

# The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur

George Watt

*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 16. (1887), pp. 346-370.

Stable URL:

http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0959-5295%281887%2916%3C346%3ATATOM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y

*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* is currently published by Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <a href="http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html">http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html</a>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <u>http://www.jstor.org/journals/rai.html</u>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

The JSTOR Archive is a trusted digital repository providing for long-term preservation and access to leading academic journals and scholarly literature from around the world. The Archive is supported by libraries, scholarly societies, publishers, and foundations. It is an initiative of JSTOR, a not-for-profit organization with a mission to help the scholarly community take advantage of advances in technology. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

#### 346 DR. G. WATT.—The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

- From the Society Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1885. Vol. III.
- ----- Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. XIV. 2.
- ---- Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1884. Vol. XIX. Part 2.
- ----- Bulletin de la Société de Borda, Dax. 1886. Part 4.
- ----- Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie. Tome II. Fas. 2.
- ---- Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig, 1885.
- Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. XVI Band. Heft 1, 2.
- ----- Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou. 1886. No. 2.
- From the EDITOR.—Journal of Mental Science. No. 104.
- ----- Nature. Nos. 894-897.
- ----- Photographic Times. Nos. 273-275.
- ----- Science. Nos. 200-203.
- ----- L'Homme. 1886. Nos. 19-20.

The PRESIDENT announced that the Annual General Meeting of the Institute would be held on Tuesday, January 25th, and nominated Mr. G. M. Atkinson and Mr. E. W. Brabrook to act as Auditors.

The following paper was read by the author and illustrated by the exhibition of a large collection of objects of ethnological interest :----

### The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

#### By Dr. George Watt, M.B., C.M., F.L.S., C.I.E.

[With PLATES V and VI.]

HAVING spent the greater part of a year in Manipur, in connection with the recent boundary expedition, I took some pains to preserve a diary of my sojournings among the wild tribes of that country. When asked by your President, Mr. Francis Galton, to read a paper before the Anthropological Institute, I was, I now find, a little too hasty in selecting the subject I have the honour to lay before you this evening. The Journal of your Institute already possesses some most valuable papers on the primitive people who inhabit the charming mountainous country which separates Assam from Burma. Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe in two most admirable papers has placed before you a detailed account of the Angami Nagas, and of the other wild tribes who inhabit the so-called Naga Hills. These are the northern neighbours of the hill tribes of Manipur, and are indeed so intimately related to one or two of the Manipur tribes that they can with difficulty be separated from them. most valuable series of papers has also appeared in your Journal on the monolithic monuments of the Naga Hills and of the Khasia Hills, from the pens of Colonel H. H. Godwin-Austin and Mr. C. B. Clarke. A charmingly written paper, which will ever remain a memorial of the noble-minded officer whose name it bears-the late most unfortunate Captain J. Butler—gives a life-like picture of the Angamis. This appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1875. Several other brief notices of the Nagas, and of their mountainous country, have also appeared, but of Manipur proper only two pamphlets have been published, and these are, I regret to say, not readily procurable in London. I allude to Colonel McCulloch's and Dr. Brown's official reports of Manipur. These two officers were for many years the political agents in that State, and took great pains (more particularly the former) to collect trustworthy facts regarding the people amongst whom their lives were thrown. My distinguished friend, Colonel (now Sir James) Johnstone, K.C.S.I., who for many years acted as political agent, in his reports also added greatly to our knowledge of the people of Manipur, and I may be pardoned if I add that to Sir James' friendship I owe entirely the opportunity of being permitted to visit some of the more distant and therefore more interesting races met with in that country.

I have deemed it desirable to give this brief history of the papers which have appeared on Manipur, since I hope to lay before you to-night the facts contained in my diary only which I deem new, or which I think have not obtained sufficient publicity; but I may here explain that I have consulted very carefully, and often borrowed largely, from the works enumerated above, so as to make my present paper as nearly as possible a complete though brief abstract of all that is at present known regarding the interesting region to which I desire to call your attention. It may, however, be as well to give in this place a general account of the geographical position of Manipur, and to indicate its main physical peculiarities. There are perhaps over twenty different races of human beings met with in that small region, and it would seem that the nature of the country itself has exercised a considerable influence in the isolation and formation of the separate and antagonistic races within an area of only about 8,000 square miles.

It may in popular language be stated that from the Bay of Bengal near Chittagong, a closely packed belt of mountains rises from the plains of Bengal, Cachar, and Assam, on the one side, and from Burma on the other. This wall extends

2 c 2

through the so-called Chittagong Hill tracts to Manipur, and onwards to the north-east to the so-called Naga Hills, and terminates with the Patkoi Mountains at a point where that range is joined on to the Bhutan Himálaya. Manipur is thus the middle portion of this highland country, and is traversed by a perfectly bewildering series of more or less parallel ranges which are every now and then knotted together by transverse spurs in proximity to the culminating points. These lofty knots exercise a most important influence. They cause the rivers which have been flowing south-west for miles to return down the other side of the same range only to escape round a second range, and to thus resume their south-westerly direction. Within these valleys, and with their villages perched on commanding spurs, the various tribes seem also to have wandered, and the lofty knots appear not only to have determined the drainage, but also to have influenced the diffusion of the people. To the north and northwest of Manipur, one of the most important ranges (the Barail), culminates in Japvo-a peak over 10,000 feet in altitude. From this elevated mass transverse spurs connect the neighbouring parallel ranges. These links not only determine the watershed of the rivers which are to traverse the valleys of Manipur from those one might be almost pardoned for viewing as the northern extensions of the same valleys into the Naga country, but along these very transverse spurs may be traced the line which demarcates the Nagas of the north from the Nagas of Manipur. So again similar though less important instances occur of the connecting spurs forming the limitations of the races who have come to live within the aggregation of parallel valleys or on the enclosing mountains which go to make up the little state of Manipur.

One of the most striking features of Manipur is the pleasing way in which the mountains, at intervals, widen apart so as to enclose the fertile plains formed by the rivers. The valley of Manipur proper is the largest and most valuable plain of this nature, but many other smaller ones burst upon the view of the traveller, each appearing like an oasis, hung from the confusion of wild and rugged mountains. It is perhaps safe to assume that the superiority of land of this kind over that laboriously formed by terracing the slopes of the hills, must have been the reward ever kept in view by tribes rising into importance and power. The conquest of one race over another most probably led to the valleys passing time after time into new hands. That this idea may be the correct one receives countenance from the fact that many of the hill tribes have traditions that they once held the great valley of Manipur. Modern history fully supports this also, for, in perhaps no other part of India, have greater or more cruel struggles taken place, than amongst the tribes of Manipur. Each great period in the history of that little state has seen one tribe a terror to all the others, owing to its young men being entirely devoted to raiding on the villages of the neighbouring During these unprovoked attacks and marauding expetribes. ditions the villages were completely destroyed, the old and weak men and women murdered, the strong and young men and women carried into slavery, and the infants cruelly butchered before their parents' eyes. This wholesale capturing of slaves must in time have exercised a powerful influence in modifying tribal characteristics, for the slaves were often well cared for, the younger ones being allowed to take wives. or were given in marriage to their captors. All this has happily been changed, and the raiding habit, through the strong hand of the British power, has been almost entirely put down.

The last great race of invaders and conquerors who entered Manipur was the Kukies or Lushais. These people seem to have taken their origin in the upper Chittagong Hill tracts, but finding it necessary to immigrate, the surplus population, during the past two or three centuries at least, has kept moving to the north, or in other words into Manipur. One wave of these invaders received the name of the Khongjai Kukies, another the Kom Kukies, and these two in their numerous clans or subdivisions seem to have poured into Manipur territory, and wandering up the mountains which constitute the western wall of the valley, ultimately descended into the valley itself. Α third great wave, the Suktis or Kumhaus, now inhabit the country immediately to the south of the valley of Manipur or have wandered along a portion of the eastern ranges. Α fourth, the Chasads (or Chuksads), a branch of the Suktis, have attracted attention within the past few years. These modern raiding Kukies seem to have come from Burma into Manipur, and most probably at the instigation of the Rajah of Sumjok, a Burmese feudatory chief. It was Chasad raidings that led to the Burma-Manipur expedition, since, while occupying territory claimed by Manipur they acknowledged allegiance only to Sumjok.

A fifth great branch of this same family, the Lushais, has not only been pressing on the Kukies from behind and raiding upon them, but their attacks on the British district of Cachar led to the Lushai war. It may thus be observed the Kukies and Lushais close in the southern extremity of Manipur, and it is perhaps safe to assert that these southern tribes, broken into their respective clans, are two branches of the same great family. They speak dialects of a common tongue and are very

similar both in appearance, dress, and social customs. Their influence in Manipur has been great, especially on the races who now inhabit at least the southern half of that State. Indeed the Manipuris proper, or the ruling people who inhabit the fertile plains of Manipur, speak a language acknowledged to belong to the Lushai group. By the casual observer the socalled Manipuris (or as they call themselves Meithis) would be pronounced a mixed race between the Kukies and the Nagas. Indeed, this is most probably the true definition of that people. and it may safely be said that it is difficult to limit the influence of Kukie blood in a very large number of the tribes of Manipur. Commencing with the Kumhaus in the south and passing north through Manipur, race after race is seen to blend into each other so that the neighbouring peoples can scarcely be distinguished. If, on the other hand, two clans at a greater distance from each other be compared they are found to be perfectly distinct. It is perhaps not far from the truth to assume that the present inhabitants of the plains and hills of Manipur have sprung from four great influences: the Kukies in the south, the Nagas in the north, the Shan and Burmese tribes on the east, and certain hill tribes on the west more or less related to the great Kachari family now distributed throughout the Valley of Assam. Starting with this assumption, on going north the people are found to become more and more of the accepted Naga type just as on passing south they become more and more Lushai, while on wandering to the east a Shan and Burmese taint appears, and on passing west tribes more and more allied to the hillmen of the Northern Cachar hills and to the people of the Khasia and Garo hills are found. The southern half of the eastern people—the Murrings, and, in the Kabo Valley, the Kubaús-are more Burmese, or rather Shan, than anything else: while the northern section lose their Naga type and come to bear a stronger affinity to some of the wild hill tribes of Burma. Sarameti is the loftiest peak of the mountain region we are considering. It rises to close upon 13,000 feet and it may be stated to be north-east of Manipur or very nearly due east of Khomia, the capital of the Naga Hills. To the west of this lofty peak occur the powerful Angami Nagas; to the south and south-west the great family of the Tankhul Nagas of Manipur. But on nearing Sarameti both the Angami and Tankhul types change, and a distinct Burmese influence makes itself felt. Some of the more important branches of the wild tribes of the Naga Hills described by Colonel Woodthorpe in his second paper (read before this Institute), inhabit the regions lying east and north-east of the Angamis, or in other words, in proximity to Sarameti. The people to whom I more particularly desire to draw your attention in this paper are those to the south and south-west (the opposite side) of Sarameti, in other words, to the Tankhul and allied Naga tribes.

Having now in a general way indicated the characteristic features of Manipur and of its people, I shall proceed to examine in greater detail some of the typical races; but in so doing I shall endeavour to be brief, and to follow as closely as possible the narrative of my own personal travels amongst these people.

The road from Cachar to Manipur passes over nine nearly parallel ranges, and these constitute the western wall of the vallev. This road is carried by giddy cane suspension bridges across the deep and blue rivers which flow between the hills. These bridges are in many respects unlike the platted bark bridges of the Himálava, being stronger and more durable. A long cane, (the scandant stem of the palm, Calamus Rotang), three or four hundred feet long is carefully selected and drawn This, stretched at each end over a natural across the river. rock, or masonry or a wooden pillar, constructed for the purpose, is fastened by beams driven into the ground beyond the pillars. A second or even a third cane is similarly stretched across, and the belt formed by these canes is thereafter platted into a pathway of about a foot in breadth. The pillars are then carried to a farther height of six feet, and two other strong canes are carried across from the top of the pillars and about three feet apart; these are fastened by more distant beams into the ground. A small doorway is left in the upper portions of the pillars leading to the pathway. By means of a carefully selected set of canes cut so as to leave at one extremity a V-shaped stump of a branch, the upper suspension canes are bound to the pathway by the V-shaped end being hooked on to one of the upper canes and carried below the pathway and tied to the opposite upper cane. The next one is hooked on to the opposite cane. then carried under the pathway and tied to the other suspension. In this way the suspension canes are securely bound throughout the entire length of the bridge to the pathway, and while with the weight of the passenger the bridge curves and sways to an alarming degree it is impossible to fall off the tunnel-like structure through which the traveller has to pass. Some of these bridges providing for the great rise in the rivers, during the rains, are carried as much as 50 feet above the ordinary level of the water, and, while a giddy sensation is caused by the water being seen to flow beneath the feet-a sensation as if running violently up the stream sideways-still, at all seasons of the year the rivers of Manipur may be crossed in safety.

To illustrate more forcibly the deep gorges which cut up the

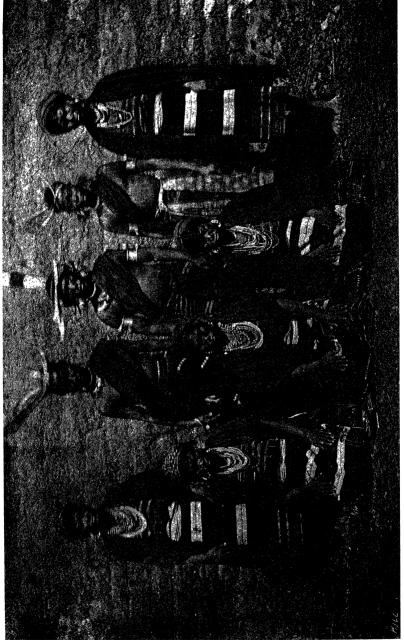
mountainous tracts of Manipur, it may be here added that on the road from Cachar to Manipur the following large rivers are crossed :--- the Jiri, the Makru, the Barak, the Irang, the Lengba. and the Limatak, in a journey of only about 80 miles. So deep are the gorges in which these rivers flow to the south, that in most of them the sun sets on the river some hours before its golden tints have faded away from the forest-clad summits of the hills which cast their gloomy shadows on the deep and Nothing could more forcibly depict the constill waters. figuration of Manipur than a history of its rivers and their contortions before they are permitted to escape to the plains The Barak, the largest and most important river of the below. country, for example, rises north-east of the Makru and Irang rivers, and flowing S.W., then N.E., and turning W.N.W. it resumes again its S.W. course, thus sweeping round the head streams of the Irang and Makru. Again flowing south-east, it receives in its course in addition to the Makru several small streams; next the Irang; still pursuing a southerly course it receives the Tepai, which flows north from the Lushai country to join it, at this point it now makes a sharp bend and flows nearly due north until it receives the waters of the Jiri. after which it enters British territory, and flows west through Cachar. This is a brief history of the river system within the western wall of Manipur, a wall in which the Barail constitutes the most lofty range. An illustration of this kind shows how closely the mountain tracts of Manipur are packed with parallel ranges of hills and deep gorges.

The wall which forms the western side of Manipur-the wall of which I shall presently speak-is inhabited by:

1st. A tribe of Nagas broken into various more or less distinct clans, which all speak dialects of the same language, although these are often so different that they have to resort to Manipuri when conversing with each other. I allude to the inhabitants of the western ranges, to the north of the road from Cachar to Manipur; these may collectively be called the Kaupuis.

2nd. The Khongjai and Kom Kukies to the south of the Government road.

I do not propose to describe to you to-night the various races of Kukies and Lushais, for these are but comparatively modern invaders of Manipur. The Kaupuis, on the other hand, are perhaps one of the oldest races, but from being much more peaceable they have attracted less attention; they are accordingly very interesting from an anthropological point of view. Journ Anthrop Inst. Vol XVI Pl. V



KAPUÍ NAGAS

### The Kaupuis.

There are said to be three great clans of Kaupuis, namely: 1st. Sungbu; 2nd. Koiveng; and 3rd. Kaupuis proper. The number of this tribe has been estimated at about 5,000 persons. They would appear to have occupied their present position from great antiquity, having been only compelled to resign positions they formerly held, through the persecution of the Kukies. They are much devoted to their village sites, not so much because they were born there, but because their ancestors rest in the village cemeteries. The Sungbu branch of the tribe is the strongest and most powerful.

*Characteristics.*—They are of moderate stature, sometimes very short, well-formed, but generally not very muscular. Some of them have good looks, but the greatest differences in countenance are often met with. Some have Mongolian faces, others are almost Aryan, with oblique eyes. This is, however a feature of most of the tribes of Manipur; oblique eyes, without the flat noses and high cheek bones of the typical Mongolian, being common. The hair is worn short amongst the males, sticking straight up from the head, and cut to within an inch and a half of the scalp. Others wear the hair long, and cut straight round, divided in the middle and kept back by means of a thin strip of bamboo (see Plate V).

The dress of the males is scanty, the working dress consisting of only a small, square, apron-like piece of cloth, suspended in front. The more fashionable costume is, however, a kilt-like piece of cloth bound round the waist, and hanging down in front. The lower portion of this cloth is often elegantly embroidered, and has red tassels and tufts of yellow orchid bark forming a neat fringe. The shawl thrown over the shoulders is generally white, with an elegant red border, the narrow stripes of which it is composed having, where these are joined together, red triangular embroidered ornaments. The women wear a piece of cotton cloth of a thick texture. This is generally blue with red stripes and quaint embroidered designs. It is fastened under the armpits so as to cover the breasts, and hangs down to the knees. waist band, with the characteristic yellow and red fringe, serves as an additional means of fastening up this skirt. In the cold season the women also wear a sort of short jacket, which seems to have been borrowed from the Manipuris. Over the shoulders is also thrown a blue scarf-like piece of cloth with an elegant fringe.

The men wear in the left ear a bunch of brass earrings, with generally nothing in the right. The female earrings are often like those worn by the Garo women, large, numerous and heavy. Necklaces of beads and shells, but more particularly of reddish pebbles, are much prized. On the upper arm a bracelet is worn. This consists of a wire as thick as a quill, wound tightly ten or twelve times round the arm, both ends being flattened out into a head piece about the size of a shilling, and tapering backwards into the wire. Above the calf of the leg numerous rings of cane dyed black, or of the black fibres of *Caryota urens* are worn. The articles of jewellery prized by the women are similar to those of the men, only larger and more numerous; the legs and feet are, however, left bare.

The Villages.-The villages are built on the commanding spurs of the hills, and are protected by a wooden palisade. The houses are strongly built and admirably thatched. The front gable is large and often ornamented by rudely carved horns projecting above, in which are fastened bunches of epiphytic The roof slopes backward, so that the further gable orchids. is often very small. Each household preserves its grains and other valuables in a strongly-built granary. As a proof of the respect which they show for individual property it may be mentioned, however, that these store-houses are bolted on the outside, for they know nothing of locks and keys, and, indeed, have no need of either, since the habit of stealing from each other is quite unheard of amongst these simple people. A partition divides each house into two compartments. In the front compartment the family sits, and in the rear apartment they sleep and cook their meals. The boys of the family from the time they reach maturity sleep with all the other young men of the village in what may be called the guard house. The women do all the heavy work, and the men, when not employed in agricultural labour, sit all day long near the house door, smoking pipes with bamboo water bowls. They use green tobacco, but admit that the pleasure of smoking is not to be compared with that of holding in the mouth a sip of the nicotised fluid from the water bowl of the pipe.

Every village has its hereditary officers, namely, the Kul-lakpa, the Lul-laka, and the Lampu. The hereditary chief is a man of influence according as he is wealthy or has a high personal reputation for sport or deeds of daring. Usually, however, this is not the case, and each village is a sort of minature republic, the safety of which all acknowledge to depend upon the strict observance of the natural laws of personal rights and property. Without laws or law-givers, without even an elective governing body, they live in peace and happiness, the head men sitting in council only when a crime has been committed. The highest punishment that such a council can inflict is expulsion from the village, for blood feuds are left to be avenged by those who are implicated in them. The certainty of vengeance makes such rare within a village, but blood feuds between two villages are never forgotten and are handed down long after the cause of such feuds has been entirely forgotten.

Marriage System.-Intercourse between the youths of both sexes is perfectly unrestricted and attachments between individuals repeatedly spring up, but if such attachments are not approved by the parents they are broken off, and the young man's father goes to the home of the girl of his selection to treat for a daughter-in-law. These parental forced marriages never seem to give origin to any unhappiness afterwards, although young couples often do run away and get married against their parents' wishes. Such matches create for a time much indignation, but they are not regarded as sufficiently serious to necessitate the flight of the parties. The young couple merely take refuge in a friend's house who looks after them until a compromise has been come to by the parents. In the case of adultery the woman escapes without punishment, and should the adulterer be killed by the offended and injured husband the wife returns to her father's house.

One of the most extraordinary peculiarities of the Kaupuis is that of taking "bone money" (Munda). On the death of a wife her father demands munda from the husband, or if he be dead, the late husband's nearest relative. On the death of a child munda is also demanded by the wife's father. The munda generally consists of a buffalo, and the demander of munda has to kill a pig for the family feast. No munda is required for a person killed accidentally or in war, or by cholera or small-pox. Should a woman die in childbirth the child is not permitted to live but is buried with her. If the husband dies before the wife she is taken by his brother or nearest male kin. This curious system of bone money may be viewed as securing the protection of individuals under whatever circumstances they may be thrown, and the munda ensures that every care will be taken both of wife and offspring.

Polygamy is permitted but is rare. Divorce occurs if all parties concerned are agreeable, but the wife can only separate provided her parents return the marriage purchase-money.

Burial Customs.—On the death of a Kaupui a feast is given by the survivors to their family and friends. The corpse is buried on the day of the death in a coffin, and under the body and within the coffin are placed a hoe, a spear, cooking pots, and cloths, for use in the next world. The grave consists of a deep trench with an opening or recess excavated at right angles to the trench; in the recess the coffin is deposited and the earth filled in. A large flat slab is placed over the mouth of the trench. In the graves of females are buried the wearing cloths spinning-wheels, and cooking implements. While the Kaupuis thus bury their dead somewhat after the way the ashes of the Khasias are deposited in graves over which large slabs are placed, they do not erect the memorial monoliths so common in the Khasia and Naga Hills.

*Implements.*—A short spear not ornamented; wicker-work shields ornamented with painted figures and dyed hair. These shields are of great length and slightly curved. The *dáo* is of the ordinary curved Bengal pattern, and is worn stuck in the waist cloth either at the side or more commonly behind. The Kaupuis are great experts in throwing the spear.

*Religious Ideas.*—The Kaupuis believe in a supreme being who is benevolent. This deity is creator of all things. They have an obscure idea of a future state. In addition to numerous spirits they recognise the existence of one who is especially employed in inducing men to do evil. After death they say that men go to an underground world where they are met by their ancestors who introduce them to this new life. It is remarkable that not only does this same idea prevail throughout all the various Naga races of Manipur, but most of these aboriginal tribes believe also that they came into this world by escaping from a cave which many say was in the country to the south, others to the east of their present abode. A murdered man meets his murderer in the next world, and makes him his slave. Each village generally has a priest who directs the sacrifices. He is held in sacred esteem, and is not allowed to do any work, but his office is not hereditary. Before going on a journey or commencing any important work, the priest is consulted as to a propitious day, and on these occasions eggs are frequently A simple method of divining omens consists in consulted. rapidly scratching the ground with the finger or a piece of bamboo, and thereafter counting the number of lines made: an even number is unlucky. Meeting a mole on the road is very unlucky, and the Kaupuis accordingly try to secure and kill this objectionable creature. The barking of a deer in front is also a bad omen.

#### The Kolyas.

Having now briefly indicated a few of the more striking peculiarities of the Kaupuis, I shall endeavour to direct your attention to the people met with during a journey to the north from the town of Manipur to the British possession now known as the Naga Hills. The path leads up the valley of the Tiki River (the river called Imphal in Manipur) for a distance of about three days' journey, until it reaches the watershed near

the village of Sangopung, and not far from the Manipur police station of Myang Khong. Still to the north, it follows down the Khomaru to the outpost of Karong. Here the Barak is seen to make one of its remarkable reversions. The river from Meithiphum flows south-west to form with the Khomaru the Karong head stream of the Barak. From the plateau-like spur of Karong, however, the Barak flows north-east in a somewhat confined valley so that its banks are little more than two or three miles distant from the Meithiphum, the two valleys being almost quite parallel for a distance of eight or ten miles. Thus the path from Manipur to the north follows up one stream and down another but it also skirts along the eastern flank of the Barail range of rugged and bold peaks. To the west and northwest of this portion of the Barail, the mountainous country is broken by the deep and almost precipitous valleys of the Makru, Irang, and Barak. The head streams of these rivers drain their waters from the great transverse range which forms the watershed of the rivers which flow south through Manipur and ultimately to Cachar from those which find their way to the north through the Naga Hills to Assam. To the south of the transverse range and within the upper drainage area of the Barak (the region I have tried briefly to indicate), reside the various clans of the tribe of Nagas whom the late Dr. Brown was, I think, the first to designate collectively, as the Kolyas. On the journey from Manipur to Kohima the visitor has thus the opportunity of studying one or two of the more important clans of this tribe of Nagas, and it may be repeated that they occur on the west and north-west of Manipur between the Kaupuis and the Angamis, but it may be added that they extend east of the line of the Tiki until they meet the great tribe of Tankhul Nagas. Intermediate in geographical position the Kolyas may be said to resemble the Kaupuis in the south, to blend into the Angamis on the north, to approximate to the Tankhuls on the east, and to gradually become more and more like the Kachcha Nagas on the north and north-west. Isolated, however, within their respective wild mountain homes the various clans of Kolvas have come to possess peculiarities in dress, social habits, and language which render it no difficult task to assign to each man his proper clan, if not to fix the very village to which he belongs. They have little or no dealings with each other, but on the contrary exist in what one might be almost pardoned for describing as a chronic and hereditary state of feud one with the other.

There are said to be eight clans of Kolya Nagas named Tangal, Mao, Murram, Pural, Threngba, Meithiphum, Myang-Khong, and Tokpo-khúl. These clans have been returned as about

5.000 souls each clan occupying from one to at most ten or Their customs differ but slightly from those of twelve villages. the Kaupuis, but in language, dress, and facial peculiarities they are much more nearly related to the Angamis. Indeed the Mao and Murram clans claim to have descended from the Angamis (or as they are here called the Gnamis) and the Angamis themselves tell an amusing story of *their* history which tends to give credibility to the Kolya tradition. There was a lake, they say, out of which emerged three men: one went south and gave origin to the Mao and Murram clans, another west, the great ancestor of the Kachcha Nagas, and the third remained in the country and became the Angami. Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe has divided the Nagas of the Naga Hills and the country to the north of the Angamis into kilted and non-kilted Nagas. The Kaupuis and many of the Kolyas are non-kilted and wear a figleaf-like apron suspended from a waist string, or don a sort of tightly bound *dhoti* which covers the back as well as the front of the body. The *dhoti* worn by the Mao and Murram Kolyas, however, very much resembles the Angami Naga black kilt, only that the ornamental shells on it never (as was formerly the case amongst the Angamis) denoted a warrior who had captured so many human heads. The Kolyas as a race are, however, far inferior to the Angamis or even to the Kaupuis in matters of personal adornment. The Mao and Murram Nagas rarely wear any other garment beside their black kilt, and only occasionally do they possess ornaments or jewellery. The ears are however perforated by persons who desire to wear earrings during the winter months. and coloured cotton thread, red and blue, is worked into ear pendants eight inches long. The upper ends of these pendants are formed into a sort of long ring which projects in front, the ends dangling from behind the ear. Amongst both the Maos and Murrams the young men never sleep in their parents' houses but live in a club or watch-house, and in this house in the case of the Murrams, the younger married men are also to This fact would seem to point to a state of constant be found. preparedness against the approach of an enemy. The young unmarried girls however, are never (as amongst the Angamis) found living promiscuously with the young men. Marriage is preserved with the utmost rigidity, adultery being punished by the death of the male offender, and by the woman having her hair cut off, her nose slit open, and, deprived of her jewellery and personal property, by being returned to her parents. Divorce is, however, easily procurable; the consent of both parties being obtained, the property is divided and the woman is thus once more free to marry whom she pleases. Although, as amongst the Kaupuis and the Angamis, the young parties are consulted

and their likings as a rule followed, marriage is contracted by the parents. The father of the boy or girl who wishes to get a daughter or son-in-law goes to the pre-arranged family with a present, and if this be accepted, marriage arrangements are rapidly completed and feasts given to all the friends and relatives. The rule usual amongst all Nagas, is with the Kolyas strictly observed, of marriage never being permitted within the same family.

Theft is extremely prevalent and is practically viewed as a crime only when detected, but even then the punishment inflicted is simple, namely the compulsory return of the stolen property. To charge a man with stealing without being able to prove the theft might, however, mean a blood-feud. This looseness in the respect for personal property contrasts most forcibly with that which has been narrated regarding the Kaupuis where even the granaries are bolted only on the outside, and still theft is quite unknown.

The whole of the Mao tribe is under one chief who receives tribute in the form of one basket of rice a year from each family, and exercises the usual authority possessed by all monarchs or rajahs. There are twelve villages of Maos, each comprising on an average about one hundred houses. In this respect the Maos are very unlike the Kaupuis, where each village has its nominal hereditary chief, who is, however, powerless, the village being a minature republic, and they are equally unlike the Angamis, where every village is broken into two or more *khels*, each under its respective head man. Combination is thus possible amongst the Maos, but impossible with the Angamis, since nearly every khel has a feud against at least one other khel in one or more The Mao houses are like the Kaupui and Angami villages. houses, gable-ended, but the walls are much higher than those to be seen in the Kaupui villages.

The Murrams are contained within one large village of nearly 1,000 houses. They have two hereditary chiefs, the greater and the lesser chief. Colonel W. J. McCulloch gives an amusing description of the tradition prevalent to account for this remarkable fact. "A former chief had two sons, of whom the younger, who was the greater warrior, desired to usurp the place of his elder brother. He urged his father to give him the chiefship. The old chief, afraid of his younger son, and unable to give up the birthright of the eldest, determined on a strategem. He told his eldest son to go and secretly bring home the head of an enemy. This having been done, the old chief summoned his sons, and giving each a packet of provisions, desired them to proceed in such directions as they chose in search of enemies, for he who brought in first the head of an enemy should be king.

The brothers took their leave, the youngest proceeding where he thought he would soonest procure a head, the eldest bending his steps to where he had concealed the one already taken. This he brought out of its concealment, and proceeded with it in triumph through the village. Nor was the youngest long in returning with a head, but having been preceded by his brother, the chiefship was declared to be the right of the eldest. This. however, did not satisfy the youngest son: he persisted in being called chief, and the matter was compromised, by both being allowed to remain, one as the great the other as the little chief: neither of them has any fixed revenue. But the village, when it is necessary, makes the great chief's house, and they give him the hind leg of all game caught; the little chief has no right to anything, the houses in his vicinity, however, do at times give him a leg of game. Formerly no one was allowed to plant his rice until the great chief allowed it, or had finished his planting. This mark of superiority is not at present allowed by the little chief, who plants without reference to his superior. There are many prohibitions in regard to the food, both animal and vegetable. which the chief should eat, and the Murrams say the chief's post must be a very uncomfortable one."

The Murram houses are just the reverse to the Kaupui houses. In sickness, offerings are made to the deities, and a feast is occasionally given to the poor, but the priests and priestesses, who officiate on all such occasions, are not held in high esteem: the people, for example, never impoverish themselves, as the Kaupuis do, to merit the praises of their priests.

On the journey from Manipur to Kohima, the Murrams would not be visited, as their country lies considerably to the east of the path followed, being between that of the Maos and the The principal village of the Maos, however, forms the Lahupas. frontier of Manipur territory, bordering with the Angamis of the Naga Hills. I have discussed the Maos and Murrains first, because they are more numerous and more powerful than any of In passing, however, from Manipur to the other Kolyas. Kohima the Myang Khong clan is first visited, and then the Meithiphums, before reaching the Maos. The Myang Khongs possess nine villages, and each village has its nominal chief, but in village government, as in many other respects, the Myang Khongs resemble the Kaupuis far more than their northern neighbours the Murrams. The village of Tangal, which stands on a hill to the east of the lovely plain of Keithimabi, enjoys the high reputation of having been the birthplace of the founder of the present Manipur dynasty. But the Tangals differ so little from the Myang Khongs and Meithiphum clans that they need scarcely be more than mentioned by name. On.

the crest of the hill above Myang Khong, the visitor is first made acquainted with the commemorative monoliths erected by the Kolyas, in honour of great feasts given on historic events. These are often nine or ten feet high, and occur as a rule in rows along some prominent and commanding ridge leading from the village. They do not, however, appear to be arranged according to any definite plan, either as to height or number. Sometimes a great stone will be found standing all by itself. with a cairn of pebbles gathered around it: at other times two. three, or it may be twenty or thirty occur over the crest of the hill or along the path leading to the village. At a distance, these remind one of the slate slabs which, in the far north of Scotland, stand in rows around the fields or enclose the roads which are there in many places carried, like water ruts, below the level of the fields. The habit of raising commemorative stones forcibly isolates the Kolyas from the Kaupuis, and allies them to the Angamis, but I could not discover any instance where these monoliths marked the tombs of great men, as is the case with many of the monoliths in the Khasia hills and among the Angami Nagas.

After passing the frontier of Manipur near the village of Mao, the visitor finds in a very short time that he has entered the country of a new and more cheerful people, for the contrast between the Nagas of Manipur and the Angamis is extremely great. Instead of the untidy race, neglectful of all personal appearance, among whom he has sojourned for some days, he finds himself among a bold, warlike mountain race, who are as proud of their personal appearance as of their wild mountains and laboriously terraced hillsides.

# The Angamis.

It is not my present purpose to dwell at any length on these people.<sup>1</sup> They have been so fully discussed by Colonel Woodthorpe and Captain Butler that little is now left to be told regarding them. The *Khel* system by which their villages are split into rival communities does not however appear to have been fully understood. Instead of the sub-clans occupying different districts they are dispersed throughout the country, each village consisting of two or more of these sub-clans or *Khels*. It is no unusual state of affairs to find *Khel* A of one village at war with *Khel* B of another, while not at war with *Khel* B of its own village. The *Khels* are often completely separated by great walls, the people on either side

<sup>1</sup> For representations of the Angami Nagas, see plates accompanying Col. Woodthorpe's paper in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," Vol. XI, pp. 56, 196.

VOL. XVI.

# 362 DR. G. WATT.— The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

living within a few yards of each other, yet having no dealings Each Khel has its own head man, but little respect whatever. is paid to the chief; each *Khel* may be described as a small republic. The club system for the youths of the village prevails, each Khel having its own club-house or dosta-khána, in which not merely the young men, but also the young women all live together instead of with their parents. It has been stated by some of the writers on the Naga Hills that the young men in the Angami villages do not live together, as is the case with most of the Naga tribes. This mistake appears to have arisen from the fact that the men, not of the whole village, but of each Khel within the village do so, and indeed the men in the club or watch-house belonging to one *Khel* have often to keep as close a guard against those of another Khel as against the approach of an enemy outside the common fortifications of the village. While scrambling over the walls dividing the *Khels* of Kegwima I was not a little surprised when I came across a stone 5 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches broad, covered with cup-shaped markings. There were at least thirty-one such markings all apparently very old, most being coated with lichens. Some of the better markings were 2 inches in diameter and 11 inches These on inquiry of the bystanders were at first said to deep. be "nothing at all," then by-and-by an explanation was offered. Their fathers when they were children made these holes by imitating the grown-up people husking the rice in the large wooden mortars. When cross-examined as to how this game of childhood had disappeared they could give no answer. From one village to another I wandered with my eyes opened to see a new fact, which, whatever explanation may be given if it exists, namely, that numerous stones built here and there, now in the village fortifications and now in the commemorative piles, are freely covered with artificial markings closely resembling those found in many parts of Europe. A few of the more striking of such stones were photographed. I venture to give no theory regarding these markings, and I have called them by the name by which they are known in Europe, "cup-shaped markings," because they are identical in size and form with those which my friend Mr. J. Linn, of the Geological Survey, took me over the North of Scotland to examine. Still less do I propose that there is anything more than a coincidence in the fact that they are in many cases associated, although apparently unconnected, with the habit of erecting great monoliths, such as are also to be found near some of the cup-shaped markings of Scotland. In one or two instances I discovered monoliths, each with one deep cup-shaped marking on its apex, and I could get no explanation of this fact. The Angamis are, however, believers

in evil spirits, and pile up great masses of leaves in the forest foot-paths dedicated to the spirits that dwell there. It is by no means uncommon to find near these heaps a pole stuck in the ground with a globular ball cut on its apex, and even a small hole drilled on the top. Poles of this kind I came across once or twice while wandering through the more inaccessible forests of Manipur, and I recollect to have seen a most remarkable accumulation of this nature in native Sikkim. Two or three poles, spear-like, were stuck in the ground, and across the path was drawn a string with feathers and broken eggs attached to it. Strings, said to be for the spirits of dying men to cross by, are regularly carried over the rivers by the Santals of Bengal, and cairns of stones, with sticks and bits of red-coloured cloth occur on every difficult mountain pass throughout India. It is worth adding that it is an universal custom that all cairns of stones or of leaves dedicated to the spirits that reside there are passed by the traveller on his right, be he the bold Angami Naga, the miserable looking Tankhul of Manipur, or the happy Leptcha of Sikkim.

Music is practically unknown amongst the Angamis, and their only song is the monotonous grunting of the hau-hau in different tones, indulged in and kept up by every man engaged on any kind of work. A song with words I believe to be unknown, and with the exception of the cow-bells and bamboo reed-whistles, they have no musical instruments—except one, by-the-by, which I do not recollect to have seen described, a bamboo Jews' harp used both by the Angamis and the Khasias.

Among the Angamis omens are generally consulted by rapidly cutting the woody stems of Adhatoda vesica into thin, slices and watching in how many cases the dark heart-shaped pith falls directed towards or away from the operator. The Angami is an expert cultivator so far as his primitive agricultural implements admit of his being so. He has most marvellously terraced the slopes around his villages, cleverly carrying from a great distance by ingeniously constructed channels the water necessary for the irrigation of his crops. Rice is the principal crop, but Indian corn is now largely cultivated along with several species of beans and peas. De Candolle, in his most admirable little book on the cultivated plants of the world excludes the soy-bean (the seeds of *Glycine Soja*) from being Indian on the ground mainly of its having no vernacular names. It not only has a name in every vernacular in India, but it is largely grown by the Angamis, a people who have only taken from India the Indian corn and tobacco, and the Angami name for it, Tzo-dza, looks remarkably like Soya. It may be worth adding that while buckwheat and

2 D 2

## 364 DR. G. WATT.—The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

amarantus grains, extensively cultivated by nearly all the hill tribes of India, are apparently nnknown to the Angamis, they cultivate in their place a labiate plant, Perilla ocimoides, known to them as kenia. To the Manipuris, the Kolva Nagas, and the Angamis the wild madder, Rubia sikkimensis, is far more valuable than the equally abundant manjet. Rubia cordifolia. Few people can live long among the Angamis and not admire the beautiful scarlet-coloured human and goats' hair with which they ornament their spears, earrings, and other ornaments. The power to dye human hair is doubtfully known to the European dyer, still less can be stain the siliceous layer of the rattan cane. Both these arts are fully understood by the Nagas, but they declare that if maniet be used instead of Rubia sikkimensis the result will not be obtained. This curious fact appears to be quite unknown to the hill tribes of other parts of India who alone use the manjet and pronounce the more extensive climber, R. sikkimensis, as quite worthless. To obtain the red dye from the latter plant the bark of the Alnus nepalensis is employed along with a handful of the seeds of Perilla ocimoides, and a little of the bark of Symplocos racemosa. The blue colour used by the Angamis is derived from Strobilanthes flaccidifolius, the rúm plant of all the hill tribes of Assam, and not from the common indigo plant. This fact is even still more curious since rúm is the indigo-yielding plant used in the adjoining provinces of China.

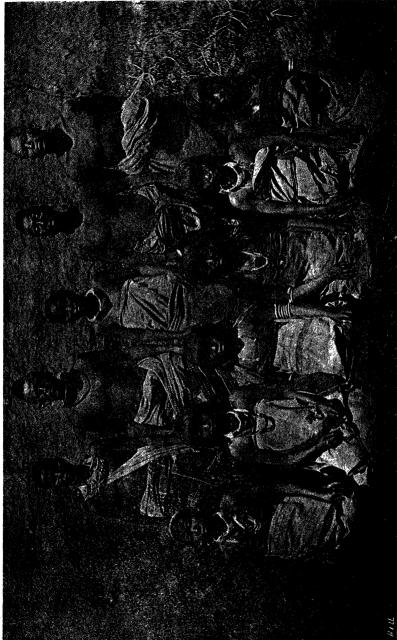
This apparent digression has been made to explain the red and blue colours used by the Angamis, for their blue drapery and red hair ornaments are their most striking peculiarities of apparel.

#### The Murring Nagas.

Having now dwelt in some considerable detail with the people who inhabit the western and northern mountain tracts of Manipur, I must hasten to say something of the more primitive although none the less interesting people found on the eastern side. In a general sort of way it has already been explained that far to the south abutting on the Khongjai Kukis the Murring Nagas inhabit the Hirok mountains. These are a very Burmese-looking people who tie the hair in a knot and allow it to rest almost on the temples. In stature they are medium-sized. They wear a white sheet striped, or with only a coloured border. This is folded across the waist and tucked in at the side. Over the upper part of the body is thrown loosely a checked shawl. In the ears are worn small rings.

While in many respects these people closely resemble the

Journ. Anthrop Inst. Vol. XVI. PL VI.



TANKHUL NAGAS.

Burmans, in religion and social customs they more nearly approach the Kaupuis, but like the Kolyas they love feasts and erect a commemorative pile of stones after each great occasion.

### The Tankhul Nagas.

From the Hirok mountains north until they are met by the Murrams and Angamis and certain Burmese hill tribes, said to reside on the east and south-east of Sarameti, occur the Tankhul Nagas. These have been divided into two sections, the more timid and wretched Tankhuls to the south, who, like the Murrings and Kukies, use a bow and arrow, and to the north the stalwart Lahupa Nagas, who have held their own alike against the Angamis and the Burmans mainly from the reputation they enjoy of being from their greater stature able to wield a much longer spear than any other tribe on the Assam frontier. The Manipuris call these people Lahupas from the basket-like helmets which they wear. The Tankhuls in the south are a diminutive race who wear the hair long behind and on the sides, but cut across the crown like the unmarried girls of Manipur. The Lahupas on the other hand cut off all the hair except a band across the head from the brow to the neck about two inches in breadth, in which the hair is left about an inch and a-half high, and so trained as to stand on end. This gives them a wild expression which their more stately form greatly enhances. (See Plate VI.)

The Tankhuls and Lahupas are said to number about 20,000; they regard themselves as consisting of many sub-divisions but for the most part these are but the distinctions into villages and districts, for with the exception of the southern and northern tribes the others do not deserve separate notice. Thev are a tall race with large heads and heavy, stolid features, but still not unlike the lively Angamis with their small faces, small eyes, and high cheek bones. Their dress is often very scanty, especially that of the men, consisting in holiday attire of a piece of cloth folded around the waist with a portion hanging down in front. Over the upper part of the body they throw loosely a large white shawl with stripes of red composed of little patches, in a somewhat checkered pattern. But while working all these garments are rejected, and they are then seen to possess but one article of dress, a horn or ivory ring about an eighth to a quarter of an inch in breadth drawn over the person. Dr. Brown says, "the object of this custom, which is of great antiquity, is to prevent an erectio penis, they holding apparently that a mere exposure of the person unless so attended is not a matter to be ashamed of." This ring is assumed on reaching puberty and is worn until death. Among the poor people a

# 366 DR. G. WATT.—The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

blade of grass is made to serve the same purpose as the ring. Numerous explanations of this remarkable practice have been offered but as yet without any satisfactory result. Dr. Brown seemed to think that it had some relation to the strange habit of the eldest son, on marriage, turning his parents out of their home and claiming two-thirds of all they possess. But surely if this habit proved irksome, rather than to retard the period when marriage would be desired, it would have been a simpler solution of the difficulty to alter the inhuman conception of the selfish rights of a first-born son.

On the birth of a child fowls are sacrificed and the women only of the village are treated to liquor. The child soon after birth has chewed rice placed in its mouth and is immersed in water nearly boiling from a supposed idea to make the child hardy. The mother is also made to perspire freely by being wrapped in hot water blankets until faintness ensues; on the third day the woman is allowed to go about and to resume her usual occupation.

Of the personal ornaments worn by the Tankhul little need be said. The ears are always perforated, the opening being greatly dilated at first by means of a V-shaped piece of cane, and afterwards by a W-shaped piece. The process of perforating the ears is, however, expensive, as a feast has to be given; it is accordingly customary to delay until a good number can be operated on at once. When properly formed the ear is ornamented with a minature bale of white cotton wool at least two or three inches in diameter. At other times six or eight pieces of solah pith are placed together within the ear. Metal ornaments are never worn. The armlets consist of a piece of light wood about three inches in diameter hollowed out so as to admit the arm, and reduced until the ring of wood is not more than a quarter of an inch in thickness. The outer surface of this armlet is then ornmented with red-coloured cane, covered over with the yellow bark of an orchid so as to leave exposed two rows of diamond-shaped spaces surrounded by the yellow.

Whether on the death of a great personage or on the perforation of the ears, notice is given of the feast by the construction of a great basket-work triangle of bamboo supported on two feet. This frame-work is variously decorated, and it is so constructed that all persons seeing it can learn the day the feast has been arranged for. While passing the village of Khongui I had the pleasure to witness a ceremony to the great god Kanchin-Kurah praying that rain might come. This consisted of rice flour kneaded into dough and cut into round, biscuitlike pieces and fried. Eleven pieces were prepared for each family, six for the husband and five for the wife. Sitting upon a conspicuous spot each couple was devoutly engaged eating a little dog's flesh and breaking the biscuits. At each mouthful a fragment was thrown to the unseen, while his sacred name was repeated. Although no Naga will drink milk they all enjoy dog's flesh immensely, and will eat eggs only when quite rotten and liquid. They say that once upon a time they were cannibals, and they point to a distant hill saying the people beyond it are cannibals to this day. While not eating human flesh, they will eat anything except horseflesh. Elephant, after being dead for some time and half putrid, is much relished.

The names for the various hereditary chiefs and headmen in the Tankhul villages are the same as those which prevail with the Kaupuis, and indeed their religious ideas are also closely They do not erect monoliths like the Kolyas and similar. Angamis, but outside their villages they construct curious memorial tombs in commemoration of their great men. These consist of great platforms about 20 feet long, and perhaps three feet in height. They are three feet broad at the end nearest the village. and become about six feet broad at the further end. They are paved all over with slabs, and in time become most convenient resting-places. When recently constructed, however, they bear at the further end five wooden pillars curiously carved, three in front and two behind, upon which are placed the skulls and horns of the animals offered at the great feast. The two shorter pillars are each bifid at the top. The Tankhuls bury their dead.

In conversation with the Tankhuls, I learned that once upon a time their villages were just as with the Angamis, broken into *khels*, but that long ago this system was abandoned.

The Lahupa agriculture is much more primitive than that practised by the Angamis. Carts and ploughs are of course absolutely unknown in any part of Manipur territory. The Tankhul hoe is, however, only a small blade of about two inches in diameter, lashed on to a bent stick. By this means the surface is very indifferently scratched, and the wonder is that he succeeds in getting crops of any kind to grow. One curiously clever agricultural implement, however, I saw in use near Khongui. This was an implement to free the ground of weeds. It consisted of a hoop of iron about half-an-inch in breadth, the diameter of the hoop being about one foot. To each end of the hoop a handle was attached, and the implement was so held in the hand that when dashed on the soft soil it passed completely underground, cutting off the roots of all the weeds. This I regard as a much more expeditious weeder than any hoe I have ever seen in Europe. As far as the Manipur tribes are concerned, I saw it only amongst the Tankhuls. In addition to rice, the Tankhul cultivates Job's

#### 368 DR. G. WATT.—The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur.

tears (*Coix lachryma*) as an article of food, a plant which by the Santals of Bengal and the hill tribes of most other parts of India is regarded as a most objectionable weed, and neither fit for human nor for animal food.

#### The Manipuris.

Having now briefly enumerated the leading hill tribes of Manipur, it would naturally conclude any such account to say something of the Manipuris themselves. This could not be done satisfactorily, however, in the space which I have at command, and I shall therefore conclude by saying that both in language and facial peculiarities the Manipuris would appear to be a mixed race between the Kukis and Nagas, and most probably the Kolya Nagas.

## Explanation of Plates V and VI.

Plate V. Group of Kaupui Nagas.

" VI. Group of Tankhul Nagas (Northern Lahupa tribe). Both these plates are taken from photographs by Dr. Brown.

#### DISCUSSION.

Captain R. C. TEMPLE, with reference to the author's remarks on the cane bridges of the Nágas, pointed out the analogous rope bridges of Kashmír, called the *jhólá* and *cháká*. The *jhólá* bridge consists of a footway composed of a hawser of loosely woven ropes with another rope about three feet above it as a handrail. The *cháká* consists similarly of a hawser from which is swung a large wooden ring in which the passenger is seated, and which is hauled across the stream by a second rope. Captain Temple also pointed out that like the Nágas the inhabitants of Sikkim and Népál dwelt on hill tops and high plateaux, so as to be out of the way of malaria, while their cultivation was often carried on at much lower levels.

As regards the ground plan of a Nága house, broad in front and narrow at the back, it is curiously the very form that is so "unlucky" in the West of India that no native will live in one of such a shape. In the Punjab it is called *shérdahán*, and Captain Temple having about seven years ago to induce certain people to settle in a portion of a Punjabi town, found it impossible to do so as the shape of the required spot was *shérdahán* (lion-mouthed).

The Karens of Burma, who are related to the Angámi Nágas, north of Manipur, and to the allied tribes of Khyens and Kakhyens of Burma, have a system of external justice which would account for the perpetual blood feuds alluded to by Dr. Watt, the origin of which is unknown to the tribes themselves. A Karen may revenge a wrong done by an outsider on *any* member of his race or family—*e.g.*, an English planter had a dispute with some Karens of Henzadá about the price of some land, and then left Burma. Afterwards his son came to the spot from England to settle, having had no connection with the old dispute. He was murdered as being a member of the planter's family, according to the Karen notions of proper justice. Of course, such a notion would tend to perpetuate blood-feuds for ever. The Karens, too, like the Nágas, have a personal god, but not apparently an evil spirit. This god, however, having deserted them, is not worshipped; but the spirits inherent in every living thing, and indeed in all the more prominent inanimate things, who have power to harm men are worshipped, because they are active, and the god inactive. There is thus a very interesting practical pantheism within a mystical monotheism.

As regards cup marks, Captain Temple pointed out that both in India and in Scotland instances were on record of boys and fishermen (in the latter country) adding to the cup-marks on stones to the present day, and making fresh ones. This should make us cautious about accepting the theories as to the antiquity of some of these marks.

As to the use of the words *Khel* for clan and section of a village, and *dóstakhána* for the common hall or house of a village; these are words of Persian and Parthian origin from western India, used in the same senses. This was curious and worth investigation. Analogous words are  $K \dot{a} ji$  (= $Q \dot{a} z i$ ) and  $D \dot{i} w \dot{a} n$ , used all over the Himalayas as titles for the ordinary officials of the native states : though the Muhammadans were never in Népál, Sikkim, or Bhútán, they are directly borrowed from them.

Dr. Watt had remarked that the Nágas will eat any living thing, so will the Karens, excepting, however, the monkey. It would, therefore, be very interesting to know if the Nágas excepted any one animal from their category of food producers. (Dr. Watt here remarked that they excepted the horse.) Captain Temple thereon said that this information was important as it pointed to a possible totemism now or in days gone by.

Lastly, as to *polo*—a game which had been mentioned by Dr. Watt. This was a game equally well known to the Baltis and Ladákhis of the north-west Himalaya, and was, Captain Temple understood, very like the form adopted by the Manipuris.

Lieut.-Col. H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN said that it had been a great pleasure to him to be present to hear Dr. Watt give an account of the hill tribes around Manipur. It is a pleasure seldom accorded in this country to meet those who are familiar with a distant country which one knows well; and having been employed for a long period in those hills the speaker could testify to the accuracy of what Dr. Watt had told them that evening. He regretted that the map by which the paper, when read, was illustrated, was on too small a scale to convey an accurate idea of the very extraordinary parallelism of the mountain ridges between Cachar and Manipur, and the manner in which the rivers break through it, and show the plain portion of that country. Dr. Watt had, the speaker thought, put the elevation of the main range too high at 13,000 feet. Its mean height is said to be 6-7,000, for only a few points reach a higher altitude.

Colonel Godwin-Austen took the opportunity now that they were discussing the tribes of the Manipur Hills, to allude to an officer who knew more of them and their language colloquially than any man now living—viz., the late Colonel McCulloch, who was resident at Manipur for over twenty years. To him the Kuki tribes now living on the south of the valley and all around owe their very existence; but for him they would have all passed into slavery. When these tribes were driven north by the Lushais, Colonel McCulloch found them lands in the hills around Manipur. Colonel Godwin-Austen said that on their becoming aware that he was an intimate friend of Colonel McCulloch, they gave him every assistance that lay in their power. The old men asked after him, and they called him still their father: it was one of those many examples which show how some English officers make themselves beloved by the natives of the country.

Sir JOSEPH FAYRER also made some remarks, and the Author briefly replied, correcting the mistake as to the altitude of the mountains.

The Egyptian Classification of the Races of Man.

#### By REGINALD STUART POOLE, Esq., LL.D.

#### [WITH PLATES VII AND VIII.]

[An address given before the Anthropological Institute on May 25, 1886.]

I SHALL attempt to state in a short space as much as may be considered certain as to the Egyptian classification of the races of man.

The Egyptian information on this subject is extremely valuable as it takes one back at least three thousand years, while the evidence of other nations is very slight. In the Roman evidence, the latest, there is very little of value, if we except such subjects as the reliefs of Trajan's column, and these, from the inferiority of their art, lack due weight. The Greeks present many precious memorials of the races with whom they came in contact, in the portraits of the kings or leading men, but we must remember that the type of the mass of a people can hardly be represented by these personages, whose type must have been raised by their intermarriages with the most beautiful women of their time, not necessarily of their own race; and we have also to take into consideration the sense of beauty which pervaded all the Greeks did, and their leaning towards elimination, the necessary corollary