less common, are in practice and have the sanction of the society. One of them may be described as marriage by exchange. In this, a boy desirous of marrying a girl undertakes to fill the gap in her family by supplying a suitable girl for a marriageable boy in exchange. By this method, the difficulty sometimes felt in paying the *are* is solved. In case the marriage in exchange does not take place on account of unwillingness of the girl who may run away with someone else, the bride-price that would have been due had there been no exchange, has to be paid.

Elolements also are not uncommon. This may happen with non-Adi persons also. Such irregular marriages are tolerated by the society as usually those who elope, leave the country and live in distant lands outside the tribal jurisdiction. But all the

same the customary compensation equivalent to the bride-price is always claimed in these. Cases are also known where marriages by abduction have taken place.

Till an Adi youth settles down with his wife in his own house, he continues a member of his father's family or that of his father-in-law, where as a *magbo* in its fullest sense, he has to stay and render services to him, in exchange of the hand of his daughter. He starts his independent life with his wife beside him and as usually the wife joins him with one or more children born at her parents, he begins his independent life as the head of a full-fledged family. He gives up sleeping in the *moshup* or in the father-in-law's house and starts looking after his own wife and children. But the property continues in the father's name as long as he is alive. His children grow up in their turn and gradually transfer their allegiance to the dormitories and finally to their own families. In this way, an Adi family rarely develops into a joint family with two or three generations and lateral descendants living under the same roof and the supreme authority of a patriarch or matriarch. As soon as the elementary family reaches its fullest development, it splits itself into independent units. During the life-time of the father, however, the joint property holds the different units together in an economic bond. Seen from this angle, they may be said to constitute a family federation of autonomous bodies independent in their internal affairs. The only exception of this general practice of sons starting household of their own may be found in the case of the youngest son who may continue in his father's house with his family.

Monogamy is the general rule and rarely a second wife is taken before the first has died or has been divorced. But instances of a man with two wives are not rare. Co-wives, however, living under the same roof have never been known to cause domestic strife or inconvenience or trouble in any way. Strange though it may be, the proverbial dislike of step-mother for step-children is very rare and no case has been recorded and no report has been heard of quarrels between the co-wives leading to a rupture in a family. Within the family, the supreme authority rests with the father. This continues unchallenged till the children have reached the dormitory-going age. After

that, the responsibility of training with growing age is divided between the community and the father, the community being represented by the dormitories. As soon as the son gets engaged, the family loses a further claim on him because thenceforward his shares of games killed individually or as a member of organized hunts, go to his parents-in-law. All claims on him cease to exist when he starts his own household or becomes a *magbo* attached to the family of his father-in-law. As long as the father is alive, the family can only claim his labour in the field. In the case of a girl, after the dormitory-going age, the family surrenders its control over her nights but her whole day she devotes to household duties. In the early morning, she helps her mother in cooking food and feeding the swine and the fowls; then she accompanies her to the field and there sows, weeds, or reaps according to the season and comes back in the evening with loads of harvest, of fuel or of water. On reaching home, she pounds and winnows rice and puts rice to boil. The evening meal over, she is free to visit the *rasheng*. She is now considered as one of the senior members of the house and is often consulted in household affairs. There she waits in her father's family till the time when her husband builds his house for their independent family life.

Residence is patriolocal in the beginning and nuolocal in the latter part of life for both man and woman. The patriolocal residence normally ends with the birth of the first child which is a signal for a change over to a nuolocal residence. Exception to this rule occurs when a man due to various reasons fails to have his own house at that time, and serves a period of a *magboship* at his father-in-law's.

Within the family, the world of man is clearly distinguished from that of the woman. There is no segregation, nor is any seclusion of women observed, but each has a special sphere of activities clearly demarcated. From the early childhood, a girl knows the type of work she has to do and the boy knows his. So, a boy always looks up to his elder brothers and father for guidance in regulating his behaviour. In the same way does a girl derive her instructions from and builds up her behaviour on the pattern of her mother and sisters. This division of labour is scrupulously observed and both the man and the woman

accept the traditional pattern without any question and grumbling. Of course, their idea about activities suitable for man and woman differs from ours. An Adi man for instance, does not mind looking after a child while his wife is away from home in the fields. He may even lend a hand in cooking. But in no case will he handle a loom, so will a woman refrain rigorously from felling trees and setting fire to debris in a jungle clearing. In social life, no woman will formally join a *kebang* though she does not hesitate in making her voice heard and her opinion felt. This distinction of man and woman makes itself manifest in the behaviour of the household members and unconsciously young boys and girls have their character and outlook moulded in the traditional form.

Descent is traced through the father. The children take the clan of the father. But in case of children of extra-marital relations, the boy belongs to the father's clan and the girl to the mother's.

An Adi family, as has been shown above, consists of a nucleus of father and mother with separable units in sons and daughters. The parents too, are not tied together with unbreakable bonds as divorce and desertion may occur with no great difficulty. So, economic stability of the family has to depend to certain extent on a sense of economic security of all the component elements. This adjustment has been achieved by dividing the property into two categories, personal and joint. The bulk of the joint possessions consists of land. When a village is founded, each family is allotted a piece of land. This land belongs to the family as a whole and as the family splits economically after the death of the father, the land is also divided equally among the sons. Another item of immovable property is the house. Though the house is used by the family as a whole, it belongs to the father and each son can claim a share in it after his death. But as usually the older sons start independent household during the life time of their father, the youngest son by the virtue of his being the last to remain with him, comes to an automatic possession of it after his death. None have been yet known to dispute such possession by the youngest brother. But in case all the sons separate before the death of the father, the house is equally divided among them. The widowed mother should

in normal cases, be the responsibility of the eldest son, but in practice she prefers to live with the youngest son as he generally continues longest in the parental house.

Besides these two types of immovable properties, every house has its movable property in the form of domestic utensils, implements, live-stock and ornaments. Ornaments are personal properties. Beads and silver ornaments brought by a girl from her father's house and those given to her by her husband are her personal belongings. These are generally inherited by her daughters and daughters-in-law. In the same way, the father may have beads inherited from his father, his trophies of war and chase, his bows and arrows, daos purchased by him and items of dress woven for him by his wife. Some of these go to decorate his grave. Beads of real worth are not wasted in that way but are substituted by imitation ones. The real *manis* are inherited by the sons and they pass down the family as family heirlooms. Rice pounder, *danki* and such other valuable possessions of which only single items are available in a family, are divided among the brothers by mutual understanding. The live-stock is equally divided. Where physical division is not possible, as for instance where only one mithun is possessed by a man, the division is made either on the basis of value or it is included in the miscellaneous list consisting of single item possessions such as *danki* and rice pounder and apportioned among the sons according to their need or desire. In such cases, arbitration may be felt necessary and the village elders sit in *kebang* on it.

Inheritance descends in the male line. For further details about laws of inheritance, the reader is referred to chapter IV of this book.

The Adis are a people of closely allied groups known by different names. The demographic structure of this people corresponds to that of the atom. The outer ring in this case is formed by the different groups known as Padam, Minyong, Pasi and so on. Each group is composed of a number of clans which in their turn are formed by a number of sub-clans. Sub-clans are groups of families which may be considered to be the smallest unit. The density of cohesion thins out gradually from a family outwards towards a nebulous feeling of unity for an Adi people as a whole. Though the memory is vague and definite corroboration

tations of one origin for all the groups are lacking even in their mythology, there is no doubt that all the sections together distinguish themselves from neighbouring peoples such as Tibetans, Daflas, Apatanis and Mishmis. Each group, in the same way feels the greater closeness within itself than they feel with the other groups. Each group traces its descent from a single ancestor, a semi-mythical figure, such as Keyum. After a few generations of these mythical ancestors, the line of descent branches out, through brothers into two or three lines. These subsidiary ancestors are the founders of distinct clans. The clans continue for a period of seven generations or more till perhaps, due to migration or over population, they split up into more collateral lines. This gives rise to sub-clans. These divisions of clans and sub-clans occur only when there are special occasions for splitting for reasons stated above. Therefore, each and every case of a father having more than one son, does not occasion creation of clans and sub-clans.

A man in Damroh for instance, belongs to a certain family which is known after its head as the family of such and such. This family in its turn belongs to a sub-clan. A sub-clan is affiliated to a clan and the clan belongs to the Padam group. The following clans and sub-clans of the Padam group are found in Damroh:

<i>Group</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Sub-clan</i>
Padam	Tayeng	Sabkom Samna Kibing Kirang Tonkir Tonmuk
	Perme	Mebang Meii Mekop Konka Kopul
	Pertin	Jomut Jotan Joling Jonkeng Tinbang Jopok Tinte Tintung

<i>Group</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Sub-clan</i>
	Borang	Litin Lisi Linyong Libal Litum
	Ratan	Tantin Tanjong Tanpok Saring Doso Purling Sikeng.
	Bogong	Pultan Pulbang Reme Tinbang Jomut Mulling Jotan
	Megu	Nubung Muram Domi Kemji
	Jonang	Nil
	Kening	Nil
	Lego	Sike Rankong Rapok Limong Kopak Lakku Lagrang Lagbing Lombe Lomsar Raik Iksing Sitar Sarme Manyeat Nadbul Nanne
	Irang	Rinning Rinbang Rinbe Rinser Bimul Birang Payang Ebbe

A broader division sometimes intervenes between the clans and the group. The Minyongs are divided into two moities—Kumuing and Kuri. Kumuing has 15 clans; they are:

Tatin
 Talom
 Tata
 Taggu
 Tayir
 Pangam
 Muije
 Jerang
 Darang
 Pajing
 Talo
 Tamuk
 Dupak
 Muibang
 Muiuk.

and Kuri consists of 16 clans:

Tamut
 Tapak
 Taga
 Takuk
 Darung
 Messar
 Tali
 Tasing
 Komut
 Jamo
 Gao
 Siram
 Taki
 Tabying
 Tangu
 Sitang.

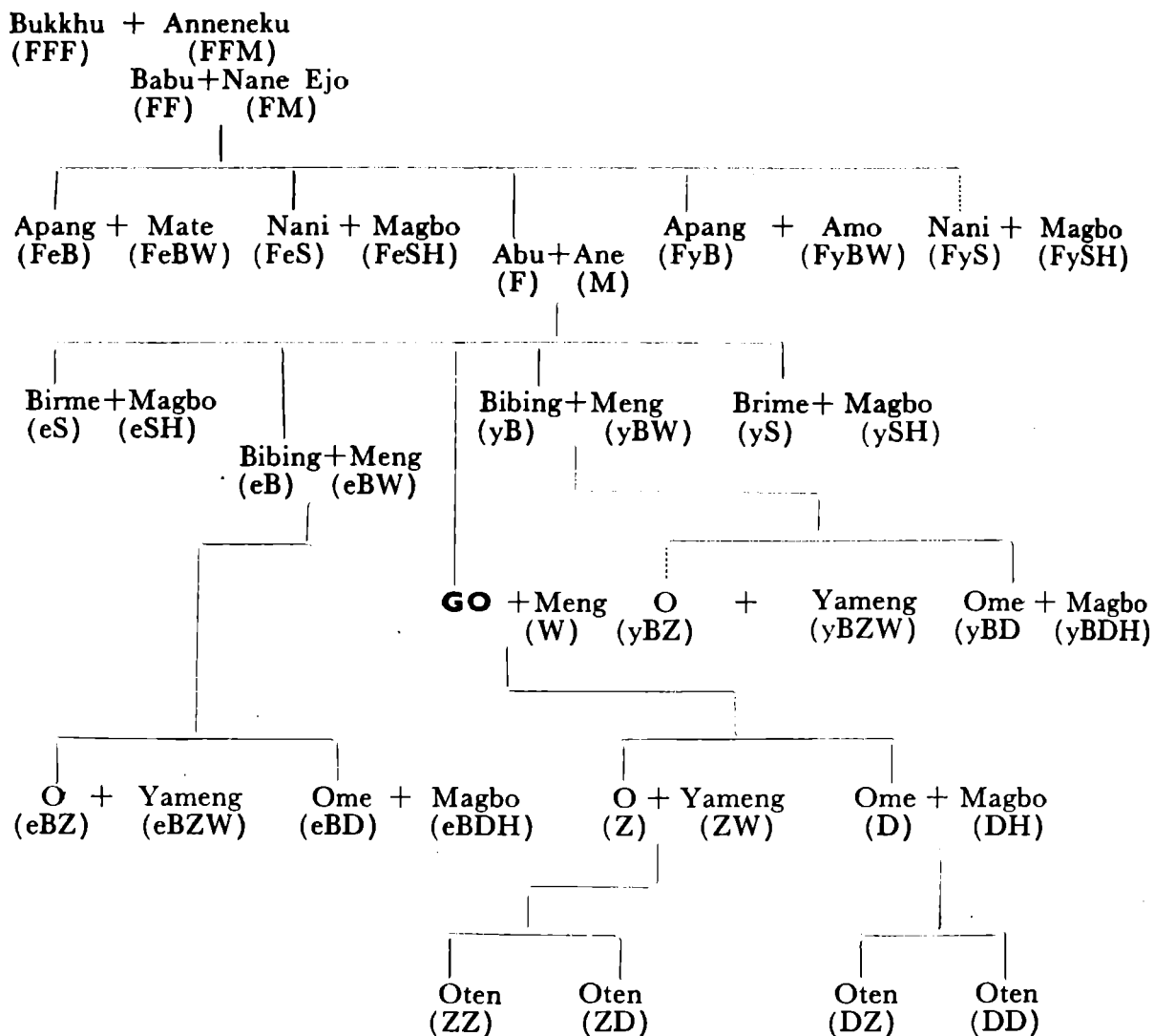
These clans are again sub-divided into sub-clans and

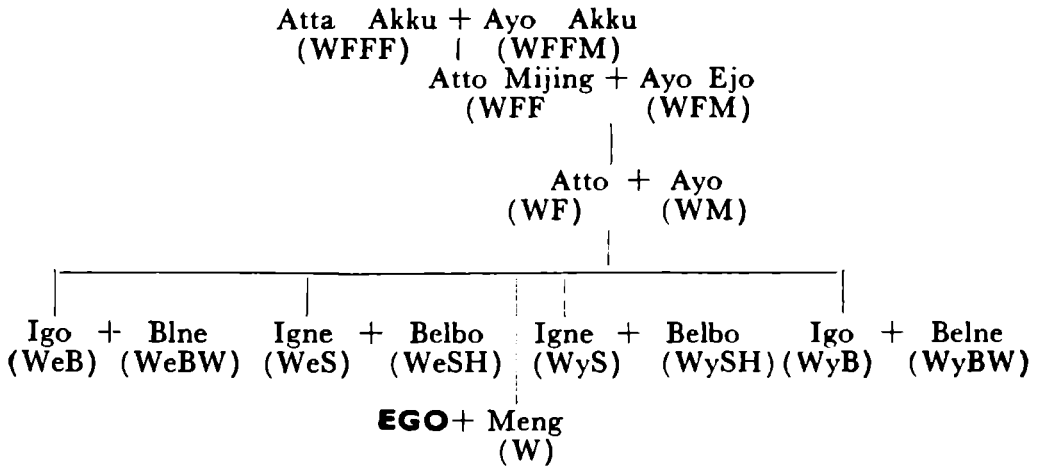
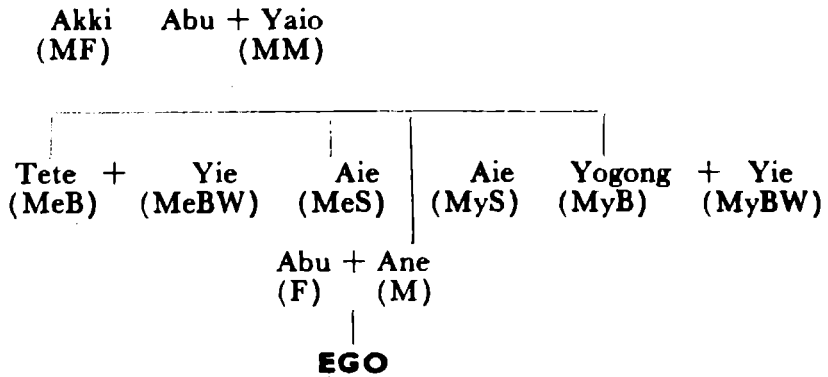
families in the same way as among the Padams. The influence of this division makes itself felt in the social life of the Adis. In all their affairs, every family feels its duty to support its fellow members against other families; they align themselves on the basis of sub-clans, when there is a misunderstanding or a quarrel between the members of the different sub-clans. Partisanship arranges itself according to the clans when the disputants belong to different clans. Among the Minyongs, the moities claim allegiance in the same way and when disputes transcend the boundaries of the smaller divisions, group feeling comes into play. The selection of members of the *kebang*, Inter-village Councils and Inter-group Councils is also done on the basis of clans. Clans used to be exogamous in the past, but due to the growth and spread of population in distant parts, breaches to that restriction have begun to occur and are looked upon with toleration, if not, with positive approval. But sub-clans are strictly exogamous even now; marriage within six generations of a sub-clan is in no way permitted and trespassing of this prohibition is never let go without punishment.

Perhaps, in the past, the pattern of village settlements depended on the distribution of the clans. Traces of this clan pattern is noticeable only in the oldest villages now-a-days. Villages of later settlement do not show any sign of this, perhaps, because the founders belonged to different clans and sub-clans and these were so meagrely represented, that clanwise settlement was not practicable. Small bands of heterogenous founders resulted in heterogeneous arrangement of houses.

Though family is the nucleus with the highest density of cohesion, yet like the nucleus of the physical atom, it is not indivisible. Within the family, there is a series of varying degrees of closeness in attachment and relationship. This may be seen from the study of kinship terms prevalent among the Adis. These terms are given in the following genealogical pattern:—

(RELATIONSHIP MAN SPEAKING)





Now to take the terms individually and to analyse them. The term *magbo* is used for father's elder-sister's husband; father's younger-sister's husband; elder-sister's husband; younger-sister's husband and daughter's husband; elder-brother's daughter's husband and elder-sister's daughter's husband. It will be seen that it signifies a class of non-consanguinous males, related through marriage. In other words, all the husbands of the girls of the family are known as *magbos*. The above genealogical term is used for one generation upwards and downwards from 'Ego'. Whether the same term is used beyond these two generations is not known. But within these three generations, the term is used equally for all husbands of the family irrespective of the levels of generation they belong to. One *magbo* himself calls another *magbo* by the same term. Thus, they are distinguished as a separate kinship group in the genealogical line. It signifies rigid distinction between the non-consanguinous from the consanguinous. It also implies from what we know about the *magbo*, a particular type of marriage through service with residence at the father-in-law's.

In the same way, wife, elder-brother's wife; younger brother's wife are all known as *meng*. The use of the same term for one's own wife as well as one's brothers' wives, both younger and elder, implies levirate, senior as well as junior. This is supported by *milo*, a term of relationship for one's own husband, husband's elder-brother and husband's younger-brother.

Son's wife, elder-brother's son's wife; younger brother's son's wife have one term—*yameng* which is classificatory in consonance with the pattern of generation level because of levirate evident from the use of *meng* and *milo*.

Belne which distinguishes wife's younger-brother's wife, husband's younger-brother's wife, wife's elder-brother's wife and husband's elder-brother's wife, is a corresponding classificatory term implying sororate and marriage by exchange.

Belbo is a classificatory term for the wife's elder-sister's husband and wife's younger-sister's husband.

Elder-sister and younger-sister are known as *birme* and elder-brother and younger-brother as *bibing*. These three classificatory terms do not distinguish the precedence of birth.

Igne is a common term for wife's elder-sister, wife's

younger-sister, husband's elder-sister, and husband's younger-sister.

Sons of the same generation, own, elder-brother's younger-brother's, younger-sister's and elder-sister's are known as *O*. It indicates the absence of cross-cousin marriage. The pattern of kinship in the second generation is identical, but a sibling distinguishes its own parents by special terms such as *abu* for father and *apang* for father's brother. The same remark applies to *ome*, the classificatory term for daughter, elder-brother's daughter, younger-brother's daughter, elder-sister's daughter and younger-sister's daughter.

In the third generation also, the pattern is completely classificatory. *Oten* signifies son's son, son's daughter and daughter's son and daughter's daughter.

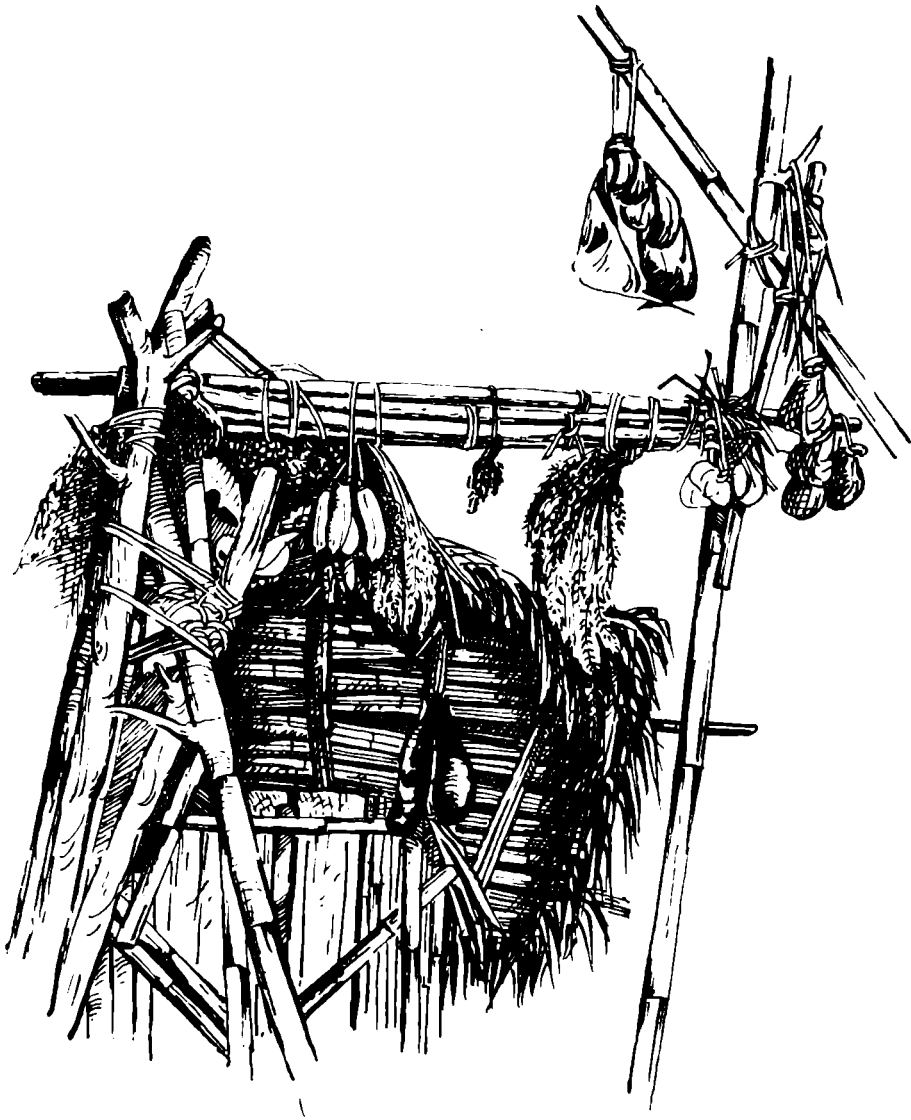
The terms of address and reference between the first and third generations, that is between the grandparents and grandchildren are also classificatory.

Other classificatory terms in use among the Adis are *igo*, meaning—wife's elder-brother's wife and wife's younger-brother's wife, *yie* denoting mother's elder-brother's wife and mother's younger-brother's wife and *aie* denoting mother's younger-sister and mother's elder-sister. From the pattern of classification of kins, both consanguinous and non-consanguinous a structural unity is indicated within three-generations level.

A list of kinship term will be found in Appendix IV.

In the centre of this world of concentric circles of affinities, the Adi grows and leads his life of graded and well-determined responsibilities and attachments. Disturbances when married partners disagree, leading to divorce, occur and lead to fissions in the family nucleus. But these are governed by customary laws and cleavages are healed and new nuclei formed without any great difficulty and turmoil. A man and woman thus grow old in their houses amidst their children who separate to go to their own or to their husbands' and the time comes when the parental couple is too old to go to the fields and to take part in the arduous duties there or at home. Then they start staying at home, enjoying their well-earned rest, basking in the sun on the open platforms or enjoying the warmth of the hearth inside, and looking after the children and doing very

light work such as basket making, only to keep their vacant hours occupied. They are treated with respect and consulted and obeyed in all important household affairs. Though not active as before, the village society never lets them fall into oblivion. Their voices reach the *kebangs* and in the annual community hunting, they are treated to a banquet with the best and largest shares of the games in the *moshup* where occasionally they pass their time just to be in touch with young life. In some places, they have separate institutions known as



An Adi grave

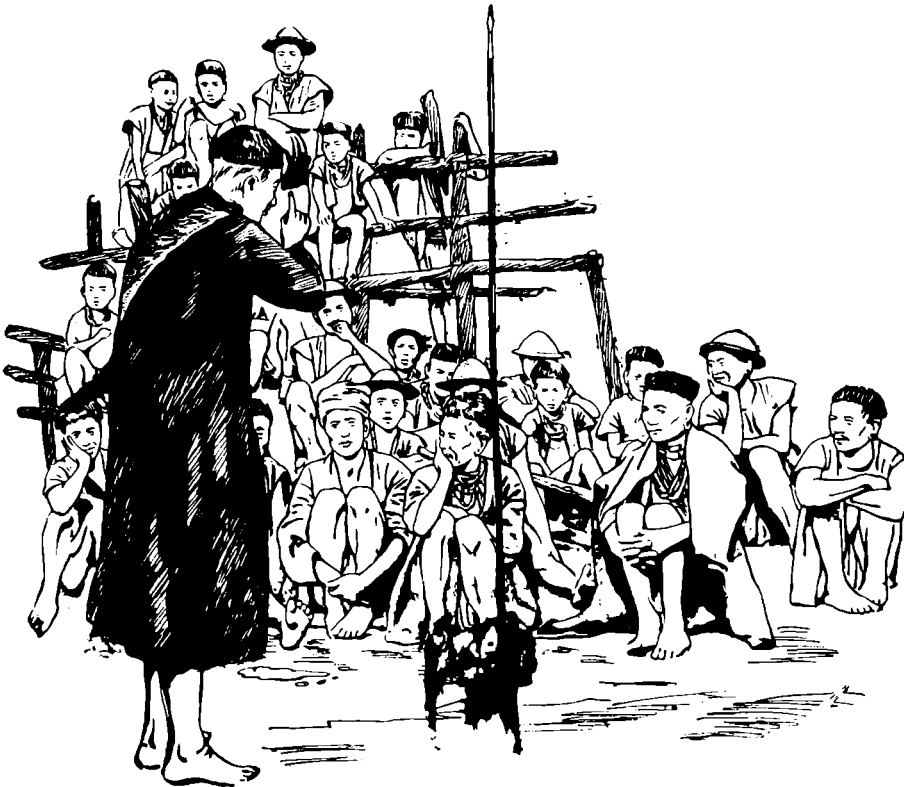
rikiyap all to themselves where old age dozes and dreams and meditates and slowly slides down the corridor of time to the

eventual goal of life in peace and tranquility. And when it comes at last, the family and the village stop all other work to bid farewell and pay the last homage to the departed soul. If death comes first to the father the widowed mother goes to live with the youngest son or may marry again her husband's elder or younger brother. If she has no son and remains a widow, she is taken care of by her husband's clansmen. The death sometimes, comes premature and if a baby is born dead, it receives aerial burial. The corpse is packed in a covered gourd shell and hung high from a tree. Deaths by accident whether on child-bed or in the wilds or in water are looked upon with awe and longer *gennas* are observed.

So is the *Adi* born, and so he lives his span on this earth and so he passes out of it to enter a new life in another sphere where his own familiar world waits for him in a new form with the same facilities and status that he enjoyed here.

POLITICAL LIFE

The political life of a people is characterized by the nature of its system of internal administration and its relation with its neighbours. The administrative structure of the Adis is essentially democratic; autocracy in any form has not been known to them and in the absence of a distinct class of nobility, oligarchy has remained equally unknown. Their's is, in a true sense, a government by the people and for the people. The structure is very simple and effective. Every village is an independent unit by itself, and knows no extraneous authority. It has a council of Elders which exercises the highest legal and judicial powers. This is known as the *kebang* and all social and political control of the village rests with it. The members



A kebang in progress

are known as *Kebang-Abus* and are chosen from within the village on the merit of their personal influence and ability to present a case in the traditional manner. Some of them are *Gams* who represent particular clans. There are others who do not represent any particular clan but are selected for their personal influence and oratorical powers. *Kebang-Abus* are usually senior men with long experience and wide and deep knowledge of the tribal lore, but younger *Kebang-Abus* are not rare. Usually each clan has one *Gam* of its own, but cases of clans having more than one or none are also not uncommon.

The *kebang* directs all village activities according to their traditional laws and customs of which it is supposed to be a repository and it punishes those who deviate from the right path in any way and watches over of the welfare and well-being of the village community. All matters of common interest are placed before it and nothing can be done without its approval and sanction. The opening of agricultural plots, building of new houses, settling of new-comers, punishing wrongdoers and whatever else that concerns the village either individually or communally is discussed and decided in it. And it is the chief judicial in the village, all cases of dispute are brought before it for judgment. The contending parties backed by their fellow clansmen and supporters appear before it and try to convince it of the justness of their cause in long speeches cast in a traditional form and delivered in a loud voice with bold gesticulations. Every speech begins with a preamble narrating the ancient history and glory of the *Adi* race and exhortation on the bench for conformity to the traditional laws and for impartial justice. An idea of this traditional introduction which is known as *abe* may be formed from the specimen that follows:

Abe

'Dolunga tumi beliem puilang kujuka, gamso beli em pulang kujuka. Gunying reme maleng penem gamso, reme maleng penem gyny beliem, puilang kajuka gamso beli em puilang kujuka. Tumyi erie menki yane lonmo rokpo e, kok dong yane gyny beliem puilang, kujuka gamso beli em puilang kujuka. Gunying reme maleng penem. gunying (sisum em godumsudoku pe) gamso sisum em godum sudokupe. Piring atel

lo godum sudoku pe, pokring atel lo godum sudoku pe. Doying boteke doying ganggine, siring so, tumi pangkue kumdum, sudola —gomung dasing em ekdum sudula. Kiren rome maleng duna sim, kirem rempui em puilang kupe. Sone reme maleng duna sim. Sone rempui em puilang kupe.'

'Oh! villagers and brethren, let us strengthen our customs and *kebang*, let us improve our regulations; let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment; let them speak out in a bold voice unabashed and undaunted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform; let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide differently for different persons; let us to be guided by reason and see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties. Let us keep nothing pending, let us decide while the dispute is fresh, lest small disputes grow big and continue for a long time. Let the *ajeng* (fine) be levied reasonably. Let it be commensurate with the guilt and be just. Poverty should have compassion and justice be tempered with mercy. We have met in this sacred place of justice; we have come together for a *kebang* and let us speak in one voice and decide on one verdict. Here are the iron pots and brass pots brought by the accuser and the accused; here stands the mithun. So let us decide and mete out justice so that all these go to him who is in the right'. This reminds one of the famous Vedic hymn praying for unanimity in a council (Samiti).¹

१ संगच्छ्वं सं वदध्व सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।

देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं सञ्जानाना अुपासते ॥२॥

समानो मंत्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः

सह चित्तमेषाम् । समानं मंत्रमभि मन्त्रये

वः समानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ॥३॥

समानी वः आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।

समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥४॥

ऋ. वे. १०।१९१।२-४।

Assemble, speak together: let your minds be all of one accord. As ancient Gods unanimous sit down to their appointed share. The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thoughts united.

A common purpose do I lay before you, and worship with your general oblation.

One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord.

United be the thoughts of all that all may agree.

¹ Ralph T. H. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rigveda* (Benares, 1926), vol. II., Hymn CXCI p. 610.

The carrying out of the *kebang* decision and verdict is automatic and few ever challenge it. So, there is no necessity for any special executive body for the implementation of its injunctions. The *moshup* boys are there for whatever has to be done in this matter. It is they who announce the verdicts of the council and communicate them to persons concerned, help in enforcing the findings and verdicts in cases of disputes and undertake development work. The *moshup* boys divide and distribute the work among themselves. For this purpose, *moshups* are divided into a number of *merums* or fireplaces. The boys who sit round the same *merums* in the *moshups* are taken to form single groups. Every boy is free to choose his *merum* as he likes and there is no restriction of clan or neighbourhood. Each *merum* group is therefore, a body of young-men united of their own free will and closely bound by a bond of friendship and fellow-feeling. When a task is to be performed, it is divided among the *moshup* boys *merum*-wise; that is to say, each *merum* is entrusted with a particular part of the work to be done. This division of work is clearly noticed in development undertakings such as construction of roads, clearing of jungle and mounting guard against attacks. One boy from each *merum* conveys the *kebang* decision to all the members of its group and in this way, *kebang* decisions relating to community work for the whole village is communicated in a very short time.

At the time when a *kebang* is in session, a special kind of *apong* has to be distributed and mithuns and pigs have to be sacrificed to prevent failure of cultivation. The *kebang* in its turn has to maintain a strict impartiality toward both the contending parties before it can accept the entertainment, with a clean conscience. Women generally do not take an active part in the *kebang*, but every man may.

When human discernment proves inadequate for deciding disputes, supernatural guidance is sought through ordeals. Four such ordeals are practised. If the guilt of a person, charged with theft specially, cannot be proved positively, he is made to pass through the ordeal of 'the egg in boiling water'. A large fire is kindled and on it is placed a bamboo tube about a foot long, filled with water. When the water starts boiling,

an egg is put into it. The accused sits by the side of the fire with a fire screen (*tali*) prepared by his relatives to protect him from the heat. When the water is in full boil, he approaches the tube, covering himself from the heat of the fire with the *tali*, puts his hand into the tube and brings out the egg. If he is innocent, it is believed that he will come out unscathed. In certain cases, he is required to prove his innocence by receiving on his palm drops of molten lead. This ordeal is known as Pagrangyolla Amki Sunam. Safer and remoter in effect is the ordeal which makes the accused swallow a piece of chicken meat specially sacrificed for that purpose and mixed with earth with the belief that if guilty, he will sicken and die. It is known as Perok Eilok Dokisupe Aido. In what we would call civil cases, the disputants dedicate two mithuns to their cause and set them loose in the jungle. The mithun belonging to the person with a false cause is expected to meet with an early and tragic fate. Ordeals are directed by, and undergone under, the supervision of the Council. But the Council must procure the consent of both the parties before prescribing it. This leaves an opportunity for either of the parties, specially if it has reason to fear divine judgment, to get out of the difficulty without any damage to its prestige and blemish to its character. But then ensue deadlock and unending disputes. Such cases, however, are rare.

A *kebang* has jurisdiction over its own village. Inter-village dispute are settled by the Inter-village Councils. For this purpose, villages are grouped together into what are known as Bangos.

All the Gams of the villages within the jurisdiction of the same group and a few other influential villagers constitute a Bango Council, which has a Secretary, who is in charge of the 'office'. Fine money collected from the inter-village disputes go to the Bango fund and is spent for the welfare of the whole area under the Bango.

Inter-Bango disputes are settled by a superior body called Bogum Bokang, introduced by the Administration. It is a temporary council formed by all the Bangos of the same tribe and is composed of influential elders having no interest in the disputes. Once a Bogum Bokang is formed, it attains high

religious and spiritual significance in the eyes of the people. The Bangos and Bogum Bokang have to be entertained profusely with *apong* and mithuns are to be sacrificed during their sittings.

Decisions of the *kebangs* are supposed to come from the people. The Gams or Head-men help only to enforce it. The injunctions are obeyed to the letter, for these people are respectful of their ancient customs and traditional laws.

Customary Law: Law is an institution which enforces faithful observance of rules of conduct approved by a state, society or community. In primitive associations, for which territory does not constitute an essential factor, it is the society that acts as the enforcing agent. The rules of conduct that it enjoins on its members are mainly based on the ethical principles that have grown out of historical and economic circumstances which have conditioned the development of the society. These go to form the conscience of the members of the society individually and the group as a whole and so a simple standard is set up to which the society and individuals subscribe without any question and reservation. Naturally, carefully defined codes are not necessary and subtle distinctions such as between crime and tort are not made. Any violation of one of these laws is taken up by society through the *kebang*, to which individuals come for redress of their wrongs, when they are directly concerned.

Some of these laws are meant for the maintenance of social order and harmony. These are grouped here under 'Social Laws'.

1. *Social Law-Matrimonial (General)* :

Marriage is a state sanctioned by society into which a man and a woman enter, with the approval of their respective families and their own consent, to beget children and start a household of their own.

No man or woman may enter into such a state if both of them belong to the same sub-clan.

A man may enter, if he so chooses, into such a relation with more than one woman, one after another, even during the life-time of the wife or wives married earlier.

A woman once declared and accepted as a wife of one man, may not, without a proper and recognised separation, marry another man, in the life-time of her first husband.

No free man or woman may establish matrimonial or sexual relations with any one considered as a slave or *mipak* by the society. Cases of proved and established sexual relations between a free man or woman with a slave or *mipak* woman or man, may be recognized as a marriage, only with the degradation of the free partner into a slave or *mipak* category.

2. *Marriage (performance) :*

The accepted rules of procedure laid down by the society for selection, proposal, negotiation, and performance of functions that have to be gone through before a man may claim a woman as his wife, have already been described in detail in the chapter on marriage.

3. *Married State (Husband and wife) :*

(i) Once married, husband and wife are expected to observe sexual fidelity to each other except when—

(a) A husband is driven by conjugal unhappiness to temporary extra-marital relations.

(b) A wife is compelled to seek solace in *rasheng* partners by a feeling of repugance that she feel against her husband.

(ii) A husband is considered to be repugnant to his wife—

(a) if she declares her dislike for him—for (i) ill treatment, (ii) habitual conjugal infidelity, (iii) inability to perform marital act to her satisfaction.

(b) If she, withholds her consent to the marriage arranged by her parents—and refuses and succeeds in avoiding consummation or registers her dissent when unable to avoid it.

(iii) But these relations are strictly to be confined to the

premises and members of the *rasheng*. Outside, they amount to a breach of social custom and conjugal fidelity.

4. *Divorce*:

(i) When both the husband and the wife agree, they may separate with the approval of the *kebang*. In such cases neither of the two may prefer any claim for compensation.

(ii) A wife may not sever her matrimonial relation with her husband, if the husband does not agree to such a separation.

(iii) A wife may secure a divorce if she gets another man to pay a compensation to the husband and marry her thereafter.

(iv) A husband may divorce a wife, if he so desires, before there is any issue born of their union, but he forfeits thereby his claim to the personal ornaments belonging to the wife.

(v) In cases other than as noted in (iv) above, the husband will have to pay a heavy compensation in cash or in kind which is known as *aning-mitek* for the disgrace he is supposed to have brought on her by his act.

(vi) If a wife desires to have her marriage tie severed, she may have her separation without any right for future claim on the husband, and need not pay any compensation to the husband until and unless she takes a second husband, who before he claims her as his wife, shall pay to the divorced husband—*adum*—equal in value to the bride-price as fixed and already paid by the divorced husband. *Adum* is usually heavier than *aming-mitek*.

(vii) In some cases, the *adum* is paid by the parents of the woman seeking divorce instead of by the second husband.

5. *Parent and Child*:

(i) Children born in wedlock belong to the sub-clan of the father.

(ii) A child born as a result of casual relations prior to formal marriage shall belong to the man who marries the mother. A child born of temporary *rasheng* relation to an unmarried girl may be finally accepted by the father, if he agrees to do so. But if he prepares to take advantage of the

benefit of doubt allowed by the society, he may do so without any opprobrium and the child goes to the man who later marries the mother.

(iii) A child begotten by a man on the wife of another man, in the course of relations with her within the *rasheng*, shall belong to the legal husband.

(iv) The natural father of a child born of a married woman out of wedlock may not have to pay any compensation to the legal father, unless he takes the mother away from the legal husband and marries her after obtaining proper divorce. In that case, the amount of compensation will be heavier than if the woman were without the child.

6. *Widows:*

(i) In case of the death of a husband, his immediately younger brother shall have prior claim on the widow. If he forgoes his right, the remaining brothers shall have preference in order of age.

(ii) If none of the surviving brothers of the deceased husband agree to marry the widow, she may continue a widow or marry any other man from the sub-clan of her husband.

(iii) The father, brother of the father and the son of the deceased may not take his widow as a wife.

(iv) A widow who is not married by any of the surviving brothers of her deceased husband has no claim on the property left by the deceased.

(v) A man who marries a widow, ignoring the prior and superior claims of a brother of the deceased husband and thereby infringing on the latter's right of first preference, shall pay compensation to the aggrieved brother to such extent as may be decided by the *kebang*.

(vi) A widow, who finds no one to marry her, after the death of her husband—among the brothers and the fellow sub-clans-men of the deceased, may go back to her parents, if she so likes.

(vii) A widower may not prefer any claim to the personal belongings of his deceased wife or any part thereof.

I have so far attempted to present some of the more important of the customary laws which aim at the preservation

of the traditional structure of the Adi society. There is another set of laws which guard against discord, conflict and ill-feeling amongst members of society, which may lead ultimately to social disruption, if allowed to continue unremedied and unredressed. These may be described as laws of security. Cases which come under the jurisdiction of these laws arise from dishonesty, and wilful or inadvertent negligence, omissions and commissions.

Theft, assault, causing hurt and homicide are the most common acts of commission and there is a series of laws governing such cases.

7. *Theft:*

(i) Taking away dishonestly any movable property out of the possession of its rightful owner, without the owner's consent, is considered as theft. In cases where the property stolen can be traced and located, it must be restored to the rightful owner and the person guilty of theft has to pay an amount not exceeding the prevailing market value of a pig in cash to the aggrieved person by way of compensation. (ii) In cases of theft, where the property taken away cannot be traced and located, the person guilty of theft must make good the amount of the stolen article in addition to the amount paid as compensation as noted in para (i) above. The value of the stolen article will be decided by the *kebang*.

(iii) Theft of food by one in period of starvation for the sole purpose of satisfying his hunger is not considered as an offence.

8. *Assault and Battery:*

Assaulting and causing hurt, grievous or otherwise, to a person with or without provocation is an offence and the offender has to pay a compensation to the person or the family of the person in case such hurt ultimately causes death. The compensation is usually commensurate with the injury inflicted. In case of an injury to finger, ear, teeth, and eye, the compensation is a pig. Injury to the entire arm and leg, causing disability to that limb, is compensated with

a graded scale of payments proportionate to the degree of the injury not exceeding the current value of a mithun. Culpable homicide involves a compensation to the maximum amount of ten mithuns which shall be paid to the lawful heir(s) to the deceased.

Murder is compensated with the heaviest amount possible and considered just by the *kebang*. In former days, inability to pay the compensation resulted in the selling of the person guilty of murder as a slave and the money derived from the sale was paid to the family of the deceased by way of compensation.

Among the acts of omission and commission, and negligence, violation of a taboo is punished with a fine of so many tubes of *apong*, the number depending on the seriousness of the offence. Default in community work decided upon in a *kebang* is fined with *apong* and edibles. Clansmen failing to help in the burial of a deceased member of the clan may be fined up to the maximum of one mithun. If one refuses to pay the fine so imposed, a pig or a mithun may be taken away from him, even by force, if it is found necessary to apply it, or his granary may be destroyed depending on the seriousness of the case.

Escape of fire is not an offence if it can be proved that it has not been due to wilful act of negligence on the part of the person from whose custody it has spread. In intentional incendiarism however, the damage has to be compensated by a payment of an amount equal in value to the property so damaged.

One of the most common causes of conflict among the Adis is a dispute regarding ownership of property. So there are a number of laws fixing the ownership of movable or immovable property and safeguarding hunting and fishing rights from encroachments and for regulating the processes of inheritance.

9. *Laws of inheritance:*

(i) No son can inherit the property of his father while he is living.

(ii) In the lifetime of his father, a son may, however, marry and start a separate household of his own.

(iii) On the death of his father, the property is equally divided among the sons.

If, however, a son starts living separately before his father's death, the son or sons living with the father at the time of his death gets or get a larger share or shares in the form of the residential house but landed property is equally divided.

(iv) Widows and daughters do not inherit anything. In case a man dies without any issue, the property may remain in the possession of the widow until she marries again. If she marries in accordance with the laws governing the re-marriage of next-of-kin and in absence of any such blood relation, to the members of the sub-clan of the deceased husband.

(v) If a man leaves a minor son or sons behind, his brother shall look after the property as a guardian of the minor son or sons during their minority, and hand over to each his share according to the customary law of partition as and when they attain majority.

Every village has its own hunting-grounds and fishing areas, properly demarcated from those of the adjacent villages. Within the village, hunting grounds are separately allocated to each *merum* and fishing areas to each family. Hunting and fishing rights are very carefully guarded and violation of rights of ownership has to be compensated by payment of amounts equal to the prevailing market value of one mithun.

This is not a place for an exhaustive inventory of the customary laws that operate in the land. The few that have been noted above are sufficient to give an idea of their general character. Dispensation of justice concerns itself more with redressing the wrong than with punishing the wrong-doer. Hence most of the so-called fines inflicted by the *kebangs* are in reality compensations for damages done. The judiciary is practical and simple, in as much as it seeks to maintain and establish the traditional concepts of justice and equity without involving itself in lengthy legal procedures. The system aims not only at settling disputes but also to develop disciplined code of social behaviour. Justice is speedy and free from subtleties involving manipulations and intricate tortuousities of procedural technicalities. The *kebang* is more a board of arbitration, equally sympathetic to both the parties than a body of stern dispensers

of justice which the offenders fear and try to evade. It tries to bring about a compromise acceptable to both the parties and its method is that of persuasion rather than awarding a coercive verdict following abstract principles of justice, which does not care for the pain it inflicts. Every offence or wrong is considered in terms of concrete damage or injury caused by it and redress is given in the form of adequate compensation. On the one hand they are entirely free from any traces of vindictiveness and barbarous cruelty that characterize the code of Hammurabi, and take into account, on the other, all attenuating circumstances, including the material condition of the offender, in fixing the amount of compensation. Though humane, they are effective because the offender is made to feel the weight of the wrong done by him without suffering a moral degradation which gives rise to a criminal class.

Therefore, though formless and elastic, the customary laws are well suited for maintenance of order in society and enable its members to lead their lives in peace and tranquility. Jurists may find it difficult to classify these laws in well defined legal categories, but if 'the primary duty (of legal bodies) is to get rid of disputes before them, and to lay down no wider rule than is sufficient to achieve that aim'¹ the laws evolved by these people must be acknowledged to have been eminently successful in fulfilling that function.





A ponung in progress

RELIGION

Man's consciousness has grown under the persistent shadow of an encompassing Unknown bewildering him with its inscrutable ways, haunting him with its incomprehensible, superior power, overwhelming him with a sense of his own smallness, insignificance and helplessness, and oppressing him with an apprehension of ultimate obliteration within its unfathomable depths. Life is not possible without an understanding and compromise with this mysterious neighbour and so, relieving the mind, in some way, of a paralysing obsession. So man always attempts psychological adjustments with its surroundings and thereby builds up a body of beliefs which in their turn, form, shape and regulate his behaviour. These beliefs and the resultant behaviour go by the name of religion.

The most fundamental of these beliefs go back to the earliest dawn of civilization. Man had then just cut himself free from the apron strings of Mother Nature and launched on the adventure of living on his own. But the family tie was still fresh and strong and the independence, weak and precarious. He could not come to think himself as different from the rest of the family in any way and felt a close kinship with them all. All objects around him were to him as animate as himself and the spirit that he had discovered within himself resided in them all. Thus, he lived in a world where everything was living and all objects and beings had invisible spirits presiding in them. He himself however, was the youngest of them all, the most inexperienced in the art of living. The others possessed powers that passed not only his ability but his understanding also, and so his fellow feeling with them was tinged with awe and wholesome respect for them. Thus, animatism, animism and supernaturalism came to be the basic ingredients of religion in its earliest phases.

The Adis have been placed by historical circumstances in a most difficult country. It denies them the easy luxury of material comforts and grudgingly suffers the presence of his humble homestead and small clearing in the midst of its ever-encroaching jungle. Man and Nature have stayed here for centuries facing each other, entrenched in their positions, making occasional forays into each others dominions. But the struggle has been harder for man. 'For centuries the real rule of the tribal people here has been Environmental; it has shaped their bodies, directed their arts, forced babel on their tongues; it has been their Governor, their policy maker'.¹

And it has determined the character of 'the road to spiritual serenity across the perplexities and dangers of daily life'.² Nature more hostile than friendly appears to the Adis to be controlled by a host of spirits who are ill disposed towards men and lurk in every corner looking out for chances for doing them harm. Their animosity is an omnipresent and constant concern to them. And the religion of the Adis is moulded in practice to counteract it. 'His untutored mind sees a demon everywhere, in the sun and the thunder, the earth and the water. It is a spirit of evil that takes life from all things that have breath, that smites with sickness, that, in the questionable shape of a kinsman from some distant village, lures the unfortunate to his doom in the dark recesses of the forest. And the beginning and end of his religion, in sickness and in health, in seed time and in war, in the agonies of death and in the burial rites that follow, is to appease the malevolent spirits of an unseen world'.³ There seems to be no visible cause for such a bitter and obdurate enmity and so an explanation has been sought in mythology. One must, therefore, go to it in order to understand the full import of the religious attitude of the Adis.

In the days of yore, gods, men and animals lived all together without any distinction between them. This hetero-

¹ Verrier Elwin, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong, 1959, 2nd Edition), p. 6.

² E. Sapir, *Cultural Language and Personality, Selected Essay—1957* p. 122.

³ G.D.S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

genous population increased at a rapid rate and soon inconveniences with consequent discordance began to be felt. With a view to avoid more serious development, they came together and met in a great *kebang*, the first perhaps of its kind in history. It distributed all the goods of the world among them and apportioned to each his share and sphere. The largest and the best share chanced to fall to the lot of the brothers Nibo, the father of all men and Robo, the father of evil spirits, who thereby incurred the envy of all the others, in particular of Mite and Miname, two evil spirits who came late and therefore received nothing. Thenceforward, they started preying on men, the sons of Nibo. Before long Nibo and Robo fell out between themselves because Robo was made to believe that Nibo was cheating him out of his share. In the fight that ensued between the two as a result of this, all the evil spirits sided with Robo and attacked Nibo who was without any ally. From that day the evil spirits have waged an unceasing war against Nibo and his descendants.

There is another myth told to account for the animosity of the spirits. It tells how Nibo cheated Robo in hunt and in fishing and Robo got angry and went away furious. From that day to this the descendants of Robo have haunted the children of Nibo.

The two stories differ in this that the first makes man an innocent victim of envy while the second favours the spirits with a just cause for vindictiveness. Ethics however played no role in early religions—and here we find the results of a search for a rational cause for a vendetta that exists between the two.

Nibo cultivated in the hills and Robo being fool did not cultivate but hunted in the low lands. Nibo was gifted with wisdom and all spiritual powers. He could see all over the world. Hence no evils could harm him unseen as his eye sight was all pervading. Robo was jealous of the Nibo for these qualities. One day Robo persuaded his brother Nibo to go for a hunt with him. On the way they came across a high precipice on the edge of which there was a huge tree. A creeper hung from the top of this tree. Robo suggested that as he was very tired they should make a swing of the creeper and take rest on it. Robo pretending to be too frightened to test the

swing first made Nibo to have the first swing. Nibo hesitated to carry the wisdom with him while swinging. In case the wisdom fell down the precipice, he would lose all the powers that he possessed. He, therefore, quietly got an *ekkam* leaf and wrapped the wisdom in it and hid it at the foot of the tree. While Nibo was out on the swing, Robo got hold of the packet of wisdom and hid it on the top of the tree. Since then Nibo has lost sight of the spiritual world and the spirits living therein. Robo with the supernatural powers of the wisdom can make himself invisible from the normal human eyes whenever he wants to harm him.

There is yet another myth that takes a middle path and gives a more consistent story which not only explains the feud but also the difference between men and the spirits.

Uyu is the Adi name for spirits in general. Robo and his descendants are known by a special name Epom, and it is the Epoms who are at war with man. There is an amount of vagueness about this term. Some are of opinion that it is the name of one individual spirit, while others opine that it designates a class. It would be more plausible to treat the term as the name of an undefined spirit of the wilderness, that assumes shapes at will and causes death by accidents. Its different manifestations also are called Epom and may have in many cases some special names attached to it. This may have given rise to the idea of a family of Epoms. The primeval forests alive with a thousand strange and uncanny sounds and full of hidden unknown dangers suggested to the early Adi mind the existence of an unsubstantial being—the Epom. None know what it looks like. It is just like the wind they say but capable of taking any form it chooses and what man sees or hears of it are its disguises. As a familiar figure it entices its victim to his destruction. A laugh draws a curious man to his doom. A man falls down a tree or a precipice unaccountably; a mysterious attraction lures him to deep water and drowns him. A branch of a tree falls unexpectedly on him and crushes him to death; a rock rolls down as if of its own accord and smashes him under its weight; all these are the doings of the Epom and its manifestations.

Distinct from the accident-inflicting Epoms, are the spirits

that cause diseases and deal death through them. They have no special name as a group but they form a class if not a family by themselves. Though nowhere stated so in clear terms, they appear to be associated with Mite and Miname, the two spirits that bear a grudge against the father of men for his better luck. Allied to them but working on a larger scale are the spirits that breed devastating epidemics with their pestilential breath and wipe out entire villages and whole populations. Pulitalam is their general name according to Haimendorf.¹ The people are mightly afraid of these spirits and take careful precautions against infiltration by any of these dangerous enemies by means of passing strangers and infected guests. Pet-pum works havoc with the swine in the same way as Pulitalan with men.

These two groups are what may be called genuine spirits and are to be distinguished from the disembodied souls of men who have died unnatural deaths or souls that have not received proper funeral rites and offerings. Such souls turn into what are known as *urams*—allies from the human camp that go to add to the strength of the evil spirits. They hang about their old homes and villages and work all sorts of evil on the inhabitants and show their anger whenever they get chances to do so. Their number is considerable as unnatural deaths are far from being rare occurrences and slight omissions in the elaborate death rites are easier to commit than to avoid. Nipong, the unquiet soul of a woman who has died during pregnancy is the most implacable and harmful of all the *urams*. Its special malignity is directed towards women but they can be and often are, equally dangerous to men also. So they are feared by all alike and propitiated even when other spirits are known to be the real cause of the misfortune.

U. Chakma seems to think of another group or class of evil spirits when he describes Sikkeng Kedeng and Nipo-Nite as Low-land evil spirits (*aying uyu*). The latter he declares to be the commonest and most malevolent spirit harming people of all sexes and ages.² 'Epom, Kili and Tagong and others who directly cause diseases and death' though they themselves are

¹ C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*

² U. Chakma—written communication.

'subordinate agents' of Benji Banma a benevolent spirit and controller of man's destiny, are also *aying uyus* according to him.¹ Nowhere else has this class been mentioned and as this class would imply another for high lands—which even Chakma does not notice—the name may be taken, if used at all, to describe the habitat of certain spirits who come under the categories already noted. There are other hostile spirits but in most cases little is known about them beyond mere names. An *abang* on *moshup* for instance mentions two bad spirits—Ngite and Ngimape who received bad land in the west drenched in never ceasing rain. Our knowledge of the Adi mythology is not full to that extent as to make a clear, unambiguous yet complete picture possible, nor is it feasible to arrange the chaotic mass of information in an orderly exposition. Names and details vary from place to place and group to group and only a few of them are fully known outside the priesthood. So it is hard to identify satisfactorily all the spirits who find mention in records but without any details and one is forced to leave them at that for examination and clarification by future workers in the field.

On the ground that malevolence is more active than benevolence, Tulsidas in his famous Ramayana offered his homage first of all to the evil. So also think the Adis who concern themselves more with the hostile spirits than with the friendly. That is why their religion, as practised in their daily life, appears to an observer from outside to be a chain of appeasements of outraged spirits. But beyond the external coating of malignity the Adis do not fail to recognize a favourable attitude in Nature and to realize that all the necessities of their life, and all that they deem covetable and desirable come ultimately from her. She, however is a hard house-keeper and keeps her treasures under the strict guardianship of spirits who permit access to the store only on scrupulous observance of a number of rules of conduct. No infringement of these rules—however slight or unintentional, is tolerated and mercy and pardon may be purchased only by atonement in form of offerings acceptable to them. A spring dries up all of a sudden; bamboo groves wither

¹ U. Chakma—written communication.

and die; games get scarce in the forest; fish disappear from the stream; crops fail; such natural calamities are indications of the wrath of these spirits—which set the sufferers searching for some unconscious lapses of their parts. Everything in the creation has such a jealous spirit presiding in it. Water is in the general keeping of Buiriko or Litung according to some. Individual springs or streams have his agents or associates ensuring correct observation of formalities. Similarly Dade Bote is the lord of domestic animals—Eso Agam being in immediate charge of mithuns and Eg Agam of the swine. Agam is said to be a general name for all spirits who act as assistants to Dade Botte. ‘There is one great agam, described as an old man living in the forest’. ‘There are smaller agams who act as guardians of the cattle of individual households’.¹ The highly valued beads or *tadoks* are in the keeping of Misungka and *apong* of Mite. Nomtur is the warden of chase and guards against hunting without prescribed offerings. Kine-nane who received all arable land from the first *kebang*, presides over all *ariks*. Yodo yongmo is the Vulcan of Adi mythology and the presiding spirit of weapons of war and chase. Gumin-Shoin is the guardian spirit of the village with lesser spirits of the same name for individual houses in it. Doying Bote is a spirit whose identity is extremely controversial. It has been differently interpreted as Father Sky, the spirit of rain, the guardian of the northern snow ranges and the great ancient one. If the first of these be correct then Doying Bote will not be a spirit in the sense used here but should belong to a superior grade in the hierarchy of the supernatural beings. But with Melo the sky in the dual conception of Sedi Melo as the first of all beings—another sky deity with almost identical attributes would be a senseless duplication. Nor does the word Doying mean sky. It is the usual word used to mean Ancient Tradition—and so most probably it is not a separate deity at all but an eulogistic periphrase indicating Melo or Keyum. The confusion may have arisen out of attempts to find out the abode of this deity—which would be naturally either the Sky—or the lofty mountain cliffs. The same deity being invoked and referred to as Doying Bote (Doying the great),

¹ C. von Furer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*

Doying angong (Doying the Beloved) Doying Aro (Doying the true)—also supports this supposition. Similar phenomenon has happened in all other religions also in their first phases. Shidkin-kede, is another ambiguous character. She is considered to be the mistress of the earth as a whole. But as she is always invoked along with Doying Bote, she should preferably be placed in the same category as he.

Between the aggressive evil and easily irritable custodian spirits, the Adis live a life of fear and doubt, appeasement and expiation. Though of a 'finer type of materiality' with all the advantages that it confers, these spirits both hostile and indifferent, are closely related to men; in fact men and spirits were the progeny of the same forefathers. There must be, so the Adis think, some other beings—far more ethereal than and superior to both—and far above them, with a more exalted status of sovereignty. It is they who created the basical objects in nature and shaped its general form and character. There are undefined eternal beings who existed before the creation and has stood aloof since it has been set agoing. This distance and aloofness makes their help ineffectual, at the time of dire necessity. The first of the series is Keyum—the First Cause. Sedi, the earth was the issue of Umseng who was born of Keyum. Melo, the sky was her brother and they together began what thenceforward became the normal course of propagation—sexual reproduction. In their creative effort, they lay united locked in a close embrace and separated to stand away from each other as they do now, when Donyi and Polo chased away darkness that enveloped the universe before. This incestuous first pair is conceived as a double deity though their separate individualities are always transparent. Many stories are told of them—and in them they have been credited with the creation of all important phenomena. Plants, animals, metal, iron in particular, came out of the different parts of the body of an amorphous creature—Lingen Sobo—their first offspring. Sedi Resiye, Resi Tabe, Polo Sobo, Itung Bote, Kongki, Komang, Kari, Toro, Lumang and Litung are some of the other offsprings. Sedi Resiye and Sedi Tabe were the first hunters, Tusing Meti, the first exponent of justice and tribal law, Yidung Bote, the depository of wisdom and, Guimin shoin, the protector of mankind. Elsewhere, it is

stated that the Sedi Melo went down under the earth after creation and bore it on their shoulders. Earthquakes occur when they change shoulders.

Pedong Nane—the great grand-daughter of Sedi-Melo was the last of the series of creators—and was as prolific as Sedi-Melo in creation. Donyi the sun and Polo the moon, are a twin of hers. The luminous eyes of Irmyam Miteko, a son of Sedi-Melo were grafted on them one of each by Irsiye of the same family and so they became the luminaries they are now. Tales are told how Polo became mild and Donyi was shorn of his excessive effulgence. Dade, Kine-Name and Doni the father of Nibo and Robo are all her children. Identification of Pedong Nane is not easy. She has been interpreted as rain that descends from heaven and links earth to the sky in a single chain of existence. But a story given by Dr Verrier Elwin seems to identify her with the snow on high hills—that is soft in the beginning and hardens into ice later on.¹

With Pedong the age of creators is over and the age of spirits and other creatures starts. In the border land stand Donyi-Polo—the Sun-Moon duality. They are not creators themselves but stand aloft in an ethical grandeur above the rest. They may be taken to represent the Adi idea of moral deities who watch over the maintenance of law and order in the universe. Donyi and Polo are endowed with light that illuminate the world and lift the cover of darkness and are favoured with a position high above in the sky to overlook all. They are also extremely regular in their courses across the heavenly expanse. Naturally they are looked upon as the custodian of law and truth. That is why they are invoked in the beginning of *kebangs* on disputes to reveal the truth and expose the false. In the words of Dr Verrier Elwin, 'He is the eye of the world; he is as important to man as the eye is to the body. He watches everything; he is the witness of truth; he shows men the way to go; he protects them; he treats them with mercy. Above all, he is the lord of truth and an oath taken on his name is the most binding of all'.² Doying Bote has been included by some

¹ Verrier Elwin, *Myths of the North East Frontier of India* (Shillong, 1958), p. 120.

² Verrier Elwin, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong, 1959), p. 211.

among the children of Pedong, but it has already been shown that it may have been due to an ambiguity.

A prayer recorded by Haimendorf is addressed not only to Doying Bote but also to Kene-Dene and Shidkim Kede. He is said elsewhere¹ to have existed before creation—and he took no part in it. This inactivity does not go well with his intervention in human affairs and so Haimendorf has been forced to assume a change in the attitude towards the deity. If he is a bestower of blessings in form of good crops and cattle—he can not be the supreme deity distant and indifferent and if he be the last, he will not be bothered with prayers like that. That he receives no sacrifice strengthens our suggestion put forward earlier.

Tori Mone, a goddess of worldly wisdom as distinct from the moral or celestial possessed by Donyi-Polo is another opaque character of the etherial sphere. Through her grace one can get insight into the real nature of a men, can distinguish bad from good and true from false. Her position in the hierarchy is not known, but her association with Ute and Poro the controlling spirits of the wild beasts and reptiles argues in favour of her being a spirit herself.

The origin of the human race also is traced back to the creators of the world through a complicated geneology of semi-etherial mythical beings.

According to a myth given by Dunbar,² Tani who was originally called Rini, was the father of mankind. The myth describes how he searched for a woman as his mate. But his efforts proved fruitless till Donyi the sun gave him a woman Umsi to be his wife. Even now, all the Adis trace their genealogy to Tani and the word Tani is still used to indicate the Adi race. It is not clear how Nibo whom Dunbar describes as a father of all flesh is related to Tani. Mention is also made of Doni, a son of Pedang who was the father of Nibo—the first man. Dunbar gives a Pasi myth of creation according to which, human race originated from a stone called Kiling Liteng,

¹ C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*

Shri Chakma seem to incline to identify Donyi with Tani.

² G.B.S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

which was hollow like a cave. This stone is reported to be at the source of Sisap, a river beyond Karko.

In the beginning, men did not differ from the Gods and animals. A large number of myths is told about the joint life of Gods and men on earth. They separated and started living away from each other, because, men cheated the Gods on a few occasions. An interesting story says how men and monkeys were almost alike and lived together. Later, they quarrelled and men tricked the monkeys out from the village killing almost all except one who escaped half burnt. 'That is why the monkeys now-a-days have no weapons, nor any houses and why their faces are black'.¹

Within the human race also, the origin of various occupations has been narrated in a number of myths. We have already seen that the office of Miri has been traced back to pre-human days; the first poet and first Miri are said to be the offsprings of Sedi Melo. Similarly, we have mention of Yado Yongmo, the first blacksmith, and Kari and Taro, the first hunters. The second part of the *moshup abang* describes at great length how agriculture came into being through the efforts of Karduk and Karpung—a brother and sister driven out from society for their incestuous intimacy. Similarly, there are *abangs* on the origin of mithun, cock, paddy, moshup, poison and what not. These have been already noted in their relevant contexts—and may be seen there and in Dunbar and in *The Myths of the North-East Frontier* by Dr Verrier Elwin. It is to be noted here that weaving which is one of the chief crafts among the Adis and in which they excell, does not find any mention in any of these numerous myths of creation. Does it imply that this art came to the people later?

The account given above cannot be claimed to be complete and leaves many points untouched and unsolved. It could not be otherwise in the present state of our knowledge. Still it may serve the purpose of helping us in forming a general idea of the basic religious conception of the Adis. The conceptual structure of their universe is pyramidal with animatism at the base and supernaturalism at the top. Life is omnipresent. It penetrates

¹ G.B.S. Dunbar, op. cit., p. 64.

it and permeates it, all over. There is nothing which is inanimate and every thing in the world is alive. But all these living creatures are not the same. A distinction is made between the inert and the mobile. In the former the vital force is subdued by an inertia which makes them look like things bereft of life. But they can act as animals, when they are actuated by special circumstances. In brief, our distinction between animate and inanimate objects corresponds to the Adi differentiation between inert living and mobile living beings.

The mobile animate have individual spirits that make it possible for them to do things like thinking, talking, that are distinct from the act of simple living, whereas the inert are governed by spirits that are not one with body but something outside it and whose functioning is, therefore, not so obvious as in the former. In other words, the link between the spirit and the body that houses it is more intimate and transparent in the mobile than in the inert. Among the mobile also, there is a gradation according to the grossness of the material and fineness of the ethereal stuff that constitutes the spirit. In human beings and animals the body predominates and the spirit, in the unsubstantial beings also known by the same name. In them and in men who have acquired the technique, the spirit transcends the limitation of its material frame. The corporeal frame of the genuine spirit is of so fine a texture that it is invisible to the normal eye and may be manipulated to assume any form at its own will. The Epoms are the spirits of this type. The custodian spirits are characterized by the passivity of the inert beings they inhabit. Over and above them forming the apex of the pyramid, are the great beings who transcend all the laws that govern the lesser beings. They can do and undo things at their pleasure and the whole creation is the work of their great power. Though animal behaviour is attributed to them, they have no animal quality in them. And the final traits of materiality gradually disappear as one goes up the hierarchy from Donyi Polo upwards till one reaches the apex in Keyum who is a curious mixture of the paradoxical concepts of existence and non-existence—an approximation of nothingness.

The analysis is according to our way of looking at things. The Adis make no such distinction. Inanimate and super-

natural are not regarded as such by them. There is nothing above nature to them. The world is one and things differ in the same way as persons differ from persons and tribes from tribes. It is a difference in degree and not in kind and the degree is that of the etherial quality called spirit. To them the innumerable concrete forms of the material world merge imperceptibly into a formless primeval energy.

It is the spirit residing in every object that wills and acts and so really counts. It has no form of its own and so the Adis have not tried to form their images.¹ They could not rise to the height of that philosophical abstraction as to totally avoid anthropomorphic traits yet, still they have been able to do without any idol, or fetish and holy places. Their spirits live in the places where it has been ordained they should and they never try to bring and bind them down to certain places or things convenient to them. They are allowed to follow their own ways of living, uninterfered, till there are some clashes and then men try to establish contact with them. The world of spirits being unseen such clashes are unavoidable and the Adi society has been forced to put up a defence against the evils of the active and watchful powers of darkness and to devise means to ward off the wrath of guardian spirits still ready to take offence at the slightest trespass on their rights and privileges. The deities though inherently benign and the ultimate source and bestowers of all blessings are far too removed from man and too indifferent to his destiny to be of any practical and effectual help at the time of his dire necessity. So, a class of defenders have been organized by the Adi society who are capable of combatting the spirits in their own sphere. They are persons who are gifted with spirits more potent than those of common men. They show the signs of their psychic superiority by early propensities to fall in trance and foretell things to come. Children that show these signs are marked for the office of the spiritual guardianship of the people. They have, however, to undergo a course of practical training and gain experience in techniques of application of their natural gifts in the same way as

¹ Dunbar however, refers to images in the likeness of Yule among the Gallongs—p. 133.

members of technical professions such as medical practitioners in modern society, before they are declared and accepted as proficient, and are entrusted with cases. During the training period, they act as juniors to established practitioners and learn from them all the formalities of the trade. These comprise a large number of incantations, the names and virtues of herbs and trees, other articles of religious and magical significance, the habits and signs of identification of different spirits, their tastes and demands, the art of divination and ritualistic codes. But the main spring of their efficiency lies in their inborn capacity for contacting the world of spirits and for this, they require the services of familiars. It is believed that certain spirits are in the habit of acting as such. They take fancy on certain persons on account of some spiritual affinities and treat them as their media. It is through these familiar spirits that they get access into the supernatural world, and find out causes and remedies of misfortunes.

There are two types of such persons in Adi society. One is called the Epak Miri, the other Nyibo. When called upon to treat a case, the Epak Miri or Nyibo invokes his familiar with magical rites and incantations and gets possessed by it. Once possessed, he ceases to be himself and the familiar spirit acts through his body. Through his inspiration, he acts and behaves in a manner which appears strange and incoherent to the extreme. So, as Haimendorf reports, the people may think that the Miri has turned into a spirit himself. But basically it is the same as the spirit using him as his medium. The familiar having possessed the body guides the soul of the Miri to the other world and helps him to find out the truant spirit responsible for the misfortune and to strike a bargain with him. It may be noted here that the Adis never think in terms of coercing a spirit into doing the will of man. It has to be coaxed and wheedled into undoing an evil or lifting the ban of its wrath in exchange of some cherished offerings. After the soul of the Miri has contracted a deal with the spirit, it comes back to the body, and the familiar leaves it. Then it is that he awakes from his trance and regains his own self. It has been observed that after coming back to himself, a Miri does not remember what his body has been doing during the absence of his own soul in the other

world. He then communicates the desires of the spirit and arrangements for the appeasement of the spirit are made accordingly.

The exact distinction between the functions of the Epak Miri and the Nyibo is not known. According to some, Nyibo is a diviner whereas Epak Miri is a curer of diseases and other calamities. A Nyibo performs by day whereas an Epak Miri functions only at night. The means adopted by the Nyibo to win the favour of spirits is the narration of old stories of creation reminding spirits of their common origin with man and their ancient mutual friendship, where as the Epak Miri uses songs and dances to attract the familiar. I am not sure how far this distinction is correct. Some observers have noted either of the two only functioning at certain places. Specialists also have been noted in the trade of the Epak Miri. If a man is rich enough to afford, he may employ as many as three specialists, the Kosi Miri, Koya Miri and Dulo Lere. Each of these possesses special knowledge about different classes of spirits. But generally, a single general practitioner is consulted.

It is not known definitely if Miris and Nyibos have to observe any special taboo or observe a special code of behaviour at the time of performance except that they do not partake of their shares of the sacrificed meat. But the afflicted and their relatives have to observe certain restrictions; for instance, women do not touch plantain and nettles from deserted fields, for Nipong lives on plantain trees and feeds on nettles. Also when a man falls ill two or three days taboo is usually held. They use special objects which appear to possess some magical power. Haimendorf has recorded that flowers of bamboo shavings are made at the beginning of a seance and put on the walls of the house, to be taken away by the spirits who might come. According to Chakma, these flowers of bamboo shavings are made from special type of bamboo called Nari. It is believed, according to him, the spirit of the Nari enables the Miri to talk in any language he pleases including those of birds and animals and it also helps the soul of the Miri to discover the evil spirit wanted in connection with some calamity in the other world. According to him, again, the Miri does not put up the flowers on the wall but holds it in his hand as he sings and dances invoking

his familiar. The Miri also puts on a woman's skirt to please the spirit and brandishes a Tibetan sword while dancing in the same way as a Sulung Miri. A smoked squirrel is also sometimes used in place of the Nari flower, and is kept over the bed where the Miri sleeps. During sleep, the soul of the Miri goes into the world of the spirits accompanied by the soul of the squirrel which serves in the same way as the Nari flower.

The Miri performs his rites in two sittings; one in the beginning and the other at the conclusion. The first is the diagnosis part of it. It starts with an invocation of the familiar spirit and ends with the announcement of the remedy. This part has already been described. The Miri has no active part to play after that till the sacrificial animal is killed and quartered. He then starts the concluding part of his rites in which he offers the spirit his share of the meat. A structure or two is raised in front of the entrance or by the side of a wall of the afflicted house, according to the requirement of the particular misfortune and as laid down by science. These are constructed with bamboo posts about 6 ft. high to which are tied bamboo mattings and fresh leafy branches. On a small bamboo platform, is placed the spirit's share of the meat along with beer and cooked rice and blood is smeared on the leaves of the branches. The Miri then invites the spirit to accept of the offerings in a set prayer requesting him to leave oppressing its victim. A specimen of a prayer like this is given below:—

'Shilo rogum shedum.

Today we give an offering.

Kina ami-shim shupak geloke ai mote kuka.

This afflicted man, from now on may be well.

Doko tinko na taken em

Whatever spirits may be responsible (for this
illness)

Shilo bosì borang em thom dum-shula.

they may all be called together.

Eshoko rogum shunadum

Esho shim dope dope ne

Whatever spirits

epom ezing nizi-nipong

and evil ghosts there may be,
uju dona takame shim esho dona lanka.
 may they eat this mithun.
Ami shim ai moto kuka
 This man, however, may recover'.¹

An Epak Miri wears special types of beads called Rogum in his hair on special occasions. But the nature of the special occasions is not known. He also normally decks himself in an ornament called Lakjin; it is a string of two to five beads worn round the right wrist or on the butt-end of the *yoksha*. Though the Epak Miri and the Sulung Miri differ in function, they are not distinguished by their general attirement.

Nor do the Miri and Nyibo enjoy any special privilege in the society. They live a common life with the laity distinguished in no way from them except for the special items of dress and ornaments mentioned already. Their's is an art just like any other. It is an useful art and they are employed in the same way as other craftsmen. And they have their prescribed fees also. The nature and amount of the fee vary with the sacrifice to be offered. If it is a mithun, he gets a large slice from the trunk and smaller portions from other parts of the body; of a chicken he is given a moderate piece with a squirrel or a small quantity of rice. Payment in beads of cheaper variety is also made sometimes.

The fees do not amount to much and the meat is of no use to him personally as it is taboo. According to Dunbar the Gallong Miris do not observe this restriction.²

The office of the Epak Miri is not restricted to either sex. Women Miris are not rare if not as common and numerous as men. Nor it is hereditary; spiritual aptitude manifesting itself through signs is the passport for admission to the guild. But the family has the first preference as may be gathered from what Dunbar says about the Minyong custom.³

The rites by the Epak Miri to cure diseases may be described as propitiatory, as their object is to mollify evil spirits, who

¹ C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, op. cit.

² G.B.S. Dunbar, op. cit., p. 73.

³ *ibid.*, p. 68.

have just succeeded in doing some harm, into a treaty of exchange of victims. The rites always follow, never precede misfortunes. The soul of the Miri acts as an emissary to the land of the spirits and uses all the craft of a diplomat in inducing the spirits to accept the lowest ransom. The ransom is usually a domestic animal but Dunbar records an interesting propitiatory rite in which human beings are offered in exchange for an improvement in the weather.¹ Propitiatory rites are to be distinguished from those that are performed to allay the just anger of an offended custodian spirit. In these, men are conscious of their guilt and supplicate to the spirits in an attitude of contrition. There the Miri pleads for mercy on behalf of the guilty and learns from the spirits the nature of their lapses and the compensations they have to pay for them. Wrongs done by men to the spirits are redressed through these. The inflictions on men by the spirits are merely manifestation of their displeasure. A man who has violated the favourite haunt of a spirit, while clearing jungle for jhum, falls ill. This illness is an indication of the displeasure of the spirit on account of the wrong done. So an expiatory rite has to be performed for his recovery. There are others which are of the nature of preventive or precautionary measures, such as those connected with the *eki-patars* at the entrance of villages 'to prevent spirits of ill luck and ill health from getting into the village' along with infected guests. The agricultural ceremonies described before aim at good growth, healthy crops and rich harvests and so are partly of preventive nature and partly promotive or productive of good fortune.

The religion as practised now-a-days is simply a chain of customary rites and almost devoid of any emotional fervour. The senses of awe and reverence are totally lacking and only fear drives men to undertake them. They feel no more than we, when we call in physician to treat us in illness. Miris are healers, now-a-days in a strictly material sense.

The Adis are a practical race. They weigh everything in terms of loss and gain in their concrete forms. Their relations with gods, men and animals are characterized by this attitude

¹ G.B.S. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 78-79.

and all their transactions are based on the system of barter and purchase. They barter men and worldly goods for animals, they bribe off the wicked and demand and pay *ajengs* for harms and breaches of contract. This businessman-like mentality has killed spirituality out of their religion.

Invocations at the beginning of *kebangs* and ordeals are some of the most sublime utterings in the Adi languages. They are prayers offered to the highest deities at a time when the moral tune of the human soul is pitched to the highest. In them one feels the spirit of submission in its full sincerity. But clothed as these are in the dead phraseology of the bygone days, and used as they have been as routine formulas for generations, they have now-a-days deteriorated into lifeless chants and cold items of procedural technicalities that are enjoined by custom to be observed.

Except for a kind of black magic reported to be practised by the Gallongs in which lopping and chopping of certain species of trees are supposed to inflict corresponding injuries on an absent person, purely magical rites have not been observed among the Adis; but all their religious rites are tinged with some magical traits. Though forcing spirits into desired acts is not in the power of man according to them, yet they seem to believe in some magical power in natural objects. For instance, hostile spirits dislike and keep away from the Tapit, Tang, Tagiyang and Tangmo trees. This repugnance is accounted for in one of the myths told of Nibo and Robo. Nibo thought of building a shelter from sun and rain and wind. Robo helped him with materials. He made Tangmo posts which gave him swelling. Next he brought posts of Tagiyang but they bent under the weight of the roof. He collected Tapit leaves for thatching, but the leaves dried quickly and got shrivelled and so the roof was full of leaks and holes. When the house was finished, Robo did not like it because the roof leaked and the posts were all awry. He preferred to live on trees and rocks in the open. But Nibo continued to build houses and live in them and Robo always avoided these houses because of his strong dislike for the material used. So, the Adis use these trees in the construction of their *moshups* which were originally given to them as a strong place of refuge from the attacks of evil spirits. Branches of

Chir and Tan are used in sacrificial structures and in suffocating pigs and mithuns in sacrificial rites. The liver is supposed to resemble the Ekam leaf in which Nibo had wrapped up his wisdom before he went out on the swing and it was stolen by Robo. So the liver is considered to possess the power of revealing the mysteries of the spirit land and that is why, the Miris consult livers of the sacrificed victims in divining the causes of diseases in Roksing rites. The Hollock tree is a favourite haunt of the Epom that waylays unwary travellers. So, when a man goes out and does not return, the villagers go out in a body and stage an attack with daos and arrows on a Hollock tree in the vicinity in the hope that the spirit residing in it may be frightened into giving up its prisoner. This is perhaps the nearest approach to the forcing of spirits into carrying out the wishes of men among the Adis. Implements used in sacrifices tend to acquire some special properties and become sacred. They are not used on ordinary occasions and women in impure condition are not allowed to touch them. Banana trees being the favourite residence of the dreaded Nipong, its leaves are supposed to possess special virtues and are therefore, prescribed for a number of religious rites. The magical merits of the Nari flower and smoked squirrels have already been noted. Songs and dances and women's skirts used by Miris are considered to be specially attractive to the spirits, and waving of branches to cure minor diseases may be considered as magical performances. Plantain stocks thrown after parting guests from the village to ensure expulsion of spirits that may have accompanied them and the Ekipatars also may have some magical significance. But any distinction if it ever existed in the beginning between purely magical and purely religious practices is lost now-a-days and both are blended into one and can be detected only on searching investigation and careful analysis.

Propitiatory and expiatory rites are performed to ward off premature death through disease and accident. But the natural death which comes to man at the end of the span of life allotted to him is not a calamity; it is a boon. Stories are told which explain the appearance of this mysterious phenomenon. In the days of old there was no death and there was over-crowding and then, the gods in mercy sent death to men

to keep down the number to the level of sufficiency of food. A Minyong story traces death to a curse for breaking inadvertently an earthen vessel by Ninur Bote. Donyi Polo said to Ninur Bote—‘You did well to make it but you did ill to break it’. Minur Bote asked—‘How was it that I did ill?’ Donyi Polo said—‘Because from today, men will die’.¹ From that day on, men have died. Men have accepted the fact and have never tried to evade it. But they have wondered as to what happens to men after death comes to them. They have come to the conclusion that man does not cease with death. What happens is that he changes his material life for spiritual. There is a land beyond the grave and man continues his existence there in a subtle form which corresponds to a certain extent to the concept of soul. The land beyond the grave is but a shadowy replica of this material world. It is divided into several regions which are the domains of the different *uyus*. The soul of a man after its separation from the body goes to the domain of that spirit who has been the instrument of his death. The souls of the women go to the realm of Nipong; those killed in forests become subject of Epom and Miris go to a special district ruled by Boki and Bogo.

In the land of the souls, they enjoy the status that they had on earth and lead the same way of life and they also feel the same want for the things they owned here. That is why, it is customary to dedicate the possessions of a man when he dies. These are placed either inside the grave or on the top of it and if it is not possible to part with such things, representative tokens are buried instead. In the funeral rites, animals are sacrificed in the belief that they go to their owners in their spirit forms. A man must be supplied by his descendants with all his cherished possessions, trophies of war and chase, food and drink for his life after death. Unless this is done, his hungry soul will torment them.

The Adi funeral customs are based on this belief in a continued existence after death. Usually the burial takes place a few days after the death. This gap is perhaps due to the idea

¹ Verrier Elwin, *Myths of the North-East Frontier* (Shillong, 1958), p. 293.

of allowing relatives living away from the village to come and be present at the funeral. The body is wrapped in a sheet of cloth and is made to lie on one side with its knees touching the chin. In that position, it is laid down in the grave. The grave is lined in the inside with leaves and branches and the floor is covered with a low bamboo platform. Over the body are placed planks so as to cover it and then the hole is filled up with earth. Cheap beads and necklaces to serve the purpose of the real ones and a brass vessel are buried along with the body. On the ground above the grave, a small hut-like structure is built in which rice and rice-beer are kept. These are changed daily for a week or so and then only the rice is left there for as long as it will last. A fire is also kindled inside the hut and kept burning for a very long period which may be as long as one year in ordinary cases and a few days more for men of importance. But for a child the prescribed period is only for three months. Personal belongings of the deceased such as hats, weapons and trophies are hung on the structure and left there.

From the date of the death, a few days are observed as taboo. During these, they abstain from certain items of food which differ from place to place. The persons who actively participate in carrying the corpse and in digging the grave, refrain from entering the house for 6 to 7 days. The funeral rites end with a feast to the persons who helped at the burial. There is no special rite, only an animal is killed in the usual way. It depends on the financial ability of the heir as to what should be offered as a sacrifice. Chickens do for the poorest; a full grown pig is offered by persons of ordinary circumstances, but a man of prominence and statling should receive a mithun as a funeral gift.¹ A portion of the sacrificed animal is offered to the soul of the dead man to whom the soul of the sacrificed animal is requested to go. The responsibility of the burial and funeral rites lies with the heir and near relatives and finally, with the clansmen. If they fail in this duty they are brought before the village council and fined.

As men have their land of the dead, so have the domestic

¹ It is hanged from a tree close to the grave—Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

animals too. Souls of animals offered in sacrifices are supposed to go and enrich the herd of the spirits to whom they have been offered. If killed for funeral feasts, they go to the owners but if they meet accidental death while roaming in the forests, they are taken possession of by the spirits that kill them.

In this way, when men and his domestic animals conclude their allotted days on this earth, they go to their destined residences in the other world and they continue their existence there in shadowy forms. While men are of the earth, they depend on the land of the shadow and when they belong to the shadow they depend on the land of the living for their possessions and sustenance. In this way, the life circle of man and animal lies half in the shadow of death and half in the light of life, just as the world of ours is divided into two hemispheres of day and night.

CONCLUSION

Change is one of the few constants in a living culture. No culture continues the same for any considerable period of time. So in order to have a true and complete picture of any culture one must know the changes it undergoes and in order to do so one must also discover the direction of change. This may be done by selecting three time points in the historical progress of the culture one in the past, one in the present and one in the future and drawing the locus of change through these points. In other words, one must view the culture as it was, as it is, and as it is likely to be. This three-time perspective placed against its spatial setting is capable of giving a four dimensional picture of the whole.

The survey in the foregoing pages presents the Adi culture as it has been in the recent past. That is to say, it includes all those traits and complexes that are interwoven and integrated in a stable and single entity. The genuineness of features has been judged on the basis of their relative firmness in continuity and frequency of incidence in the complexes in all spheres of life.

This stability was attained and the overall pattern fixed long back in the past, long before the people came to be known to the outside world in any appreciable manner. The pattern in general corresponds to what obtains among the Mongoloids of the south-eastern Asia. It is characterized on the material side by abundant use of bamboo and cane, dwellings on stilts or piles on hill slopes, coats with abbreviated lower garments for men and skirts for women, and paucity of implements and tools. On the social side independent villages self-sufficient except for luxuries and implements, corporate life controlled by a code of customary laws, and youth organizations are the most important features. An extremely practical and utilitarian out-

look even in the sphere of religion, indomitability of spirit, and hardiness, mark the psychology of the people. They sing and dance but have no drama or mimic art.

These features link the people with the cognate groups in the south rather than in the north. Here one important thing should be noted. The Brahmaputra has been treated so far implicitly as a culture-barrier and tribes north and south of it have been treated as separate groups, developing in their own lines. Efforts have been made on the other hand to discover and establish links between these north Assam groups and the tribes across the Himalayas. No doubt, traditions said to be current among the Agency tribes themselves trace their origin towards the north either across or to the Himalayas. But tradition or lack of them is not always the correct guide to the history of racial migrations. The Indian Aryans for instance do not have any tradition regarding their migration from anywhere outside India—yet their migration from the west is widely accepted as historically true.

A closer scrutiny will reveal that a culture-shed line runs a few miles south of the Himalayas and parallel to it, all along the northern reaches of the Lohit, Siang and Subansiri divisions and the eastern half of Kameng where it turns south along approximately by the Bharali river. North and west of this line extends what may be called the area of Tibetan pattern. The pattern to which Adi culture belongs lies south and east of it and stretches across the Brahmaputra in the hills beyond. The valley itself is a break in the continuity, but then established history amply accounts for it. No prominent geographical features—no insurmountable mountain, no unfordable river, no unnegotiable desert or sea mark this line. It seems as if two distinct currents of civilization both equally strong and stable coming from opposite directions met there in a head long clash, stopped each other's further progress and held each other back. There they met, there they stopped and there they stay even today along this time-honoured line of cultural frontier.

That the two cultures on either side of this line are different is so self-evident that it requires no proof to establish it. They differ in almost all traits and features. On one side the people dwell in substantial houses, built of solid stone and wood and

dress in elaborate woollen clothes covering the entire body, wear felt hats, and shoes, while on the other, bamboo huts on piles with a life of three to four years at the most, serve as dwellings and short coats or jackets with loin cloth for men and skirt for women, leaving the thighs, legs and feet bare, as dress. The hanging or coiled pigtail of the north is unknown in the south. The southern *beyop* girdles distinguishing the mothers that are from mothers yet to be, are in the same way not known in the north. Felt hats and decorated headgears cover the head in the north, in the south a hood is worn by the women and cane hats decorated with boar's tusks, or bear or monkey's skin or hornbill skull or feather by men. They have no permanent separate structures for religious performances south of the line. Village gates with hanging carcasses of sacrificed dogs or fowls, and scaffolds for immolating mithuns are the only visible signs of any sacred performance. But on the other side the most majestic structures are the monasteries and beautifully painted *manes*, *chortens* and *kakalings*, fluttering prayer flags and rotating prayer wheels are found all over the land. Priests too are not distinguished from the laity in the south whereas in the north they are the most conspicuous in their yellow or red robes and conical caps. They are also the most privileged class there. They worship the Buddha, who is enthroned in their *gomphas* and holds his hands in the *varābhaya* or *bhumisparsha mudrā* and meditates salvation for the mankind. But on this side the medicine man offers bloody sacrifices to buy off evil spirits that dwell in no chapel but prefer trees, and forests and hills and springs. There the cattle and goats are properly looked after and used for gainful purposes while here cattle is but half domesticated and pigs and fowls are fed and kept at home but all for their flesh either as offerings to the spirits or as meat for men.

Here there are dormitories for boys and girls, that one does not find in the other area. There they have dance dramas which only monks may perform dressed in gorgeous robes and artistic masks, to teach moral lessons to the people, but here the village girls dance to the tune sung by Miris, to attract the spirits or just to entertain themselves. Both practice agriculture. But they on that side are more thorough in tilling and

weeding and raise staple crops of millet and maize; on this side the tilling is superficial and rice is the main subsistence crop. In weaving too, they differ in style and designs, zoomorphs, human figures and trees abounding in Tibetan cloth are totally absent from the products of Adi looms, where geometric patterns reign alone and supreme. The Tibetan craftsmen excel in manufacture of wooden articles while the others have acquired great skill in cane and bamboo work and so a Khamba or a Memba or a Monpa takes his *tsampa* and tea from wooden bowls and an Adi or a Dafla or an Apatani drinks his beer from a bamboo mug.

The great gulf of difference that separates the two cultures is manifest in the borrowings and interchange that could not be avoided during their long and close contiguity. The Adis and the allied tribes especially those in the north use Tibetan coats. But it is worth noting that the borrowing is limited to the coat only and not extended to the trousers and shoes, in spite of the great usefulness of the two in cold climates—ostensibly because they do not fit in their cultural pattern. Metal utensils of Tibetan manufacture are highly valued not as utensils but as high denomination money. The *danki* has the same place in Adi culture as the ancient mohur in Indian life to be used as gold on rare occasions. It has a distinct place in the culture in its external relations only and has never found its way into the core. The Adis who live with Membas even in the same village have not given up their way of living nor have the Membas or not given up their way of living nor have the Membas or Khambas assimilated any significant feature of Adi or Dafla culture discarding their own.

All these prove beyond doubt that the two patterns are so distinct from each other and that both the people are so conscious of the difference that the natural process of acculturation has been rendered ineffective by a stronger sense of difference and conservatism.

While the Adi culture thus stands in distinct aloofness from the Tibetan culture, though it is its immediate neighbour, it has clear affinities with the culture far away from it beyond the Brahmaputra, in the south. In all the features in which it differs from the Tibetan, it resembles the trans-Brahmaputra

hills people. The same emphasis on bamboo and cane, the almost identical nature of youth organizations, similar house type, preference of pig to cattle as domestic animals, the loom and weaving patterns seem to unite the two into one homogeneous type. There are small traits that are very striking in their similarities. Blacksmithery as a craft is not widespread among the Adis. It is practised in a few places only. Yet it cannot be said that it is a borrowed art. For smithery finds mention in *Adi abangs*—and Yongmo, the blacksmith is said to have been one of the children of Sedi-Melo. He is credited with a conspicuous part in the history of creation. So smithery may be taken to be one of the indigenous *Adi* crafts. Now *Adi* smithery resembles in every detail in process and implements, that craft as practised on the other side of the valley of the Brahmaputra. It is hard to believe that the similarity is accidental or even a later borrowing. The decline of the art among the Adis may be due to the lack of raw material and the availability of articles of superior manufacture from the Tibetans. Any one who has seen both is sure to be struck by its similarity. So close is the resemblance that one may easily be mistaken for the other.

As regards the physical features and character, Adis bear a closer resemblance to the trans-Brahmaputra tribes than to the Tibetans. And it is also significant that cultivators from that area settled on experimental basis among the Adis, have mixed with the people with such ease and completeness that it is not easy to tell them apart. On the linguistic side, classification of Tibeto-Burman languages in India on geographical position however is liable to give a wrong impression of distance between these language groups. A closer examination may reveal affinities between languages on either side of the Brahmaputra—which will draw them in a closer bond of relationship. In fact, the *Linguistic Survey of India* notes a few similarities between the two.¹

And there are traditions too—which say that there have been migrations from the south of the Brahmaputra to the *Adi Hills* in the past. In early days the Brahmaputra valley was not

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. III, part I, (Calcutta, 1901).

a barrier to movements from north to the south and vice versa. Such movements stopped only with the establishment of strong states in the valley. In fact the continuity of the distribution of the tribes might have been broken by the early powerful states in the valley which drove like a wedge into a continuous world of homogeneous tribes—and scattered them north and south and stood up between them as a barrier. There are evidences of such scatterings. The Kacharis were cut into two by the Ahoms and still we find one section in the Darrang district and another in the Kachar Hills.

On the Tibetan side there is no such evidence of affinity. Haimendorf indeed has tried to trace the practice of sacrifice by suffocation to a similar custom among a pastoral tribe in Tibet but there the systems differ in detail—one is suffocation by throttling while the other is by tying up the mouth and nose. Shri U. Chakma has linked the same practice with that prevailing among certain tribes of Manipur and his comment is interesting. 'The cult of suffocating animals, is found not only amongst the Abors but also amongst the Kabuis (Zemei and Liangmei group of Nagas) during sacrificial rites in Manipur. It is also interesting to note that one group of tribes in Manipur Angami Nagas is called 'Gallong'. Sema Nagas are known as 'Minyo', Zemei-Liangmei Nagas are known as 'Pasi'. Is there any ethnological link between the tribes of the Abor Hills and the tribes in these areas?'¹

I need not dwell any longer on this point. What I want to bring out is this that Adi culture has closer affinity to the culture in the south than to the Tibetan culture in the north. So if we want to know what the culture was in the past, that is, if we want to find out the indigenous traits and later accretion through succeeding ages we must look south and compare it with the culture there. It is too early to assert that the Adi culture moved northwards but this direction of movements is more likely than the opposite one.

There is another way to find out the indigenous traits. The *abangs* retain the oldest traditions of the Adis. These narrate the origin of things and naturally only those things

¹ U. Chakma—Written communication.

that were known in the old Adi world have found place in them. These have not been studied properly. Yet from what is known it is curious to note that weaving, the major occupation next to agriculture and cane and bamboo work now-a-days, has not been mentioned in them.

A story no doubt has been recorded about the origin of weaving¹ but it is so general in character and devoid of details that it has the appearance of a late concoction on the line of genuine myths of creation. One has to compare it with the myth of the origin of the mithun for instance to be convinced of the great difference between the two. In the *abang* on the creation of the mithun it is told how each and every part of the animal was created and from what and how and by whom. No such details are given about weaving. It is not said how the loom and its different parts were created, how yarn originated and how the technique of weaving was first learnt. Some of these details are available in myths current among other neighbouring tribes but not in the Adi story and it is the only one so far recorded.

Apparently, therefore, the art of weaving originated among the Adis after the *abangs* had been composed. This gains support from the fact that it is exclusively a woman's occupation and all taboos regarding it are where women are concerned. It lacks the sanctity that derives from divine origin and restricts an art to men only. It is more difficult to say how and when it came among them. Certain it is that they brought it with them. For the ready acceptance of coats from the Tibetans and the Mishmis and non-acceptance of Tibetan chubas and trousers, indicate that coat and loin cloth were indigenous items of Adi dress. They had no objection to those items that they already had but could not come to take to the use of new types of garments which were foreign to their tradition. Had they learnt the art from the Tibetans, they would certainly have learnt the use of the Tibetan style of dress too. Art rarely travels without its native and original medium. A Mishmi origin is more likely as the two styles are almost identical. Both dress in the same way and use basically the same designs in their

¹ Verrier Elwin, *Myths of the North East Frontier*.

cloth.

Another feature links the Adis with the Idu Mishmis: both cut their hair. This hair-cut style distinguishes them from all other neighbouring tribes and draws again a line of affinity with the trans-Brahmaputra tribes. Fishing is another occupation that appears to be of late acquirement. Fish no doubt is an important item of food; fishing expeditions individually and in groups are quite common. Nor was fish unknown in the old days. Yet the fact remains that fish never plays any role, however insignificant, in their religious ceremonies. It is never offered as a sacrifice and that indicates that fish came to be used as food long after their rituals and ceremonies were formed and fixed.

In other spheres, the culture seems to have remained what it was originally. The Ur-Adi culture did not in all probability differ much from what has been described in this book. Certain institutions have gained in importance, while others have decayed, on account of the law of demand and supply; Tibetan swords and daos superior in quality undermined the importance of their own indigenous smithy and cost and difficulty of procuring rendered weaving necessary and popular.

In this way minor adjustments have been effected here and there but the structure on the whole remained wonderfully stable and uniform. It has stood for centuries on the northern extremity of north-east frontier culture, a bastion against the infiltration of Tibetan culture. Trade has passed through them—Tibet and India have exchanged goods through them—but the people have ever remained impervious to cultural penetration. Changed they must have through centuries but that change has been slight and slow and through modifications and adjustments, not on account of external pressure but of necessity felt from within due to change of circumstances.

But in the course of the last century new forces came to play against the solidarity of the Adi culture and they succeeded in shaking its power of resistance to change. In the past before the twentieth century the Adis had never felt the weight of arms of a superior power and had never known defeat. They had been the absolute masters of their hills. None had ever disputed their right over them. On the contrary they had been

free to raid villages in the plains as they liked without any fear of reprisal. They had even claimed the right of taxation over the border Miri villages—and that claim had been accepted and the taxes paid without any protest. They on the other hand did not allow any one to go to their land or to pass through it without their prior permission or consent. They feared none but were feared equally by all the states in the plains both great and small. This continued immunity from apprehension of foreign aggression and retribution for their own, generated a belief in the invincibility of their arms and a sense of superiority which earned them a bad name for arrogance and turbulence. This feeling breathes through their *abangs* which depict them as the mightiest of men if not the most gifted. This racial pride made them look down on their neighbours, though they did not fail to recognize superiority in material culture in some of them. But they disdained to sacrifice pride to comfort and stubbornly refused to surrender any item of their own culture, derived from their own gods, sanctified by long usage and hallowed by the association of honoured names, to the inventions of their inferiors. Thus protected by their pride they retained their culture almost intact through ages, in spite of their close proximity to Tibetan culture in the north and to the Indian in the south. They alone of all the Agency tribes refused at first to take advantage of the fairs in the foothills. In the early part of the nineteenth century the British took over the administration of Assam from the Ahoms. This historical event proved to be of far reaching consequences for the Adi culture. Their conservatism, their strong attachment to their own institutions and way of life, was grounded on the faith in their military superiority. And this faith got its first effective shock at the hand of the British. In them the Adis met a power more than their match and they were to acknowledge defeat for the first time. The punitive expeditions, coupled with the renown of the prowess and reports of the success of the British armies compelled them to own inferiority and for the first time they began to feel and to have respect for an outsider. As a consequence, the overbearing pride that disdained everything exotic began to wane. Something similar to the forcing of the Tokyo harbour by an Ameri-

can admiral happened here on a less spectacular scale but with a difference.

And the difference was great. That rude shock of 1853 woke Japan from a sleep as it were and plunged her plush downright into a vortex of change—in a mad race for modernism. Here it was otherwise. The British adopted a policy of non-intervention and left the people to themselves. They studiously abstained from forcing themselves on them until they provoked intervention by unprovoked acts of violence. Neither did they penetrate deep into the tribal territories, nor any intimate and permanent relation was established. So except for the border fringes, the influence was but distant and indirect, and negative in its effect. It took away the outer protective coating of pride from the body of the Adi culture and exposed it to the unobstructed operation of acculturating agents. It changed the mental outlook and attitude of the people. The inferiority in material culture which they must have long felt now lost the balancing support of military greatness and so their mind was softened into a receptive mood unknown before. The clash of arms with the British was a historical accident which created a new psychology among them which was extremely favourable to acculturation. Thus the British regime in Assam served as a period of transition from resentment to and blind rejection of alien things to an equally indiscriminate and eager welcome for them—from one extreme to another.

Just as the pendulum had swung to the other extreme, India attained her freedom—and the old policy of isolation towards the Agency tribes disappeared with the old regime. An era of integration of the country was inaugurated and all artificial barriers that divide the country and the people were pulled down one by one. The islands of princely states were amalgamated with the country and the government assumed the responsibility of full administration of the north-eastern frontier tract. The tribes were no longer to be treated as the modern society treats the criminal underworld. They were given the full status of Indian citizenship with a greater claim on the interest and care of the government in compensation for neglect in the past. India had the bitter experience of Anglo-Saxon superiority and she was careful not to inflict similar humiliation

on others. So she approached these people in a spirit of equality and love, a sympathy for their sufferings and a respect for their manners and customs.

The change in the outlook and the policy of the government drew the Adi society close to the rest of India and their mind already ripe for acceptance of new ideas, responded to the opportunity of acculturation thus provided. The new administration in its endeavour to do good to the people and to help them make up for the opportunities lost in the past, formed itself into a welfare state and assumed full responsibility for initiating and implementing all moves and steps towards progress. 'The whole of NEFA might well be regarded as a national Extension Block. Whereas formerly the Administration was mainly concerned with Law and Order, today its chief pre-occupation is the welfare of the people. Although a number of formal NES Blocks have been opened, every administrative centre has been planned as a unit of progress and development'.¹

This zealous philanthropic friendliness, this patriarchal benevolence had an untoward effect on cultural change that was under progress, which was already too enthusiastic to afford to be selective. The people was already suffering from a loss of prestige after their military defeat, but they had still their own society to themselves, governed by them. Now all initiative in that sphere too, was taken from them as the government stepped into their inner life and dictated and guided their policy there. Thus a void was created in their psychological world—with nothing to decide for themselves and nothing to do of their own accord. Even in the working of their own institutions and operating their own laws they had to be tutored by the state. This change from political and social adulthood to a spoon-fed minority robbed them of all self-reliance. Overbearing pride vanished but took away the sense of prestige and self-respect along with it. The once turbulent independence changed into a complete dependence on the state for everything. The loss of faith in their own culture created a vacuum that was immediately invaded by a mania for underestimating every-

¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

thing their own and acclaiming everythin foreign. ‘The first and perhaps the chief reason for it is simply that we, the non-tribal people, are what we are. With the best will in the world, we are different and because we are different are regarded as superior. There are a great many of us, and the more efficient we are, the more we develop our technological superiority, our military or semi-military power and our rapid advance, the more we tend to overwhelm the people of the hills. Lafcadio Hearn used to talk them—of the danger of exterminating other races merely by overliving them by monopolizing and absorbing, almost without conscious effort, everything necessary to their happiness’.¹

Thus ensued a period of mad imitation. The glitter of dross was more attractive than the genuine but subdued lustre of true gold. In dress and everything the spurious and the cheap captured the imagination of the people and they took them without any discrimination, ignoring the best, that depended on longer and deeper understanding for appreciation. ‘I was told in Tuensang by more than one Christian youth that “what we want is American dress, language and way of life”. Our boys and girls, so strangely westernized, would not be happy even in the Assam Plains, where there is a simplicity of living and a beauty and innocence of dress that we are in some danger of losing in NEFA.

‘A change of dress often means a new psychology, a scorn of the traditions of one’s tribe, a sense of being ashamed of it. This leads to a break-down of tribal discipline: a youth in smart English clothes and a sola topi will not obey his tribal chief, who looks so “jungly” in his classic attire; girls in meretricious blouses and even trousers, with lipstick on their lips and phoney trinkets in their hair, are already showing signs of rebellion against the discipline of the community’.²

In this way the tendency to give up their own things irrespective of their worth in exchange of foreign things however great, their demerits, began to develop, which tended to destroy all their good things on the one hand and to import all the bad

¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

² Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

things of the modern civilization on the other. Adi culture just before the initiation of the Third Policy was in this condition. The old structure stood there, bereft of life and vigour, a slow prey to the process of demolition by the canker of inferiority complex. 'The inferiority complex is mainly developed in the educated or those who come into close contact with officers of the Administration and, even more, with the people of the plains. It has expressed in an exaggerated sensitiveness and a readiness to resent a slight; in a belief that all outsiders, and even our own officers, look down on them and despise their culture; and paradoxically in a desire to eliminate anything "tribal" from their lives. Thus we have a growing attachment to European dress among the educated, the use of the *sola topi* which in villages is still the symbol of a higher culture, sometimes a refusal to join in the dance or songs, sometimes even the adoption of another religion.'¹ And the inevitable result of this state of things was that it would have destroyed 'Their art, culture and religion, for the people will not hold to something of which they have become ashamed; and it will lead to a collapse of moral sanctions and of the social organization which at present holds the tribes together.'² The institutions were there, the laws also operated, the dances religious and secular were danced, looms plied, agriculture continued, rites and rituals were performed from the outside all were as they used to be in the past. But the old spirit was in the throes of death. The political *jamadars* and the political interpreters were infringing on the authority of the *gaon burhas*, the *kebangs* had their jurisdictions limited and the people knew that they had superior courts of appeal which could overrule their decisions; *moshups* were degenerating into club houses with no communal work to do; as physicians and hospitals were proving more effective in curing disease, spirits could be overlooked with impunity. School education and book-lore were more advantageous than the traditional education. The old system of enculturation through *moshups*, *kebangs* and *ponungs* and *abangs*, was losing its hold on the rising generation who

¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

² *ibid.*, p. 144.

deliberately were keeping themselves aloof from these and imbibing 'civilization' with great zest and gust. Miris were getting rarer and the educated full of modern knowledge but contemptuous of the old, were growing in number day by day.

They began to form the nucleus of a 'class of parasitical tribal "sahibs" who will be alienated from their own civilization'.¹ This class would have created cases of frustration for not being assimilated to the culture imitated and exploitation of the masses that failed to change overnight.

This decay of the old culture and infusion of a new debased civilization started first near about the seats of government and the rate was rapid or slow, wide or on a small scale, according to the size and importance of that seat.

Fortunately, however, these trends that would have ended in a tragic disaster for the Adi culture were early detected. 'I am horrified,' said the Prime Minister in 1954, 'at the picture of these people being made to give up their old artistic clothes or even lack of clothes in favour of a dirty pair of shorts or some such thing. I am also greatly disturbed at certain shabby articles of modern civilization replacing the artistic products of these people'.²

And the Prime Minister has said again:

'The danger is that these people will lose their culture and have nothing to replace it'.³

'Political and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them'.⁴

And the Administration woke up to the new danger and organized itself to fight it. It realized that changes directed by those in power go astray in spite of best efforts because they are allied and linked to prohibitory measures for maintenance of law and order. Acculturation controlled by administrative

¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

² *ibid.*, p. 118.

³ *ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *ibid.*, P.M.'s foreword.

authorities are mistaken as dictations which are ignored, and evaded and resented when pressed. Herein lies the necessity and importance of a trained mind which weighs every move however trivial, every change and interference with cultural traits however casual, and every innovation however innocent and innocuous in appearance, with an insight, understanding, knowledge and sympathy, before venturing on its application. For the task of the administration of an area long cut off from the progress in human civilization has moved beyond the phase where the primary object was to inculcate respect and understanding of local custom. 'The problem is now seen as two-sided. The content and structure of the culture of the administered group must still be analyzed. The practical anthropologist must also have a systematic understanding of the special sub-cultures of the policy makers, the supervisory administrators, and the field operators.

'Hence the anthropologist tends often to the middleman whose indispensable function is that of making one group see the point of view of another'.¹

In this way came into being the Third Policy—a middle course between the extreme policies of complete assimilation and isolation. It is a *laissez-faire* under the vigilance of a cautious and sympathetic mentor and administers curb on the agents and motifs of acculturation rather than on the spirit and genius of the people. It selects the models and permits only the best and the most suitable, the most compatible to the local pattern to come into the arena of culture *melée*. The policy has been delineated in detail in *A Philosophy for NEFA* where it has been described in Mr. Nehru's words—'Schemes for welfare, education, communications, medical relief are no doubt essential; 'one must always remember, however, that we do not mean to interfere with their way of life, but want to help them to live it'. 'The Government of India'—and in this sentence Mr Nehru's entire policy is epitomized—'is determined to help the tribal people to grow according to their own genius and tradition; it is not the intention to impose anything on them'. 'Development', he has said again, 'must be according to their own genius and

¹ Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York, 1957), p. 143.

not something that they cannot absorb or imbibe and which merely uproots them. I would much rather go slow in our plans for development than risk the danger of this uprooting. I feel, therefore, that it is unwise to try to do too many things at the same time there which may result in disturbing the minds of the people or in upsetting their habits. I have no doubt that development and change and so-called progress will come to them, because it is becoming increasingly difficult for any people to live their isolated life cut off from the rest of the world. But let this development and change be natural and be in the nature of self-development with all the help one can give in the process'.¹

Thus prior to the promulgation and application of the Third Policy, the Adi culture was in a state of ferment—two culture worlds, separated by centuries meeting for the first time in their outer fringes, the vacuum of one being invaded by the muddy currents of the other. There were signs already of maladjustments in this fusion, and forces of disruption were already active. Static for ages, the Adi culture was trying to live in the present and was endangering its stability in that effort.

The Third Policy opens a new chapter. It smooths the confused turmoil into a smooth flow towards a fruitful end.

This approach has been well described as philanthropic. In it love comes first—love that generates a fellow feeling, an empathy—between the subject of change and those in the control of the process and the approach comes next on the study of every case individually on its merits and suitability to the social conditions prevailing, its capacity to fulfil the expectancy and aspirations of the people, to which it could be linked intimately. This is the position now: a new line of approach evolved on the field and not behind the desk for correct orientation of culture diffusion—standing on test in the Agency areas.

The future of the Adi culture depends on the success or failure of this new philosophy.

It has, however, come into operation after the disintegration has already started. It has therefore, to fight on double fronts—a two-fold struggle to stay the process of disruption and to

¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

generate and re-vitalize the forces of disruption and stabilization. And though the theory has been perfected, the application has to struggle its way through trials and errors. With increasing experience, errors will be eliminated and the system perfected. In the meantime however, the following tendencies are noticeable in the evolving society—

(1) Village solidarity is decaying—and village discipline sagging with the disappearance of insecurity. Peace with its immunity from fear of raids by enemies, and amenities against famine and diseases is rendering village solidarity less necessary every day.

(2) A broader sense of unity among all the sections of the people—is slowly evolving especially among the educated. Parochial patriotism however still lurks and comes to the surface on issues that try to do away with local differences.

(3) Ambition looks towards the wider field outside beyond the confines of the hills for its fulfilment.

(4) Society is being stratified in a new series of statuses. Money accumulated through successful agricultural, contract and business enterprises is creating a new of class; through school and college education has come into being a small section which keeps itself away from the people on the assumption of intellectual superiority. In this class is to be included the office employees who take pride in the office badge. And of course, there is the general mass—with a descending scale of degrees of acculturation.

(5) The *moshups* and *rashengs* are languishing into decay and the new social status determines the desirability of marriage partner.

(6) Money is replacing the old standard of value in barter as well as social intercourse.

APPENDIX—I (A)

OPIN	OPIN	LAGE ENNA	EMOLANGKU.
AMO TEL		UY MIME	EMO-LENA—TEM
TANI NGO	MIME-MILOPE	LURUSULA.	EMLA IANNAM
AGOME	MILO-MEPE-LULA	EMO-DEM	LAYALA
ENDUNGKU	ENDULANG KULA	GAGBADE	LEMANGK
GAGBADUNGKU.	DELO	BEDALO	ENLANGKUL BEDALO
MIME	APIN	APONG	GELA EDRINGDUNG. MIME
KANGKUEM		UIU-MIME—DEM	IATPAK
SIDANGKU.	DELO	ENDULANGKUL	ALE-LELAM-EM
BAPEG—LAM		PEKTIK-SIDUNG.	UIUBE
MAMINA	GEPELA.	EMLA	ENLANGKULA
MOSHUPLO	ENADULUNGKULA	AGI AGI	BANGO DE
MIRI LULA	MUSUPLO	EDADUNGKU.	ENDUNKU-
-UMEDEM	ENNAK	TAKE	ILLA PEROKKA
PIIAPE	GADUNGKU	BANGAL	EMUEM
GATKAT		DUNGKU.	EMOE
DIGIEPE		EMLA,	MOSHUP TELO
PITANG KUTA.		PIIANG	GADEL EMO-
-DEM	TAKAME	ARPANSIEKU.	ARPANSITA
AGI	AGIE	MASAN SIEKU.	EMO-DEM
MASAN—GEELA	DELO	MOSHUP-LO	MOPO-
-DEM	BOMTA	YAME—KOE	EMO—DEM
TUBBIDIE.	TALO	KALANG—MANE-KA	LA-A-LA
MANE	A	LANG	EMO TUBBIDIE.
TURBBISIPALA			PUKKLO
TALO		AKKONG-LOK	MALIGNAE.
ALAG—LAKKE		LAK	MAYNA
MANG			DIKAPELA
EMTA.			
EMO	TUMNELANG	YAMEMANE	IO AUM-KA
MIME—IO-MANG.		EMO—DEM	MALA
EME—PARAK—TEOLO		MASANG DUNG.	APO

TIDAKKAM	EKKA	MANNE-LO	TIDA.	APIN
EMOTE	ANSIRUPE	DODUNG.	GUDAPE	DOMANG.
GUMILO	EMO-EM	GULUMIE.	EMLA	GUDAPE
DOMANG.	ALO-KOTE	OYING-KOTE		DOMANG.
SILO		EMO		MOMILO
MIME-KUE-TE	DOLU	TAKAME		DALA-I-MANG.
APONG	MAMANG.	ENGIN,	ENGE,	TAPA,
ATI-KOTE	DOMANG.	YAMPO-KE	LONGE-DELO	
KIRUG	DEKSIR-	DEM	DELA	MIME- DE
DALAT—IE.		DALAT-IMADE		EMO
MAPANGEM	IDATPELO.	EMLA	NGODUNG.	ENGIN,
ENGE,	DOMADE.	SUSE	PIANG	APO
GEPE LO.		EMLA	ENGIN,	ENGE,
DOMANG.				
DEKEPE		EMO—MANA-DEM		DITAG-LO
LETELKO	MADUNG.	EMO	MADISADAKKAM	
LETELKO		DITAG	SAALA.	EMO
LENNI	LEUM	BOMMANG.		

APPENDIX—I (B)

BEDANG—ENKOLO		ETPA-LO		DA BUEM
KAREREDAG-LO		BOJARUPE		JANKUMALA MEE.
DEM	MIBA—PIEDEME		DEM	
	BENALIGIE.		DELO	DABUDE
TALLA		AMIEM	BOJARUNKA	ALA ALA
GETIRTA	GEPERLA IE.		DE	LINKANG
KANAME;	DE	LINKANG	MIMAGE.	DELOKKE
AKONE	BEDALO	IOR	ARLA MEE.	
IOR DE	NIGMILO	AMI-DE	GILANG KUMAPE DUE.	
DELA	KAALA	PAE.		DE IOR
MIGNAG.	DE	IO	ANNI	AUM
DONAM TINAM	TAKAMEM	GELA	MIBA AMI DELA	
	AMI—KEN-MA-PE			IBBAMBULA
AMI GIPEKA	BEDA-DEM	TABMIE.		BEDA-LINGILO

ANNIKA,	BEDA--SAKKA-LO	ANNIKA,	
TABMIE	TADADEME	MIBUE	
ENNEMILO	KEDATANADE	ASA KABAM DULA	
ANJANKO MELIGIE.		DELO.	
AKKANNA		PIDADELO	
KERANG KANADE	TAGGALA	MANNENBAMIE.	
MIBA DE	LAMLA	DUGGEPE	IO DELO
LAMME DANKE		MIBADEM	PA E
DE MAGBIE		MAGBI AKAN PE:	MIBA
BEDADEME	TABAMDULA	MIBAEM	ENNEMILO EII
YONGMO	DELOKKE	AMIDEM	ABIE.
ABAGE ELA		DUGIEKU.	DE
APONAM		MAGBI-E.	

APPENDIX—I (C)

AMI	PAE MILO	TALE-BARAK-KA
LAKKURUPE RAKPAGBIE	DE	PANAM AMI
DE TALENG AMOPE	AIDE	SAEPE EMLA TALE BARAG
DAGBIDUNG.	RAGBI MAMILO	AMI PANA-DE
TUMIE.	BEDANG	ENKUPEKA KEN-SIKU-MA-E.
DELOKKE	MIBAJAGLAKKE	ENLANGKULA AMI
PANADE	AMI ALAGEMTE	LAGBIEN TELA GEEKU
DELOKKE	MAPUR KOTE	GEDUNGKU. TALO,
TATKE,	LESAK,	DEM AUM
DEM TE	EN	GELANGKUL LEMANG--KO
GAGBADEM	BALLA,	DISANG NUGE DUNKU.
DEL DOLUNG	AMIEM	DUGLANG--KULA
DOLU	DELAGE	MIME, ANE, TAKAME
BEDALA GIRIGLA	AMIPANADEM	RIDIN,
DUMLING	PULIGIE.	DELOKKE GALE ANI
GARDUL	PELKAIE.	TADAK, DALPUN.
DAGANE	DEM-TE	AMI
ALI	DELO	BOJARUPE TULIGIE. BANJI
BANGMANG UYUE	KANGKENG	PELO, EMLA

DEM	TAKAM	DEM	AMI---PANA---AMI
DELO	ILIGDUNG	DELOKKE	EMMUL EMTE
BAMLA	AIDALO	PAKPEL	EMLA
EMUL	TANDRIKDUNG	SIRI	SIRING TANDRIKDUNG.
	TANDRIKPALA		ALILO EMULDEM
TULIGDUNG.	DELOKKE	MIME	TAKAME
	SUMPA		BOMLA GRIGLA
	IDO	MIME	AOKONE AMIPANA
KEDALO	ENGEEKU.	AOKONE	LAMPE-LO
ENDUNKU.		DE	UYUMENG---EM
IKISILA	TANIDE		RIBOMDUNKU.
EKUM	IROILO		MIJINGE
	PATAR		
IRIGLA	EME PARIGLA		IERIGDUNG.
	AMIPANADE		ERIGDADELO
PEROK-KO	GALLA	MEPAKDUNG.	BANJI
BANMANG	MIMEM	DAEPE	EMLA
	GATPAKBIDUNG.	DELOKKE	DOLULO
ALANGKULA	MOSHUPLO		DONKIEKU.
IENGE	ELA	MOSHUPLO	DUEKU AGI
EKUMLO	DUNKUMAE.	MOSHUPLO	DUNKU
MANGADAPE	KEMINGDEM	ESHOKALANG	EKK KALANG
PEROK KO	KEMINEM	IDO.	KEJOKE
DONKONG	INGANG	KUK	DANAPE. IILENA
BOMLANGKUL		MIJING	KE PATAR
IRIGLA	EMEPARIGLA	IKO	ELO
GIBOMLANKUL.	EKK	DEMLANG	ESHO DEM PEROK
EMLANG	NADALO	METULA	MILOKA
TAKAME		IINGO	BAMIE.
MILOKA	EMNAMDE	EKKA	DAK ESHODAK
YOKSA	DELOK	PAKIPAKI	KILNIE.
NIDING	DELOK TE	ANJONG—ANJONG—KO	TAKAM
DE	NIKIKIINGE.	IGEELO,	EKK ESHO
DEM	ADIE	BAE.	DELO AKI
GAIALA	EKK	IIDAK	ESHO IIDAK
LUGUBELAGE	PEGAGSIE.	DELO DANGANG	KO GANGEELA

AMI-ALAGDEM		TE		PAGIE.
ESHO,	EKK	ALAG	ALE	TAKAM
DEM		DANGAN—DELO	PAGIE.	MAPUR
GEKUNAM	DEMLANG	TALE	TALO,	TATKE,
TAKEM DEM		DANGANG	DELO	TULIGIE.
DELOKKE	GILANGKULA	MOSHUPLO	AEKU.	MOSHUP-DELO
DUDKUEM		AMIPANADE		RABBUMKO
ILA	ENGO	ATENGKO	KADADANNA	TAGGIE.
ENNAK TAKE		AMBIN		LIGIE.
DELO		KADADANLO	RABBUNG	PETKA-
-BELO	GIANG	LEDILO	PEROK	RAKPAK
GAIE.		KUTKUNG—BELAK		MESUKIE
DEM	RABBUM	DEMLANG	PEROK	DEM
BALANG KUL		KEJO KE		ANGKUKELOK
KEMING BANGKO		DANELOK		GIBAM TANKAL
IOKPAGIE.	DELO	ALANGKULA		MOSHUP
DELO	IO	AUMKO	DUE.	MOSHUP
DELO	IO	AUMKO	DUDO	A-MI PANADEM
	YAMEKALAG			APIN PINDUNG
PIBINE DUE.		AGIMENG	APIN INAM	DEM
DOMAE.		MOSHUP	DELOG	DUDUDEM
ENGOEDULOG		APINEM	PIILA	DAE.
APONG EM TE		ENGOE	DULO	TIEE
DEM	IDUNG	IUME	TAKAM	DEM
MIMUMDAK MIJIDAK		TAKAME		MOSHUPDELO
IRGARUPE	DUBAE.	DE		AUMDEL
GIITSIE.		GILENIEM		BEDALO
MATIDANPE		RAKPIK		UITSIE
KEKIR		KOTE		UITSIE
	LANGE—DEME		KEBUMKO	A BIEKOM
PETTANG KO		ABIEKOM	KEDAPE	AMNAMDEM
	UPAGABIE.		EKUMLO	ENNANGKUL
AKKIAO		EKUM	DELO	ENAPAIEKU
DELO	ANJONKO		DUPALA	AGI
EKUM LO		AEKU.		ADAKUEM
	LAMGELO			AGIMEDE

IAMBAK		DANDRIKLA MEE		KEKIREM TE
LANGELO		PAGRIGIE.	DELOKKE	MINKAPLO
TANJUM	ERAP	KOTE	TANKAPSIE.	DELO UYU
KAPEL		EMLA		IASIDUNKU.

APPENDIX—I (D)

II	GADBUDEM		EKUMLO		LEDADEM
MIME	GAKKILADA		KADANG		IE MILA
II	GADBUNG	DEM	MIME		GAKKIMANG
MIMAG	IPE	IE	DEM	MIMAG	INANA
LESILEM	TAKAM		DEM	NIDING	YOKSA
II	GADBUNG	DEM	MIME		GAKKINEDUNG
KAPILA	DE		AMI	PANNA	NIGNA
PENE EMLA	MIME DE		EGE,	GENE	EMLA
GAKKIMILA	PANA	NIGNA	MAE	EMNA	DEM
GAKKIMAMANG		KAPILA	MIME		TAKAMDE
APMALA		SIIE	LIGLA		IGANGE,
DELOKKE	ENNA	SIPIAK	MADUNG		DE MIME
AGERE.	DELOK		LEGANE	MIME	DEM
PANA		NIGNA		PENANA	DEM
	GAKKIMAMANG.		SIIE		
DE	AIMANGE		AMIE		TUMMUDUNKU
ENNADE	BEDANG		ENKOLO		LESAN
LAGDAN	KADUNG		DELOK		LEGANE
MIME	EGEEBE	INAMDEM	IMANG.		IMMILA
AMI	PANAM		NIGNAM		PALA AMANG.
MIME KISAPE		IE.	DELOK		LEGANGE
GNODUNG.		DELOKKE	MIME		KADANG
DAE MILO	MILOKO	EII	GADBUNG		EMTE
	GAKKIBIMANG.		DELOKKE		MILOKO .
DUNKU		EMTE	DUBIMANG.		KAPILA
KADADE		BELUMNE.		DELOK	LEGANGE
KADA DAE MILO		MILOKO			EKUSERANG
	GAKKIBIMANG.		GAMMENG		SIMILA
	BAMIN BULMATAN.		EMLA		PEROK KO

LAYALA	PIANG	GIEKU.	DELO
MIME-DEM	TAKUKILA	SAGAMAGELA	TABAEI.
	DELO IGAM	KUMILT	KIRUG
SIMAN	DEM	KAMILO	ABIEKU.
	GAMMAMILO	SIMAN	KADAKAM
	AMMANG.	DELOK LEGANGE	GAMMANG
IPAGE	MABAT KOTE	IDUNG.	PII-ANG
LOK	GANNADUNG.	DE GAMNAM	KOTE PERONK
			GAMMANG
IPAGE.			

APPENDIX II

(Average measurement)

DOMESTIC UTENSILS :

<i>I Ambing dupung</i>	--- length—76 cms. circumference—60 cms. lid length—10 cms.
<i>II Ambing tirkak</i>	--- length—57 cms. circumference—50 cms.
<i>III Kaksur</i>	— length—36 cms.
<i>IV Ashi dupu</i>	— length—75 cms. circumference—23.5 cms.
<i>V Apupatak</i>	— length—53.75 cms. circumference—38.75 cms.
<i>VI Eshing ekung</i>	-- length—20.5 cms. width—16.2 cms.
<i>VII Kedi peking</i>	--- diameter at the base-end of the vessel—16.25 cms. diameter of the rim at the neck—2.5 cms. maximum circumference at the centre—75.0 cms.

BASKETS :

<i>I Narang</i>	— length—62.5 cms. circumference at the base—75.5 cms. circumference at the open end—95.5 cms. length of the plaited belt—120 cms. breadth of the plaited belt—10 cms.
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<i>II Bari</i>	— length—70 cms. circumference at the open end—125 cms.
<i>III Apongperop</i>	— length—50.5 cms.
<i>IV Adum</i>	— height of the basket without lid—35.5 cms. height of the lid—25.5 cms. circumference—98.8 cms.
<i>V Tali</i>	— length of the outer side—45.0 cms. length of the inner- side—36.0 cms. breadth—35.0 cms.
<i>VI Sakiap</i>	— length—32.0 cms. breadth—23.5 cms.
<i>VII Eppu</i>	— length—56.5 cms. breadth at the base—25.5 cms. breadth at the open end—49.2 cms.
<i>VIII Ape</i>	— height—14.5 cms.
<i>IX Dorea</i>	— height—15.5 cms. circumference—92.1 cms.
<i>X Bodi</i>	— length—112 cms. breadth at the upper end—52.5 cms. breadth at the middle —62.0 cms. breadth at the lower end—47.0 cms.

DRESS:

<i>I Gale</i> (Skirt)	— length—107.00 cms. breadth—76.2 cms.
<i>II Perding Galuk</i> (War coat)	— length—51 cms. girth—55 cms.
<i>III Nambi</i> (War coat)	— length—38.5 cms.
<i>IV Galong</i>	— length—127 cms. circumference—18 cms.
<i>V Gekong</i>	— length—96.5 cms.
<i>VI Tai</i>	— length—101.5 cms. breadth—5 cms.
<i>VII Sumpa</i>	— length—812 cms. breadth—6.5 cms.

WEAPONS :

- I Tamte*
(Shield) — length—87.5 cms.
breadth—53.5 cms.
- II Niding*
(Spear) — length of the blade with
socket—14.5 cms.
maximum width of the
blade—2 cms.
length of the shaft—
1 m 13 cms.
- III Eü*
(Bow) — length of the stave
—146 cms.
circumference of the
stave at the middle
—7.5 cms.
length of the horn—2 cms.
breadth of the string
—0.5 cm.
- IV Epug*
(Poisoned
arrow) — length—65 cms.
length of the head—3.4 cms.
poisoned tip
—5 cms.
- V Yoksa*
(Sword) — length—63 cms.
grip—13 cms.
breadth of the blade
—3.5 cms.
- VI Yok*
(Dao) — length of the blade
—40.5 cms.
maximum breadth of the
blade—7 cms.
length of the tang—15 cms.
- VII Yoksik*
(Knife) — length of the blade
—10.5 cms.
length of the handle
—7.5 cms.
breadth of the blade
—1.6 cms.

TRAPS :

- I Etku* — length of the bow—34 cms.
- II Sankit* — circumference of the
nose—37 cms.
length of the cane-
strip for the noose
—241 cms.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS :

- I Porang* — length—106.5 cms.

<i>II Edil</i>	— length—63 cms. circumference at the open end—50 cms. length of the valve —27.4 cms.
<i>III Subjung</i>	— length of the net—43 cms. circumference at the open end—97 cms.
<i>IV Esap</i> (<i>Cast net</i>)	— length from close to open end—155 cms. diameter at open end—171 cms.

APPENDIX III

Agricultural products of Adi Hills (Jhum cultivation)

I. VARIETY OF PADDY.

Amo :—

- (a) Sheret.
- (b) Retbing.
- (c) Retsol.
- (d) Retling.
- (e) Retmok.
- (f) Katbar.
- (g) Bartak.
- (h) Barmik.
- (i) Tatung.
- (j) Amri.
- (k) Tuying.
- (l) Amdang.
- (m) Mepun.

Amne :—

- (a) Amkel.
- (b) Pimling.
- (c) Kelmok.

II. VARIETY OF JOB'S TEAR—*Anyat*.

- (a) Nyattum.
- (b) Nyatyong.
- (c) Nyatyong.
- (d) Nyatmuk.
- (e) Nyatlong.

III. VARIETY OF FINGER MILLET—*Mirung*.

- (a) Rulang.
- (b) Rulun.
- (c) Rubel.
- (d) Rungo.

IV. VARIETY OF FOXTALL MILLET—*Ayak*.

- (a) Yaktung.
- (b) Yakman.
- (c) Yago.
- (d) Yaksap.
- (e) Yakjong,
Solut.
- (f) Yago, Kosur.
- (g) Yakka, Siye.
- (h) Karko, Tirtung.
- (i) Tuling.
- (j) Tubud.

V. VARIETY OF MAIZE—*Sapa*.

- (a) Paro.
- (b) Pao.
- (c) Pago Parong.
- (d) Paling.
- (e) Pade.

VI. VARIETY OF *Enege*.

- (a) Ketpeng.
- (b) Rishing.
- (c) Ngepa.
- (d) Ngemang.
- (e) Dabat.
- (f) Yumling.
- (g) Ngebak.
- (h) Ngegu.
- (i) Ngeyum.

VII. VEGETABLES.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. Mustard | — Tushut. |
| 2. Country bean | — Rondol. |
| 3. Pumpkin or
Red Gourd | — Tapa. |
| 4. White Gourd | — Par-Pao. |
| 5. Ginger | — Take. |
| 6. Onion | — Dilap. |
| 7. Soyabean | — Rontung. |
| 8. Bean, flat
variety | — Ronjep. |

9. Brinjal	— Bayam.
19. Bitter Gourd Fruit	— Khasia Kopi.
11. Bitter Gourd	— Kerelang.
12. French bean	— Peron.
13. Small mustard plant	— Tugap.

VIII. COTTON—*Sipiak*.

APPENDIX IV

KINSHIP TERMS

<i>Relationship.</i>	<i>Adi term</i>	M.S.,	W.S.
Father's Father's father	Bukku		
Father's Father mother	Anneneku	”	”
Father's father	Babu	”	”
Father's mother	Nane Ejo	”	”
Father's elder brother	Apang	”	”
Father's younger brother	Apang	”	”
Father's elder sister	Nani	”	”
Father's younger sister	Nani	”	”
Father's elder brother's wife	Mate	”	”
Father's younger brother's wife	Amo	”	”
Father's elder sister's husband	Magbo	”	”
Father's younger sister's husband	Magbo	”	”
Father	Abu	”	”
Mother	Ane	”	”
Mother's father	Akki Abu	”	”
Mother's mother	Yaio	”	”
Mother's elder brother	Fete	”	”
Mother's younger brother	Yogong	”	”
Mother's younger sister	Aie	”	”
Mother's elder sister	Aie	”	”
Mother's elder brother's wife	Yie	”	”
Mother's younger brother's wife	Yie	”	”
Elder brother	Bibing	”	”
Younger brother	Bibing	”	”
Elder sister	Birme	”	”
Younger sister	Birme	”	”
Elder brother's wife	Meng	”	”
Younger brother's wife	Meng	”	”
Elder sister's husband	Magbo	”	”
Younger sister's husband	Magbo	”	”

<i>Relationship.</i>	<i>Adi term</i>		
Wife	Meng	M.S.	
Husband	Milo	W.S.	
Wife's elder brother	Igo	M.S.	
Wife's elder brother's wife	Bilne	M.S.	
Husband's elder brother	Milo	W.S.	
Husband's elder brother's wife	Belne	W.S.	
Wife's elder sister	Igne	M.S.	
Wife's elder sister's husband	Belbo	M.S.	
Husband's elder sister	Igne	W.S.	
Husband's elder sister's husband	Magbó	W.S.	
Wife's younger brother	Igo	M.S.	
Wife's younger brother's wife	Belne	M.S.	
Husband's younger brother	Milo	W.S.	
Husband's younger brother's wife	Belne	M.S.	
Wife's younger sister	Igne	M.S.	
Wife's younger sister's husband	Belbo	M.S.	
Husband's younger sister	Igne	W.S.	
Husband's younger sister's husband	Magbo	W.S.	
Wife's father	Atlo	M.S.	
Wife's mother	Ayo	M.S.	
Husband's father	Abu	W.S.	
Husband's mother	Ane	W.S.	
Wife's father's father	Atto Mijing	M.S.	
Wife's father's mother	Ayo Ejo	M.S.	
Husband's father's father	Babu	W.S.	
Husband's father's mother	Nane Ejo	W.S.	
Wife's father's father's father	Atto Akku	M.S.	
Wife's father's father's mother	Ayo Akku	M.S.	
Husband's father's father's father	Bukkhu	W.S.	
Husband's father's father's mother	Anneneku	W.S.	
Son	O	M.S.,	W.S.
Daughter	Ame	"	"
Elder brother's son	O	"	"
Elder brother's daughter	Ome	"	"
Younger brother's son	O	"	"
Younger brother's daughter	Ome	"	"
Son's wife	Yameng	"	"
Daughter's husband	Magbo	"	"
Elder brother's son's wife	Yameng	"	"
Younger brother's son's wife	Yameng	"	"
Elder brother's daughter's husband	Magbo	"	"
Younger brother's daughter's husband	Magbo	"	"
Son's son	Oten	"	"
Son's daughter	Oten	"	"
Daughter's son	Oten	"	"
Daughter's daughter	Oten	"	"

APPENDIX V

<i>GROUPING</i>	<i>Adi Term</i>
(1) Father's elder sister's husband Father's younger sister's husband Elder sister's husband Younger sister's husband Daughter's husband Elder brother's daughter's husband Younger brother's daughter's husband	Magbo
(2) Wife Elder brother's wife Younger brother's wife	Meng
(3) Husband Husband's elder brother Husband's younger brother	Milo
(4) Son's wife Elder brother's son's wife Younger brother's son's wife	Yameng
(5) Husband's elder brother's wife Wife's elder brother's wife Husband's younger brother's wife Wife's younger brother's wife	Belne
(6) Wife's elder sister's husband Wife's younger sister's husband	Belbo
(7) Elder sister Younger sister	Birne
(8) Elder brother Younger brother	Bibing
(9) Husband's elder sister Husband's younger sister Wife's elder sister Wife's younger sister	Igne
(10) Son Elder brother's son Younger brother's son Elder sister's son Younger sister's son	O

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| (11) | Daughter
Elder brother's daughter
Younger brother's daughter
Elder sister's daughter
Younger sister's daughter | Ome |
| (12) | Son's son
Son's daughter
Daughter's son
Daughter's daughter | Oten |
| (13) | Wife's elder brother's wife
Wife's younger brother's wife | Igo |
| (14) | Mother's elder brother's wife
Mother's younger brother's wife | Yie |
| (15) | Mother's elder sister
Mother's younger sister | Aie |
| (16) | Father's elder brother
Father's younger brother | |
| (17) | Father's elder sister
Father's younger sister | Nani |

GLOSSARY OF ADI TERMS

<i>Abang</i>	— staircase; traditional ballad.	<i>Anno</i>	— warp.
<i>Abuk</i>	— gun.	<i>Anyi</i>	— two.
<i>Abuk kar</i>	— gun powder.	<i>Anyongko</i>	— few.
<i>Adi</i>	— hill.	<i>Ape</i>	— stainer.
<i>Adum</i>	— basket for storing cloth.	<i>Appi</i>	— four.
<i>Addum</i>	— stomach.	<i>Apim</i>	— rice.
<i>Agam</i>	— lord of the animals, speech.	<i>Apong</i>	— rice beer.
<i>Agbe</i>	— crow.	<i>Apong perop</i>	— basket for storing fermented millet.
<i>Ago</i>	— grave.	<i>Apui</i>	— the heart.
<i>Aido</i>	— good.	<i>Appun</i>	— flower.
<i>Aie</i>	— tongue.	<i>Apupatak</i>	— vessel for preparing rice beer.
<i>Aimang</i>	— bad.	<i>Aran</i>	— a festival.
<i>Ain</i>	— liver.	<i>Ari</i>	— smell.
<i>Aipe (or airupe)</i>	farewell greetings by the departing party.	<i>Arik</i>	— cultivation, field.
<i>dulanka</i>		<i>Arik ippo</i>	— field house.
<i>Aipe (or airupe)</i>	farewell greetings to the departing party.	<i>Arik panam</i>	— clearing of jhum.
<i>gilanka</i>		<i>Asan</i>	— to dry flesh over fire.
<i>Airupe</i>	— properly.	<i>Ashi</i>	— river, water.
<i>Ajeng</i>	— fault, guilt.	<i>Asi dupu</i>	— pot for carrying water.
<i>Akke</i>	— six.	<i>Asi pertik</i>	— space in the room reserved for storing water.
<i>Alak</i>	— hand, arm.	<i>Ason</i>	— floor beams.
<i>Ale</i>	— foot, leg.	<i>Atak ap</i>	— door.
<i>Alo</i>	— salt.	<i>Atak pen</i>	— space in the room reserved for son and his wife.
<i>Aman</i>	— present, toy.	<i>Atel</i>	— one.
<i>Ambin dupang</i>	— rice container.	<i>Atel-ko</i>	— single.
<i>Ambin teikak</i>	— measuring unit for rice.	<i>Ati kamang</i>	— none.
<i>Ami</i>	— man.	<i>Ati ko</i>	— something.
	eye.	<i>Aum</i>	— three.
<i>Aminkibi</i>	— to take an oath.	<i>Aye</i>	— fruit.
<i>Amin</i>	— name.	<i>Badu</i>	— cotton rug.
<i>Amo</i>	— village, paddy.	<i>Bari</i>	— basket for storing paddy; song.
<i>Ampi</i>	— harvest festival.	<i>Bayop</i>	— brass disc for girdle.
<i>Anam (or Aionam)</i>	— birth.	<i>Bedang</i>	— road.
<i>Angame</i>	— nervous.		
<i>Annam</i>	— cold.		

<i>Bodi</i>	— woman's parasol against rain.	<i>Eki</i>	— dog.
<i>Borolang</i>	— bachelor.	<i>Ekk</i>	— pig.
<i>Bungke</i>	— stream.	<i>Ekum</i>	— living house.
<i>Bur</i>	— raft.	<i>Ekumerang</i>	— family.
<i>Buirene</i>	— sister.	<i>Eling</i>	— stone.
<i>Buiro</i>	— brother.	<i>Eme</i>	— fire.
<i>Buising</i>	— name of month.	<i>Eme rinam</i>	— burning of debris.
<i>Dabu</i>	— stone.	<i>Emo</i>	— aconite; poison, poisoned arrow.
<i>Danag</i>	— wooden plate.	<i>Enge</i>	— aram.
<i>Danki</i>	— Tibetan metal pot.	<i>Engin</i>	— potato.
<i>Dare</i>	— purlin on top of rafters.	<i>Engo</i>	— fish.
<i>Di</i>	— time.	<i>Enlik</i>	— hired labour in kind.
<i>Dibang</i>	— bamboo.	<i>Eppa</i>	— winnow.
<i>Diking</i>	— name of month.	<i>Epu</i>	— mat.
<i>Disang</i>	— "	<i>Epug</i>	— vessel for storing millet beer.
<i>Ditag</i>	— year.	<i>Epuk</i>	— arrow.
<i>Dite</i>	— mountain.	<i>Epung</i>	— arrow with bamboo shaft and bamboo head.
<i>Ditung</i>	— peak.	<i>Esap</i>	— net.
<i>Dokpur</i>	— kind of bead.	<i>Eshar</i>	— air.
<i>Domuk</i>	— cloud.	<i>Eshi</i>	— urine.
<i>Donam</i>	— food.	<i>Eshing</i>	— tree, wood.
<i>Dong-mang</i>	— small blue bead.	<i>Eshing ekung</i>	— wooden plate.
<i>Dong-ne</i>	— yellow bead.	<i>Esho</i>	— mithun.
<i>Donyi</i>	— sun.	<i>Ethung</i>	— bamboo earplug.
<i>Dorea</i>	— stand for food plate.	<i>Etting</i>	— rice cakes.
<i>Doying</i>	— story, folklore.	<i>Ettor</i>	— festival; fence.
<i>Doying</i>	spirit of rain.	<i>Gadbung</i>	— arrow case.
<i>Angong</i>		<i>Gale or</i>	skirt.
<i>Dudap</i>	— pendant.	<i>gaceng</i>	
<i>Duma</i>	— tobacco.	<i>Galling</i>	— name of month.
<i>Dumko</i>	— space for sitting and taking meals.	<i>Galpatang</i>	— necklace of coins.
<i>Dumlup</i>	— hat.	<i>Galuk</i>	— coat.
<i>Dumlup</i>	war hat.	<i>Gam</i>	— chief.
<i>Lubra</i>		<i>Gapshep</i>	— tongs.
<i>Eam</i>	— suspension bridge.	<i>Gekong-galong</i>	— loom.
<i>Ebat</i>	— noose trap.		
<i>Edum</i>	— basket.		
<i>Edung</i>	— bamboo chung.		
<i>Egin</i>	— basket.		
<i>Ego</i>	— bridge.		
<i>Eguk</i>	— ladle.		
<i>Eii</i>	— bow.		

<i>Gemer or Gene</i>	spike bracelet.	<i>Kiro</i>	— basket, used for carrying wood.
<i>Giri</i>	— vessel for carrying <i>apong</i> .	<i>Kirug</i>	— hunting.
<i>Gitum</i>	— hammer.	<i>Kitan</i>	— shuttle.
<i>Gueor</i>	— white cotton shawl.	<i>Ko</i>	— body.
<i>Gulang</i>	— open portico.	<i>Kodang</i>	— space for storing rice, mortar and pestle.
<i>Gumin soin</i>	— domestic spirit.	<i>Konnying mennying</i>	olden times.
<i>Gummang</i>	— kind of coloured beads.	<i>Kopak</i>	— banana.
<i>Gumpung</i>	— —do—	<i>Kopung</i>	— bracelet.
<i>Gunam</i>	— heat.	<i>Kumke</i>	— seat.
<i>Gurang</i>	— covered portico of the house.	<i>Kumsung</i>	— granary.
<i>Igi</i>	— pestle.	<i>Kungepue</i>	— space for sleeping for the lady of the house.
<i>Ik</i>	— bamboo scraper.		
<i>Immang</i>	— dream.	<i>Kupang</i>	— necklace.
<i>Ipang</i>	— tooth.	<i>Lagyin</i>	— nail.
<i>Ipo</i>	— flea.	<i>Lakpur</i>	— small pouch attached to a quiver.
<i>Irnam</i>	— sweat.	<i>Lamgeap</i>	— back door.
<i>Irshunane</i>	— bath.	<i>Lamkang</i>	— party of young men for protecting village from fire and enemy.
<i>Iyi</i>	— blood.		
<i>Iyian</i>	— a bow string.	<i>Langea</i>	space for keeping dead
<i>Iyo</i>	— name of month.	<i>kodang</i>	— body.
<i>Jingjiri</i>	— ring.		
<i>Kaksur</i>	— pot for storing <i>apong</i> .	<i>Lebang</i>	— rainbow.
<i>Kagyo</i>	— feather used in arrow.	<i>Lelam</i>	— foot-print.
		<i>Leyuk</i>	— shoe.
<i>Kani</i>	— opium.	<i>Limong monang</i>	— casting lot.
<i>Kebang</i>	— council.	<i>Lipa</i>	— squirrel.
<i>Kebu</i>	— rat.		
<i>Kede</i>	— earth.	<i>Liru</i>	— —do—
<i>Kedi peking</i>	— earthen vessel.	<i>Longe</i>	— day.
<i>Kinam</i>	— sickness.	<i>Lugdi</i>	— coat.
<i>Kipar</i>	— mortar.	<i>Lugre</i>	— coat.
		<i>Lugreng</i>	— blouse.
<i>Kipr</i>	— name of month.	<i>Lune solung</i>	— festival.
<i>Kirings</i>	— bunch of small bells tied to a plaited band.	<i>Lutor solung</i>	— —do—

<i>Mane</i>	— grade of soil.	<i>Or</i>	— <i>panji</i> .
<i>Marak</i>	— —do—	<i>Oripe</i>	— still born.
<i>Medbu</i>	— ash.	<i>Oying</i>	— vegetable.
<i>Meddung</i>	— bamboo cylinder of the blacksmith's bellows.	<i>Pahan</i>	— brass chain.
<i>Megap</i>	— pincers.	<i>Pakh</i>	— crow.
<i>Megot</i>	— soot.	<i>Parap</i>	— the shelf over the fire- place of a house.
<i>Mejer</i>	— spark.	<i>Parhi</i>	— brass bracelet.
<i>Meng lung</i>	— marriage.	<i>Parin</i>	— base pole of the house.
<i>Menshurung</i>	— jackal.	<i>Patat</i>	— cultivable block of land.
<i>Meo</i>	— flame.		
<i>Meru</i>	— torch.		
<i>Merum</i>	— fire place.		
<i>Migang</i>	— <i>panji</i> .		
<i>Mijing</i>	— old man.	<i>Pedong</i>	— rain.
<i>Mikki</i>	— smoke.	<i>Pegang</i>	— hornbill.
<i>Mimakinam</i>	— war.	<i>Peki</i>	— earthen cooking pot.
		<i>Pemi</i>	— hawk.
<i>Mipak</i>	— outcast.	<i>Perding</i>	
		<i>galuk</i>	— war-coat.
<i>Miri</i>	— leader in dance, medicineman.	<i>Perok</i>	— fowl.
		<i>Pettang</i>	— bird.
<i>Mithun</i>	— <i>bos forontalis</i> .	<i>Pettung</i>	— kite.
<i>Monam</i>	— forest.	<i>Petu</i>	— mustard plant.
<i>Mongham</i>	— grade of soil.	<i>Polo</i>	— moon, month.
<i>Mopun</i>	— a festival.	<i>Porang</i>	— fish-trap.
<i>Moshup</i>	— bachelors' dormitory.	<i>Puiang</i>	— light.
		<i>Pumo</i>	— flood.
<i>Nambi</i>	— war-coat.	<i>Punnu</i>	— type of coloured beads.
<i>Namdung</i>	— sesamum.	<i>Rabo</i>	— wild boar.
<i>Namshing</i>	— stink.		
<i>Nappang</i>	— name of month.	<i>Ramea</i>	— shelf over the fire place.
<i>Narang</i>	— basket for carrying paddy.	<i>Rasheng</i>	— girls' dormitory.
<i>Niding</i>	— spear.	<i>Regum</i>	— pigsty and latrine.
<i>Nitam</i>	— song.	<i>Rigbin</i>	— weeding.
<i>Nok</i>	— Tibetan charm box.	<i>Riglap</i>	— hired labourer on cash payment.
<i>Nyo</i>	— taboo.		
<i>Nyomrang</i>	— jungle.	<i>Rigu</i>	— weeding.
		<i>Rising</i>	— sacred place.
<i>Opin</i>	— clan.	<i>Rokpo</i>	— cock.

<i>Sakiap</i>	—	haversack for men.	<i>Takar</i>	—	star.
<i>Saktam</i>	—	tattooing.	<i>Take</i>	—	ginger.
<i>Saiyo</i>	—	rain cover for basket.	<i>Taku</i>		
<i>Shikul</i>	—	spring.			
<i>Shilum</i>	—	smoking pipe.	<i>Tali</i>	—	haversack for woman.
<i>Shimang</i>	—	corpse.	<i>Tamte</i>	—	shield.
<i>Shinam</i>	—	death.	<i>Tang</i>	—	thorn.
<i>Shoben</i>	—	goat.	<i>Tanno</i>	—	name of month.
<i>Sibi</i>	—	sambar.	<i>Tao</i>	—	wild cat.
<i>Sidum</i>	—	deer.	<i>Tapom</i>	—	snow.
<i>Simio</i>	—	tiger.	<i>Tappom</i>	—	bat.
<i>Sipiang</i>	—	ginning machine.	<i>Tashat</i>	—	necklace of bone discs.
<i>Sipyak doket</i>	—	sago palm.	<i>Tateg</i>	—	wild dog.
<i>Sira</i>	—	wild boar.	<i>Terem</i>	—	name of month.
<i>Sisug</i>	—	spotted deer.			
			<i>Ugon</i>	—	loin cloth.
<i>Site</i>	—	elephant.	<i>Umtirang</i>	—	orange.
<i>Sunge</i>			<i>Uk</i>	—	woman's girdle.
<i>kenyung</i>	—	space for preparing rice beer.	<i>Uyu</i>	—	spirit.
			<i>Yame</i>	—	youth.
			<i>Yamla lang</i>	—	marriage function.
<i>Tabap</i>	—	comb.	<i>Yari</i>	—	lightning.
			<i>Yibo</i>	—	plains.
<i>Tabat</i>	—	sugar cane.	<i>Yite</i>	—	name of month.
<i>Tabi</i>	—	snake.	<i>Ylo</i>	—	—do—
<i>Tabui</i>	—	snake.	<i>Yo</i>	—	night.
<i>Tabuin</i>	—	white ant.	<i>Yok</i>	—	dao.
<i>Tabum</i>	—	small pox.	<i>Yoksa</i>	—	sword.
<i>Tadok</i>	—	bead.	<i>Yoksik</i>	—	small knife.
<i>Tai</i>	—	belt made of bamboo strips.	<i>Yongmo</i>	—	blacksmith,
			<i>Yume</i>	—	evening.

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NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

