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INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

Ethnographical Gallery

GUIDE BOOK No. 2

The Andamanese, Nicobarese and
Hill Tribes of Assam.

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(2/b) V(a).C83

CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1919



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PREFATORY NOTE.

The present guide-book, though we hope that it will awaken popular interest in the subject, is not intended to be a complete compendium of, or even in a strict sense an introduction to, the study of Ethnography. It is a guide to a particular collection, not to the subject as a whole. As Dr. Meerwarth has pointed out, the different tribes with which he deals are represented very unequally in the Ethnographical collections now entrusted to the care of the Director of the Zoological Survey of India. We have, therefore, taken the opportunity to state in this pamphlet what are the chief desiderata from each tribe so far as the Indian Museum is concerned.

A very large proportion of the specimens to be noticed here were collected under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal before the year 1875. The most important additions are comprised in the collection made in 1911-12 by Messrs. S. W. Kemp and J. Coggin Brown in the Abor country to the north east of Assam.

N. ANNANDALE,

Director, Zoological Survey of India.

CALCUTTA,

The 29th April 1919.



INTRODUCTION.

Man is the only tool-making, tool-using and especially tool-improving animal. It is, therefore, the task of a properly arranged ethnographic collection to show, by the use of which tools—in the widest sense of the term—man protects himself against the surrounding forces of nature, makes himself their master and uses them to his advantage. This struggle with nature, which has been going on since the dawn of human life, and will probably only end with the last human being, forms the basis of what is generally called material civilisation. Besides and in consequence of his relations with the forces around him, man has always been at pains to get into connection with a world which is perhaps the creation of his own mind, the spiritual world. Here are the roots of religion and mythology, the beginning of mental civilisation. Often religious imagination expresses itself in idols, symbols and other concrete objects, thus providing the student with very valuable and durable material. Ethnographic collections are, therefore, roughly speaking, made up of implements (including clothing and housing as well as tools and weapons) and of concrete expressions of mental civilisation.

It is mainly the lower stages of civilisation that attract the ethnologist. Here he can watch the gradual awakening of the human intellect; here he is present at the birth and development of all those things without which life would be unthinkable to us; here he can observe the great principles of human civilisation working themselves out on simple and direct lines.

The political organisation common to men of low civilisation is the tribe. This term may be defined as meaning a number of families bound together by the ties of race, language and custom and by the idea of a common ancestor. It is, therefore, natural to arrange the objects exhibited in the big central show-case of the gallery and forming the subject of this guide-book, according to tribes. On the other hand Calcutta seems to be the obvious scientific centre round which these tribes group themselves geographically. To the South, in the Bay of Bengal, are the two island-groups, the Andamans and Nicobars. To the East are the hills of Assam, full of ethnological interest and hardly touched by the levelling



civilisation of the plains. The Munda and Dravidian tribes to the West and South-West of Calcutta must for the present be omitted from consideration.

The collection in the ethnological gallery of the Indian Museum and the corresponding chapter in this guide-book, representing each tribe, is arranged on the following plan. After a short note on the geographical position, number and divisions of the tribe, its place amongst the great races of mankind is defined and the physical appearance of its members described. Where possible life-size models have been exhibited for illustration. It must, however, be borne in mind that these models give only an approximate idea of the anthropological features of the persons they are meant to represent, being the work of ordinary craftsmen and not of scientifically trained artists. The next item may be conveniently called "wearing apparel." It comprises both clothing and ornaments. Three main factors domineer the clothing of primitive men: climate, the ideas of decency (which are by no means the same everywhere) and the desire to attract. Thus, this exhibition shows a wide range of possibilities, from the practically nude in the Andamanese to the Angami Naga with his four to five heavy blankets in which he wraps himself during the cold weather. Houses and huts are shown in models where such are available; otherwise photographs must fill the gap. In studying the next set of exhibits—the utensils of daily use—attention should be paid to the great part which natural objects play in the household of primitive man. Shells, gourds, bamboo joints, empty cocoanuts, to name a few examples, are an inexhaustible source for vessels, spoons, knives, etc. It is also interesting to observe how clearly artificial implements show that they are the children of nature's products. Comparing a bottle and a gourd one can not overlook the striking family-likeness. These collections tell us also that the crafts, which form now the common property of nearly all mankind, have come to man not at once but gradually, one evolving out of the other. The oldest craft seems to be basket-making. Akin to it is mat-weaving, which by degrees leads to the great art of weaving. The principle remains the same from the simplest mat to the finest texture, only the methods are more perfected. The cover of clay occasionally put on a basket to make it fire-proof led man to the invention of the cooking-pot. The potter's wheel is a late improvement and unknown to the primitive tribes under discussion. Hollowing out trees or sections of them for boats and vessels was first done by fire and has always been a fatiguing process without metal imple-



ments. With the production and use of metal tools and arms man made a gigantic step forward. He ceased to be a mere savage and attained the stage which we call semi-civilised or barbaric. Civilisation in the full extent of the term sets in with the art of writing. Therefore the Manipuris, who for three centuries have been under the influence of Hindu civilisation and have developed a written literature of their own, have to be considered a civilised nation. The same is true of that part of the Khasis in Assam who have adopted European civilisation together with Christianity.

A point of particular interest is the part which ornamentation plays in the objects of daily use. Here it seems that the psychology of the different tribes goes various ways. The Andamanese tries to cover his poor chattels as much as possible with rude but not inartistic ornaments, whereas the Nicobarese pays little attention to the decorative side of his implements. Again the Abor is singularly devoid of artistic feeling, whereas the Naga tribes simply revel in colour. Here an interesting problem awaits the student of primitive psychology.

From the domestic crafts, which are chiefly the domain of woman, we proceed to the chief occupations of primitive man, hunting, fishing and warfare. Agriculture is generally practiced by both sexes, but its origin has to be looked for in the search for edible plants and roots carried out by women. This can be observed among savage hunter-tribes to this day. Man has always been striving to invent tools and weapons with which to make the pursuit of these occupations easier and more effective. In most cases the same bow and spear which is used for hunting wild animals serves also the purpose of killing human enemies, and the bill-hook or chopper changes at a moment's notice its peaceful business of preparing the soil for cultivation or felling trees for the bloody work of felling the invading neighbour.

Games form an important item in the life programme of primitive man. They are either the direct development of the amusements, man's relatives of the animal kingdom indulge in, such as wrestling, leap-frog, chasing each other, etc., or they are playful imitations of life's serious business, such as shooting at a mark or fencing. It is not often that men in a low stage of civilisation have toys; one or two may be found among these exhibits. Pastimes that one can find all over the world are music and dancing. The question of the development of musical instruments has been dealt with in another publica-



tion relating to this gallery,¹ in which the close relation between the implements of daily life and the musical devices is shown. Music and dancing are often one of the expressions of man's religious feelings and can only be understood if we know something of his religious ideas.

The religion of the tribes described here—with the exception of the Manipuris and a considerable part of the Khasis—has been conveniently styled “animism.” The animist ascribes a soul or a soul-stuff to every living being—man, animal, plant—as well as to lifeless things—stones, mountains, houses and implements of his own fashioning. His aim is to make these souls useful for himself or at any rate to prevent them from doing him harm. Hence his worship of trees, rocks, mountains, and other prominent features of nature that form his surroundings. Hence his worship of the spirits of the dead which, in the form of ancestor-worship, has been one of the main sources of highly developed religious systems, such as Hinduism, the polytheism of the ancient Greeks and the cult of the Chinese. The spirits of the dead, especially of those who had been cruel and vicious during life, are very soon feared as harmful demons. Hence the animist's numerous precautions and rituals to propitiate or keep away the forces of disaster that lurk in the forest or hover over waste fields, always lying in wait for the living to affect them with disease and madness or to drag them away to an evil death. Thus animism, practically speaking, is an attempt to overcome the harmful spirits in nature. It is true that there is an idea that good and helpful spirits exist besides the evil ones, but they have little power and do not care to restrain the mischief of the evil ones, and thus they receive very little attention. Sometimes vague notions from other religions enter into this system, either owing to contact with neighbours professing a different religion, or as reminiscences of missionary effort. Thus most Assam Hill tribes have adopted the Hindu conception of Yama, the King of the Dead, and worship him as Jomraj. Reminiscences of missionary activity we shall discuss later on in the chapter on the Nicobarese.

Something must be said about the material at the disposal of the museum. It will not escape the visitor that it varies considerably in completeness, and is, therefore, not equally representative in all cases. Sometimes it has been possible to give a fairly full and instructive illustration of the civilisa-

¹ A Guide to the collection of Musical Instruments.



tion of a tribe, as in the case of the Andamanese and the Nagas, but more often important objects are wanting. Thus the collections of the Mishmis, Manipuris and Kukis show sad gaps, and the Nicobarese, Abor, Mikir, Khasi and Garo are far from complete. The reason for this is that the gallery has not grown systematically—hardly any museum does—but consists of a multitude of small, accidental collections. Therefore a list of objects the acquisition of which is necessary is given at the end of each chapter. It is to be hoped that such visitors whom work or pleasure may bring into touch with any of the tribes described in this guide-book will avail themselves of their opportunities in the interest of the science, of which this museum is a natural centre. The meanest object has often the greatest ethnological importance and ethnographical objects as a rule cost very little on the spot. Therefore, any offer, be it in the form of a donation or for sale—preferably of course the former—will be welcomed.

The object of this guide-book is not only to be the visitor's companion while he wanders through the Ethnological Gallery ; we hope at the same time to awaken the interest in the fascinating study of man and his history, especially of those representatives of primitive humanity that are in close proximity to Calcutta. A short list of interesting and trustworthy works on each tribe is given at the end of each chapter. The best and most attractive general introduction to the subjects comprised under the name of Anthropology or Ethnography is still Edward B. Tylor's beautiful little book : " Anthropology, an Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation " (London, Macmillan & Co.).



The Andamanese, Nicobarese and Hill Tribes of Assam.

1. The Andamanese.

The first group represents one of the most primitive tribes on earth, the aborigines of the Andaman Islands. In the

Geographical position. south-east corner of the Bay of Bengal these islands stretch themselves in a chain from north to south along the 93rd degree between 10° and 14° Northern Lat. The best known part of these islands is the Great Andaman, which itself is divided into three islands separated from each other by narrow channels and called North, Middle and South Andaman. On South Andaman is the great penal settlement of India, Port Blair, which is at the same time the administrative headquarters of the Andamans and Nicobars. Little Andaman, which lies south of Great Andaman, is very little known and its inhabitants are frankly hostile to all foreigners. Besides these, there are a number of smaller islands.

The Andamanese are not numerous and are unfortunately fast succumbing to the fatal influence of a higher civilisation. From about 8,000 in 1858, when the settlement at Port Blair was founded, they have now come down to not more than 3,000; and the time is not far off when they will share the fate of the Tasmanians and become extinct. Despite their small number they are split into many little clans, who very often do not understand each other's language.

Racial affinities. They are members of an ancient race that in a remote part covered a vast area and spread from the Pacific islands over South-East Asia right into the heart of Africa. This race is called the Negritoës. They are black like the Negroes but differ from them in many respects. The nearest existing relatives of the Andamanese are the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, the Aetas of the Philippines and the dwarf races of Central Africa. Kitchen-middens found all over the islands prove that the Andamanese have lived there in the same stage of civilisation from time immemorial and represent one of the few examples of an absolutely pure race.

The first thing that strikes one is their almost dwarfish stature and the blackness of their skin. Their average height is four feet and eleven inches for men and three and a half inches less for women.

Physical features.

They are extremely dark, even more so than the African Negro, and some have a distinctly leaden hue. Their soles, palms and nails, however, show a pinkish brown. Their outward appearance is not at all unpleasing and has nothing of the monkey, despite the great antiquity and primitiveness of the race. They are well built and their bodies regularly proportioned. A peculiarity of their figure is a pronounced curve in the small of the back. Their skull takes the middle place between longheadedness and shortheadedness and shows a good sized, round and prominent forehead, with square faces; the nose is broad and generally straight. Their eyes are horizontal, large and of a dark brown colour. In marked contrast to the thick-lipped Negro type with protruding jaws are the straight jaws and comparatively thin lips of the Andamanese. Their hair is of the wooly kind and grows in spiral tufts. The men generally keep it short and shave their head so as to leave a round patch in the middle like a skull-cap. The women shave their heads every week or ten days leaving two narrow parallel lines of hair from the crown of the head to the nape of the neck. Both sexes have a very scanty growth of hair on the other parts of the body. All these physical peculiarities are well shown by the two life size models.

As the temperature, even on the highest points of the islands, never goes below 69°, no need is felt to protect the body against cold. Their clothing is therefore reduced to a minimum. It is mainly

Wearing apparel.

decorative. Great use is made of all sorts of clay to smear the body. They mix a common whitish clay with water and whitewash their body as a protection from oppressive heat. Another kind of white clay (*talaog*) is used for ornamental purposes. The women paint the men and themselves with it and execute neat designs on the white surface with their nails. This clay is also smeared by widows over their head, forehead and temples as a sign of mourning, a custom very similar to that of the Australian aborigines. By mixing the red oxide deposit of some springs (*upla*, Nos. 22, 23) with the fat of pigs, turtles, etc., they obtain an unguent called *koiob*, which plays a prominent part in the decoration of their body as well as of their implements. It is also credited with considerable hygienic qualities (No. 21). The material

of their ornaments is very simple. They wear waist belts with aprons from the leaves of the young screw pine called *rogun* (No. An 20) or a more ornamental belt made of shells (*Dentalium octogonum*, No. An 2). This is often painted red with oxide (Nos. An 1, 3). These shells are also employed for the manufacture of necklaces (No. An 13), chaplets, garters (No. An 16) and for ornamental purposes generally. They are also very skilful in the use of a number of other materials for their ornaments. The fibre of *Anadendrum paniculatum* yields a fine netting called *rab*, which plain (An 14) or ornamented (An 4, An 10) is used for waist belts, necklets, etc., and also serves to tie together pieces of wood (An 9) or turtle bones (An 8). Other varieties of shells employed for this purpose are *Neritina variegata* (necklace No. An 6, An 12)¹ and *Hemicardium unedo* (An 7, An 10, An 11). It is very common to make necklaces or other ornaments of human bones and many people, men as well as women, can be seen carrying a human skull on their backs. The explanation for this rather gruesome custom lies in their burial rites. When the body of a relative has been in his grave three months, they exhume it, clean it carefully, break up the skeleton and send the bones round to relations and friends. The skull is kept and carried in turn by the next of kin, the widow, brother, etc. The bones are rather neatly worked into necklaces, chaplets and other ornaments worn in memoriam and as charms in illness (see necklet and skull (An 5) on female figure).

The Andamanese are nomadic in their habits, and permanent settlements are unknown. Their houses are therefore very primitive. The most durable of their huts consists of four wooden posts, two in front and two in rear, the former 6—9 feet high, the latter 2—3 feet. Upon these slender rafters are secured two transverse poles. On this frame they fasten palm leaves, neatly plaited together and placed in rows. When complete this roof is impervious to the heaviest rain. Besides a kind of hut of similar description, only smaller and less neatly thatched, as they are meant only for a very short stay, they make a shelter in the following way: Two slender posts about 5 feet long are driven into the ground about 6 feet apart and connected by means of a light stick. The roof is then formed by placing stem downwards

¹ It is of interest to remark how the maker of this necklace has with great artistic taste chosen shells of equal colouring and only specimens with a white ring produced by the rubbing of the water.

and firmly fixed in the ground large palm leaves which are made to overlap and provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons. The first two types are always made by men whereas the third, comparatively easy work, devolves on the women.

Their implements are few and primitive. It has to be kept in mind that until their acquaintance with the British they lived in the stone age and the use of metal was quite unknown to them. Their kitchen-middens show that their remote ancestors made the same implements as the present generation and possessed in some respects even a superior skill. On the other hand it is remarkable that they are very keen on giving their implements a pleasing appearance. There are few things of daily use that do not *show* ornamentation. The ornamental motives are few and rude, but they show the dim longing for beauty in the soul of primitive man. The motives occurring more frequently are:—

1. Chevrons.
2. Cross lines.
3. Parallel lines.
4. Parallel lines and zigzags.
5. Lozenge pattern.
6. Plait pattern.
7. Fish-bone pattern.

For their implements they use first of all the ready gifts of nature, chiefly shells. So the *Nautilus* shell supplies them with a handsome drinking cup (No. An 50). The *Pinna* shell is their plate and also a receptacle for clay (No. An 45). Great use is made of the *Cyrena* shell (No. An 46, 48). It serves as a knife for cutting thatching leaves, for making ornamental incisions in bows, paddles, for planing, etc. It is also a handy spoon for eating the gravy of pork and turtle, their chief delicacies. It is constantly in demand and a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use. *Arca* shells (No. An 47) are employed in their manufacture of pots to remove the stones from the outer surface and to give the finished article a more polished appearance.

In former times fish-bones were largely used for arrows, and boars tusks as a sort of chisel. But since they can obtain iron these implements are becoming obsolete (see No. An 66).

A rich sort of implement is the bamboo, though it is not employed in such a variety of ways as it is by other savages,

e.g., the Assamese hill tribes. They use it for buckets (No. 51a), spear handles (An 55), knives for cutting food (An 33), netting needles (An 37), tongs, which is simply a strip of bamboo bent double with pointed ends and serve to take hot pots from the fire. One variety, the *Bambusa nana*, provides them with the shafts for their arrows.

By merely breaking a branch off a mangrove tree (*Rizophora conjugata*) they get a very neat hook with the help of which they pick up live crabs between rocks (An 39).

Very rude stone implements are represented by No. 51, a stone hammer, which is chiefly used now in beating out iron for arrow heads, and by women when making bone necklaces, and No. 44, an adze. These implements remind one of the things found in the dolmens of the stone age.

All this does not mean, however, that they are absolutely dependent on natural forms for their implements. They have mastered several crafts, such as mat-plaiting, working in wood, basket-making and pottery. The mastery of the last named craft makes them superior to the Australians, Tasmanians and several other savage tribes. Since they have come in touch with the British some of them have even learned to work iron and use iron adzes (No. 49). Nos. 71, 71a show their sleeping-mat. It is prettily plaited, always by women. The strips cut from the stems of a species of *Calamus* are fastened with string. The mats are 15—20 feet long and the rolled up portion serves as pillow. Baskets are used by them for all sorts of purposes. They are rather loosely made and not waterproof. Their form is generally conical and they have sometimes a "kinck" in the bottom like a bottle to make them stand. A handle is formed out of strips of the bark of *Melochia velutina* (Nos. An 24, An 25, An 26).

Several kinds of strings are produced from the bark of trees, never from animal substances. The stoutest lines are manufactured from the alaba tree (*Melochia velutina*) and used for harpoon lines, and turtle nets (An 41). This kind of rope is always made by men. Women alone produce the string used for fishing nets (No. An 36, 37) out of the fibre of *Gnetum edule*. The yolba fibre (*Anadendrum paniculatum*) is made by men and women and is used for bow-strings, reticules (An 40) in which the women store odds and ends, necklaces (An 10, 14) and waist-belts (An 4). In cleaning the fibre the *Cyrena* shell plays an important part.

Comparatively high is their skill in hollowing out wood. Of the wood of *Sterculia villosa*, which they also use for their

canoes, they scoop out quite handsome buckets (Nos. 27, 29) with a loop of cane to form the handle. No. 30 is a similar bucket from the Little Andaman ; it is kept in a kind of wicker frame to carry it about. No. 28 is an eating tray which serves in a similar way as the *Pinna* shell (see above).

The kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese possessed the potter's craft. They are, however, not familiar with the potter's wheel and shape their simple cooking-pots (No. 43) with the hand and eye only. The pots are dried in the sun and sometimes fitted with a light wicker frame for travelling and to prevent them from breaking (42).

According to their occupations the Andamanese may be divided into fishers and hunters. Agriculture, even in its rudest form, is totally unknown to them. The fishers as well as the hunters use the bow to kill their prey and their skill as archers is considerable. There are, roughly speaking, three types of bows : Nos. 58, 59—the latter is a child's bow—are used on the South and Little Andaman and have a peculiar form like a flattened S. No. 57 is a variety used on the North Andaman. It has very pointed ends. The bow of the Little Andaman has nothing in common with the other two kinds and resembles the ordinary form. The arrows had until recently heads made either of wood or fish-bone, generally the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the Sting-ray. Arrows of this type are still in use especially in the remoter parts. Wooden arrows with a blunt point (No. 69) are employed for practice and with a sharpened point for shooting fish (No. 68). The point is hardened over a fire and *stretched* with the teeth. No. 67 is a purely ornamental arrow, not in use now ; it is merely made to show the skill of the maker. The fish-bone pig-arrow with barbs is represented by No. 66. The iron pointed arrows are of two kinds, with fixed points and with detachable point. No. 65 is based on the old wooden form, whereas Nos. 61—64 are quite a new and peculiar development. The foreshaft—a small stick, about 4 inches long, to which a triangular flattened piece of iron is fastened with wax—is inserted into a socket in the shaft and connected with it by means of a thong made of the yolba fibre. This thong is always wound round the wooden portion of the foreshaft, before the arrow is sent off. When the animal is struck the head is kept in the flesh by the barbs ; the struggles of the animal make the foreshaft slip out of the socket, the trailing shaft quickly becomes entangled in the undergrowth of the jungle and the victim can easily be

captured. The chief game is the wild pig, a small species of the genus *Sus* (No. 73 is a painted skull kept as a trophy). Sometimes they attack it with a spear (No. 55), but they prefer to shoot it.

Fish they also shoot with arrows or spear with a contrivance peculiar to the Andamans and in this form not to be found anywhere else (No. 70). It consists of eight wooden spikes, which are tied together in a row and are held in that position by means of two short pieces of wood lashed to them at right angles. It is held at the pointed end and used without a shaft. Women use a small hand-net to catch smaller fry (No. 36).

The fishing is generally done from the particularly large prow of their boats. The two boats suspended above the show-case are of the outrigger type and rather primitive. The Andamanese were never great sailors and do not venture far from the shore. Since the introduction of iron tools the tribes near the penal settlement are able to make big, broad dugouts without outriggers (see model No. 53 and the two boats above the case). Their paddles are short and of different shapes and nearly always ornamented (Nos. 59, 60).

Their chief diversion consists of festive gatherings, when dancing and singing are kept up often for many hours at a stretch. But strange to say, despite this love for music, they possess very few and rather monotonous melodies and only one musical instrument, the pukuta yemnga or sound board. It is used in the following manner: The conductor of the song stands with one foot on the pointed end of the board and supporting himself on a spear, bow or pole kicks the board with the sole or heel of the other foot to give the time to the singers and dancers (No. 72. See also section "Musical Instruments"). The life-size male figure shows the characteristic attitude of a dancer.

Their religious ideas—they believe in a supreme being and the existence of powers of Evil and have legends about creation, the Fall and the Flood—do not express themselves in any outward form as idols, etc. They have no devil expelling devices, like the Nicobarese. They believe that the spirit of the departed haunts the place where he has died as long as the corpse is not buried, and so to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place where the death has occurred or where the body lies, they suspend brushes or wreaths of cane leaf from trees (No. 74).

Literature.

(1) Edward Horace Man, On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. London (Turner & Co.), 1883. xxviii and 224 pp.

(2) M. V. Portman, History of our Relations with the Andamanese. Calcutta, 1899. 2 vols, 512 and 363 pp.

(3) C. Boden Kloss, In the Andamans and Nicobars. London (John Murray), 1903. xvi and 373 pp.

Desiderata.

(1) Model of Andamanese hut.

(2) Harpoon for spearing turtle.

(3) Turtle net.

(4) Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, etc.

(5) "Chip" sling for carrying babies.

(6) "Aogngatanga," pole with bamboo hook, to gather fruit.

(7) Anything from the Little Andaman (*jarama* tribe).

2. The Nicobarese.

South of the Andaman Islands stretching towards Sumatra lies a group of islands, the Nicobars. The group consists of 19 islands of which 12 are inhabited. The more important of them are: Kar Nicobar, Chaura, Teressa, Kamorta, Nankauri, Kachal, Little Nicobar, and Great Nicobar.

The Nicobarese number about 6,000 and there is no tribal division as on the Andamans. The inhabitants of the different islands intermarry freely and carry on trade with each other.

Only a stretch of water some eighty miles broad divides the Nicobars from the Andamans, and yet it would be difficult to find a more marked contrast than that which exists between these two neighbours. In one case the fisher and hunter, suspicious of every stranger, hostile to everybody outside his small tribe—on the other hand the semi-civilised trader—and till very recently pirate—accustomed for many centuries to constant intercourse with foreigners, always eager to exchange his

produce, chiefly cocoanuts, against the commodities of all countries, and even not averse to enter into marriage relations with the foreigner. Small wonder that this lack of exclusiveness has influenced not only the material civilisation but also the physical aspect of the Nicobarese.

If the Andamanese represent one of the few examples of a pure human race among the Nicobarese one may discover traces of probably not less than four great races : the Malay, Indo-Chinese, Indian and Dravidian families. The race which we have to accept as the basis of all these mixtures is probably represented in comparative purity by a small jungle tribe of Great Nicobar, the Shom Pen. Very little is known about these people as they are extremely shy and avoid intercourse with the coast Nicobarese as far as possible. They resemble closely some primitive jungle tribes of the Malay Peninsula such as the Jakun, of whom they may be an offshoot. Their number is now not more than 400 and their civilisation is very low. They are the remnant of a population which once occupied a much greater area, but, living on the coast, has absorbed so much foreign blood that it gives one the impression of being a different race.

In view of this racial complexity it is naturally not easy to give a description of the physical features of the Nicobarese which would be borne out by every individual of the tribe as is the case among the Andamanese. One can find among them distinctly Mongolian types and on the other hand individuals have been observed with a perfect Caucasian cast of features. But the average Nicobarese will more or less answer the following description : The height is 5 feet 4 inches for men and 5 feet for women. Their figure is not graceful, the waist being square and the back bending too sharply. They have extraordinarily well-developed legs. Their complexion is a yellowish or reddish-brown. On the whole they are a short-headed race and in natives of the central and southern group the back of the head is noticeably flat, as the mothers have the custom of flattening the occiput and forehead of the infants with a small pillow and the palms of the hands. The eyes are as a rule obliquely set, the nose is wide and rather flat, the cheekbones are prominent. Their hair is straight and tough, grows to about 20 inches in length and is dark rusty brown in colour. The lower part of the face seems to protrude, but this is more due to their habit of chewing betel incessantly and sucking green cocoanuts than to any racial peculiarity.

As the climate of these islands is the same as that of the Andamans or even milder, the clothes of the people are reduced to a minimum. In places not touched by maritime traffic it consists generally of a

Wearing apparel.

skirt made of split cocoanut leaf arranged in the manner shown by No. 6,—a rain-coat not unlike that worn by the fishermen in Japan, by the natives of New Guinea and other parts of the world—and a narrow strip of bark cloth (No. 2). As a rule, however, the Nicobarese prefer a loincloth of calico, red for men and blue for women. On the head they wear hats made of Areca spathe like the Iluvars of Malabar (No. 1). Nos. 3 and 5, which look like the helmets of the crusaders, are donned for their favourite game of fighting-sticks, in order to protect the head. When they use the sticks in earnest—for a raid or to settle a quarrel—the hats are taken off. The curious hat No. 4, resembling a dilapidated top-hat, is put on the skull of a male relative, who is disinterred three months after his death for the final memorial feast. The crown is made of pandanus leaf and adorned with many-coloured cloth in folds.

In their dwellings they form a marked contrast to the Andamanese. First of all they have fixed dwelling-places

Dwellings.

and organised village communities, varying in size from two to fifty and even more houses. Most villages have a public square with a meeting house, a special house for women in child-birth, a mortuary and a burial ground. The dwelling house (see photograph) has usually the shape of a beehive and is raised on piles five to seven feet from the ground. The entrance is a trap-door reached by a ladder. The house consists of one room with a boarded floor and mat, or sometimes boarded walls. The roof is thatched with grass or palm-leaves. This style of building is eminently suited to the climate as it offers protection against the heat and the evaporations of the soil. Underneath there are sometimes square platforms where the inhabitants sit during the day and take their meals.

Another trait in which they differ from their neighbours, the Andamanese, is their cleanliness. There is a broom in

Furniture and industries.

each house (Ni 10) to sweep the floor and also a rake (Ni 11) to clear away the dirt around the dwelling-place.¹ Their household implements are

¹ Sometimes they have a large piece of sponge at the foot of the house-ladder to wipe their feet. For this piece of information we have to thank Mr. J. H. Tipper of the Geological Survey of India.



few and of a simple description. The cocoanut palm, which is the mainstay of their wealth and their chief stock in trade, is at the same time a generous source of implements. The empty shell of the nut makes a very neat water-pot. Two such shells are connected by a cane-plaited loop and sometimes twenty pairs of them are carried on a pole over the shoulder, ten in front and ten behind. In the hut they are suspended in pairs on a stick placed horizontally a few feet above the floor (Ni 12, 16). Often they are nicely polished with oil or pig's fat and blackened by means of smoke or soot (Ni 12). Drinking vessels are also made of cocoanut shells (Ni 14). The fibre of the nut is worked into neat brushes (Ni 15). Amongst other implements ready made by nature is Ni 9, the prickly stem-sheath of the long ground rattan. This is used by women to rasp the kernel of the cocoanut and padanus fruits. Shells are used for the same purposes as on the Andamans, though less generally, as iron implements are easily obtainable. The *Arca* shell (Ni 20) serves to scrape the kernel of the ripe cocoanut; with the *Cypraea carniola* (Ni 21) the potters smooth the surface of the newly made pot before baking it.

The Nicobarese have mastered the industries common to most primitive tribes. They make very strong and neat cane-baskets (Ni 7, 8, 8a)—the small specimens are used for carrying *pansupari*. Pottery is the monopoly of one island, Chowra, where the women produce very nicely finished cooking pots (Ni 18). As on the Andamans the use of the potter's wheel is unknown. The sole ornamentation on the pots are black horizontal and vertical stripes produced by applying the inner portion of a strip of unripe cocoanut-husk over the surface of the pot while it is still hot. It is interesting to remark that on the whole their articles of common use are quite devoid of any ornamentation and form in this respect a striking contrast to the Andamanese implements. The pots are used for boiling pork, pandanus, etc., and are bartered to the other islands in exchange for various commodities. Other vessels used in the household are scoops made of wood (Ni 23, 24). Baskets are made from the spathe of the Areca-palm (Ni 22, 25). A specimen of a leaf-mat is shown in Ni 26.

The principal occupations of the Nicobarese besides domestic industries are trade, hunting and fishing. Agriculture in the ordinary meaning of the word **Occupation.** is unknown on the islands, but the cultivation of the cocoanut and other fruit trees is highly developed.

Occupation.

Rice and other cereals are imported. The articles of trade besides this horticultural produce are bêche-de-mer, ambergris, and tortoise shell. As sailors they far surpass the Andamanese and are not afraid of venturing out to sea. Their boats are either broad dugouts or narrow outrigger-canoes. In shallow water they propel the boats with a long pole (see models Ni 34, 35). The anchor consists of a heavy stone and is let down with a line of cane (Ni 37). The paddles are of a peculiar shape and have long pointed blades; in the Central and Southern group the point widens out into a lozenge-shaped ornament (Ni 27). The wood used for these oars is that of *Garcinia speciosa*. Fishing is done either with spears or traps. Some of their fishing-spears are very peculiar as can be seen from the drawing. They consist of several barbed javelins fixed into a bamboo shaft. There are unfortunately no specimens in this collection. See figures in "Catalogue of Andamanese and Nicobarese collection" in the (Z. S. I. Library.)

The traps are made of cane like the baskets and are quite efficient contrivances. Stones are put inside to keep them under water (Ni 36, 38). The Nicobarese prefer to hunt their game—chiefly pigs, dugongs, turtles, sharks, and crocodiles—with the spear; bows and arrows are hardly used but in some parts a cross-bow may be found. Different varieties of their spears are shown in Ni 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

Their pastimes besides fencing with sticks of which mention has already been made are in the main endless feasts and ceremonies in connection with their peculiar form of religion. These shamanistic rites and the preparations for them occupy the greater part of their time and last often for days at a stretch.

The Nicobarese is a pure Animist. To him the whole world is full of spirits, good and evil, but mostly evil. Criminals and madmen he considers possessed by demons and formally puts them to death with great cruelty. The fear of harmful ghosts haunts him continually and is the guide to all his ceremonies, necessitating endless festivals and rites. Even continuous missionary effort has found it impossible to eradicate this fear, and none of the different Christian beliefs has made a convert. At the same time this struggle with the powers of Evil has created what we might consider a primitive art. Its productions are crude but on the other hand they show us with perfect clearness the close connection between religion

Games and pastimes.

Religion.

and art which we witness on a higher plane of civilisation, e.g., in India and Greece.

The idea underlying these carved and painted representations of men and animals is the following: When sickness or misfortune visits a man, it is a clear proof that he is the victim of an "iwi" or evil spirit. To find out this ghost and drive him away, a "menluana" or witch-doctor is called in. He comes with his face painted red and rubbed with oil, sings in a deep doleful voice and rushes about to catch the "iwi." Finally after a struggle he catches it, puts it into a boat and tows it far out to sea. Sometimes the spirit has gone to another coast-village or even to another island to plague someone else, then the spirit of the witch-doctor embarks on a ship (Ni 40, 41) and searches for it. To help the "menluana" in his search and struggle allies are called in: strong and swift birds like the sea-eagle (Ni 39, 50), birds of the night like the owl (Ni 43), or the harbinger of light, the cock (Ni 42). Snakes search for it and frighten it (Ni 44), fishes will find it in the sea and fight it there (Ni 45). Thus representations of these animals are made of wood and hung up in the hut. They are always kept there on the principle that prevention is better than cure. As it is impossible to have a "menluana" constantly on the premises, a life-size and life-like figure of a witch-doctor is carved and placed near the trap-door of the house in order to frighten the ghost away (Ni 46). These figures generally show a considerable skill and even racial features are recognisable, such as the hair, the slit eyes and the slightly protruding jaw. The face is painted red as the real "menluana's". Small human figures serving the same purpose are Ni 47, 48, 49. In many huts boards will be found with incised and painted drawings, representing anything from the Sun to a waterpot that will help to drive away the dreaded ghost. If sickness has been cured or misfortune overcome owing to the presence of such a board, the "hentakoi," as it is called, is considered a great medicine and nothing would induce its owner to part with it (Ni 51). The drawings are arranged in six rows and are surmounted by the Sun represented in the conventional form of an eight-spiked wheel. The central standing figure with the quaint dress in the first row from the top is probably a reminiscence of missionary teaching. It represents the Creator, called "Deuse" from the Latin "deus", and the name together with the idea has probably been given to the Nicobarese by the Portuguese missionaries in the 16th century. The other drawings in this row show: a knife, a "homyahla" (the

attribute of authority of a chief), a three-pronged fishing-spear, an oar, a pig-spear, two British soldiers' drinking rum—this picture is *de rigueur* on all medicine-boards; above the first soldier there is a pair of cocoanut water-vessels. The balls arranged in an arc are stars. The second row depicts a house and garden. It consists of a pandanus tree, a cocoanut-palm, a dwelling-hut and a cooking-hut with a Union Jack between them—rather a neat compliment to the power of the British Empire; then comes an areca palm and again a pandanus tree. The third row shows the domestic animals of the Nicobarese: cock, dog, two pigs, with a woman to look after them, a monkey and a hen. The fourth row is filled with a dancing scene, in which men and women take part. The fifth row contains three sailing ships, a Chinese junk, a Malay prow and a British brig. The lowest row depicts the fauna of river and sea; eel, hawk's bill turtle, lobster, shark, dugong, crocodile, sting-ray, another dugong and shark, eagle-ray and finally a creature of fancy, the merman. There is a certain amount of crude realism in these drawings and the attitude of the two red-jackets behind the rum-bottle is distinctly humorous.

Not content to call upon real beings for help in their struggle with the "iwi," the imagination of the Nicobarese creates fancy combinations like the merman (Ni 54) with the body of a dugong and a human head with a hawk's bill. The mermaid (Ni 53) with her immense mouth and her staring eyes is still more frightful, and one readily believes that no ghost will risk an encounter with the nightmare creature (Ni 55), in which man, boar, dog and crocodile combine to produce a really appalling effect.

Literature.

(1) Sir Richard Temple: The Nicobar Islands in Provincial Gazetteers, 1901.

(2) C. Boden Kloss, In the Andamans and Nicobars (quoted above).

Desiderata.

- (1) Women's skirts made of grass.
- (2) Necklaces made of coins.
- (3) Good model of Nicobarese hut and kitchen hut.
- (4) A set of household-utensils.
- (5) Fishing-spears; all varieties used.

The Assam Hill Tribes.

To the North-East of Calcutta, framing the great river Brahmaputra, lies a gigantic maze of mountains. The range of the Himalayas, which forms the border-wall of the Tibetan plateau, changes its eastward direction at the point where the Brahmaputra enters the plains of Assam, and bends sharply to the south and south-west, dividing itself into a number of ranges known as the Naga Hills, Lushai Hills, Arrakan Hills, etc. This mountain system with its peaks, steep inclines and deep valleys, through which swift streams carry their water to the Brahmaputra, Meghna and Irrawaddy, is the home of a bewildering array of primitive tribes, full of the highest interest for the ethnologist and linguist, a veritable museum. A good many of these Assam Hill tribes, especially those living under British rule, have been studied, and a considerable literature about them exists. Of particular value are the monographs issued by the Government of Assam. Being written by men who have devoted the best part of their lives to the country they describe, these books contain a vast amount of first hand knowledge besides summing up and correcting the information and theories of their predecessors. On the other hand we know very little about those frontier tribes the bulk of which live outside the confines of the Indian Empire, especially the Abor and Mishmi tribes. They are shy and extremely hostile to foreigners, and more than one officer or explorer has lost his life in a peaceful attempt to approach them.

The tribes are exhibited and described in the following geographical order :—

- (1) The tribes north of the Brahmaputra from the border of Bhutan to the extreme north-eastern frontier of India.
- (2) The Naga tribes inhabiting the mountain range which branches off to the south-west of the Brahmaputra.
- (3) The Kuki tribes living in the hills south-west of the Naga hills.
- (4) The Manipuris or Meitheis who live in the valley surrounded by the Naga and Kuki hills.
- (5) The Mikirs living in the hills named after them south of the Brahmaputra, mainly in the district of Nowgong.
- (6) The Khasis in the Khasi hills.
- (7) The Garos in the Garo hills.



The last leads us back to the plains of Eastern Bengal and form thus the natural conclusion of our imaginary journey.

3. The Abors and Mishmis.

Roughly speaking we may divide the inhabitants of the hills between Bhutan and the extreme north-eastern frontier of India into two groups—the Abor and Mishmi. Abor is a collective name and an Assamese word, meaning the independent or unfriendly tribes. The term comprises a number of tribes known to us as Akas, Daphlas, Hill Miris, Galong, Padam, etc. The dividing line between them and the Mishmis is the Dibong river, one of the tributaries of the Brahmaputra.

The different Abor tribes have a number of subdivisions, though the political unity is not the tribe but the village community. The Mishmi also contain several groups, of which the Chulicata or crop-haired are the most warlike and predatory.

The question as to the origin of these frontier tribes has not yet been settled. It seems, however, probable that the Abor are closely related to their northern neighbours the Tibetans, whereas the Mishmis have been connected with the so-called Tibeto-Burman race, which forms the oldest element of the population in the Chinese province of Yunnan.

At any rate, their features leave no doubt that they are of Mongolian origin. They have the typically Mongolian cheekbones, round faces and broad noses, though instances have been observed of oval faces and aquiline noses reminding us rather of "Semitic" types. Like all hill-people they are a sturdy race, capable of great exertion and their musculature is very well developed, especially the thighs and calves which are very strong. They are generally speaking a short race, but look rather imposing, especially in full war-dress. Their colour varies from olive to dark brown, and like all Mongoloid races are practically beardless. The models of a Daphla man and woman show these racial figures pretty accurately.

The dress of the Abor varies considerably and there are apparently no fixed rules for it. Men have been seen walking about in Nature's costume at a temperature which makes warm clothes quite agreeable to a European. Usually they wear a coarsely woven loin-cloth (Abor 11, 12, 13, 14, 16).

Another garment frequently met with is a coarsely woven sleeveless coat (Abor 10, 15). It is simply a length of cloth

doubled in the middle. The two sides are sewn together like a sack leaving a space to put the arms through. A slit is formed in the middle already in the weaving for the passage of the head. A similar coat also forms part of the Mishmi dress (Mishmi 13). In the wet season the Abors use a cane-plaited rain-cover the outer side of which is decorated with the black fibre of the great sago palm. A big pocket on the inner side (17) allows the rain-coat to be used as a water-proof haversack. A broad hat not unlike the rain-shield of the Khasis (Abor 2) completes the travelling dress in the rainy season. In the cold weather cotton blankets of the Turkish towel kind are wrapped round the body to keep it warm. The cloth is either home-made or comes into the country both from Tibet and the Assam plains. In the latter case the Miri act generally as middlemen between the Assam traders and the Abor. The Mishmi are themselves keen traders and exchange their produce for the fabrics of the valley. The most striking part of these hillmen's dress is the hat or helmet. It serves two purposes. It has to protect its wearer against rain as well as against the sword of his opponent. These hats are worn only by men, women always go bare-headed. In form they resemble a flat bowler hat. They are made of very closely plaited stout cane and are often strengthened by pieces of especially strong cane radiating from the apex (Abor 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, Daphla 11, Hill Miri 4). The Mishmi hats (Mishmi 7, 9, 12) are of a similar description. Among the Daphla and Hill Miri one sees, however, a different shape of hat reminding one of a jockey's cap (Daphla 5, Hill Miri 1, 3). They are not so strong as the other kind and obviously not meant for serious fighting. The helmets are either plain or decorated. The materials used for ornamentation are: The head of the hornbill (Abor 3, 8, Mishmi 7), or boar's tusks (Abor 3, 5, 6) or the hair and fur of animals (Abor 3, 5, 6, Daphla 11). The helmet (Hill Miri 4) is provided with a very interesting neck-protector made of pig's skin partly covered by the skin of a marten. Sometimes skins of animals are worked into a rude kind of fur caps, as seen in Abor 29 which is made of deer-skin and the two caps (Mishmi 10, 11) which are of pig-skin moulded into shape.

A quaint article of clothing is Abor 32, an apron made of fibre and deer-skin, which is worn behind. When going on a long journey or starting for a raid, the equipment of the hillman is increased by pouches or a haversack to carry food and necessary odds and ends. The pouches are made of the skin of animals (Abor 25 is of bear skin, 28 of cat skin, and 30 of

monkey skin), or of plaited bambōo (Abor 31). The haversacks are of plaited cane and very skilfully made to fit the back of the wearer (Daphla 1, 4, 9). The plaiting is so close as to make them practically waterproof. The outer side is often covered with the black fibre of the sago palm like the rain-coats. This cover is apparently meant to imitate bear skin. Among the Mishmi a yak's tail is sometimes added for further decoration (Mishmi 4).

The dress of the Abor women is very simple, and there is a difference between the dress of a girl before the birth of her first child and after this event. From the moment they can walk the girls wear a peculiar disc or two on a band of cane, screwpine or a strip of hide round the loins. This disc is called "beyop" (Abor 61, 67, 68, 69, 70; bands Abor 19—23a). It is made by the local blacksmith and cast in a wax-mould, the customer bringing with him the metal and often the wax. The common design on the "beyop" consists of a number of concentric circles with three diameters intersecting at an angle of 60°. It is possible that they are an imitation of the Wheel of Life, a symbol common among the Tibetan Buddhists. They vary much in size, the largest being about 3½ inches in diameter are worn in the centre of the girdle, the remainder diminishing in size towards the hips. After the birth of the first child the woman wears merely a tight skirt round the hips, which can also be seen on girls. The skirt is held in its place by cane rings. A very primitive skirt is Hill Miri 5; it is a grass apron tied round the loins. The breast is generally covered with a cloth wound tightly round the body. It is, however, taken off when the women are at work, and to leave the upper part of the body uncovered is not considered indecent by the hill-women. Married women often wear a waist-band studded with brass bosses (Abor 24).

As ornaments the Abor wear necklaces of blue or green porcelain beads imported from Tibet or strings of beads purchased from the Marwari dealers in the plains. In the specimens exhibited (Abor 92) teeth alternate with the beads. Brass armlets and bracelets made by local blacksmiths are generally worn. Some of the specimens exhibited are quite artistic in design and very neatly finished (see Abor 36). The bracelets (Abor 37—41) are worn by women, whereas the others are worn by men. Very common on these bracelets is the "tendrill" ornament (Abor 33—36, 42, 43, 45). Abor 44—51 are meant not only as ornaments but also as a weapon of defence not unlike the "knuckle-dusters" of the London

slums. The weapons which really form a part of a hill-man's out-door dress will be discussed under the heading "occupation."

The Abor live in villages the site of which is always carefully chosen on a mountain side or spur with a view to satisfy the demands of water-supply, healthiness and defence. Water is sometimes brought into the village by means of long bamboo pipes. There are always bamboo palisades guarding the approaches. These villages sometimes grow to 150 and more houses. The settlements of the Mishmi on the other hand consist only of a few houses, sometimes of only one. This is partly explained by the fact that the houses of the Mishmis are very long, sometimes up to 300 feet, and hold all the members of a family, including all the married sons and if possible grandsons, besides numerous retainers and slaves. There are often 100 and more men, women and children in one house. Among the Abors the houses are small and contain only the members of one family, the married sons building houses for themselves. The material of the houses and the mode of building is, however, very much the same with all the hill-tribes on the north-east frontier. Separate houses are built for bachelors and sometimes also for spinsters by the Abors. The bachelor's house contains trophies of the chase. They are raised off the ground on logs and are built of bamboo, the roof being generally thatched with cane-leaves or any material conveniently at hand. The whole structure is very flimsy. The interior of an Abor house is described as follows: ¹ "An open platform projects from the front veranda that leads into the house. There are two entrances, one at the front and one at the back, that are reached by the notched logs that do duty for ladders. The living room is generally about 30 feet by 24. In all hill houses trophies of the chase adorn the walls. The master of the house sleeps near the door and the remainder of the family on the further side of the fire-place. Such household-duties as cleaning grain are carried on near the back door. Shelves are hung from the roof to hold the family belongings. The room is exceedingly dark, and light can only enter through the low doorways. The flooring is of split bamboos; the fire-place is of earth and stones. Entering by the front door there is a long passage running down the right side of the house; this leads

¹ D. S. Dunbar, The Abor and Galongs; *Memoirs of the A. S. B.*, Vol. V, extra no., p. 34.

to the latrines, which are over the pigsties, and provides a peculiar but most effective form of sanitation."

The interior of a Mishmi house meant for several families is necessarily arranged on a different plan. Dalton in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* gives the following description.¹ "It is divided into twenty compartments. On the right hand side of the passage were ranged the skulls of the cattle the chief had killed, including "mithuns," deer and pigs. On the other side are the domestic utensils. It is considered shabby for a chief to retain in his show-room the skulls of animals killed by his predecessors. Each compartment contains a fireplace, over which hangs a tray for the meat that they wish to smoke. This one manor house is the headquarters of the settlement."

The household implements of the Abors are not very numerous and are like their clothing composed of local products or imported. Brass vessels are obtained from the plains, whereas all the other domestic industries have found a home in the hills. The craft that stands highest among them is basket-making of which their hats and haversacks are good examples. Other specimens of good cane basket-work are: Daphla 12, a quiver, 131 a carrying basket, Mishmi 1, 2. Besides the natural vessels found amongst all primitive tribes such as bamboo joints (Mishmi 5, Daphla 12) and gourds (Abor 84, 85), they make earthen cooking pots.² It is interesting to remark on the specimens exhibited (Abor 88, Daphla 17) ornamentation marks which clearly indicate how pottery originated from basket-making (see Introduction). Weaving, as we have already seen, is practiced by the women of the tribe, and Abor 89 is a rude machine for cleaning the cotton prior to spinning it.³

The hills abound in game and hunting is therefore the favourite occupation of the hillman. The quarry is either shot

¹ P. 15.

² In the manufacture of which the wheel is not used.

³ With the spinning bobbin (Abor 86). Fire is produced with flint steel and tinder obtained from the inside of dry bamboos (Abor 75, 76), and there is a pretty story current among the Subansiri Daphlas how fire came to dwell in the stone, so as to serve man: "Once upon a time fire fought water. And all things growing in the jungle, green things to whom water was life, helped water. So water rose steadily out of its bed in the valley below and followed fire up and up the mountain side. And fire fled up to the top of the mountain and flickered there, for he could go no further. And water rose and rose and covered all the low hills and filled all the valleys and at last was lapping the topmost peak on which fire had taken refuge. Then, just as water began to break over the very top of the mountain, fire darted as a last refuge into a stone and has remained there ever since to be the servant of man." (Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 65)

with bows and arrows or trapped as the tiger or snared as birds. The bow is the ordinary long-bow made of bamboo, the arrow usually a slip of bamboo (Daphla 6, Hill Miri 8, Mishmi 6). Birds are taken in a noose-bow trap, baited with berries or bunches of ripe corn. The Abor colonists in the plains and the Pasials at the gorge of the Dihang river use casting nets for fishing (Abor 55). More common, however, among the hill people is the following primitive method. A dam is built across the stream and conical baskets are fixed into the dam. The fishes are driven into these baskets by the force of the stream. Daphla 14 is a small conical fishing basket to catch small fry.

Agriculture is practised on the "jhum" principle by which land is prepared for cultivation by cutting down and burning the jungle, the main implement for felling the bamboo as well as scratching the soil before sowing the seed being the dao (Abor 58). This chopper is carried in a sheath of cane basket-work (Abor 58). Amongst the Mishmis cattle breeding is practised in preference to agriculture, and the flocks of mithan (*Bos frontalis*) are the chief source of wealth of the people. With them they buy their wives and slaves. There is a quaint kind of money current in many parts of Assam, namely, brass bowls, gongs and bells and other objects made of brass. The bowls current in the Abor country are called "dankis" and come from Tibet. This is clearly shown by the Buddhist symbols (wheel of life, white umbrella, fish, pot of treasure, lotus, conch shell, noose of love, flag of victory) with which these bowls are decorated. (Specimens are exhibited in the Archæological Gallery of the Museum.) The value of these "dankis" varies between 45 and 75 rupees and some specimens have been known to fetch as much as 120 rupees.

The tribes on the North-Eastern frontier are a warlike race and have given proofs of their fighting propensities much to the annoyance of their neighbours in the plains and the British Administration in charge of that part of the country. Their weapons, besides the bow already mentioned and arrows which are often poisoned with aconite (Abor 61 in a bamboo quiver, Daphla in a plaited case, Mishmi 3 in a bamboo quiver), are the spear and sword. The spears are however primarily used as alpenstocks in difficult country. The swords are made in three lengths, the longest being Tibetan swords. Those which are made by the local blacksmiths are made from iron rods obtained from Assam. They are of very inferior quality and it is not astonishing that their cane helmets can turn a sword-cut with perfect ease. The handle is made of wood and

is generally ornamented with cane work. The scabbards are either of split bamboo or of wood. Properly speaking one cannot call them scabbards, as they are simply a flat piece of wood cut to follow the shape of the sword with a few cane loops to keep the weapon in position (Abor 56, 57, 59). Daphla 8 is a Tibetan sword with a proper scabbard. Daggers like Daphla 21, 22, Hill Miri 7 or knives like Abor 86 are so much the constant companions of the hill-men that they can scarcely be styled weapons. The Abor knife has a peculiar shape, the blade forming an obtuse angle with the handle. A large shield made either of strips of stout cane (Abor 26) or the hide of an animal (Daphla 15) completes the fighting outfit of a hill-man. An ornament worn by the warriors is Abor 27. It is the upper jaw of some animal of the cat family; the palate is studded with white shells. This badge is slung over the shoulder so that the jaw rests on the chest.

The Abor as well as the Mishmi are inveterate smokers, and the habit is not restricted to the male sex alone. They are scarcely ever seen without their tobacco-pipe (Abor 71, 72, 73, Daphla 17, 18). The metal pipe is clearly made in the same way as "beyop" discs. Besides smoking they indulge also in chewing *pan supari* (a specimen of betel and chunam box is Abor 74). Only two musical instruments are made locally, the gourd-pipe and the Jew's harp. The former (Abor 93) consists of a gourd with a hollow stem. Several reeds are thrust into the bulb of the gourd. The hollow stem is used as mouth piece and the reeds as stops. It is a principle similar to the snake-charmer's pipe or the Scotch bag-pipe. (See also Guide to the collection of musical instruments, p. 13). The harp (Abor 78) has also been described in that guide, p. 15.

The religion of the Abor and Mishmi is animism (see introduction). All diseases are the work of bad demons, and precautions have to be taken to guard oneself against their machinations. Thus charms and amulets come into existence. The charm (Abor 82), consisting of a number of circles made of split bamboo, is fixed on the outside wall of the hut as a protection against sickness. Very interesting are the brass objects reminding one of a Roman mirror (Abor 65, 66). They are called "merang" and are used as charms. Their origin is unknown. Another charm is a disc with one or two cones projecting from it (Abor 62, 64). The point of the cone is frequently a cylinder, and though the specimens found among the Abors were empty, it is quite likely that it contained

once a prayer or spell. They are sometimes surmounted by a "beyop" disc, which probably signifies that the charm is worn by females.

Literature.

(1) Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," articles "Mishmi" and "Abor."

(2) George Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar: Abors and Galongs: Notes on certain hill tribes of the Indo-Tibetan Border. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Extra No., pp. 1—91.

An extremely well and attractively written monograph with a wealth of interesting and first hand information.

Desiderata.

Abor.—Female dress, especially skirts and breast-cloths. Ear-rings. Bamboo-vessels and other household implements. Blacksmith's air-pump made of bamboo. A bow for hunting and warfare. Charms, amulets and everything connected with religious cult.

Daphla.—Everything, especially dress, as the two figures exhibited are only covered and not properly dressed.

Mishmi.—Everything; the collection is extremely scanty.

4. The Nagas.

The things with which the Abor surrounds himself are practical, well made and efficient; they are not meant to be artistic. On the other hand a truly barbaric gorgeousness and wealth of colour is the first impression of the tribes with which we shall deal now.

The Nagas live in the hill-ranges to which they have given their name, the Naga Hills. The country consists of a series of mountain-chains varying in height from 1,500—6,000 feet with an occasional peak of greater height. Starting, roughly speaking, in the north-east corner of the Assam valley they continue in a south-easterly direction, bounded on the west by the plains and the North Cachar Hills, on the east by the Upper Chindwin Hills.

The term Naga, like the word Abor, is collective and of Assamese origin. It is the English corruption for "Noga," which has been derived by some authors on the subject from the word "noka"

Numbers and divisions.

or "nok" meaning people used by the Banpara Nagas and Ao Nagas. Politically these tribes may be divided into (1) Nagas under British rule, inhabiting the Naga Hills district of Assam; (2) the Naga tribes of the Native State of Manipur and (3) a number of tribes outside the pale of British influence. The number of people comprised under the term Naga is about 200,000. They are divided into a great number of tribes and differ much in their language. It is true, both by race and by language, they are of common origin and belong to the Tibéto-Burman subdivision of the great Mongoloid family but, as is often the case with hill-men, the isolation from each other which has its cause in topographical conditions has led to such differences in their dialects that they do not understand each other's speech. The greatest tribe in British territory are the Angami Nagas with Kohima as their centre.

This big village is also the administrative headquarters of the district. Other tribes in British territory are the Banpara, Ao, Lhota, Sema, Regma. In Manipur we find the Tangkul, Mao, Khoiras, Kabui, Koireng, Marring, etc.

The race is bronze-coloured, showing various shades of complexion. Their hair is coarse and black. They have

Racial features.

brown, sometimes black eyes, the slopes of which is not so marked as with other Mongoloid races. Their cheek bones are prominent, the noses rather flat, especially among the women; men have often quite straight noses. Their jaw is not heavy and the chin narrow but rather prominent. Beards are rare, and the little hair that grows on the cheeks or on the chin is carefully torn out in deference to the taste of their women-folk. Their physique varies much; this may be partly due to different conditions of life, men in large permanently settled villages with terraced cultivation being bigger and stronger than those in small villages, where the primitive jhuming gives only a scanty amount of food. The women are much shorter than the men and age very early.

There is a great variety in dress and ornaments which makes it quite easy to distinguish the different tribes. The

Wearing apparel.

amount of dress ranges from practical nudity among the north-eastern tribes to the very elaborate costume of an Angami. As already said the outstanding feature of their apparel is the great wealth of colour, especially among the males. The dress of an Angami Naga is a blue cotton kilt, about three feet long,

wound on from left to right so that the free end is at the right side (No. 33 on fig. 55, 58). Girls adopt this dress when they are about eight, boys when they are about fourteen; the former wear it plain though sometimes it has red borders, the latter wear a narrower kilt, about a foot deep, ornamented by three horizontal rows of cowries, except on the part in front which is overlapped. This plain underpart is pulled close to the right thigh by means of a string attached to the lower corner and fixed to the upper border behind. There is worn besides a white cloth of cotton or nettle-fibre (Naga 60) with a narrow red and blue border (Nos. 56, 64, 66, 68, 71, 72), or with black stripes (Naga 39, 54, 55). This is about six feet long and three feet wide. It is thrown loosely over the shoulder, or if the wearer is working it is bound firmly on. Above this is worn an upper cloth of the same size, but coloured. It is usually blue with parti-coloured borders, stripes and fringes. In the cold weather the Angami wears as many as four of these large shawls (Naga 1, 16, 36), which are of exceptional beauty. Many men wear leggings of finely plaited red and yellow cane (Naga 35, 116, 204), so padded with cotton as to make the shin bulge equally with the calf; these are never removed.

As an example of the costume worn by another tribe of the Nagas a description of the dress worn by the Tangkuls, the most numerous tribe in Manipur, may be given. It consists of a simple cloth worn round the waist and tied in a knot in front leaving the ends hanging down. These ends are fringed with straw pendants (Naga 49, 50). The waist-cloths are made of stout cotton woven in red and blue stripes two inches wide and horizontal. Over the body they wear in the cold weather a long cloth of red and blue stripes. Another pattern is white with terra-cotta stripes and a black and white checker pattern (Naga 47). They often dispense with this not very ample clothing and consider themselves properly dressed if they only have the ring on.

Besides these two tribes the different clans of these people show many varieties of dress which it would be too lengthy to describe here. Details may be found in the books quoted below. Among some eastern tribes a sleeveless coat may be found resembling the garment worn by the Khasi and Mikir (Naga 77). In the north-east corner of the hills the dress consists of a few strips of blackened cane or a broad strip of white bark bound tightly round the waist, a large tail of

bark being often left hanging down behind. Two striking specimens of Naga cloth are Nos. 44 and 46 showing rows of quaint figures vaguely resembling men. They are somewhat like the drawings one meets with in Central America. It is not known from what place they come and information about them would be welcomed.

The head dress too shows great variety. The usual shape of the Naga helmet is conical. It is plaited of cane which is often dyed red and yellow (Naga 17, 19, 23, 25, 27). Hair (Naga 24), often dyed red (Naga 17, 20, 23), fringes of red cotton wool (Naga 323) or boar's tusks (Naga 5) serve as decoration. Sometimes this cane helmet is covered with a tiger or leopard skin (Naga 8). On festive occasions the head dress is very elaborate. It is worn with brass discs placed in front and with thin crescents of buffalo horn tipped with red hair fastened behind the discs (Naga 2, 4, 6, 18). These two crescents are probably meant to imitate horns.

All Nagas are extremely fond of ornaments, the men being always more decorated than the women. It seems that the principle of Nature which makes the male animal more attractive and conspicuous than the female is still in full force among them. Some of their ornaments are at the same time marks of distinction and are given for bravery in battle. An ornament much coveted is an oblong piece of wood or frame of neatly plaited cane studded with rows of cowrie shells and the hair of victims killed in fight (Naga 32, 97, 98, 201, 207). It can only be worn by men who have slain many enemies; and the desire to gain them has led to much bloodshed, especially as the women treat undecorated suitors with scorn. Now the firm hand of the British Government is putting a stop to this habit and punishes head hunting as common murder. Thus the time is not far when this gruesome decoration will be a thing of the past. Instead of the skulls, which in former times formed a part of men's equipment, rude images are carved of wood and serve as decorations (Naga 104, 105, 317-321).

The ear ornaments usually worn are rings of brass (Naga 148, 149, 150), brass cylinders (Naga 151), cylinders of wood (Naga 152), feathers (Naga 154, 144, 145, 146), metallic or plaited funnels fringed with hair (127, 129, 130, 131, 138). Warriors often wear boars' tusks ornamented with red-dyed hair (132). Goat's horns plain or fringed with hair are also put into the lobe of the ear as decoration (Naga 133-136). Strings of beads or seeds serve as necklaces (Naga 156, 157,

in Nos. 228, 239, 230; Nos. 226 and 227 are pipes with an iron bowl. That the art of weaving is widely practised amongst them has been shown by the large collection of textiles described above.

Agriculture, which is the chief occupation of the Nagas, takes different forms according to the soil and the influence of a higher civilized station. The two forms

Occupations.

known amongst them may be called terrace-cultivation and "jhuming." The former is chiefly practised by the Angami Nagas and those tribes which live near the Manipur valley. For details of this process the reader may be referred to Hodson's book on the Naga tribe of Manipur. The plough, however, is unknown to them and could hardly be used in view of the stiffness of the country. The implements are hoes (Naga 247, 248, 254, 255) and the dao, the instrument which is the constant companion of the hill-men. These daos, of which a very rich collection has been exhibited, serve at the same time as swords (Naga 256—284). The chief weapon used for hunting as well for fighting, however, is the spear. The blade shows various shapes, beautifully illustrated by the collection on view. Naga 299 is chiefly used for war-dance festivals. The shaft is always decorated either with plaited straw (Naga 297) or with hair dyed red and black. In former times when the Nagas were very bad head hunters this hair used to be shorn off the head of a victim. Now it is usually goat's hair. The shield is nearly the height of a man and rather narrow. It consists of plaited bamboo covered with the hide of an animal, either a bear or a mithun. On festive occasions it is decorated with feathers or hair. Often round patches of cloth, representing human faces, are sewn on in front (Naga 260, 261, 288, 289, 326 and 304). Naga 300a is a war club. Besides spears and daos the equipment of a hunter or warrior consists also of bows and arrows. The bows made of bamboo and arrows which are sometimes poisoned are carried in a quiver consisting of a joint of bamboo (Naga 302, 303, 305, 307). In the wars with the British muzzle-loading guns have been used not without success (Naga 306).

Dances, specially war-dances and representations of the

Pastimes.

serious business of war, form a great part in the amusements of these tribes. Singing to music is also practised. The collection contains only one small fiddle which is played to accompany the songs (Naga 322).



The Nagas are animists like all their neighbours but it is outside the space of this guide-book to give details of their manifold beliefs. An explanation of the two figures 313 and 314, which are apparently connected with religious beliefs, is solicited.

Religion.

Literature.

A work embodying everything that is known about the Nagas in British territory is being published by the Assam Government. Meanwhile the article of Davis in the Assam Census Report of 1891 is the best account we have. About the Naga tribes of Manipur we have the fine monograph of Hodson published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. References have been made several times in these articles to this book.

5. The Kukis.

Under the term Kuki we comprise a great number of clans, which live in the hill-ranges south of the Naga hills.

Geographical position. Their neighbours to the north are the Nagas and Manipuris, to the east the tribes of the Upper Chindwin and the Chin hills, on the south those living on the hill tracts of Chittagong, while on the west they are bounded by the plains of Sylhet and the hills of North Cachar. The Kukis are very migratory, and their settlements can be found dispersed among other tribes, such as the Nagas, the Cacharis, etc.

Division. They are split up into a great number of tribes, the most important of which are those which inhabit the mountain ranges known as the Lushai hills. These tribes are also best represented in our collection.

Both by language and race they are closely connected with their eastern neighbours, the Chins, and form a part of the Tibeto-Burman family. There is no doubt also that the Manipuris, with whom the following chapter will deal, are closely related to them.

Affinities.

Racial features. In their outward appearance there is not much to distinguish them from their neighbours, the Nagas. The Mongoloid features are clearly pronounced, and the strenuous life in the mountain jungles has endowed them with a fine physique.

The dress of the Kuki man is extremely simple. It consists of a single cloth about seven feet in length and five in width (Nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 25). They put it

Wearing apparel.

on in the following manner : One corner is grasped in the left hand and the cloth is passed over the left shoulder behind the back, then under the right arm across the chest and the end thrown over the left shoulder. In the cold weather several such cloths are worn one over the other, and in addition a white coat (No. 3) reaching down to the thighs but only fastened at the throat. The dress of the women is a blue loin-cloth, worn like a petticoat and held up by a girdle of brass wire or string (Nos. 26, 27). This reaches down to the knees ; the upper portion of the body is covered by a short white jacket, not unlike the male coat, and a cloth which is worn in the same manner as the men.

The Kukis generally tie their hair into a knot, which they decorate with brass pins (Nos. 45-49), or combs of bamboo (No. 50). Other head ornaments are made of coloured porcupine quills (44) or wooden skewers fringed with dyed hair (Nos. 42, 43). Slices of horn may also be used in the same manner (No. 41). Necklaces are worn both by the men and women, and are sometimes of great value. Those exhibited are ordinary strings of brass and glass-beads (28-32, 38-40). Women wear big ivory or wooden discs with a hole in the centre (Nos. 33, 34). The lobe of the ear is gradually extended in the following manner : When quite a child the girl has her ears pierced, and small wooden plugs are inserted. These are replaced by larger ones of clay, the size of which is gradually increased, till the real ear-ring can be inserted. Widows remove the ear-ring, and slit the lobes of their ears when they abandon all thought of remarrying.

The collection shows some good models of Lushai Kuki houses (53, 74, 75). As can be seen at once, they differ radically from the dwellings of their neighbours, the Nagas. First of all they are

Dwellings.

invariably raised on poles. The walls are of plaited bamboo and the roof is thatched. The ordinary hut consists of three parts. First comes a front verandah approached by a rough platform on logs. Here the paddy is cleaned, the firewood is stacked and even the hens lay their eggs and sit on them here. Here also the hunting trophies are displayed. A small door leads to the main room which serves as kitchen and sleeping-room. In this room also the few necessary house-

hold implements are kept and the food is stored. From this main room a door leads to a small platform whence a notched log serves as a means of descending to the garden or the street. The houses are generally perched on the top of a ridge or spur, the chief reason for this being the wish to get a good defence position. The villages are usually large, 400 or 500 houses being quite common. Often they are beautifully laid out in regular streets, and have always a special house for the unmarried young men.

The Kukis make baskets of various patterns, each of them serving a different purpose. The wide-meshed one No. 54 is used to carry goods on long journeys ;

Furniture and Industries.

No. 55 serves a similar purpose as is shown by the band attached to it. Baskets are made by men. The women make pots, without the use of the wheel of course. Gourds are much in use for storing liquids, especially country spirit (No. 57). The work done by the local blacksmiths consists mainly in producing and repairing the primitive implements used for agriculture (Nos. 76, 77). Domestic utensils scooped out of wood are mortars for pounding paddy (No. 83) and various dishes and platters (Nos. 56, 58, 65, 71). The Kuki is seldom seen without his tobacco pipe, which is either made of wood (67) or metal. The juice of the tobacco is gathered in small gourds (No. 68) and is considered a stimulant. Bamboo-joints serve, as everywhere in the Assam hills, various purposes ; they are worked into tobacco or betel-boxes (No. 66) or used for carrying food and odds and ends when travelling (Nos. 69, 70). Quivers are also made of the same material (59, 63). Weaving is an industry much practised by the Kuki women ; No. 87 is an example of the primitive loom used by them, while No. 88 is the spinning wheel on which the cotton thread is spun.¹

The form of agriculture common among the Kukis is the "jhuming" already described. Hunting is very much practised mostly by means of traps and snares

Occupations.

(No. 86) ; but the Kukis are also quite good at shooting with their matchlock guns, which are also used in warfare. The common weapon is the bow made of bamboo (No. 64). To obstruct the path of the enemy they use small sharp spikes like the Nagas, which are carried in a plaited quiver (No. 61). A shield made of hide serves to protect them (No. 62).

¹ The cotton is cleaned with a ginning apparatus (No. 81). No. 80 is a brush used to smooth the cloth when it is being woven.

Singing and dancing and feats of strength are the amusements common among these people. Games and Pastimes. they have few. Among the musical instruments mention may be made of the Jew's harp mentioned above and the gourd flute, resembling the Assamese specimen. Gongs imported from Burma are also much in use.

Of their religion a very detailed account will be found in the work quoted below.

Religion.

Literature.

Lt.-Colonel J. Shakespear, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*. Published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1912. This is the best and most interesting account of the Kukis in the Lushai hills as well as of the other Kuki tribes.

6. The Manipuris.

When we descend from the hills peopled by the Naga tribes into the valley of the Manipur river, we find ourselves in a broad stretch of level country peopled by the Manipuris or Meitheis. Like the famous valley of Kashmir this plain amidst the hills is nothing else but the bottom of a dried-up lake. Being like all former lake-bottoms of great fertility, this plain has soon become the seat of civilisation, so much so that the present inhabitants of the valley disclaim any relationship with the barbaric tribes living in the surrounding hills.

There can however be little doubt that one has only to "scratch the Meithei to find the Naga or the Kuki." This theory is borne out by linguistic as well as ethnological evidence, and has been advanced by quite a number of authorities on the subject. One of the writers on the subject, Dr. Brown,¹ puts it into the following words: "Should it be a correct view that the valley of Manipur was at no very distant period almost covered entirely by water, the origin of the Manipuris from the surrounding hill tribes is the proper and only conclusion to be arrived at. I think it probable that when only a small part of the valley skirting the hills was capable of cultivation, the hillmen bordering it used to descend and cultivate the little land there then was, returning to their homes in the hills after reaping the harvests: as however land increased some few of them settled permanently in the plain,

¹ Dr. R. Brown, *Annual Report on the Munnipore Political Agency for 1868-1869*, p. 27.

gradually increasing in numbers. The various tribes thus settling in different parts of the valley would in time come into contact, and after a struggle for supremacy amalgamate.

Racial affinities.

That this is what actually took place is borne out by the traditions of Manipur." The Manipuris being thus anthropologically the descendants of Nagas and Kukis, it is not surprising that they should resemble their primitive cousins of the hills in physical features. Sometime ago, so Hodson¹ tells us, two Naga youths were brought to the college at Imphal, the capital of Manipur, in order to be educated. It was well nigh impossible to distinguish them from their Manipuri comrades after they had taken off their national dress and put on the *dhoti* worn by the Manipuri.

A complete collection illustrating the life of the Manipuris would therefore be of the highest interest. It would allow us to see whether and how far the relationship with the surrounding hill-tribes can be traced in their clothing, implements, etc. Unfortunately the collection at the disposal of the Museum is the opposite of complete. It must, therefore, be enough to give a short explanation of the few specimens exhibited, trusting that a second edition of this guide-book might be in the happy position to deal with a full and instructive collection.

The Manipuri now dress in Hindu fashion. They wear the *dhoti*, a blue coat with buttons and a turban (see figure).

Wearing apparel.

The dress of the women is a petticoat, called *fanek*, and a short jacket, generally of velvet or satin (see figure). Of special interest are Nos. 18-21. They are parts of the dancing costume worn by women for religious dances. The dances are generally in honour of Sri Krishna and resemble the *rashila* of Upper India. The dress of the girls who represent the "gopis" or shepherdesses has been described by Hodson as follows: "The head-gear is a small skull-cap of black cloth or velvet, with a narrow band of pearl trimming at the edge; sometimes they wear an ornamental branching spray of white imitation pearl beads on the cap. The jacket is close-fitting, and is of black cloth or velvet, with gold trimming about two inches deep on the sleeves, which do not reach down to the elbow. A white cloth is wound tightly round the waist from under the breasts just over the hips to give support. The petticoat is made of silk, either green or dark red, and at the

¹ T. C. Hodson, *The Naga tribes of Manipur*, p. 25.

bottom is a band of sequin ornamentation eighteen inches to two feet in depth. Over the shoulder and round the waist is fastened a decorative ornament, which I can only compare to a sabretasche with a shoulder-strap (18, 20, 21). On a groundwork of red silk or satin, they sew round, oval, or square pieces of glass silvered, set in gold and silver tinsel, with loose fringed ends of the same bright materials. Over the silk skirt they wear a top-skirt of white delicate muslin woven in the country, on which are sewn rows and rows of silver tinsel, till the whole is a mass of gorgeous splendour, reflecting the light in all directions, as the agile creatures whirl round and sink down in ecstatic worship of Radha Krishna, in whose honour they dance. The little lad who takes the part of Sri Krishna wears a handsome dress with a resplendent head-gear, adorned with peacock's feathers and silver tinsel."

Literature.

The Manipuris and their civilisation are described in a truly fascinating manner in the book: *The Meitheis*, by T. C. Hodson, F.R.A.I., and published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The book contains also a full list of all the previous literature and is splendidly illustrated.

Desiderata.

Practically everything illustrating the life of the Manipuri is wanted, as the collection is extremely deficient.

7. The Mikirs.

Skirting the southern bank of the Brahmaputra there is a series of hills isolated from the chains into which the Himalaya system branches out. These hills are called after the tribes inhabiting them: the Mikir, the Khasi and Jaintia and the Garo hills.

The easternmost of these hills, the Mikir hills, are an isolated mountain-block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dhansiri valley on the east and the Kopila and Jamuna valleys on the west and south. They are the habitat of the bulk of the Mikirs. The other parts of this tribe live on the northern slopes of the Khasi hills and in the plains of Assam, in the districts of Nowgong and Sibsagar.

The Mikirs are a very numerous tribe, numbering nearly 90,000, and they differ very little from each other in language or habits. Their lan-

Number, Division and Affinities.

guage is akin to the dialects of the Naga group and racially they belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. It must, however, be said that they have mixed very much with the Assamese and are rather like them in physical appearance.

They are of medium height, rather taller than their neighbours, the Khasis. Although they are of

Racial features.

Mongoloid origin, the typical Mongolian features are not much emphasized. Their cheek-bones are somewhat prominent, the slope of the eyes hardly perceptible. Their colour is a light yellowish-brown and the girls are often fair. The hair, which is straight, is gathered behind into a knot. They are muscular and much sought after as coolies and carriers.

The dress of the Mikir man is very much like the Khāsi dress. He wears a loin cloth of cotton or if he is wealthy of silk (Mikir 2, 3, 11); his coat is a sleeveless striped jacket with long fringes (Mikir

Wearing apparel.

10, 23). In the cold weather he wears a wrapper (Mikir 1, 20). The head-dress is a turban (Mikir 9). The dress of the Mikir woman consists of a petticoat (Mikir 27, 32), which is kept tight round the waist by an ornamental girdle (Mikir 31). The upper part of the body is covered with a breast-cloth (Mikir 5, 7, 30). A characteristic ornament is a large silver tube, weighing three to four rupees, which is inserted into the lobe of the ear. Rings suspended from the outer part of the ear are also worn. Besides this they wear the usual bracelets of gold or silver or brass (Mikir 33, 34), and also necklaces of gold or silver and large coral beads.

The villages of the Mikir stand in clearings in the forest and are shifted as soon as the soil is exhausted. The houses are large, often containing the families of married sons as well as the original

Dwellings.

family. They are built on posts and the floor is raised several feet above the ground. They are built of bamboo, slit and flattened out. The roof is made of "san" grass.

Their household furniture is of the simplest description.

Furniture and Industries.

It consists mainly of bamboo-joints, which serve as vessels and baskets to store paddy, clothes, etc. (Mikir 38). Besides basket-making, they understand spinning and weaving and use both cotton, which they raise on their fields, and "eri" silk. They dye the thread red or blue. For the blue dye they use a plant which has been identified as *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*.

Pottery is made without the wheel, but there are not many potters among them. Blacksmiths are common and have existed among the Mikirs for a long time. They make daos, knives, needles and hooks. The ornaments are also largely of local manufacture. It must, however, be said that the people begin to rely more on goods imported by traders than on their own produce especially since the Assam railway has opened their country to foreign influence.

The Mikirs are the most peaceful hill-tribe in Assam, and they have always been in a state of dependence. They served

Occupation. the Shan, the Ahom, the Khasi and now the British and had to suffer very much from Naga raids. Their main occupation is agriculture and their method of cultivation the "jhum" system. The implements which serve all purposes are hoes of a very primitive kind (Mikir 12, 13) and the ubiquitous dao (Mikir 17, 18). They grow chiefly rice and cotton. They hunt deer and wild pig with spears and dogs, and trap tigers, snare birds (Mikir 14) and catch fishes by means of traps and baskets.

Their religion is generally speaking the worship and propitiation of innumerable spirits and gods.

Religion.

No idols, shrines or temples are found.

Literature.

The Mikirs.—From the papers of the late Edward Stack, I.C.S., edited, arranged and supplemented by Sir Charles Lyall. Published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Illustrated. London (David Nutt, 1908).

This is the most up-to-date monograph on the tribe and contains very interesting material, especially on religion, language and folklore.

Desiderata.

Native name.	Description.
Ji-so-ke-ik	... Black scarf worn at funerals.
Kadeng-chinro	... Silver ear-ornament described above.
No-rik ...	... Hanging ear-ring.
Lek ...	... Necklace worn by women described above.
Chir ...	... Spear.
Thai ...	... Bow.

Native name.	Description.
Pe-therang	... Weaving loom with the cloth on.
Mi-thong-rong	... Spinning wheel.
Ru	... Fishing-basket.
	Pots.
	All musical instruments in use.
	Good model of a Mikir house.
	Bhimraj feathers worn on festive occasions.

8. The Khasis.

The Khasis are a remarkable people in many respects. Linguistically they form as it were an island amidst the languages spoken in the hills or plains around them, and have no connection with any of them. Their next linguistic relations are the Mon in Burma and the Khmer and kindred tribes in Cambodia and Annam. If the theories of the philologists are true their speech connects them also with the Ho Munda tribes of Chota Nagpur. This linguistic relation, taken together with ethnological similarities, opens out a fascinating perspective of groupings and migrations in a remote past, and lifts to some extent the veil of mystery that still lies over the early history of Assam and Further India. Another point of interest is their family organisation, in which we have a striking example of what is generally called "matriarchate" or predominance of the mother. To find a similar institution in India we have to go to the far south-west, to the Nayers of Malabar. The Khasi saying is: "From the woman sprang the clan." Thus when reckoning descent they count from the mother only. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, he will be lost to the family directly he marries. If he be a husband he is looked upon merely as the producer of children. He does not take part in the ceremonies of the family into which he marries. These are all in the hands of the women. Such a strange state of affairs naturally affects the law of inheritance, which leaves everything to the daughters, principally the youngest, and lets the sons shift for themselves as best they can.

There is also this to be said about the Khasis, that they have more readily adopted and assimilated Christianity and European civilisation than any other tribe in India. Out of 200,000 people about 30,000 are Christians, and their number is steadily increasing. In a remarkably short time they

have—under the guidance of the missionaries—become a nation with its own literature, and Khasi alone of all the Assam Hill dialects has the privilege of having been admitted among the vernaculars taught at the Calcutta University. As we shall see, this strong influence of European ideas has also affected their material civilisation. The bulk of the people are, however, not yet converted, and it is with them chiefly that this description deals.

The home of the Khasis are the Khasi and Jaintia hills. On the north these hills slope down to the Brahmaputra valley, on the south they drop rather abruptly to the Surma valley, on the west they merge into the Garo hills, while on the east they are connected with the Naga hills through the hills of North Cachar. Politically the territory is divided into the British district of the Jaintia hills and a number of little Feudatory States under Siems or Rajahs. Shillong, the headquarters of the Government of Assam, stands however on British territory.

It has already been pointed out that their racial affinities are still a matter of speculation, and the problem is by no means settled. Of course there is no doubt that they belong to the Mongoloid family. Their Mongolian features are much more pronounced than is the case with their neighbours, the Mikirs.

Affinities.

They are a short and sturdy race and are excellent climbers with extraordinarily developed calves. The latter are considered a mark of beauty. Their colour is yellowish-brown, sometimes lighter, sometimes darker according to locality and occupation. They have rather short heads and broad flat noses. Their eyes are very slightly oblique and the cheek-bones somewhat prominent. Their jaw is rather protruding and the mouth large with often thick lips. Beards are uncommon, but moustaches may be seen. The women when young are often very good looking and extremely strong. They work in most cases harder than the men. The two models on exhibition are unfortunately not accurate.

Racial Features.

The dress of the Khasis is undergoing a slow but certain change. Owing to the easy intercourse with the plains and to the influence of the missionaries,

Wearing apparel.

European and semi-European clothing is gradually ousting the indigenous costume. A characteristic garment, worn chiefly by the villagers, is the long sleeveless coat which we have already met with among the Mikirs

(No. 7). It has a fringe at the bottom and tassels across the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. Round the waist and between the legs a small cloth is worn, the end of which hangs down like an apron. The head-dress is a cap with ear-flaps (No. 10a). Another style of cap is worn by the Synteng, one of the subdivisions of the Khasis (No. 10). Turbans are often met with now-a-days, and a common sight is a red knitted cap like a tam-o'shanter. The models in the show cases give a very imperfect idea of the costume worn by the Khasi women. They put on a great quantity of garments and look rather overdressed. They wear a piece of cloth round the body and fasten it at the loins with a kind of cloth belt. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth (Nos. 1, 4, 9), which hangs down from the shoulder to a little above the ankles. It is kept in position by knotting it over both shoulders. Over this garment a sort of gown reaching down to the ankles is worn, the two ends being knotted in front. The head and the shoulders are covered with a wrapper. Thus clad the women look from a distance like nuns. In cold weather gaiters are worn, which are either long stockings without feet or long pieces of cloth wound round the legs like putties. Sometimes these gaiters are simply made of leaves. There are some more items which complete the outfit of the Khasis. One is a rain-shield (No. 9a, 22a), of plaited bamboo and covered with a network of cane. Smaller shields of this shape are used as a protection from the sun or merely for show. Almost always the men carry with them a haversack in which they keep lime, betelnut and other odds and ends. These haversacks are made either of cloth or of fibre-netting (No. 6, 8). There is little to be said about the dress of the Khasis who dress in European or semi-European fashion. It is perhaps more practical but certainly less becoming.

Amongst the ornaments, of which the collection exhibits only very few, some are characteristic of the Khasis. One is a necklace of big coral-beads alternating with gold beads. The latter are hollow and filled with lac. Another ornament is a gold or silver crown worn by women at dances. A specimen of it is exhibited in the Artware Gallery of the Museum. These crowns are circlets ornamented with filigree work. At the back a spike stands up some six inches above the crown, and there are big silver tassels hanging from the crown down the back. Peculiar to the Khasis is also a flat silver collar which hangs down in front and is fastened behind. Besides these ornaments they wear ear-rings (No. 12), bracelets and chains; a good many of these things are imported.

The villages of these people stand generally a little below the top of a hill, not on the very summit as is the case among the Nagas and Kukis. They thus protect themselves from the strong winds which

Dwellings.

blow in this country at certain times of the year. The houses are built close together and are raised on a plinth some two or three feet from the ground. The walls are made of planks or stones and the roof is thatched with grass. There is only one small opening which serves as a window. As there is no chimney the smoke has to find its way out as best it can. The houses are not very large and contain chiefly the parents and unmarried children. It is the custom for married couples to build a house for themselves as soon as the second child has been born. Of late European ideas are affecting the architecture of the Khasis especially in places like Shillong, Cherrapunji and Jowai. Here the houses have roofs of corrugated iron, glass windows and chimneys.

Among their domestic industries the first place must be assigned to basket-making. A typical basket, with which every visitor to Shillong is familiar, is the

Furniture and Industries.

conical one No. 14. It is made in various sizes and different qualities. These baskets are carried on a cane-plaited band over the forehead. Between the basket and the back they often put a round mat of plaited bamboo. Some of their basketry is of really artistic value as *e.g.*, Nos. 17, 18, 28. Earthen pots are also made and used as cooking vessels, but only by the poor. Well-to-do people use iron vessels made by the local blacksmith, and brass vessels imported from different parts of India. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that the vessels and plates used by the women are always bigger than those used by the men, and that the women get a greater share of food than the men. This is one of the consequences of the superiority enjoyed by the gentle sex in that country. In some parts of the country we find quite a flourishing weaving industry, though it must be said that the bulk of the clothes sold in the market comes from the plains of Assam or from Manchester, and lately from Japan. An industry which gives employment to a good many persons in the country is the distillation of spirits from rice. Nos. 37-39 are implements used in this industry.

The main industry of the Khasi is agriculture. It is carried out either in its primitive form known as "jhuming" or with more advanced methods which include irrigation and systematic manuring. Except in a few parts the plough is unknown. They prepare the soil

Occupations.

for the reception of the seed with a big hoe (Nos. 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59), the blade of which stands at a sharp angle to the handle and is "shouldered." Trees are felled with an axe (No. 52) or large daos (63, 68, 70). Bill-hooks (61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78) are used to clear the jungle and for many other purposes, and the ears of corn are cut with a sickle leaving almost the entire stalk standing. The cereals cultivated are mainly rice, millet, Job's tears; lately potatoes are grown with great success. The country is also famous for its oranges, which are an important article of export, and also its honey.

Hunting is a favourite sport and is carried out with bows and arrows (Nos. 40—42, 44). The common way of fishing is by poisoning the streams with a plant which stupifies the fishes. Besides this destructive method the Khasis also use traps (No. 50) and fishing baskets (No. 48, 49). Of late, under the influence of Europeans, especially in and around Shillong, fishing with the line has become a favorite sport.

The pastime on which the Khasis are most keen is archery. The visitor to Shillong may see groups of excited and shouting Khasis after every market-day trying to hit a mark which from afar looks like a moderate sized tree-trunk. They are also very fond of singing and quick in catching up European melodies. Their dances have already been mentioned.

The religion of those Khasis who have not been converted to Christianity is a rather vague cult of the spirits supposed to live in trees, mountain peaks, such as the Shillong peak, streams, etc. Snake-

Religion.
 worship connected with human sacrifice is said to exist but it is a rather delicate subject to talk about with a Khasi. An interesting device for divining the future is the egg-breaking board, on which an egg is broken and the future foretold by the position of the broken parts.

Literature.

The best book on the subject is Colonel Gurdon's: The Khasis, which has been published under the orders of the Assam Government. It discusses, amongst many other things, the difficult question of the affinities and linguistic position of the Khasis, and gives a very fine account of the social and religious life of the people. It also contains rich material for the student of folklore.

Desiderata.

(1) Proper dresses of both Khasia and Jaintia women, if possible from different parts of the country.

(2) Dancing dress worn by young women at the Nong-krem dance.

(4) A full collection of Khasia jewellery. For details see Gurdon's book.

(5) A model of a Khasi house.

(6) Iron cooking vessel, brass eating vessels and spoons, chunam and betel boxes, sun-shield, round mat which is worn with the conical basket, head-band for carrying the conical basket.

(7) Musical instruments.

(8) Egg-breaking board; model of memorial stones.

9. The Garos.

Travelling west from the Khasi Hills we come to a dense irregular mass of hills of low elevation, which is traversed from north-west to south-east by a main central range known as the Tura range. The average height of these hills is two thousand feet, and the highest peak is 4,652 feet. This hill country slopes down to the Brahmaputra on the north and west and to the plains of Mymensingh in the south.

This territory is the home of the Garos, a tribe numbering a little over one hundred thousand souls. About half as many are scattered in the plains around the hills.

They are a branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, which in olden times came from the highlands of Tibet and spread over Eastern India and Burma. There are still traces in the language of the Garos which point to their connection with Tibet and in their legends the memory of a migration from the Himalayas is still kept alive. Their language belongs to the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family, and is related to the speech of North Cachar, Hill Tipperah and the Mech in the Goalpara and Kamrup districts.

They are considerably darker than their neighbours, the Khasis, and have pronounced Mongolian features. Their faces are round and short. The forehead is not receding but projects very little beyond the eye, which is small, on a level with the face, very dark and obliquely set. The want of prominence in the nose is remarkable. The whole face has the

appearance of being flattened, the mouth sharing in the compressed appearance and not at all prognathous. The hair is sometimes straight but more often wavy and even curly. They are of short stature, the men having an average height of five feet one and a half inches, the women of four feet ten inches. They are lean and wiry, hard and capable of much endurance, though they are not fond of work and exertion.

The dress of the Garo is simplicity itself. Its principal item is a strip of blue cotton cloth interwoven with lines of red, six to seven feet long and six inches wide. This serves as a loin cloth and hangs down in front (No. 4-8, 20). This cloth is generally quite plain, but sometimes the end of the flaps is ornamented with several rows of white beads apparently made of conch shell (No. 100 on fig.). On his head the Garo wears a *pugri* which is wound in such a fashion as to leave the crown of the head uncovered (No. 17). When it is cold he puts on a cotton cloth or blanket (No. 1). Of late the Bengali traders have introduced all sorts of garments including old uniforms and frock-coats, and now one often sees hillmen sporting these ridiculous relics. The women wear a petticoat which sometimes covers the breasts but more often leaves them bare (No. 30, 31). This petticoat is sometimes studded with seeds (No. 15a). On their shoulders the women often wear a shawl of blue and white cotton which they discard in the hot weather (22, 23). At dances men and women wear on their heads circlets of bamboo (No. 14), ornamented with rows of white beads to which are added cocks and *bhimraj* feathers. Another head ornament which was in former times put on when a man went on the war-path but is now worn on festive occasions is Nos. 15 and 97. It is a circlet of cloth covered with brass studs and seeds. Both men and women wear ear-rings, those worn by men are small (No. 18) but those worn by the women are of much larger size, sometimes as much as four inches in diameter (No. 33). Upwards of fifty may be worn in each ear so that the weight is very considerable, the result is that the lobe is very much extended and finally gives way altogether. In this case the woman supports them over her head by a double string which prevents them from shifting from side to side. The necklaces which are worn by both sexes are made of long barrel-shaped beads of cornelian or red glass (Nos. 35, 37, 38), which they purchase from the Bengali traders. Both men and women also wear bangles of different kinds like those worn in the plains, they are mostly made of brass (Nos. 42-56).

The Garos build their houses always on piles and if possible on a steep incline on a river-bank ; at any rate they try to be as near as possible to a stream. The houses are very long and narrow, one hundred feet being the average. They are built of bamboo-matting and thatched with grass. In each village there is a big house for the unmarried young men. Every Garo has two houses, one in the village and one in the fields. The houses in the fields are generally erected on trees so as to protect them from elephants, which are very numerous in that country.

Basket-making is practised among the Garos. The baskets are all flat bottomed and of plaited bamboo (Nos. 60, 61, 63, 65). Those used for the transport of loads, especially cotton, are carried on a band over the forehead (No. 32). The pots which are used for cooking purposes and distillation of spirits are mostly imported from the plains. A few Garo women can make them for themselves, but they rarely do so.

Gourds of various shape and size are in general use as water-pots (Nos. 62, 64, 66, 67, 71). Like all hill tribes the Garos are fond of tobacco and betel. Nos. 72-78 are some of the implements which are in use for this purpose.

The main occupation of the Garos is agriculture in its most primitive form. It is true that the fertile soil of their country yields enough and more than enough to keep them from any need. The simple instruments used for their "jhuming" are choppers (Nos. 89, 90), hoes consisting of a narrow blade let into a bamboo stick, and pointed sticks with which they make holes in the ground for the reception of the seed. They reap the corn by grasping the ears with their hands and dragging off the grains. The paddy is pounded in a wooden mortar with a pestle and winnowed on flat trays of plaited bamboo (Nos. 80-84, 88). The Garos have no great taste for hunting, the immensely dense jungle making this sport very difficult. They have some skill in setting traps, but these do not kill much game. On the other hand they are very fond of fish, and as their villages are nearly always situated close to rivers, they pay much attention to this way of increasing their food supply. Their methods of fishing are either to build a fishing weir with baskets fitted into the outlets, or to set different sorts of traps, or else to poison the stream with the stupefying juice of a plant. Nets are used occasionally where the current is not very strong. The Garos are a peaceful people now, but they still carry their weapons with them, using them chiefly for the harmless purposes of hunting or

clearing the jungle. These weapons are a spear (Nos. 19, 92), and a very curiously shaped sword (Nos. 95, 98). The hilt is made extremely thin and ends in a flat, sharp-edged, rounded head. This sharp hilt enables the owner to stick the sword into the ground by his side when he halts, so as to have it always ready. A bunch of hair from a cow's tail or, when available, a part of a yak's tail adorns the two ends of the cross-bar. The sword is always carried naked. Their protection against the attack of an enemy is an oblong shield, made either of cow's hide or bear skin (Nos. 94, 99), stretched on a wooden frame, or made of flat lengths of wood covered and bound together with very thin strips of cane or bamboo (No. 96).

Their pastimes are contests of strength, music and dancing; a part of the attire used at such dances has been described above. Unfortunately the collection does not possess any musical instruments.

Their religion, like all animistic religions, consists of a belief in a multitude of beneficent and benevolent spirits. An interesting feature which can be studied in every Garo village is their cult of the dead. When a man has died a rude carving is made purporting to represent him; this figure is put in front of the dead person's house as soon as possible after the cremation.

Literature.

The Garos, by Major A. Playfair, I.A., Deputy Commissioner, Eastern Bengal and Assam, with an introduction by Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, with illustrations and maps, 1909.

Desiderata.

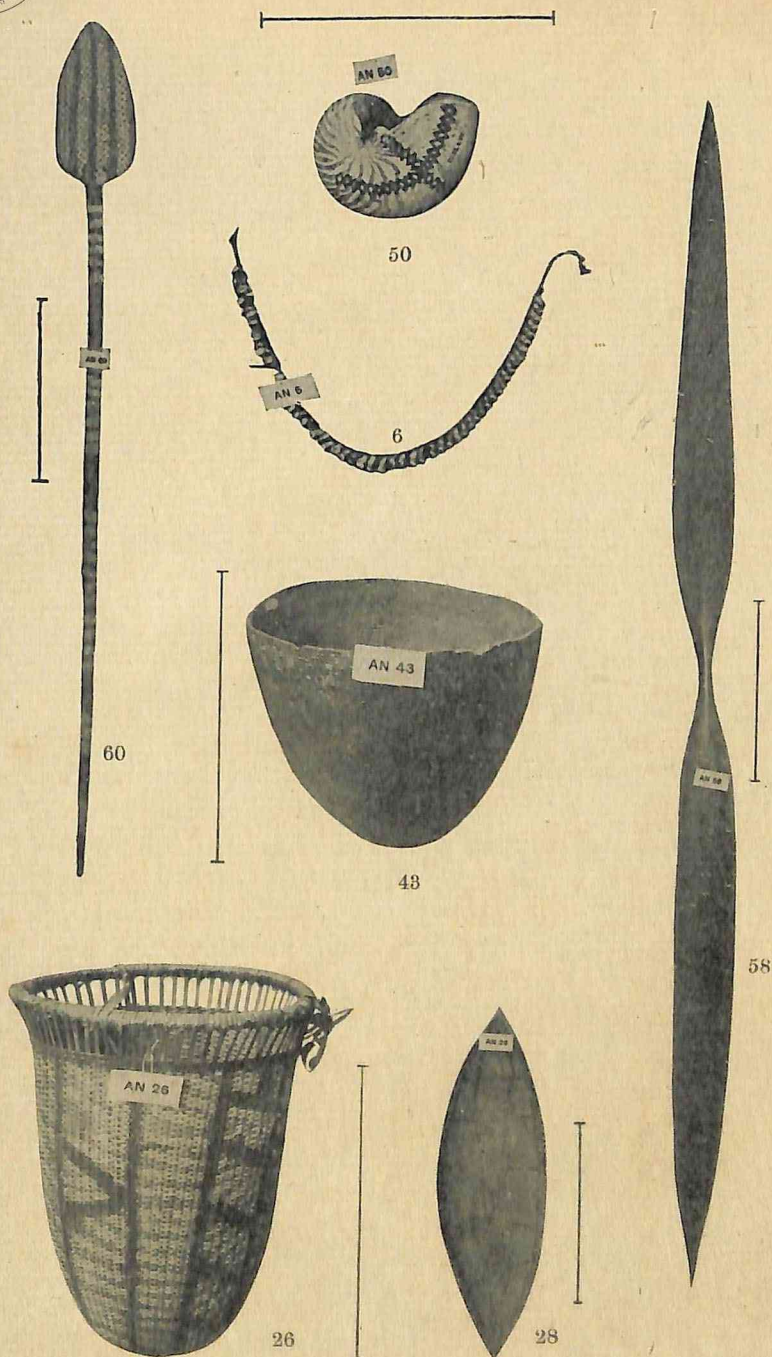
- (1) Elbow-ring of a head-man, called jaksil.
- (2) Model of a Garo house.
- (3) Model of a tree house.
- (4) Mortar and pestle.
- (5) Pot for making liquor.
- (6) Basket strainer, called janchi.
- (7) All musical instruments in use among the Garos.
- (8) Garo wood carvings; Kima or ancestor-post; carved posts which can be found at batchelor's houses.



DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

The lines on this plate represent a length of one foot. The line at the top of the plate refers to both figures 50 and 6.

No.	Name.	Locality.	Donor.	Date of collection.	Page.
6	Necklace. ("Ina-awla-ta-da")	Andaman Islands	A. S. B. . . . .	...	3
26	Basket. ("Jób-da")	Do.	Do. . . . .	...	5
28	Eating tray. ("Pukuta-yat-makuga-da") .	Do.	Not known	Not known .	6
43	Cooking-pot. ("Buj-da")	Do.	A. S. B. . . . .	...	6
50	Drinking vessel. ("Ódo-da")	Do.	Do. . . . .	...	4
58	Bow. ("Karama-da")	Do.	Do. . . . .	...	6
60	Paddle. ("Waligma-da")	Do.	Do. . . . .	...	7



D. Bagchi & A. Chowdhary photo.

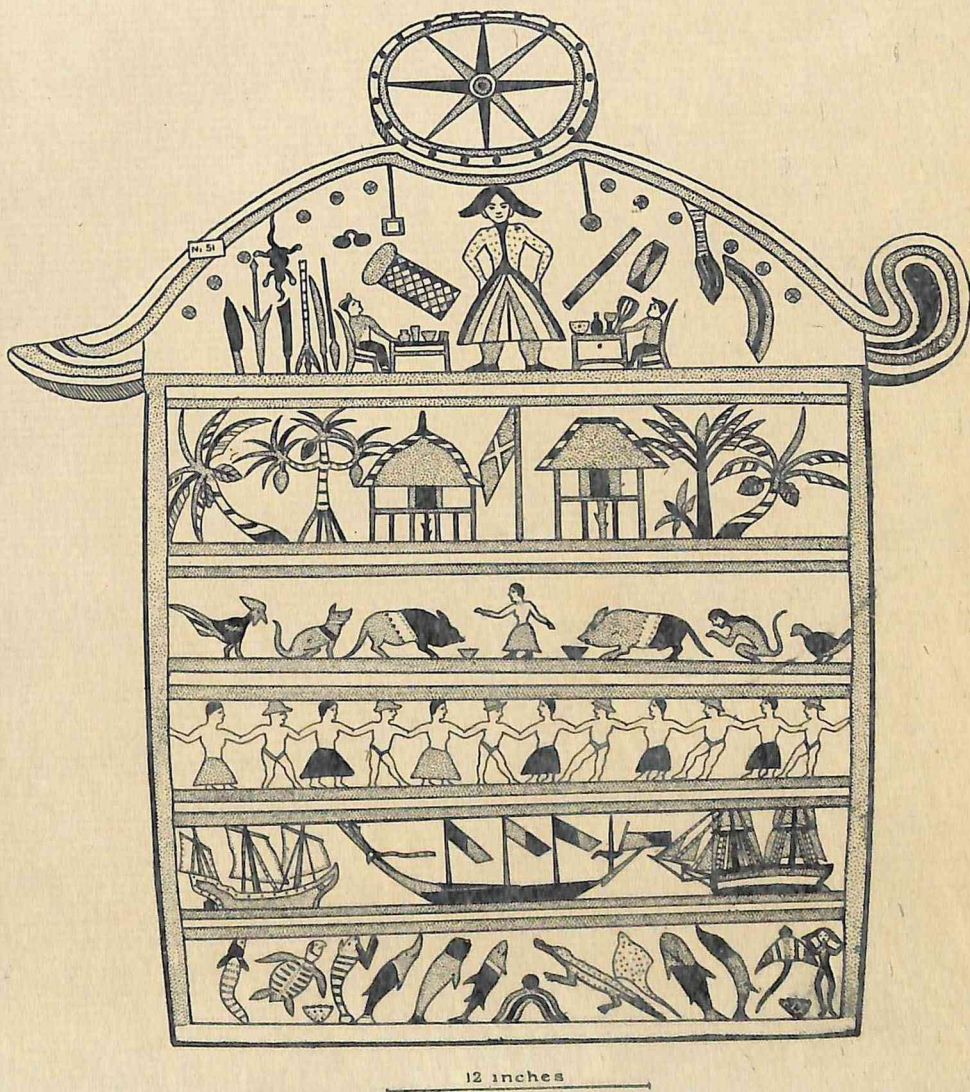
ANDAMANESE.



DESCRIPTION OF PLATE III.

A board (" *hentakoi* ") with incised and painted drawings kept by the Nicobarese in their huts to drive away evil spirits (see p. 13, Ni 51). The portions of the board that are painted vermillion are indicated by dots.

PLATE III.



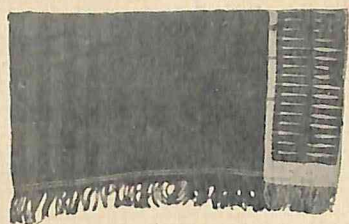
A. Chowdhary del.



DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IV.

The lines on this plate represent a length of one foot. The line at the top of the plate refers to all the figures, except the centre figure 18.

No.	Name.	Locality.	Donor.	Date of collection.	Page.
4	"Doolai Phee"	Manipur	Not known	Not known . . . . .	...
5	Kuki cloth, "Kesh"	Lushai Hills	Do.	Do. . . . .	...
G. 7	Cotton cloth	Garohills	Do.	Do.	43
M. 7	Sheet used as wrapper, "Kung-that-phuda"	Manipur	Do.	Do . . . . .	...
14	Loin cloth	Pangi, Abor Hills	S. W. Kemp, Esq.	6th May 1912	16
18	Dancing dress, "Raskha-own-sash"	Manipur	Government School of Art.	Not known	33
44	Coarse cotton cloth	Naga Hills	A. S. B. . . . .	... . . . .	26
52	Sheet of tartan	Do.	Do.
80	Waist band	Do.	Do.
86A	Do.	Do.	Do.



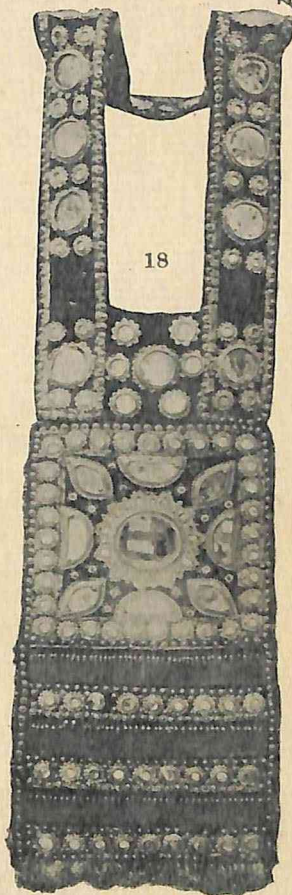
44



52



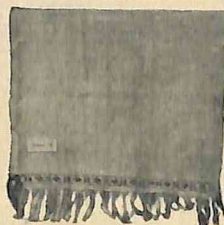
80



18



G 7

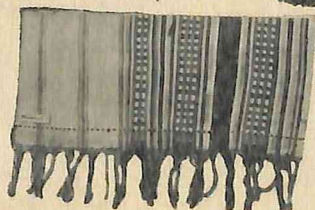


14



5

M 7



86A



4

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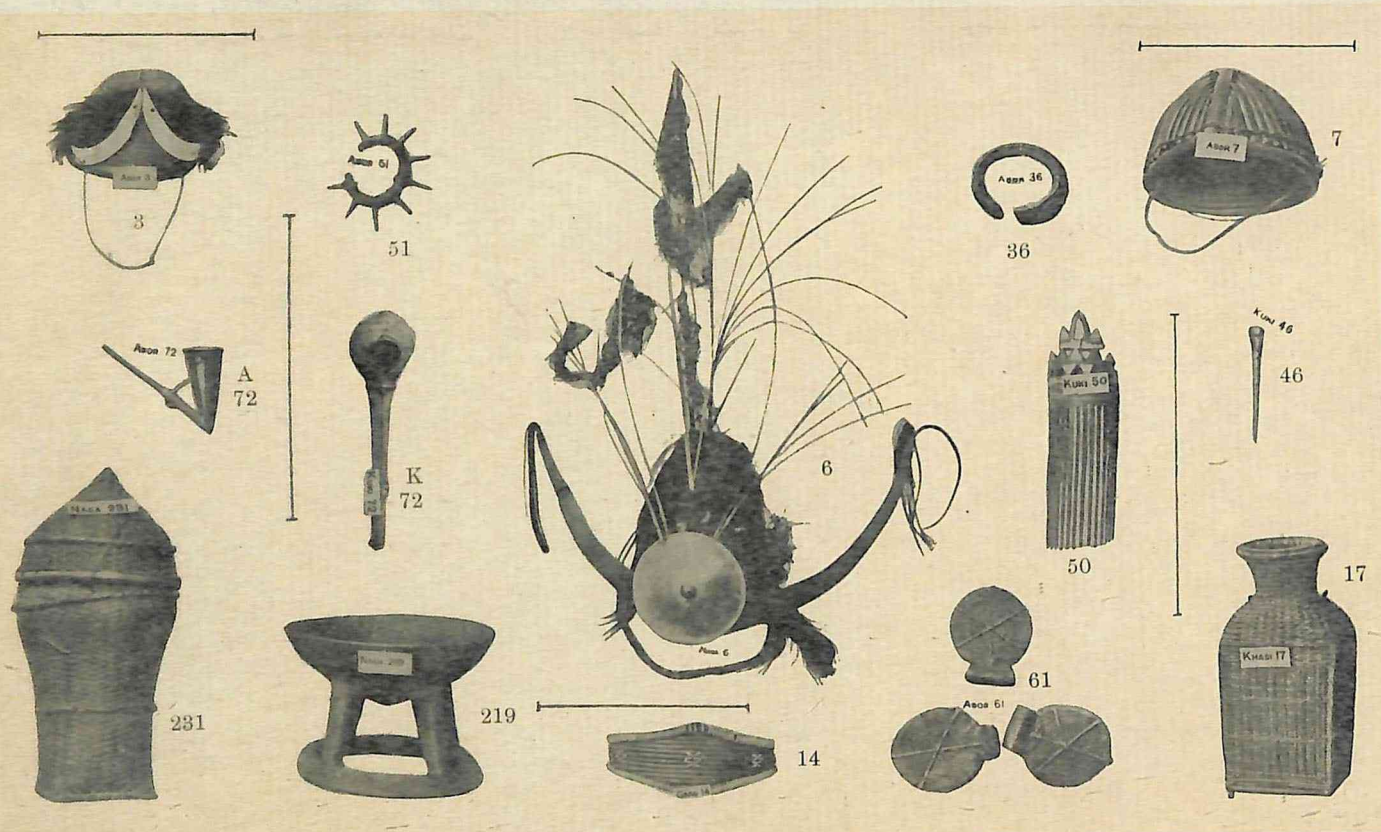
CLOTHS OF ASSAM TRIBES.



DESCRIPTION OF PLATE V.

The lines on this plate represent a length of one foot. The line between figures A 72 and K 72 refers to these figures as well as figures 51, 231 and 219 ; the line above figure 14 also refers to figure 6 ; the line between figures 50 and 46 refers to these figures as well as figures 36, 61 and 17.

No.	Name.	Locality.	Donor.	Date of collection.	Page.
3	Helmet	Debuk Danda, Abor Hills .	S. W. Kemp, Esq. .	6th May 1912 .	17
6	Do.	Naga Hills	His Excellency Lord Curzon.	18th February 1902.	26
7	Do.	Komsing, Abor Hills . .	S. W. Kemp, Esq. .	6th May 1912 .	17
14	Bamboo Head-band	Garo Hills	Not known	Not known .	43
17	Cane basket, " <i>Rah-san-dong</i> "	Khasia and Jaintia Hills .	Do.	Do. .	40
36	Bracelet	Komsing, Abor Hills . .	S. W. Kemp, Esq. .	6th May 1912 .	18
46	Brass hair pin	Not known	A. S. B. . . . .	...	30
50	Bamboo comb	Lushai Hills	Not known	Not known .	30
51	Bracelet	Komsing, Abor Hills . .	S. W. Kemp, Esq. .	6th May 1912 .	18
61	" <i>Beyop</i> ," discs worn by girls	Debuk Danda, Abor Hills .	Do.	Do. .	18
A72	Tobacco pipe	Komsing, Abor Hills . .	Do.	Do. .	22
K72	Tobacco water vessel	Not known	A. S. B. . . . .	...	...
219	Wooden platter	Naga Hills	Not known	Not known .	27
231	Basket, " <i>Chunga</i> "	Do.	Do.	Do. .	27



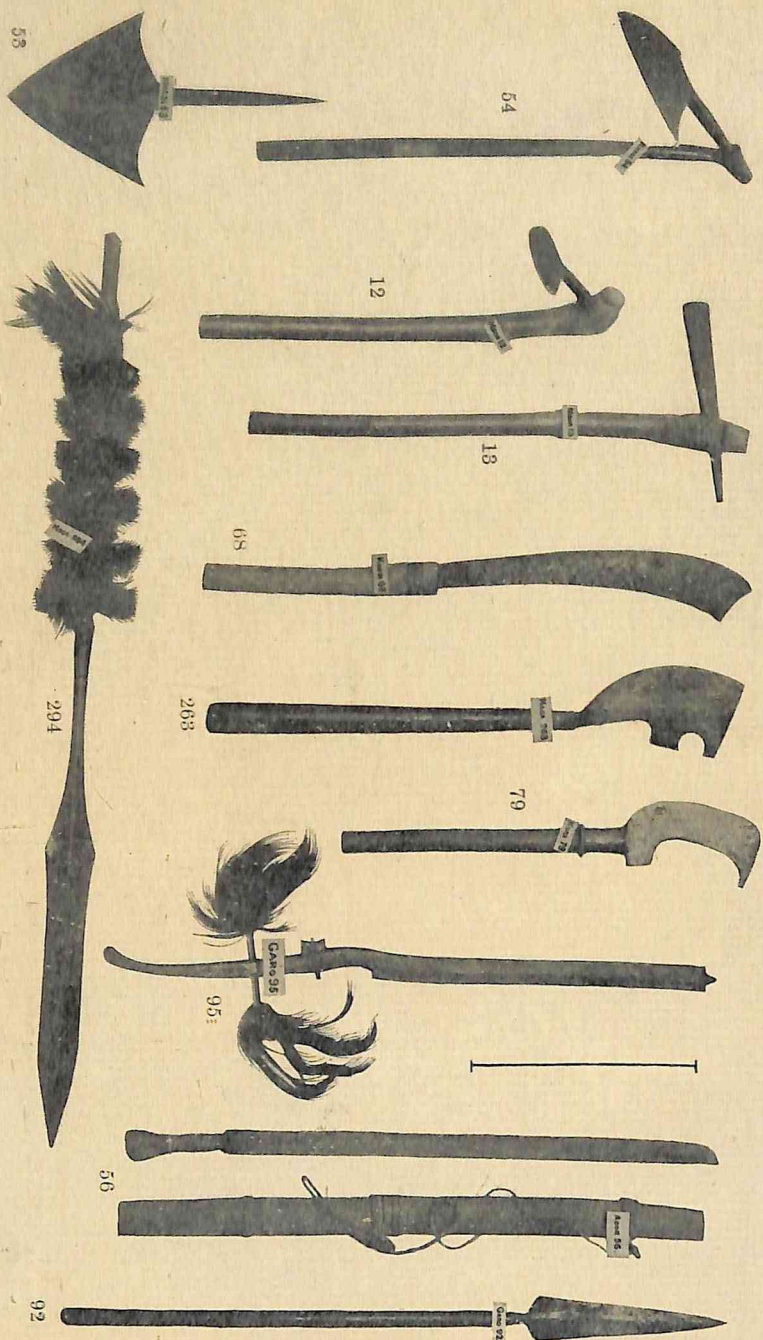
D. Bagchi & A. Chowdhary photo.

ORNAMENTS, ETC. OF ASSAM TRIBES.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI.

The line on this plate represents a length of one foot and refers to all the figures.

No.	Name.	Locality.	Donor.	Date of collection.	Page.
12	Hoe	Mikir Hills	Not known	Not known	36
13	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	36
53	Hoe-blade, " Mokhiw hek "	Khasia and Jaintia Hills	Deputy Commissioner of Khasia and Jaintia Hills.	2nd June 1905	41
54	Hoe, " Mokhiw hek "	Do.	Do.	Do.	41
56	Tibetian sword	Kebang, Abor Hills	S. W. Kemp, Esq.	6th May 1912	22
68	Dao, ' Ka-wai-Lyngam '	Khasia and Jaintia Hills.	Deputy Commissioner of Khasia and Jaintia Hills.	2nd June 1905	41
79	Dao	Lushai Hills	Not known	Not known . . . . .	..
92	Spear	Garo Hills	Do.	Do	45
95	Sword	Do.	Do.	Do.	45
263	Dao	Mokokchong, Naga Hills	Sub-Divisional officer, Mokokchong.	29th May 1905	28
294	Spear	Naga Hills	E. T. Atkinson, Esq.	Not known



D. Baschli & A. Chowdhury photo.

ARMS AND IMPLEMENTS OF ASSAM TRIBES.



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