

THE HISTORY
OF THE KACHINS
OF THE
HUKAWNG
VALLEY



by
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INTRODUCTION

This history was written up in Jinghpaw by Kawlu Ma Nawng, K.S.M., A.T.M., after much original research on his part. As sources of information he has expressed himself as indebted to—

- (1) The late Walawbum Gam, Marip Chief of Walawbum Tract, Hukawng Valley.
- (2) Madangtu Nawng, elder of the N'Jung Lahtawng Village, Hukawng Valley.
- (3) Uga Zau, a Lahpai elder of Uga Village, Hukawng Valley.
- (4) N'Bawm Zau Rawng, the great Marip *dumsa* of Manangkhang, Sumprabum Sub-division.
- (5) Tingreng Gam, *dumsa* of Ningran Gahtawng, Hukawng Valley.

I had the opportunity to be acquainted with all these men and they were all acknowledged authorities on Kachin custom and mythology; the information vouched by them may be accepted to be about as accurate a record as it is possible to obtain from a people who have but vague ideas as to where mythology ends and actual historical facts begin.

Kawlu Ma Nawng was known to me for the last 12 years of his service; for three of those years he served with me as Naung-ok of the Hukawng Valley. He was a Gauri of Bumwa village in the Sinlum Hill Tracts of the Bhamo District. He joined the Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Myitkyina, in 1912 and at the time of his death had 31 years of loyal and devoted service to the Crown. Though nearing his pension at the time of the Japanese entry into the war Kawlu Ma Nawng devoted himself to war work with an enthusiasm that had typified his entire service. After the evacuation of Government from Myitkyina, the headquarters of the district in which the Hukawng Valley is situated, he rallied the Kachins and organised guerilla bands to harass the invader. This he did very successfully and

in one action himself manned a light machine gun. He died, as he would have wished, in the service of the Crown and at the time of his death was still actively assisting in the war against the Japanese invader of the Hukawng Valley, an area to which he had given 22 years' service. He first became interested in the affairs of the Valley in 1919 and took part in the slave releasing expeditions there in 1924-26. After the release of all the slaves by the 1926 Expedition he remained in the Valley to watch over the interests of the released slaves. In 1934 I visited the Valley for the purpose of introducing formal administration and from that year until his death Kawlu Ma Nawng was responsible for the administration of the Kachins and Shans in this extremely unhealthy area. His long association with the Valley has afforded him an opportunity of acquiring that intimate knowledge of the lives of the people which makes his short history so interesting and informative.

The subjects of Kawlu Ma Nawng's history, the Kachins of a very small area in north western Burma, make up only a very small percentage of the Kachin race. Whilst his manuscript is in the main limited to a detailed review of the genealogy and customs of this small group the general principles outlined in it are applicable with only minor variations to the entire race.

Few of us were privileged to know the Kachins intimately before this war as few strangers penetrated their villages in the remote mountain ranges which separate the fertile plains of Burma from India, Tibet and China. Since the entry of Japan into the war the Kachins have become better known to the outside world; military officers have come to appreciate their splendid qualities as guerilla fighters and thousands of civilian refugees from Burma have praised them for the loyal help given to that helpless stream of evacuees which in 1942 moved across the Kachin Hills into India.

The original name of the race known as Kachin is Jinghpaw, or Singpho. The derivation of this term cannot be defined with any degree of certainty; it is probably of Tibetan origin as the Kachins themselves maintain they descended from the central Tibetan plateau. The Tibetan term *sin-po* means a cannibal and this name was probably given to the savage, semi-nomadic border tribes who when on the war-path may have practised

cannibalism. The name, through use in the course of centuries, presumably became accepted by these primitive people. At the present time a further change of name is taking place. The name Kachin, a Burmese corruption of the Chinese *ye jein* (jungle man), is that by which the Jinghpaw tribes are known to Europeans; it is at present disliked by the tribesmen but doubtless in the course of generations it will become accepted. The term Jinghpaw is the racial name for the tribes and clans also known as Hkahku, Gauri, Lashi, Maru, Atzi, and Nung as well as for the Jinghpaws proper. The true Jinghpaw tribes far outnumber all others and are both morally and intellectually the more advanced.

The Kachins occupy the hills of Upper Burma in a wide arc stretching from the Naga Hills to the central Shan States. Within the frontiers of Burma there are approximately half a million Kachins; a further large number occupies the hills near the Burma frontier in South Western Yunnan. In appearance the Kachin is not unlike the Ghurka; he has the oblique eye and the tendency to high cheek bones of the Mongolian. The average height of the men is 5'-4"; despite this apparent lack of height the Kachins, both men and women, are of sturdy build and are possessed of wonderful courage and cheerfulness at all times.

The traditional ancestral nidus from which the Kachin tribes emerged is invariably indicated as the headwaters of the Irrawaddy in Eastern Tibet. About 1400 years ago, according to their own history, this fighting group descended upon Burma and occupied the northern hills to the exclusion of Chins, Palaungs and Shans. The Chins were forced to the west, the Palaungs to the south, and the last remaining descendants of the once powerful Ahoms almost exterminated. The Hukawng Valley which achieved an unpleasant notoriety because of its evil climate in the course of the evacuation of Burma, gets its name from the innumerable mounds where the corpses of the slain Shans were cremated; *ju-kawng* in the Jinghpaw dialect means cremation mounds.

Once the Kachins had established their right to the northern hills by the eviction of the former inhabitants they set up their tribal institutions and settled down to consolidate their gains.

These tribal ties, which exist up to the present time, were probably established chiefly for protection against their enemies. Ever a warlike group, it was unlikely that the Kachins would settle down to a peaceful existence merely because they had acquired a sufficiency of land to permit of their practice of shifting cultivation; and so it transpired that they spent much of their time in inter-tribal warfare and in attacking the Burmans in the plains. Up to the time of their subjugation by the British nearly half a century ago the Kachins were constantly involved in inter-tribal strife. The British rule has brought peace and a fairly settled existence to the Kachins; the only manifestations of the former inter-tribal fights are the feuds which are carried on up to the present.

Kachin custom varies with the different tribes. Usually a tribe or tract lives under a chief. The chief decides all judicial matters in the tribe and his decisions are usually accepted. He, in his turn, is allowed certain dues by the people. In many areas the chief has his fields worked by the people, he is allowed the thigh of all animals slain in the chase, he is assisted in raising marriage prices when he wishes to buy a wife, and he is assisted in the building of his house. The Kachin chief, however, is far from the autocrat of other tribal structures; in fact his head is usually one of those upon which the crown lies uneasy. One of the characteristics of the Kachin is his sturdy independence; the affairs of an individual are no concern of his neighbours except when they affect the common weal. This independence has asserted itself in regard to the chiefs twice in the past two hundred years. About two hundred years ago an old Kachin seer had a vision; he saw a very happy and contented land wherein all men were equal and had equal rights (page 15 of the translated text). He made his vision known to the people who were at that time paying very heavy customary dues to their chiefs. The idea of equal rights for all men appealed to the Kachins and a rebellion started against the chiefs. Chiefs were given the option of resigning any claim to dues from their people or of being murdered; many chiefs stood out and were killed and their relatives sold into slavery; others accepted modified dues. Nowadays there are three main groups remaining. Those tracts or tribes which are entirely governed by the people for the people are common amongst the Jinghpaws and Lashis; other tracts

have chiefs who are head of the tribe or tract but who get no dues; and a third group is made up of those chiefs who were able to withstand the rebellions and who retain all their former customary rights.

Marriages amongst Kachins are usually arranged by parents or by their agents and a marriage price is paid for the bride. Before marriage great freedom is allowed to young people and, outside the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, they may consort as they please. The Kachin has the usual dread of incest of primitive people and in most houses there is a maiden's room wherein the maidens of the house may meet, and cohabit with, the men of their choice. The Kachins have a belief that if a girl remains virginal too long there is a danger that she will never bear children, so that in the event of a woman reaching her twenties and retaining her virginity presents are usually hung in the maiden's room to encourage young men to come along and remedy this unfortunate state of affairs.

A very large majority of Kachins worship spirits; only a very small proportion of the race is Christian. The life of a Kachin is beset by a multitude of spirits which require propitiation on a large variety of occasions. Sacrifices of buffaloes, pigs, chickens, and even dogs have to be made to the spirits on the occasion of a birth, marriage, or death; before the construction of and entrance into a new house; before a journey is undertaken; when a feud is settled; when the fields are cut or harvest collected; and before the tribal dance, the *manau*, is held. The spirits are mainly evil; they inhabit houses, villages, and particular areas of the jungle. The spirit of the house is carefully tended. A case occurred some years ago wherein a house spirit, offended by the behaviour of two guests in the house, was held to have wreaked terrible vengeance on the house owner; the instance is worth relating as an indication of the implicit belief of the Kachins in these evil spirits. The Kachin is extremely hospitable and will never refuse hospitality to a guest unless that guest has a feud outstanding against him. This generous hospitality is extended to anyone who visits a Kachin house, even though he be but a chance passer-by. Food, liquor (the Kachin has a fondness for his liquor), opium, and accommodation are made available to the limit of the resources of the house. In the instance in question, two guests arrived at a house and

regaled themselves generously with the plentiful supply of liquor available. They became rowdy and began wrestling with one another. In the course of their struggle the altar of the spirit of the house was damaged and the spirit thereby angered. Within three months of that struggle on the floor of the house the wife and one of the children of the house owner died and another child became seriously ill. The house owner went to the diviners and found that the house spirit was the cause of his trouble. The spirit was propitiated and the two guests were called upon to pay compensation for the loss of two lives. The guests paid; had they failed to do so they would have forfeited their lives in pursuance of the feud thereby incurred.

Through those parts of the jungle where the spirits abide the Kachins will never pass during the hours of darkness. In daylight they pass only in the company of their fellow-villagers or to the accompaniment of a great deal of shouting or singing. Noise apparently keeps the spirits at bay. Certain trees in the jungle which house particularly malicious spirits are treated very circumspectly by Kachins. They will recount tales of people who walked under these trees and ultimately became lost in the jungle. Most people lost in this manner were never found again; those who were found were invariably discovered to have been driven mad by the spirits.

The worship of spirits is, as might be expected, accompanied by a belief in magic and witchcraft. Magic is practised mainly in connection with the destruction of enemies. One common form is to make a model of a dog in wood and coat it with copper sheathing. This image is then taken to a priest who, for a consideration, will cause a particularly evil spirit to enter the image; thus imbued the dog will bite the person it is intended to destroy. Caste is, of course, taken to convey to the person concerned knowledge of the fact that magic is being performed for his destruction and the effect of this knowledge on these primitive people is alarming—they expect death at every turn.

Until the British administration had been in existence for some years witchcraft continued to be the cause of many murders in the Kachin country. The Kachins believe that certain people are born into the world with two souls, one good and one evil, so that one soul can actually leave their body without any

ill effect to them. These people are believed to be able to inflict serious injury, illness, or even death, upon those towards whom their anger is directed either wilfully or by inducement of a third party. These double-souled individuals were dealt with summarily before the arrival of the British administration; they were put to death without more ado.

The Kachins are rice eaters and their agriculture is mainly concerned with the production of their staple food. Kachin agriculture is chiefly concerned in the extremely wasteful and inefficient shifting cultivation. Each year, in the month of February, a large stretch of jungle is fired and cleared. Paddy is planted with the early rain and the crop reaped in the autumn. As the cultivation and sowing is crudely carried out the Kachins invariably find themselves with a poor crop of rice and are compelled to work subsidiary crops of maize, millet, and yams to avoid starvation. Vegetables, such as pumpkins, onions, chillies, and tomatoes, are usually planted with the main rice crop.

Meat and fish are both eaten when obtainable. Cattle are bred on a small scale for sacrifice to the spirits and it is only when such sacrifices are made that beef becomes part of the diet of the people. If there is a river in the tribal area—there usually is, as the Kachin area is particularly fortunate in this respect—then it is periodically fished by the community. This communal fishing is usually carried out by the construction of two dams in an arm of the river at a point where the river is split by an island. Usually the dams closing this arm are built about 600 yards apart. The dams are built at either end of the arm. The upstream dam is partially closed to lower the level of the water and rocks are piled on the bed of the river to a height which brings the top of the rock piles to the level of the surface of the water. Women then place bunches of walnut leaves on these rock piles and pound the juice out into the water. This juice, poisonous to the fish, is allowed to be carried down by the current as far as the lower dam so that the whole stretch of water is impregnated with it. Both dams are then closed and the flow of the river deflected to the other arm; the closure of the dams dries up that particular arm of the river and leaves large numbers of half dead fish lapping about in pools and on the bed. The whole community then moves on to the bed of the river and collects the fish. The whole catch, sometimes totalling as much as fifteen

hundred pounds, is placed on the bank and divided up amongst the community, after an allowance has been set aside for sacrifice to the spirits.

Jungle animals, deer, pig, porcupine, and bison, also contribute to the Kachin dietary. The Kachins are good hunters though their weapons, varying from a flint lock musket to a cross bow, are somewhat rudimentary to western eyes. For big game the cross bow is usually used with poisoned arrows. Game shot with poisoned arrows is treated by the removal of a cylinder of flesh around the point of entry of the arrow and by draining off as much of the blood as possible. Even after these precautions experience has shown that the flesh is not safe for consumption by those unaccustomed to it. The Kachins seem to have developed some sort of immunity to their arrow poison as they maintain that, unless they eat onions with the flesh, it does them no harm; visitors to the hills who have indulged in this meat have been less fortunate and only three years ago two strangers died within six hours of eating a meal which included this meat.

Since the advent of the British administration half a century ago the policy adopted to the Kachins has been one of allowing the tribal institutions to continue, except where those institutions were definitely bad. The Kachin chiefs and elders have, as far as possible, been encouraged to manage their own affairs in accordance with custom. This policy has proven a wise one and has been very popular with the people. In the course of its development a loyalty to the British Crown has grown to a degree which places the Kachin as second to no citizen of the Commonwealth in his loyalty to the Crown and he has given ample practical demonstration of that loyalty in both this war and that of 1914-18. When, in 1939, the Kachins heard that Great Britain was once more at war with Germany they were puzzled; they wondered why, when Germany had been decisively beaten in the last war, the whole German nation had not been disarmed and enslaved in the manner which Kachin custom demands that Kachins deal with their enemies. Kachins had rallied to the call in 1914-18 and they knew the German enemy. Whilst they considered it illogical that this enemy should have been allowed to rise again twenty years after he had been soundly beaten they did not allow that thought to interfere with their

general principle that they regarded any quarrel of the British Crown to be their particular quarrel also. All inter-tribal disputes were laid aside so that the people could devote themselves to the task of destroying the common enemy. When Japan entered the struggle the Kachins were not perturbed; they believed firmly that the British were unbeatable. When the British forces were compelled to retreat from Burma the Kachins were surprised; they considered the Japanese must be a race of super-Europeans to be able to drive out the British and were shocked and surprised when they first saw the little yellow men come into their territory. Despite the trials and tribulations endured by the Kachins in the course of the evacuation of Burma they did not give up any participation in the war. Under the guidance of British Officers they formed themselves into guerilla bands and have roamed the country harassing the Japanese by the traditional Kachin method of fighting—a nasty ambush with the jungle on both sides of the tract studded with mantraps able to maim the most active Japanese.

News of Allied successes in other parts of the world is communicated through secret channels to Kachins even in that territory still occupied by the Japanese; this news merely confirms the Kachin belief that the British Commonwealth is unbeatable and that victory for the Allies will not be delayed much longer. The Kachins carry on the fight and their aid to Allied forces entering Burma will assuredly continue. The war has brought to the Kachins something of their past glory: a half-century of peace did not destroy that love of a fight which centuries of strife had inculcated in this loyal and gallant people.

When peace comes once more to these remote hills there will be long nights of talk around those smoky wood fires; and there can be no doubt that this talk will be flavoured by the constant passing of the bamboo containing the most potent of the Kachin liquors, a beverage rejoicing in the name of *lamu salat* (the sweat of heaven) and only to be imbibed by the more hardy.

In translating the history I must apologise for the use of the Jinghpaw term *Hpaga* throughout the text; this term has even been made plural by the simple expedient of adding the "s". Those of us who work amongst the Jinghpaws have rather fallen into the habit of treating this word as being anglicised because

of the difficulty of defining it in English without running to length. A *hpaga* is an article of a specified type given in compensation in a case, and in each feud decided detailed lists of these articles are furnished by the elders deciding the feud. It was once thought that there were a mere seven recognised *hpagas*; but my investigation shows that the number of articles recognised as *hpagas* even from former times cannot be limited to that number. Recognised *hpagas* from former times were :—

- (1) A buffalo.
- (2) A gong—there are several types of gong and in each case a specific type will be mentioned.
- (3) Silver bullion.
- (4) A slave.
- (5) A cooking tripod.
- (6) A *paso*, either *n'ba jujung* or *n'ba lahkyik*.
- (7) A cooking pot of iron.
- (8) A *dah*.
- (9) A spear.
- (10) A sheepskin coat.
- (11) A silver pipe.
- (12) Opium.

In the *Hkakhky* country the *yanghpaulawng* (Chinese embroidered silk coat), the *n'ba byi sham* (a type of shawl or small blanket commonly used in the North Triangle in making offerings to the *Lamu nat*), and gold are commonly accepted as *hpagas*. A gun and money (to the value of any specified *hpaga* not readily available such as Rs. 100 for a slave) are also commonly met with in the Northern hills.

A few explanatory notes have been added at the end of the translated text.

Simla, December, 1944.

J. L. LEYDEN.

The History of the Kachins of the Hukawng Valley

CHAPTER I.

THE GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE KACHINS.

(I) *The division of the Jinghpaws.*—In the beginning the human race was founded by certain spirits leaving the spirit world and becoming human. The first man was Ningawn Chyanun and the first woman was Majan Woi Shun. They married and their children were :—

- (a) La N'Gam (eldest son), the ancestor of the Nunglawang tribe.
- (b) La N'Nawng (2nd son), the ancestor of the Chinese.
- (c) La N'La (3rd son) known as Sam Wa Lasam, the ancestor of the Shan race.
- (d) La N'Tu (4th son) known as Maru Wa Hkingu Tu, the ancestor of the Maru race.
- (e) La N'Tang (5th son), ancestor of the Nagas and Chins.
- (f) La N'Yawng (6th son) known as Shapawng Yawng Jingmang, the ancestor of the Jinghpaw race.

This family lived in a country to the north of Burma and north of Tibet. The separation into the tribes named took place in that country. The Jinghpaw emigration from this country is estimated to have taken place a matter of 1,400 years ago.

The Nunglawang tribe later sub-divided into Nunglawangs and the Tingga tribe.

(II) *The descendants of Shapawng Yawng Jingmang.* the *Jinghpaws.*—Shapawng Yawng Jingmang took as wife a girl of the Madai family, by name Hpraw Nga. Their son was Shing-ra Nawng who took a maiden Chyabu Nang to wife. Their son was Mashang Labat who married Mahtung Kaw Tsing Lat. Their son was Kading-nu Ning Awn who married Numrang Jan Kadawn. Their son was Kumseng La, a young

man, who took Bwidim Kai Nang as his wife. Their son was Sana-hpung Ning-khawng who married Numrang jan Htu Hkawng. This couple had four sons :—

- (a) La N'Gam (eldest son) named Sana wa Tingsa, the ancestor of the Marip, Lahpai and Lahtawng tribes.
- (b) La N'Nawng (2nd son), the ancestor of the N'Hkum tribe.
- (c) La N'La (3rd son), the ancestor of the N'Dung Hkyet Lasang tribe.
- (d) La N'Tu (4th son), the ancestor of the Magawng Layang tribe.

At this time in their southward trek the Jinghpaws had reached the Majoi Hku country where the sub-division into the above tribes took place. The Majoi Hku country lies at the headquarters of the Mali Hka branch of the Irrawaddy River, and is south of Tibet. It is estimated that this sub-division into tribes took place about 1,000 years ago.

(III) *The descendants of Sana wa Tingsa.*—Sana wa Tingsa married Numrang jan Jai Ba and they had a son named Wahkyet Singawng who married Magawng Kabang Majan and had eight sons :—

- (a) La N'Gam.—Marip wa Kumja, ancestor of the Marip tribe.
- (b) La N'Nawng.—Lahtawng wa Nawng Lawn, ancestor of the Lahtawng tribe.
- (c) La N'La.—Lahpai wa Daina La, ancestor of the Lahpai tribe.
- (d) La N'Tu.—Tsasen wa Tu Sen, ancestor of the Tsasen tribe.
- (e) La N'Tang.—Pyen Tingsa Tang, ancestor of the Pyen Tingsa tribe.
- (f) La N'Yawng.—Tingmaisha Dawng Yawng, ancestor of the Tingmaisha tribe.
- (g) La N'Hka.—Ancestor of the Hkashu Hkasha tribe.
- (h) La N'Kying.—Maran wa Kying Nang, ancestor of the Maran tribe.

This further sub-division into tribes took place in the country lying between Tibet and what is now known as the Triangle a matter of 1,000 years ago. There have been numerous subsequent sub-divisions of the Jinghpaws.

The genealogy of the N'Hkum Tribe.—Mahtum Hkum took to wife a woman known as the Madai Jan and their son was Zinghkum Tu Yau who in turn married a woman who was known as the Jan Jan. They had two children :—

- (a) La N'Gam.—Pasi wa N'Proi, the ancestor of the Pasi Hkum sub-tribe.
- (b) La N'La (3rd son).—N'Pawp La, the ancestor of the Matsi Hkum sub-tribe.

Then Matsaw wa Zinghkum married Kaitsen Ningja. Their son was But Gam Kinshang, who married Hpung-tsin Katse. Their son was But La Sum Mai who married Kaitsen Lu and their children were :—

- (a) La N'Gam.—Lakri Gam N'Gawng Lagut.
- (b) La N'Nawng.—Lakri Nawng, the common ancestor of the Ngalang sub-tribe and the Nawng N'Ja sub-tribe.

And Lakri Gam N'Gawng Lagut took two wives ; as his chief wife (Latung num) he took Sumpratu Kaw, and as his lesser wife (Lashi num) he took Sumpratu Lu. The lesser wife, Sumpratu Lu, was later abducted by Maring La Hpri (also known as Hkra Bring La Hpri), one of the ancestors of the Lahtawng tribe. At the time of her abduction Sumpratu Lu was pregnant by her husband N'Gawng Lagut. When this child was born it was named Share Hkum and he became the ancestor of the N'Hkum Share sub-tribe.

By his chief wife Sumpratu Kaw, N'Gawng Lagut had the following children :—

- (a) La N'Gam.—Sam-maring Gam.
- (b) La N'Nawng.—Yuli Hku Nawng, who became the ancestor of the Hkawn Tingreng sub-tribe,
- (c) N'Sha La, ancestor of the Mashaw Chyashet sub-tribe.

man, who took Bwidim Kai Nang as his wife. Their son was Sana-hpung Ning-khawng who married Numrang jan Htu Hkawng. This couple had four sons :—

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- (d) La N'Tu.—Tsasen wa Tu Sen, ancestor of the Tsasen tribe.
- (e) La N'Tang.—Pyen Tingsa Tang, ancestor of the Pyen Tingsa tribe.
- (f) La N'Yawng.—Tingmaisha Dawng Yawng, ancestor of the Tingmaisha tribe.
- (g) La N'Hka.—Ancestor of the Hkashu Hkasha tribe.
- (h) La N'Kying.—Maran wa Kying Nang, ancestor of the Maran tribe.

This further sub-division into tribes took place in the country lying between Tibet and what is now known as the Triangle a matter of 1,000 years ago. There have been numerous subsequent sub-divisions of the Jinghpaws.

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- (b) La N'Nawng.—Yuli Hku Nawng, who became the ancestor of the Hkawn Tingreng sub-tribe,
- (c) N'Sha La, ancestor of the Mashaw Chyashet sub-tribe.

The eldest son, Summaring Gam, took three wives. His chief wife was N'Gang Pri Htam, his second wife Ningrang Laji Lu, and his third wife N'Pawp Ba Kai.

The children of the chief wife N'Gang Pri Htam were :—

- (a) *La N'Gam*.—Kalangja Matsaw, the common ancestor of the Summatu Tingsa, the Hkrawng and the Summadawt sub-tribes.
- (b) *La N'Nawng*.—Nip Nawng, ancestor of the N'Hkum Kadang sub-tribe.
- (c) *La N'Tu*.—Shingdan Tu, ancestor of the Gumshen Shingdang tribe.

The children of the second wife, Ningrang Laji Lu, were :—

- (a) *La N'Gam*.—(No name), ancestor of the Kumsau Yawngsau and the Shaba Nawng-Ngai sub-tribes.
- (b) *La N'Nawng*.—(No name), ancestor of the Kumji Lahkrang and the Kumhtat Shinglung sub-tribes.
- (c) *La N'La*.—(No name), ancestor of the Du Htung and the Numle sub-tribes.

The child of the third wife, N'Pawp Ba Kai, was :—

- (a) *La N'Gam*.—Lanan Gam, ancestor of the N'Bang Lanan and the Emang sub-tribes.

South of Tibet and north of the Triangle lies the plain known as Ningran Hkatsaw Ga.

Note on Maran wa Kyng Nang.—According to Jinghpaw traditional history Maran wa Kyng Nang was a descendant of Wahkyet wa Singgawng, but this could hardly be correct. His true ancestor lies among the ancestors of Magawng Layang, and his branch of the family separated from the main branch some generations before Wahkyet wa Singgawng. This is borne out by the fact that when the Jinghpaws held a sacrifice at a place known as N'Bahkang Ting-rawng in the Triangle, and divided up the sacrificial animal, the horns were handed over to the Hkashu Hkasha people as a sign that the country was to be regarded in future as the "Uma Ga" and because they were the "Uma" or youngest family branch present. The only people present at the sacrifice were the sons of Wahkyet Wa, and they were all brother

(IV) *The story of the adventures of Marip wa Kumja and Matsaw wa Tsinghkum in the Ningran Hkatsaw Ga*.—While living in Ningran Hkatsaw Ga Marip wa Kumja married Woigawng Sumpyi. After completion of the marriage ceremony he expressed his intention of leaving on a journey, during which his wife was to remain at home. His parents and relative forbade his leaving his wife in such a manner but Marip wa Kumja would not heed and left for the Maru Hkrung (i.e., the Maru country lying between the N'Mai and Salween rivers) with Matsaw wa Tsinghkum as companion. When these two reached the Maru Hkrung they entered into a dispute with the Maru Hkin-gu people as to the ownership of a salt spring. To decide the ownership of the spring it was decided that each side should shoot arrows at a rock, and the one whose arrow stuck to the rock should be declared owner of the salt spring. When they were all gathered for the shooting, which was with cross-bows, the Maru Hkin-gu people shot at the rock first and their arrows would not adhere to the rock. Then Marip wa Kumja and his companion shot their arrows, but they used very weak bows and they tipped their arrows with black wax and so their arrows adhered to the rock. In this fashion they gained ownership of the salt spring. The Maru Hkin-gu people did not make the customary sacrifice but conspired to kill them. The conspiracy failed because the two Jinghpaws had taken lovers among the Maru Hkin-gu girls. When the two men were going to flee from the Maru Hkin-gu people their lovers detained them, telling them to wait till the girls gave the word to flee.

"If we find that our men-folk are going to kill you, we will spin our spools with our left hands when we spin thread. While we continue to spin the spools with our right hands as usual you will know that you are still safe and you can remain here in comfort.

The women killed a fowl and gave them food, but cut off one leg of the fowl and dried it. The men asked why they did this and were told,

"When you fly, at each camp when you have cooked food you must kill the fire with water and then scratch up the ashes with this fowl's leg. Then when our men-folk in pursuit come to the spot they will say that you have got so far ahead that your

ashes are cold and the fowls have been scratching up the ashes and you must be too far ahead for them to have any hope of catching you. They will turn back without any hope of catching you."

So Marip wa Kumja and his companion continued to live there quietly in comfort till one night they saw their lovers spinning with their left hands. They remembered what they had been told and they took the dried fowl's leg and fled. When they stopped to cook food they did as they had been told and used the fowl's leg to scratch up the cold ashes, so when the Maru Hkingu people in pursuit arrived at the place they believed that they were too far behind the Jinghpaws, abandoned the pursuit and returned home. In this way Marip wa Kumja and Matsaw wa Tsinghkum got away safely and were able to return to their parents and relatives at Ningran Hkatsaw.

When Marip wa Kumja arrived home he found that his wife Woigawng Sumpyi had been living with his younger brother Pyen Tingsa Tang, and as soon as he found this out he announced that he was no longer willing to live with Woigawng Sumpyi. His parents and relatives then told him that when he first announced his intention of going on a journey they had attempted to dissuade him as men who were newly married did not usually leave immediately on a journey. He had not listened to them and so this had happened, they pointed out. He was unable to make any reply to their reproaches and so resumed his married life with Woigawng Sumpyi.

Woigawng Sumpyi had four children by Pyen Tingsa Tang. To this day, on account of and as punishment for this offence, the Marip tribe are regarded as the overlords of the Pyen/Tingsa tribe. At her death no proper burial ceremonies were ever performed for Woigawng Sumpyi; her body was disposed of as of no account. To this day when a Jinghpaw quarrels with his wife he says to her, "Your body will be left over like that of Woigawng Sumpyi."

After Marip wa Kumja had lived with his wife again for a while he went off on another journey, this time to the Ginru Ginsam area. As follower he took N'Shu wa Kahtan Pang wa Htangan, and Matsaw wa Tsinghkum took as follower Pasi wa

N'Proi. These four left their homes and journeyed together in the Ginru Ginsam area. On their way home they came to the Hkrang Hka (river) and found it in such a flood that they were unable to cross, so they slept the night at the ford (which is named Dari Kahkan). They had laid down for the night when they saw a light appear on the other bank and N'Shu wa Kahtan said, "At daybreak next morning fix me to the top of that bamboo with a parcel of food and a dagger and then cut down the bamboo so that I fall to the other side of the river."

Marip wa Kumja said that if he did it he was going to certain death but N'Shu wa Kahtan said he would do it whether it meant death or life.

The next morning N'Shu Wa was fixed to the top of the bamboo together with a parcel of rice and a dagger and the bamboo cut so that it fell across the river. When they saw that N'Shu wa Kahtan lay motionless on the other bank, still attached to the bamboo, and that the crows were tearing open and eating the bundle of rice also tied to the bamboo, they believed he must be dead. But Marip wa Kumja collected a bundle of leaves and waved it in the air shouting to N'Shu wa Kahtan that the crows were eating his food. At that N'Shu wa Kahtan moved and recovered consciousness. Hence it is that to this day when a Jinghpaw falls from a tree his companions know that they must wave bundles of leaves to bring him round. When N'Shu wa Kahtan had fully recovered consciousness he shouted to his companions, and asked which was the place where they had seen the light on the previous night. Marip wa Kumja told him it was just about where he was then standing. So N'Shu wa Kahtan got up, started searching around him, and presently found a cave. He entered the cave and inside met Numlang Wa who lived there and who asked N'Shu wa Kahtan whence he had come. N'Shu wa Kahtan told how he and his companions had been travelling in Ginru Ginsam and how he had been put across the stream on the top of a bamboo while his companions remained on the other side of the river. Then Numlang Wa gave him a "Chyaba leaf as a pattern for a raft and a hair comb as a pattern for a paddle. N'Shu wa Kahtan accepted these patterns and constructed a raft and paddle accordingly. On this raft he crossed the river and rejoined his companions on the other bank. They all crossed the Hkrang Hka on the raft and went in a body to the

cave occupied by Numlang Wa. They entered the cave and inside made the acquaintance of Numlang Wa. They began to discuss a matrimonial alliance with him, and Numlang Wa promised to give in marriage to N'Shù wa Kahtan a daughter of his. This was agreed upon.

On the day of the betrothal ceremony Marip wa Kumja and Matsaw wa Tsinghkum were asked to select the pig to be killed sacrifice and they chose a large, fat pig. But in the evening of the same day an old pig with very long tusks appeared and they decided it would be much better for sacrifice. All agreed with this so this pig was sacrificed and the betrothal was performed. The tusks of the pig were taken by Marip wa Kumja, and have been kept to this day as a testimony that Marip wa Kumja was the leading man present. The fact that Marip wa Kumja took the tusks must be mentioned in the ritual of the "Num Lanyi" ceremony in every Jinghpaw marriage.

When the final marriage had followed the betrothal, Marip wa Kumja, N'Shu wa Kahtan, Matsaw wa Tsinglkum, and Pasi wa N'Proi all left together and returned to their homes in Ningran Hkatsaw. After they got home Marip wa Kumja and Matsaw wa Tsinghkum both held a *manau* and they came to a verbal agreement that Marip wa Kumja's *manau* posts should be *Dung-yan* and those of Matsaw wa Tsinghkum should be *Dung-ban*. This agreement holds good to the present, so that Marips make their *manau* posts *Dung-yan* and N'Hkums make their *manau* posts *Dung-ban*.

(V) *The Children of Marip wa Kumja and Woigawng Sumpyi*.—The first four children of Woigawng Sumpyi were by Pyen Tingsa Tang and were illegitimate. Their children were the ancestors of the N'Ding family.

The next three children, the ancestors of all the true Marips, had Marip wa Kumja as father and were:—

- (a) (5th son).—Ancestor of the Hpup-sumpra sha sub-tribe.
- (b) (6th son).—Htaumaja Yawng, ancestor of the Htaumaja sub-tribe.
- (c) (7th son).—Marip wa Zinghka.

La N'Hka Marip wa Zinghka married Gumnen Pyi Ja and their son Dingla N'Den married Gailung N'Sha.

(VI) *The Story of the sacrifice of a buffalo by the Jinghpaws at N'Bu Hkang Ting-rawng in the Triangle*.—Long ago there was found at the place called N'Bu Hkang Ting-rawng a buffalo which could speak. Great discussion is said to have taken place as to the details of the ceremony at which it was to be sacrificed. The discussion concerned the language of the prayers to be said at the sacrifice, the parts to be offered to the *nats*, the division of the flesh, the disposal of the head and the horns, and the actual site for the sacrifice. To decide these questions the Jinghpaws met at N'Bu Hkang, Ting-rawng and all together sacrificed the animal there. When the sacrifice was held the only ones not present were the N'Dawng family. When the feast was over the head and horns of the sacrificed animal were surrendered to the Hkashu Hkasha tribe, the children of the youngest son of Wahkyet Singgawng, ancestor of all true Jinghpaws. The land where the sacrifice was held was also given to them. Then the meeting broke up and all went home.

At sunset that evening the N'Dawng family arrived to find N'Bu Hkang Ting-rawng deserted; only smoke and crows were visible. They knew that they had arrived too late for meat so they decided to collect the scattered bamboos in which meat had been cooked and to lick out the insides. They collected these bamboos, split them lengthwise and licked them but in so doing they cut their tongues. Even to this day people quarrelling with the N'Dawngs can insult and annoy them by saying, "You N'Dawngs who licked bamboos at the headwaters of the Pungkang."

After the sacrificial feast at N'Bu Hkang Ting-rawng the various tribes and sub-tribes of the Jinghpaws separated and migrated to different places. The family under Marip wa Kumja went to live at N'Gang-Hkang; the Lahpai family under Lahpai wa Daina La and the Lahtawng family under Lahtawng wa Nawng Lawn went to the neighbourhood of N'Gaw Bum hill. The Tsasen family under Tu Sen went to the neighbourhood of Hkachyang.

(VII) *The genealogy of Marip wa Kumja and his descendants*.—Marip wa Zinghka (3rd son of Marip wa Kumja and 7th son of his wife Woigawng Sumpyi) took as wife Gumnen Pyi Ja; their son was Dingla N'Den who took as wife Gailing N'Sha;

their son was Dingla Seng Gawng who took three wives. . The first wife was Hpungtsin Katse, the second wife was Hpu Htingra Jan, and the third wife was Gailung Ginlawng.

(a) The Sons of the first wife, Hpungtsin Katse, were :—

- (1) 1st son.—Sing-yau Gam—died childless.
- (2) 2nd son.—Hkrap wa Daigawng.
- (3) 3rd son.—Unnamed—died childless.

Hkrap wa Daigawng took as wife Hpungtsin Hkanau, who bore him three sons :—

- (1) 1st son.—Shingdawng Gam, ancestor of the Rureng Marip sub-tribe.
- (2) 2nd son.—Juri Nawng Tat, ancestor of the Wum Ningrang sub-tribe.
- (3) 3rd son.—Shen La, ancestor of the Ning-gang and N'Dung sub-tribes.

(b) The sons of the second wife, Hpu Htingra Jan, were :—

- (1) Sha Wunla Gam, ancestor of the Sha Wunla sub-tribe.
- (2) Tawlaw Nawng, ancestor of the Zahkung Ginraw sub-tribe.
- (3) Mungyi La, ancestor of the Mungyi sub-tribe.

(c) The sons of the third wife, Gailung Ginlawng, were :—

- (1) Kayang Gam, ancestor of the Māgau Kayang sub-tribe.
- (2) Numnen Nawng, ancestor of the Wun Ma sub-tribe.
- (3) Sharaw Laja La, ancestor of the Lamawng sub-tribe.
- (4) Dingrin Tu, ancestor of the Ding-rin sub-tribe.
- (5) Ancestor of the Ginsa Yuma sub-tribe.
- (6) Shingbwi tu Yawng, ancestor of the Kanangjat Kalung sub-tribe.

These sub-tribes separated and moved onwards from N'Gang Hkang village in the Triangle.

Mungyi La, 3rd son of the second wife, took as wife Hpungtsin Lu Ji. He and his elder half-brother, Hkrap wa Daigawng, returned again to N'Gang Hkang village and their families only emigrated some time later.

(VIII) *The genealogy of Lahtawng wa Nawng Lawn and the Lahtawng tribe.*—Lahtawng wa Nawng Lawn took as wife Htangan Majan and their son was Dang Marin La. He took as wife Katsen Ginli, and their son was Gum-awn Jum who took two wives, the first wife Katsen Hpraw Sha and the second being N'Ding Braishen Roi Ja.

(a) The children of the 1st wife, Katsen Hpraw Sha, were :—

- (1) 1st son.—Ancestor of the Salawng Panhkawng sub-tribe.
- (2) 2nd son.—Ancestor of the Mali Lahtawng sub-tribe.
- (3) 3rd son.—Ancestor of the Sabaw sub-tribe.
- (4) 4th son.—Ancestor of the Dam Natsun sub-tribe.
- (5) 5th son.—Ancestor of the Sana sub-tribe.
- (6) 6th son.—Ancestor of the Kadaw Uma sub-tribe.

(b) The children of the lesser wife, N'Ding Braishen Roi Ja were :—

- (1) N'Hprau Gam, who took as wife N'Sen Kying Mai. Their son was Nawhkum Singgyi, ancestor of the Nawhkum sub-tribe.
- (2) Sumtsan Hpawp, who took two wives : the first being Ugawng Shakoi whose son became the ancestor of the Hpungdaw and the Hkapra sub-tribe ; the second wife being Ugawng Htu Bau whose son emigrated towards the east and became the ancestor of the Nuhkawm sub-tribe there.

Nawhkum Singgyi took as wife N'Gang¹ Ja Bu. Their children emigrated to the Hukawng Valley and became the ancestors of the Nawhkum sub-tribe there.

All the above are the descendants of Lahtawng wa Nawng Lawn.

(IX) *The genealogy of Lahpai wa Daina La and his descendants.*—Lahpai wa Daina La married Ladung Jum Mawn. Their eldest son was Lahpai Ru Gawng who married Lawang Jing Hkun.

Their children were :—

2nd son.—N'Ting Nawng.

3rd son.—Manan La, ancestor of the Dum Sangam sub-tribe.

N'Ting Nawng married Jatsen Ja Rawng and their son was Lahpai Shatat who married Hpungtsin Roi Grawng ; their son was Lahpai Sinyawng. He married Hpungtsin Kai Ja and their children were :—

- (1) Ancestor of the Labu Laja sub-tribe.
- (2) Ninghku Nawng, ancestor of the Ninghku Lahpai sub-tribe.
- (3) Numtin La Jawng.
- (4) Lamu Chyat, ancestor of the Moimai and the Mayan Lahkren sub-tribes.

The third son, Numtin La Jawng, took five wives :—

(A) His chief wife was Hpungnam Pri Proi and her sons were :—

- (1) Laza Sani Gam.
- (2) Shadan Zau Bawm, ancestor of the Shadan sub-tribe.
- (3) Numinawng La, ancestor of the Numnawng sub-tribe.
- (4) Lawmwi Tu, ancestor of the Sumhpawng Sumhka sub-tribe.
- (5) Aura Tang, ancestor of the Zi and Gauri sub-tribes to the east of the N'Mai Hka.

(B) His second wife was N'Ding Lasan and her son was the ancestor of the Ladang sub-tribe.

(C) His third wife was Ladawng Jigrawng, and her son was the ancestor of the Nawhpwi sub-tribe.

(D) His fourth wife was N'Grang Htu Jawng, and her son was the ancestor of the Uri Lahpai sub-tribe.

(E) His fifth wife was N'Nam Roi Grawng, and her son was the ancestor of the Hkinru sub-tribe.

After the death of Numtin La Jawng, his second wife's son Wangrawng Nawng collected and married his father's widow Hpungnam Pri Proi. Their son was Prang Yawng who became the ancestor of the Zi Tawngni sub-tribe in the Tawngni area.

These families only split up and emigrated after the sacrificial feast at N'Bu Hkang Tingrawng.

(X) *The genealogy of Tu Sen, fourth son of Wahkyet Wa, and his descendants and the story of the appearance of the Gumla (republican) principle.*—After the sacrificial feast at N'Bu Hkang Tingrawng Tsasen wa Tu Sen migrated to the place called Kachyang Mada. This is the place now occupied by the Htingnan family in the Triangle. When they had settled at this place the Tsasen family and their relatives made preparations for a *manau*. The buffalo to be sacrificed to the chief spirit the Madai nat, was placed in the charge of the young men.

These young men set the *madai* buffalo free in an open space on one hillock and camped on a neighbouring hillock from which they proposed to look after the animal. The elders came and cautioned the young men to keep a careful watch on the buffalo as it might wander and get lost, and the young men pointed out to the elders the open space where they had released the buffalo and where there happened to be a stone which looked very like the buffalo in their charge.

When it was decided to hold the *manau* dance the young men were told to produce the animal and went to fetch it. They found then that what had looked like a buffalo to them was only a stone. They searched everywhere for the buffalo but they never found it. For this reason, the Tsasen tribe have never performed a *manau* from that time, having lost their *madai* buffalo.

When the tribe split up and spread out from the Kachyang area they crossed the Mali Hka river and moved to the west of it.

Now among the ancestors of the Tsasen tribe there were Jinghkawp Tu and Jinghkawp Tang. They migrated to the west of the Mali to where the Hkitmung hill and the Singgawng

hill meet and settled on the east of the Hkitmung hill.* Their descendants lived at a place called "Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn" near the confluence of the Hpung-in and Hpung-ai streams, near where the Hkitmung and Singgawng hills meet. Whilst living there one of the sons of Jinghkawp Tu married N'Bawn H'inghkrap Jan. He died and on his death his widow was collected by N'La La Grawng and she bore him two more children who were N'Dup Gam Gran and N'Dup Nawng Dai Gawng. The descendants of these children were treated as inferiors by the descendants of the children born from the first marriage, on the ground that they were only children born of a "collected" widow. They were rated as commoners; they had to cut *taung-yas* for the others; they had to surrender a thigh of every animal killed; and they were generally ill-used.

The Tsasen Tangai sub-tribe are the descendants of Jihkawp Tang of Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn. A descendant of Jihkawp Tu, known as Shatan Wa was betrothed to Tangai ma Ja In of the Tsasen Tangai clan. So he sent his elder cousin Loi Leng Wa as an agent to bring the girl to his house for the marriage. The cousin Loi Leng was envious at the thought that Shatan Wa was going to marry the girl, so, while on the way to the girl's house, he gave his followers these instructions, and cautioned them to follow him carefully in the house of the bride's family, "When I say, 'Hpun shan kadaw, wa shan kayaw' wring the necks of all the chickens in the house. When I say 'Tsusa Pupa' you must all run away."

The party duly arrived at the bride's house and stayed in it as guests. One day Loi Leng Wa uttered the expression with which he had acquainted his followers, "Hpun shan kadaw, wa shan kayaw." His followers wrung the necks of all the chickens in the house and roasted them. This action astonished the inhabitants of the house who saw it. After the fowls had been eaten Loi Leng Wa uttered the second expression "Tsusa Pupa" and his followers all fled from the house. At this Loi Leng Wa told the bride's people that all his followers had fled and he must go and find them. He then left the house, joined his followers, and returned to his own house. Arrived there

[* This range is shown everywhere in the Survey of India Maps as the KUMON range; the rendering should be Hkitmung.]

he lied to Shatan Wa and said that the bride's parents had said they could only send the bride next year. He sent word to the bride's people that he could only come for the bride next year as he had been unable to get his followers back to the house; moreover, he said, the rainy season had begun. In the interval that followed Tangai ma Ja In had an illegitimate child by N'Bawn Laja Yawng. One day she went to the Hpung-in stream to wash her hair and carried the baby to the stream with her. She placed the baby on the bank of the stream and while she was washing her hair the alligator of Hkitmung Ningdawn dragged the child away. When the mother searched for the child she found only the tracks of the alligator which had dragged away her child, so she made an oath, weeping and crying out loud, "Oh Mushe! Spirit of Gawlawng hill, free my child for me, split open this Hkitmung Ningdawn, eject the alligator, and I will give you a buffalo as a reward for setting free my child."

Having made this oath she returned home weeping. That night the spirit of Gawlawng hill split open Hkitmung Ningdawn and brought forth the alligator and child. They were placed on a rock which lies on the side of Singgawng hill to this day. So Tangai ma Ja In selected a buffalo for sacrifice to the Mushe spirit and Dumsa La Lawn was called to offer prayers and divine the wishes of the spirit as to this sacrifice. The Mushe spirit decided that the sacrifice must be made to a superior spirit, the Sinlap spirit of the Heavens. At which Dumsa La Lawn asked the Mushe spirit how he was to ascend to the Heavens to perform the necessary ceremony. The spirit replied that if he would really ascend to the Heavens to perform the sacrifice the way to ascend could be made clear to him. Dumsa La Lawn replied that he would ascend if the way was made clear to him, so he was told to close his eyes. He did so and in the twinkling of an eye the spirit of the Heavens raised him up to the sky. Arrived there he was ordered by the Mushe spirit to make the sacrificial offering of Tangai ma Ja In's buffalo to the Sinlap spirit of the Heavens. He made the offering.

While he was in the Heavens Dumsa La Lawn saw a number of villages with clouds of smoke over them. He asked what villages they were. The heavenly spirit told him that it was "Gumlau" (republican) land. He also saw villages in another

place with numbers of houses very close together ; on enquiry he was informed that those villages were the "Gumsa" land. Dumsa La Lawn asked what "Gumlau" and "Gumsa" meant and was told that the Gumlaus were people who maintained all men were of equal rank ; no customary thighs from slaughtered animals were taken and no forcible cutting of fields was required. The Gumsas, he was told, were people who had chiefs ; these chiefs demanded a thigh of every animal killed and free labour for the cultivation of their fields ; they rated as commoners even their own relatives who had not the right to collect dues and insisted on the payment of the dues, labour and otherwise, from these relatives as from other commoners.

Dumsa La Lawn asked if the earth dwellers might not become Gumlaus like those living in the Heavens. The spirit asked if he really wished to become a Gumlau and was told that he did. The spirit told him that he might become a Gumlau if he so desired, and to do so he should take back to earth with him some of the flesh and some of the liquor offered to the spirits at the ceremony he had just performed. On return to earth he was to divide up the flesh and liquor with others, and after doing so to overthrow first of all those who refused to partake in the division.

So when Dumsa La Lawn returned home he did as the spirits had instructed him and divided the flesh and the liquor amongst all his friends and relatives, whom he had called together for that purpose. At the time of this meeting the chief did not attend and partake, so ways and means of achieving his overthrow were considered by the people. From that day Dumsa La Lawn instituted protests against the forcible cutting of fields and the giving of thighs as dues. One day the chief took Dumsa La Lawn on a hunting trip and they killed a monkey. The Chief ordered Dumsa La Lawn to cut up the meat, the while abusing him by calling him an adulterer, a slave and the illegitimate child of a monkey woman. He also struck him on the head with his fist. In return Dumsa La Lawn roasted the monkey's brains in the bamboo pot the chief used for carrying liquor. From that day Dumsa La Lawn utterly refused to join in the cutting of fields for the chief. The Pyen Tingsa N'Ding people who lived at N'Lung Gali Muk also joined in the Gumlau movement. N'Lung Gali Muk lies between the

confluence of Hpung-in stream with the Mali river and the Mananghkang tract. Many other clans living in the N'Lung Gali Muk with the Pyen Tingsa N'Ding people joined their ranks to swell the Gumlau movement.

Later, when the chief was holding a burial feast he placed Dumsa La Lawn in charge of the cooking arrangements. To fetch water for cooking La Lawn cut down the chief's bamboos and cut them into tubes. The chief asked who had felled his bamboos and people told him that Dumsa La Lawn had done it. This angered the chief so that when a young cousin of La Lawn's returned with one of the bamboo tubes full of water the chief cut her down and killed her. Dumsa La Lawn was furious at this and forthwith killed the chief, thus starting the Gumlau movement in earnest. Thus started the great Gumlau rebellion and in course of time every village between Hkitmung Bum and the Mali river had joined in it. As time passed the Gumlaus grew stronger and more troublesome, and the movement passed over the Mali river into the Triangle. They were attacked by the chiefs, who failed to defeat them and who then asked for a truce. A meeting was held and it was agreed that the Gumlaus should not spread to the south of the Hkrang river. Each side produced a sword sheathe and these sheathes were buried, after prayers by the priests, as a token of the agreement reached by the parties.

After this the descendants of Jihkawp Tang went over to Assam by way of the Putao plains and the Chyaukan pass. They were the following subtribes :—

- (1) Gumshen Daihpa.
- (2) Pyisa.
- (3) Hkamti Shan Namsum Wa.

Hkamti Shan Namsum Wa and Gasheng¹Wa joined forces and on their way to Assam past Hkitmung hill fought with the Hkumman people at the upper reaches of the Tayun river. After defeating the Hkumman people Namsum Wa and Gasheng Wa inflicted a yearly due of ten baskets of paddy from each household of the Hkumman tribe ; of this ten baskets the Shan Namsum was to get six and the Gasheng Wa four. After the subjugation of the Hkumman people the Gasheng Wa became

dissatisfied with his share of four baskets and demanded more; the Shan refused to allow him more, so the two parted. The Shan left for Assam and the Gasheng Wa remained at the Tayun river. After the Shan's departure the Hkumman people utterly refused to pay this paddy due; they hit the Gasheng Wa over the head with a pipe (tobacco) and by this insult indicated that he had become merely as the dust which is thrown away after the smoker has finished the tobacco in his pipe; as he had been thus robbed of all prestige the Gasheng Wa could no longer remain in the Tayun country and so followed the Namsum Wa to Assam, living under the Assamese. The Lahpai people with Pyisa followed these two into the Tayun river country and fought with the Hkumman people; they failed to defeat the Hkumman people but remained in the country.

Whilst* they were all still at Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn, some of the descendants of Jihkawp Tu came down to the Hukawng Valley, some by the Lagyep road and some by the N'Dum road. Others came down to the Daru pass road. At that time, in the country between the Hkitmung Bum and the Mali river, there were many strong groups of Gumlaus so the Gumsa people were compelled to move into the Hukawng Valley for land. The names and adventures of those who came down to the Hukawng Valley and fought the Gumlaus in their search for land are all made known in the stories of the Valley; in this history only the adventures of those who came from the eastern side of Hkitmung Bum are described.

(XI) *Those who scattered about the area after the nana: at Ningran Hkatsaw—*

- (1) The Marip Kumja went to N'Gangkhang.
- (2) The Lahtawng Nawng Lawng went to N'Gaw Bum.
- (3) The Lahpai Daina La went to Lahpaitung Mada.
- (4) La N'Tu Tasasen Tu went to Hkachyang Mada.
- (5) La N'Tang Tinsa Tang went to Jin Bum.

THE SEARCH FOR LAND IN THE HUKAWNG VALLEY.

Because of the resistance of the Gumlaus in the country between Hkitmung Bum and the Mali river, Lai'sai Nawng Gumhkawng first went to the Hukawng Valley to seek out land there. Whilst he was living at Tungyang Hkapra, a village in the Sumprabum Sub-division in the upper reaches of the Daru river, he one day saw green bamboo, which had been used to cook meat, floating down the river. This was obviously a sign of human habitation so he went up the river and there found the Hkumman Wa whom he seized and led back to his village. The Hkumman Wa was placed in stocks and kept there for three years. During this three years he acquired a knowledge of Jinghpaw and was able to plead with Lai'sai Nawng, "Sell me into slavery if you wish to or kill me if you wish to."

Lai'sai Nawng replied, "I have no desire to kill you. I intend making you my friend and companion."

Their friendship was duly cemented by an exchange of spears and planting of elephant grass. Once their friendship was established the Hkumman Wa's stories of the various merits of the Hukawng Valley country were instrumental in causing Lai'sai Nawng to embark on a journey to that country with the Hkumman Wa as a guide. Unfortunately, near Hkitmung Bum they got on to the wrong road and this enraged Lai'sai Nawng so that he hit the Hkumman Wa with his spear and injured him. A divination was held as to the reason for this illness and misfortune and it revealed that two chickens had to be sacrificed to the Jahtung Nat. The two chickens were duly sacrificed; the Hkumman Wa recovered and the two discovered the correct road. This particular place is still known to the Kachins as the Hkumman Dang Gumhtung. After leaving this place the two arrived in the Hukawng Valley at Singgai Village, where the Naga-Kasanggai lived. Kasanggai led them to the Tanai Valley to Hkansawng Chyauhpa, who took them before Pangsang Chyauhpa who in turn led them to Hpaknaw Chyauhpa. Hpaknaw Chyauhpa took them before the Mainghkwan Wa. At the

time Laisai Nawng arrived in the Hukawng Valley the only two people in the area were the Hkawseng Shans and the Hkumma wng Hkumman Nagas. After much talk with the Mainghkwang Wa Laisai Nawng returned to Tungyang Hkapra village. At that time the Hkawseng Shans and the Hkumma wng Hkumman Nagas had been in the Hukawng Valley over 400 years. The next year Laisai Nawng decided to change his place of residence so he joined forces with two companions, Lajawn Nawng Hpung and Ure Tsalung Nawng, and set out on their journey. When they reached a place called Madasawn near the Daru pass they saw the Hukawng Valley stretched out before them. From that place Laisai Nawng divided up with his companions the territory of the Hukawng Valley. To Lajawn Nawng Hpung he said, "The west side of the headwaters of the Hkummau river may be taken as your Tsasen Ga, we will take the east side as Marip country. Also the east side of the Shawanang Punghkaw will be taken as Marip country; the west side will be your Tsasen country."

The ancestor of the Lahpai tribe, Ure Tsalung Nawng, heard all this and said he was their follower and thought he ought to be given his share of the land.

The other two answered, "The territory is divided; but there is bamboo showing on that mist covered hill, is there not?"

"Yes, there is," replied Ure Tsalung Nawng.

"Take that country," they informed him.

That place was the foothills of the Wantuk range; it is now Mungawn Ga.

The place which was called by them the Shawanang Punghkaw is now called the Tanai Hka.

In this way was the Hukawng Valley divided up from the Madasawn. After the division had been effected Ure Tsalung Nawng went back to his own village from Hkitmung Bum. Laisai Nawng stayed on at Lungung Bum and Lajawn Nawng Hpung returned to his village. Two or three years after the division of this territory Laisai Nawng settled at Htanghka in the Hukawng Valley. Various other Gumsa people followed him there.

Ure Tsalung Nawng also moved into the land he had been allotted near the foot of the Wantuk range at the Mungawn river; and Lajawn Nawng Hpung settled at Sengtawng near the Tanai Hka.

Many other Gumsa people followed them into the Valley. Those of the Tsasen people who followed in the wake of the Lajawn Wa were:—

- (1) The Tangai. (3) The Maigaw.
- (2) The Wahkyet Munglung. (4) Ningru.

These people settled on the Mungsun Darang-range.

The Sanantu Tsasen and Shingbwiya people settled in the country at the upper portion of the Tabye river. The Ningam and Htaumaja people settled along the length of the Mawning river. The N'hpawn people settled around the lower parts of the Tabye river valley. Some of the Lajawn Sumbaw people settled along the Tawang river and some along the Tanai river. The Hput Huinghkrai Tsasen settled at Nawngseng. The Tangai Tsasen, the Sharaw and Hpuyin Ningkrawp peoples settled in the Manaw Hka Bang Ga, which is now the Gumlau N'Dup Dumsa tract. The N'Bawn Tsasen people with the Pan Salawng and Hkakawp groups settled in the country between N'Bawn and the Hpunghkran river. The Uya and Sana groups were subjects of the Lajawn Wa and came to the Hukawng Valley as such.

It was thus that the Gumsa people entered the Hukawng Valley and their presence there was so troublesome to the Hkawseng Shans and the Hkumma wng Hkumman Nagas then inhabiting the Valley that these people moved away into the Mogaung and Kamaing Subdivisions and to areas further down the Tanai river.

After Laisai Nawng Gumhkang had lived near the Htang Hka for about ten years he was visited one day by Hpaknaw Chyauha who asked, "Is it true, Laisai Wa, that you are searching for more land?"

On Laisai Nawng Gumhkang replying that he had not yet enough land Hpaknaw Chyauha went on, "My land is fertile; it is a place so situate that if your cattle stampede from the

watering place or your dogs suddenly run away you will always be able to get them back. Come and see this land !"

Laisai Wa was delighted to hear this and a date was fixed for their departure. On their way to this Mungkawng river country they met with the Shwari Nagas and had a quarrel with them ; but subsequently they arrived at the country sought after. For two or three years after this journey Hpahnaw Chyauha lived at the Ninghku Lahpai village below the Nambru river ; and on moving from there settled at a place near the Mungkawng river. This place, near Mawlahkawng village and the present settlement of the Jinghkang people, is still called " Hpahnaw Ga."

Laisai Nawng then embarked upon his journey to the new Mungkawng river territory and on the way once more met and fought with the Shwari Nagas. As he was unable to defeat the Nagas alone he called upon the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding people to assist him. They helped him to defeat the Nagas and so were rewarded with the land which accrued from this defeat. Laisai Nawng then passed on his way by the mouth of the Nummaw stream.

About that time many Gumsa people of the Marip, Lahpai, and Tsasen tribes came into the Hukawng Valley. They all followed Laisai Nawng Gumhkang, Lajawn Nawng Hpung and Ure Tsalung Nawng.

Formerly Laisai Wa had given Numtau Roi Sheng to Tanai-bum Nawng of the Tsasen group ; but when called he said he was unable to go to the Hukawng Valley at that time. After that Walawbum Tang took Payawm Shakoi. After this ancestor of Kumnen had accepted Tanaibum Shakoi he came to the Hukawng Valley and was shown by Laisai Nawng the land awarded him along the length of the Nambru river. Thus did Machyawng Gam Gaidu become the head of the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding tribe.

Those groups of the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding tribe who came with the Gumsa people to the Hukawng Valley were :—

- (1) Machyawng.
- (2) Kadang.

- (3) Walawbum and Bungkaw.
- (4) Wadat and Nawngku Shingbwi.
- (5) Kasentu N'Nen N'Bungkhu Maisang.
- (6) Hkinram Le.
- (7) Labawng Kumnen.
- (8) N'Ga Jauyang and Ninggam.

The Ninggam group are the descendants of Kumnen Nawng Munu ; and the Machyawng are the Woisu Woinang and Kan Htingsha groups of the present time. The Machyawng Kadang N'Ding tribe were called to the Hukawng Valley at the time of the Laisai fight with the Shwari Nagas. After this victory over the Shwari Nagas the settlement of the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding people, at Singgai up the Hkummau river was the foundation of the Wadat group now there. The Walawbum and Pungkaw people settled at Bungkaw Bum near Hting-grang and the Labawng Kumnen went to Tanai Bum. Various related groups followed these settlers.

After the Gumsa people had settled in the Valley the slow infiltration of Gumlau people commenced.

For a long time after the Gumsa people settled in the Valley they maintained contact with their related groups in the hills outside the Valley ; but this contact slowly disappeared as it was found that those who went out of the Valley were lost on the road and never returned : similarly those descending to the Valley from the Hills never reached their destination. It took a long time to solve the mystery of the disappearance of this large number of people. It was said that at a jungle camp named Jitdai Lup, on Hkitmung Bum on the Daru pass road from the Hills to the Valley, a fearsome ape-like spirit named Lep Sanam came at night whilst the campers slept and killed them. When this fact was discovered it was obvious that only large bodies of men travelling in company could pass through the Daru pass road ; one or two men could never get through. Then two very strong men named Sangahkum and Machyang-kum decided that they would visit the Hukawng Valley and destroy this Lep Sanam at Hkitmung Bum. They set off on their journey and timed themselves to reach this jungle camp,

Jitdai Lup, before sunset. They arrived in good time and were busy building a shelter when this Lep Dingla, in human form, came to visit them.

"You two have arrived before sunset? The other people do not usually arrive until the sun has set!" he said.

They replied that as they had wished to make a hut they arrived early. As the sun set this Lep Dingla also disappeared. After his departure they agreed that this was the individual responsible for the death of people passing that way and so they prepared their defence against him. They completed the walling of their hut and made a door. After they had collected a billet of wood each they wrapped it in their clothes and laid it down to represent a sleeping man. After they had prepared these dummies they each drew their *dahs* and stood on guard at either side of the open door. The Lep Sanam Dingla, thinking they would be asleep as it was midnight, came to the hut. He saw with pleasure that the door of the hut was open and that the two sleeping men were visible through the open door.

"Ah, good enough! It is all the same whether you arrive as others after sunset, or whether you arrive early as you did," he called out and stabbed and fell upon the dummies.

Sangahkum and Machyanghkum then closed with him, calling out as they did, "It is true then, this is the *nat* which killed all those people."

Thus wrestling the three rolled down into a ravine where the Lep Wa was finally overcome. They were about to kill him when he begged, "Do not kill me! I will give you anything you want. Take me to my house!" ✓

They decided to go with him to his house. They tied him up and made him go in front of them. He led them to a large cave in Hkitmung Bum and on arrival at the entrance the Lep Wa called his wife. When she came and saw her husband tied up she prepared to fight to free him; but he quietened her, saying, "Do not fight! If you fight with these two they will kill me; so go into the cave and bring out the property therein!"

She went in and brought out all the property. When they had been assured that all the property had been produced they collected it into a heap, freed the Lep Wa, and proceeded on their way with the property. The property consisted of all the valuables of those people who had previously been slain.

From that day no other people were killed at the Jitdai Lup camp at Hkitmung Bum. From the property they recovered Sangahkum and Machyanghkum retained only one article of value—that was the **Shaon N'Tsin* (literally flood water). This water was first kept at the house of the Tsasen Chiefs; they allowed it to pass to the Shaihkan-*ni* of N'Bawn who finally gave it as part of a marriage price to the Lungjung Chiefs in the North Triangle; they have it with them to this day.

[*See explanatory note.]

THE ANCESTRAL HISTORY OF THE GUMLAUS AND GUMSAS IN THE
HUKAWNG VALLEY

The Gumlau creed was first interpreted and issued whilst the Gumlaus were still at Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn, a place situate where Singgawng Bum and Hkitmung Bum meet the road to Putao. The Tsasen tribe gave the first interpretation of the Gumlau principle. At the time of parting from the Wahkyet Wa, La N'Tu Tsasen wa Tu Sen had two sons named Jihkawp Tu and Jihkawp Tang. The elder brother Jihkawp Tu had a son who married N'Bawn Htinghkráp; after this son died his younger brother N'La Lagrong collected his widow and they had two further sons who were La N'Gam N'Dup wa Daigrau and, La N'Nawng Dumsa wa Daigong. The descendants of these two reduced and made a subject people of the descendants of the Numdung Jan and thereby the Gumlau trouble was instigated. As the Gumlaus increased daily in strength Gumsa and Gumlau could not live together in peace so some of the Gumsas moved to the Hukawng Valley and others to Assam. Those who went to the Hukawng Valley went by the Daru pass and N'Dum road; and those to Assam by the Chyauhkan road. The Gasheng, Daihpá and Namsum people went to Assam.

About twenty years after they had thus scattered the head of the Gumlau faction, the ancestor of the N'Dup Dumsa group and Htaman Nawng Salawng entered into the Mungsun Dagrang territory of the Gumsa groups of Wahkyet, Munlung, Mai-aw, and Ningru.

The history of the development of the Tsasen-ni from spirits should be read at this point to appreciate properly the effects of this move.

The Gumlaus and Gumsas lived together in peace for some time and even exchanged wives; but ultimately they quarrelled and resumed their old enmity. The quarrel started concerning two Gumlau maidens named Tanaibum Ja Pat and Kaka Hprawsha. These girls had two young Gumlau men named Htaman

Tumai and Ningdang Kumnga as lovers. Two Gumsa young men, Hkakawp Zauhtoi and his brother Zaudoi, came one night to visit these two young women and found them taking lice from one another's heads. At that time the lovers of the girls also came up and one of them, Htaman Tumai, addressed Hkakawp Zauhtoi saying, "You are of chiefs' blood, and you cannot therefore marry our Gumlau girls; we, on the other hand, can marry amongst ourselves without difficulty. So you had better go away from here!" As Hkakawp Zauhtoi and his companion refused to go they were forcibly expelled. They ran away.

When they had sufficiently recovered from their rough handling to realise what had happened Hkakawp Zauhtoi said, "Was there not cause for us to be ashamed of being forced out like that?"

Zaudoi agreed that they had been insulted and that he would assist in killing those who had insulted them. As they sat sharpening their *dahs* by the bank of a stream they recollected a saying of the elders of olden times to the effect that "It is no use waiting inside your house to waylay a man into whom the strength of a Gumlau has entered."

As Zaudoi had said he was dissatisfied and wished to kill those who had insulted him the two went to the hut wherein Htaman Tumai and N'Dang Kumnga were sleeping and killed Htaman Tumai. After this killing the two ran away to Wahkyet Gam and Wahkyet Tu, the sons of Wahkyet Manawli. This Wahkyet Tu was at that time the most knowledgeable elder in the Mungsun Dagrang.

When Htaman Nawng Salawng heard of the slaying of his young brother Tumai he determined to avenge him and went also to the house of Wahkyet Tu. When Wahkyet Tu saw Htaman Nawng Salawng entering his house he hid the two killers quickly in another room. Htaman Nawng Salawng entered the house at the men's side of the building where Wahkyet Tu met him with the greeting "Grandson, are you well?"

To which Htaman Nawng Salawng replied, "I am well, grandfather, I hope you also are prospering?"

"No, I have not been happy since your grandmother left us!" was the reply.

"That is a difficulty which can be got rid of," suggested Htaman Salawng Nawng.

In what way, grandson?" asked Wahkyet Tu.

"You are troubled because my old grandmother is dead, you say; if you get a new wife that difficulty is removed," replied Htaman Salawng Nawng.

Having thus politely opened the conversation Htaman Nawng Salawng introduced the matter of the real reason for his visit.

"Grandfather, my younger brother was killed by braves who are being sheltered by you. I want you to hand them over

Wahkyet Tu replied, "I cannot hand them over: but I will settle the blood feud so incurred."

A settlement of the feud was reached for five *hpagas* and after the settlement Htaman Nawng Salawng returned to his house. On arrival at his village he told the head of the Gumlaus that he had settled the blood feud with Wahkyet Tu for five *hpagas*. The head of the Gumlaus upbraided him for a settlement so small for the loss of his own brother and protested that it was inadequate. Htaman Nawng Salawng asked what was to be done if the settlement was not accepted and the two together considered the matter. After deliberation they decided to join forces to fight Wahkyet Tu, and they furthermore agreed that if either side failed to keep to this arrangement the other had the right to strike at them. In view of this decision to fight Htaman Nawng Salawng returned the five *hpagas* and mobilized his forces for the fight. The wife of the N'Dup Dumsa Wa, who was the head of the Gumlaus, then prepared a load of liquor and took it to Wahkyet Tu with the message that they were not satisfied with the five *hpagas* settlement of this blood feud. When the woman arrived at his house with her burden of liquor Wahkyet Tu was sitting on the front verandah of his house smoothing down split bamboo. She explained the reason for her visit and was told to put her burden down. Wahkyet Tu took all the liquor from the basket and placed therein a spear, thereby signifying that the blood feud was completely settled and finished as far as he was concerned.

Meanwhile Htaman Nawng Salawng had collected his fighting men and when he arrived back at the village was greatly angered to hear that his partner, N'Dup Dumsa Wa, had decided that he did not wish to fight Wahkyet Tu. He reminded the N'Dup Dumsa Wa of their agreement that if one failed to keep the agreement the other had the right to strike him down. This reminder caused the N'Dup Dumsa Wa once more to change his mind and they prepared for the fight. One morning before the fighting started the N'Dup Dumsa Wa carried a long spear to the front of the house of Wahkyet Tu and laid it down there. This sign of approaching trouble was seen by a child from the house of Wahkyet Tu and the house owner informed so that he became aware that the other side intended to fight the matter out and took precautions accordingly. The women of the house were hidden in a place up the Mungsun river; his old father, Wahkyet Manaw Li, was hidden in some bushes near the village and Wahkyet Tu and his elder brother went up the Wakawng road to watch what took place. When the Gumlau forces arrived they saw no one in the house, but one of their number said he would soon get the people of the house back. He got a pig's food trough and commenced beating it: as he beat on the trough he called out "Akale, Akalaw!" as loudly as possible. This wailing sound was interpolated with "Aha, Wahkyet Tu, it made no difference whether you hid or not—we have you now!" From the nearby bushes where he had been hidden by his sons the old father Wahkyet Manaw Li heard all this and concluded that his son had been caught. He came to the conclusion that he had little or nothing to live for if his son Tu was dead. So he came out from the bushes and was immediately killed. A young slave woman was taken from the house as a captive and two cow buffaloes were led away when the attackers retired. Wahkyet Tu and his brother, who did not yet know that their father had been killed, saw from their vantage point the young slave woman and the buffaloes being led away. As Wahkyet Gam leaned forward to look at this party far below them the tree stump on which he had been leaning gave way and he was precipitated down the steep bank into the midst of the attackers' party. As he felt his life was lost in any case he slashed out with his *dah* amongst the party. The Gumlau party were too shocked to realize what had happened so that Wahkyet Gam was able to kill a number of them before they recovered from

their initial surprise. As Wahkyet Tu had seen his brother fall to what was apparently his death he felt his own life was, in any case, lost, so in desperation he leapt from the high bank into the enemy party. As soon as he reached the ground he hit out with such effect that between them the brothers were able to defeat the Gumlaus. When Ningru Tu Hkak heard of the brothers fighting with the Gumlaus he collected fifty armed men and burned out completely the Gumlau village and vanquished its inhabitants. After he had accomplished this he was surprised to hear Wahkyet Tu say, "We two brothers have conquered the Gumlaus without any help." He protested that it was wrong of them to say that no one had helped them; he had helped them and in support of his contention showed his blood-stained hand which he was unable to open up sufficiently to hold his *dah*. His hand was quickly bathed in hot water and he was soon able to grasp his *dah*. Wahkyet Tu then said, "The men of Mai-aw have acted with us; let us divide up the land with them. Let the land on the east side of the Mungsun river be given to our brothers the Mai-aw people and that on the west side will remain our Tangai land!"

Then Ningru Tu Hkak said in verse:—

"Ekale goi e, some Tangai brothers
Have heavy burdens laid upon them,
Those Two Tangai brothers
Will know heavy penalties."

After he said this he refused to accept the land awarded to him. His refusal was prompted by the fact that many of chief's blood had died in the country awarded to him whereas none had died in that land kept by the Tangai brothers for themselves. Wahkyet Tu had divided up this land as he hoped that in future fights with the Gumlaus he would be able to call upon the help of Ningru Tu Hkak.

From the fight which took place on the Wakawng road only one Gumlau escaped. This man, N'Sau La, in running away had got on to the wrong road and had found himself at the place in the upper reaches of the Mungsun river where the Wahkyet brothers had hidden their wives. Recognising N'Sau La as a soldier the women seized him, tied him up with their belts and led him before the Wahkyet brothers. One day the Wahkyet brothers decided to kill N'Sau La and led him to the front of their house

for that purpose; he pleaded for the opportunity to be allowed to say a few words before he died and on this request being granted lamented:—

"Eagle goi e, Wahkyet Tu, the child of Tangai Yawng,
The head of all the Tangai clan,
Htaman Nawng Salawng must die quickly
Let the thread winding reel be beaten as a gong
For those of Chiefs' blood met shame at the Mungsun river
I met shame at the hands of women
Even as they weaved together.
They took off their belts and bound me
They could not kill me with knives,
For they had not the strength to wield them.
Though I am your prisoner, Wahkyet Tu,
Have mercy on me and spare me!
Though we strove hard, we of the N'Sau clan,
We were vanquished at the Wakawng road.
Many of us died at that time;
If I also am to die, fifty widows will remain!"

After this lament had been uttered Wahkyet Tu said he would not kill N'Sau La and spared him; but he killed Htaman Nawng Salawng as a result of a plot by women. One day the wives of Wahkyet Tu and Htaman Nawng Salawng attended a feast given by the N'Dup Dumsa people and, whilst they were both cooking food at this feast, began to discuss the qualities of their respective husbands. Wahkyet Tu's wife said her husband was a good man. Htaman Nawng Salawng's wife said her husband was an exceedingly bad man and she would like to kill him if she could.

"Do you really mean he is a bad man?" asked Wahkyet Tu's wife.

"Yes, I really do mean it," was the reply.

After the two had plotted together awhile the wife of Wahkyet Tu gave Htaman Nawng Salawng's wife a necklace of beads. Finally, after giving a warning that they had a vicious dog on the threshold of their house, Htaman Nawng Salawng's wife fixed a definite time whereat her husband was to be slain. They parted after all had been arranged between them and when Wahkyet Tu's wife returned to her house she told her husband of her conversation with Htaman Nawng Salawng's wife. When he heard of this, Wahkyet Tu hired braves and prepared to go and kill Htaman Nawng Salawng. He left his house

carrying with him cakes of sweet rice which he had prepared to quieten the dog, said to be guarding Htaman Nawng Salawng's house. It was the custom of Htaman Nawng Salawng to sleep with three knives near him; on the night he was to be murdered his wife removed these knives and hid them. When Wahkyet Tu came to the front entrance he heard the dog growl; he threw it some of the rice cakes and killed it just as soon as the cakes were accepted by the dog. When Wahkyet Tu entered the sleeping room Htaman Nawng Salawng awakened with a start and reached out for his knives. He could not find them so he took a firebrand from the fire and fought with that. He was finally killed as his lack of a knife seriously handicapped his resistance; but before he died he had killed two of his assailants. When his children also were killed his wife protested, "That was not part of the arrangement" and cried out loudly. Though she wept bitterly she was not spared; she also was killed. After this victory of the Gumsas over the Gumlaus the latter people could not all remain in the Mungsun Dagrang Hkawng, so they moved up to the Putao road on the eastern side of Hkitmung Bum. When they had moved to this new place the Gumlaus met together. At Chyip Chya on the Tangmai ridge in the Daru watershed they sacrificed a buffalo and four of the Gumlau headmen agreed to go up to the Hukawng Valley to fight the Gumsas. In accordance with this agreement fighting men with the heads of the Gumlau faction proceeded to the Hukawng Valley and, after sending a message of warning to Wahkyet Tu, started the fight.

The message of warning read:—"If you wish to conquer us Gumlaus, clear us away from the Hpakta Numshawn; let your guns sound. If we conquer you Gumsa people, we will drive you from the Kadak Bum Numshawn, and clear you away even as we clear away dung!"

In the fighting the Wahkyet people lost and were compelled to flee to the protection of a relative, Hkawtsu Yawng, and to the Hpungin Ningkrawp people. This relative, Hkawtsu Yawng, lived at Manaw Hkabawng. When Wahkyet Tu and his followers fled so did all the other Gumsa people; the Gumlaus then moved in and occupied the Mungsun Dagrang Hkawng and N'Bawn Ga. When Pan Salawng and the Ningkrawp people saw how the Gumlaus had increased and the territory on Kadak Bum had

dwindled away from them they moved to the Tarung river country. At that time the Hpawa Gumlaus had also moved into the N'Bawn country and the country near the Hpunghkran river and others had moved into the country up the Mungsun river.

The four Gumlau headmen who had been concerned in this successful removal of the Gumsas were:—

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) N'Dup Dumsa. | (3) Ladung Malang. |
| (2) Dam N'Poi. | (4) Bauchyang Ninggyem. |

These four had originally planned the attack on Wahkyet Tu. Up to the present the Bauchyang Ninggyem people remain chiefs of the N'Bawn tract; Ladung Malang, and Dam N'Poi remained with the N'Dup Dumsa people in the time of Lakang Hkyen Nawng Gumhkang.

Not long after the conquest of Wahkyet Tu the Gumlaus found themselves fighting once more. Hkawtsu Yawng of Manaw Hkabawng joined forces with the Ningkrawp-ni to fight the Gumlaus but as their forces were inadequate they called upon the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding people to come and help them in the fight. The Machyawng Kadang N'Ding people collected their forces and set out to help. On the way at a place called Bram Bram Lung Yawng they were set upon by the Gumlaus; thirty of their number were killed and the remainder chased away before they could even reach their destination. This loss of thirty men occurred in the lifetime of Chief Machyawng Gam Gaidu and was a grievous blow to the pride of the N'Ding family who were so dissatisfied that Machyawng Gam Gaidu vowed that whilst he had suffered a set-back at the hands of the Gumlaus he was determined to fight on and defeat them. The Chief did not consider the matter of the death of his thirty men to be of any moment; only the blow to his pride was considered as momentous. He said he intended hiring fighting men from N'Gang Tang in the North Triangle. The expression of this intention was over-heard by an ancestor of the Woisu people named Gumrawng Bawm and he went up ahead to see N'Gang Tang. On arrival Gumrawng Bawm met N'Gang Tang who said, "Who are you?"

Gumrawng Bawm answered, "I am Machyawng Gam, the son of Machyawng Gam Gaidu."

"Why have you come here?" asked N'Gang Tang.

"Machyawng Gam Gaidu sent me here to get your help against the strong Gumlau tribes in the Hukawng Valley," answered Gumrawng Bawm.

For three or four days they discussed the Gumsa-Gummau fighting and at the end of their conversations N'Gang Tang said, "In the morning at cockcrow come to my room!"

Gumrawng Bawm went to his room at the appointed time and N'Gang Tang said to him, "Tell your father Machyawng Gam Gaidu that I will send many fighting men up next year. He must fight on until he wins and not fear that he will lose. He should collect provisions for the large number of men I will send."

A knife-hilt and two blades were then handed to Gumrawng Bawm as significant that the promise of help would be fulfilled.

Gumrawng Bawm then asked, "When you have conquered the Gumlaus, what will you do next?"

"I will drive them away!" answered N'Gang Tang.

"What will you do to the Woisu Woinang and Kan Hting-sha people at that time?" asked Gumrawng Bawm.

"Let them be given an axe handle and go on with their fields," replied N'Gang Tang.

With that assurance Gumrawng Bawm quietly left the men's room.

Next morning after breakfast he took up the knife given by N'Gang Tang and departed on his journey back to the Hukawng Valley. He crossed the Malihka and arrived at Hkrau Bum where he gave voice to the following verse because he had ascertained the intentions of N'Gang Tang:—

"Egale goi e, Gumsa blood will be shed!
If they go on with their intention to fight
They will suffer grievous hurt.
If you, N'Gang Tang, fight us
You will surely die.
Because I know your intentions
I will tell the Gumlaus
And you will be killed.

Your words will make the Gumlaus angry,
They will rage as the wild boar.

I will tell them of your intentions

And the Gumsas will all be destroyed.

Do you Gumsas all wish to die?

Do you wish to be slaughtered, all of you?

Will you proceed with this

Which will result in your destruction?

If you wish to be saved

Abandon those plans of which you spoke,

Abandon them and be saved!

Akale goi e, men of the Jingmang and Lachyung!

Watch by the Daru Pass for the enemy.

You must watch for the N'Gang.

Have no fear of the N'Dup Dumsa,

Who are now Gumlaus and your friends

You, N'Lep Gumsas, are so few in number

You can only run from the fight,

You have no desire to fight the Gumlaus

You will merely run away.

Tangmai Yawng, do not trouble yourself with this fight,

Do not give advice to either side;

For you Gumsas are without chiefs and leaders;

You have become as the Shans.

You should change and become Gumlaus.

I, Gumrawng Bawm Sinwa Li, will now go

To the N'Dup Dumsa for a meeting of all Gumlaus,

To discuss the matter of which I have spoken."

After he had uttered this he travelled on his way and arrived at Tanaihku Ga where he gave one of the blades of N'Gang Tang to the Lachyau people with a warning that they were to clean their land and not leave even a tree stump remaining. He then proceeded to N'Dup Dumsa and met the head of the Gumlaus. Before Gumrawng Bawm had left the North Triangle Machyawng Gam Gaidu's son, Machyawng Gam, arrived at the house of N'Gang Tang. When he arrived N'Gang Tang asked him who he was and he explained he was the son of Machyawng Gam Gaidu of the Hukawng Valley.

"Then who was the man who came here a few days ago?" asked N'Gang Tang.

"That was Gumrawng Bawm," answered Machyawng Gam.

"In that case I have made a mistake," said N'Gang Tang, and he sent four armed men after Gumrawng Bawm with instructions to kill him; but they never caught up to him as he had by that time reached the Hukawng Valley and his information had caused many Gumsas there to turn Gumlaus so that Mach-

yawng Gam and N'Gang Tang could not bring any armed force against them with any hope of success. The explanation of this extraordinary conduct of this former Gumsa, Gumrawng Bawm, and his conversion to the Gumlau creed must be sought in the disastrous ambush suffered by the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding-men who were proceeding to the assistance of Hkawtsu Yawng. The death of thirty N'Ding men at the hands of the waiting Gumlaus at Bram Lung Yawng had been regarded by Machyawng Gam 'Gaidu as of no significance as compared with the blow to his own prestige. That a chief could attach no value to the loss of his men rankled in the breast of Gumrawng Bawm; and his anger against chiefs was increased by the implication of N'Gang Tang that the Woisu Woinang people (his own clan) were only fit to go back and cultivate their fields; so Gumrawng Bawm became a Gumlau.

The statement of N'Gang Tang that the Woisu Woinang should be given an axe handle implied a lowering of their status to the level of commoners. This talk of Gumrawng Bawm had caused all those who were not actually of chiefs' blood to become Gumlau and the only Gumsas left, those of chiefs' blood, could not offer up any hope of successful resistance to the Gumlaus.

As many of the people had killed off their own chiefs and all the commoners (and even some of the relatives of chiefs) had become Gumlaus the Gumsa chiefs dare not venture any resistance; so they ran away, some to Assam and some further down the Tanai river. The Lajawn Sumbaw and N'Hput Htinghkrai chiefs went to the Dalu area: the Lajawn and Laisai chiefs joined and went together to the country near the place where the Uyu river enters the Chindwin and occupied that area after fighting the Shans; the Chyaumawng and Sumbaw chiefs went to the Dalu area, and the Sanantu Tsasen, Shingbuiyang and Ninggam chiefs went to the west of the Tarung river and settled in the Dahkyet Tawa. Some of the Machyawng Kadang N'Ding went to the Dagum plain and others to Lama Bum. Some of the chiefs gave wives to the Gumlau headmen and thereby remained with them in the friendship brought about by that relationship.

The Tangai Tsasen and Mai-aw Tsasen went to Assam; but before they went they said they had information that 7,000 fighting men would arrive and this caused a meeting to decide

whether any peaceful settlement could be reached. They informed the Gumlaus in regard to this approaching army that though the Gumlaus and Gumsas were brothers there would have to be more fighting; so this peace meeting was arranged and a peace decided. The meeting was held at a place on the Tara Hka and on that day a division of land was effected. The land on the west of the Tanai river was Gumlau land and that on the east Gumsa. That on the west of the Tarung river was Gumlau and that on the east was Gumsa. On the west side of the Tarung river, where Yawngpang Maran village is now, the land was handed to Ningkrawp La as his tract.

Before Hkawtsu Yawng went to Assam he called Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng, a Ningbyen N'Ding of Ningbyen village in the Lachyau land, and handed over to him a stretch of land along the Tarung river. Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng moved into this land and called it Ningbyen Ga from that time. Having handed over this land Hkawtsu Yawng and the Mai-aw Tsasen went to Assam to join their relatives, the Pyisa and Gasheng Daihpas. These two people were those described formerly as having gone to Assam from the Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn by way of the Chyaukan road.

The Gumlaus all moved into the country between the Tarung and Tanai rivers and their numbers were slowly increased by the advent of people who joined them from the other parts of the hills.

The N'Hkumshangs came and settled along the Tabye river, with Magwitawng Nawng as their elder. The Gumdung people, also of the N'Hkum tribe, settled near the Tawang river and these N'Hkums were followed by other of the same tribe.

The Wara N'Koi settled near the Hpungkrañ river and the Maran Nawngsa below N'Bawn Ga. The Hkasha people settled on the west of the Tawang river.

At that time the heads of the Gumlaus were the N'Dup Dumsa. Under them were:—

- (1) The Ladung Malan.
- (2) The Bauchyang.
- (3) The Dam N'Poi.

The Bauchyang lived at N'Bawn Ga, the Ladung Malang at Ladung Hka and the N'Poi at Mungsun Ga. When the head of the Gumlaus was changed Chyinglung Laka succeeded to the office: he lived at the junction of the Mawning Hka and Brambram Hka.

At the time of this settlement of Gumsas and Gumlaus in the Valley the Kings of Burma were still ruling and they authorised certain divisions of the territory into tracts and gave each tract-head authority over it.

Four Gumlau tracts were constituted and they were :—

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| (1) N'Dup Dumsa. | (3) Ngasha. |
| (2) Bauchyang. | (4) Dam N'Poi. |

The Dam N'Poi authority was in the hands of Chyinglung Laka Tu.

Eight Gumsa tracts were also authorised and these were given appointment orders as under :—

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| (1) N'Ding | (5) Lahpai |
| (2) Lalawng | (6) Nawngbum |
| (3) Ningbyen | (7) Mungyi |
| (4) Tsasen | (8) Daihpa. |

Three of these tracts were west of the Tanai river and five east.

At the present time the holders of the Gumsa " bans " are :—

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| (1) Walawbum | (4) N'Wanghkang |
| (2) Anai | (5) Hpauma |
| (3) Ninghku Lahpai | |
| (these five are on the east side of the Chindwin)— | |
| (6) Ningbyen | (7) Sharaw |
| | (8) Daihpa |
| (these three are on the west side of the Chindwin); | |

The Gumlaus who hold similar authorisations are :—

- | |
|--|
| (1) N'Dup Dumsa |
| (2) Taring Hkasha (holding that of the Ngasha) |
| (3) Bauchyang |

These people are Gumlaus so their " ban " is called a " Gumlau ban " which is strange as this " ban " amounts to a chief's appointment order—and the Gumlau element does not acknowledge the rights of, or even the existence of, chiefs. It is about 300 years since the Gumlaus and Gumsas settled at peace in the Valley; their settlement caused the Hkumman Nagas to cross over to the west side of the Chindwin and finally to establish

themselves in the hills between the Putao Subdivision and Assam. Some of the Shans also departed down the Chindwin river; others settled in Mogaung and Kamaing Subdivisions.

The Tsasen Gumsa Ningkrawp La had one more fight with the Gumlaus before he escaped to Assam. He was beaten and driven away. The Gumlaus chased him and his men to Nahpai in Assam; at Nahpai the Gumlaus were checked by stones being hurled upon them so they returned to the Hukawng Valley after having shouted a warning to the Gumsas to return to the Mali and N'Mai river country, whence they had come. When Ningkrawp La went to Assam all the Tsasen Gumsas followed him.

The head of the Gumlaus at that time was Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng and he got into contact with Madawk Gawhkai, head of the Assamese Kachins as he heard these people wished to turn Gumlau. Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng went to Assam to see Madawk Gawhkai; but before he arrived the Tsasen Gumsas got there, and saw that a Gumlau movement was afoot. They met Madawk Gawhkai and said, "An important man from the Hukawng Valley will come and see you. He will proclaim that he is your friend but beware of him for he is really your enemy!" Then Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng arrived and met Madawk Gawhkai.

"We meet as brothers, let us be friends! My people wish to fight against the Kachins in Assam; but I will help you. That tribute which you cannot now collect I will help you to collect," said Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng on arrival.

As they thus talked in a friendly manner the Tsasen Gumsas stole away and killed the only child of Madawk Gawhkai.

When the loss of the child was discovered a search was started. As this investigation was proceeding the Tsasen Gumsas taunted Madawk Gawhkai. "Look what has happened! Did we not tell you! Did we not tell you that this man from the Hukawng Valley with the friendly talk was in reality your enemy?" Madawk Gawhkai believed their lies; Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng was seized, and after his hands and feet had been secured in iron shackles he was thrown into the lake at Tabuzup.

More will be mentioned of this matter in the course of the history of Daihpa Gam.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF PYISA AND NINGBYEN WONGDU NAWNG

When Hkawtsu Nawng was about to leave for Assam he called Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng and handed over to him a stretch of land by the Tarung river. On receiving this land Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng moved into it from Ningbyen Lach-yau Ga where he was then living. After he had been in this new land for twenty or thirty years the Pyisa Wa, who had formerly gone from Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn to Assam by the Chyaukan road, came with thirty households of Assamese subjects to the Tawangdan in the Hukawng Valley. He sent some of the Assamese up the Saksai river to survey the agricultural prospects there and left them to wait.

When Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng heard of this he said "There is no room for two buffalo bulls in one buffalo wallow

Pyisa ignored this warning so Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng drove the Assamese from the area. This angered Pyisa Wa and he moved out of the Tawangdan to a place above Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng's village near the Tarung river; this country up the Tarung river is still known as Pyisa Dan.

The anger of the Pyisa Wa made him determined to cause trouble for his enemy, Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng, and when the Burmese "Wun" came up to collect tribute an opportunity was afforded. Pyisa Wa hammered out a model of a pumpkin in gold and when the Burmese "Wun" arrived he approached him with this model.

"Sir, I have only a golden pumpkin and a jackfruit; Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng has the root of this golden pumpkin plant and even if you, master, demand it from him he will not give it to you. He has seeds for this golden pumpkin plant. If you seize his son and hang him upside down over the smoke from a fire I am sure Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng will give you the seeds!"

The Burmese "Wun" listened to these words and then called up Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng.

"They say you have the seeds of the golden pumpkin plant; give me some seeds!" demanded the "Wun."

"I have no such seeds, you have been told lies," replied Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng.

"I have not been told lies, I know you have the seeds so give them up," insisted the "Wun."

"Sir, I would give you them if I had them; but it is not true that I have them," replied Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng. As Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng did not produce the seeds after many demands his son Ningbyen Hkuma Nawng was seized and a further demand made. This had not the required result so after having been caused a great deal of trouble the Burmese "Wun" released the boy. This incident caused a great deal of bitter feeling between Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng and Pyisa Wa.

When a quarrel broke out between the Ningru people and the Munggang Shans, both then living in Assam, both sides sent messages to the Pyisa Wa and Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng that the Shans were preparing to leave Assam so both Pyisa Wa and Wongdu Nawng set out on the road to meet the Shans. They met on the road and questioned one another as to where they were going and the matter of the message received regarding the Shans was explained; as both were going to the same place they went quietly along the road together. They did not speak to one another as they went along but on reaching a village they made an agreement that when they met the Shans they would not speak to one another but the first one ready to move should stand up and call out "Come, let us go!"

They met the Shans and as Pyisa Wa was ready to move first he stood up and called out, "Come, let us go!"

Not a Shan moved. As Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng had then completed his packing he stood up and called, "Come, let us go!"

The Shans stood up, shouldered their baskets, and followed him. Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng took the Shans to Ningbyen village and from there told them to go to the Singkaling Hkamti lower down the Tanai river. Then he died.

After his death his son Hkuma Nawng had a further quarrel with Pyisa Wa and fighting broke out between them. Because of this heavy fighting Ningbyen Hkuma Nawng decided to move down to Nummaw Dung in the Uyu river country. He made his intention known but the Htaumaja, Hpup Sumpura, and Lamawng people dissuaded him from carrying it into effect and he went on fighting the Pyisa Wa.

It was said of the fighting between Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng and Pyisa Wa "As one man dies another appears to die also" thereby signifying that the fight had been long and bloody. Both sides were tired and because of this the Pyisa Wa, who had had more than enough of this fighting, went one day to the Tarung river and prepared from a plantain tree the image of a woman. He dressed this image, decorated it with earrings and a necklace, and placed it upon a raft. The raft he pushed off downstream into the river. This image signified that he had become as a woman and could fight no more so that he wanted peace. Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng had watched this incident and when the raft pushed off from the shore he drew it in again as a sign that he accepted the peace. So peace was restored and the two parties sealed their friendship by the exchange of women. After this peaceful settlement was reached the two parties moved to Assam, where the Pyisa people are to this day. The Shans at present in the Singkaling Hkamti are the descendants of these Munggang Shans.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE DAHPA PEOPLE.

After the Gumlau rising at Hkitmungnaw Ningdawn and the subsequent Gumlau-Gumsa fighting Hkamti Shan Namsum Wa and the Gasheng Wa left for Assam by Chyaukan road. They were followed into Assam by the Daihpa and Pyisa people.

Before they arrived in Assam the Gasheng Wa and Namsum Wa fought the Hkumman people on the west side of Hiktung Bum near the Tayun river. Victorious in this fight a due of ten baskets of paddy from each household was inflicted on the Hkumman clan. The paddy was divided so that the Namsum Wa received six baskets and Gasheng Wa four. Gasheng Wa was dissatisfied with his share of only four baskets and so quarrelled with Namsum Wa who left the partnership and went to Assam. After they divided forces the Hkumman refused to pay the paddy due and insulted Gasheng Wa by hitting him over the head with a tobacco pipe. Being unable to fight back this insult he followed Namsum Wa into Assam and lived with the Assamese.

The Pyisa and Daihpa people then arrived at Tayunhku and defeated the Hkumman clan once more. The Hkumman were subjugated but after the Pyisa had lived there some time they moved to the lower Darap river land. This arrival and conquest by the Pyisa and Daihpa people took place about 300 years ago. In Assam the Daihpa people joined with the Tsasen Gumsas from the Hukawng Valley. Fear of the Gumlaus had caused many groups of Kachins to move to Assam. The Pyisa, after their failure to defeat the Ningbyen, had returned to Assam.

This occurred whilst Madawk Gawhkai was still governing in Assam: the British Government had not then arrived. The head of the Gumlaus in the Hukawng Valley at that time, Lakang Hkyen Nawng Gumhkawng, had come to Madawk Gawkhai in Assam and had told him of the intention to fight his people, to turn them Gumlau and to let them govern even in places where Madawk Gawhkai could not himself govern. Before Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng had arrived on his mission to obtain the friendship of Madawk Gawhkai the Tsasen

Gumsas had warned Madawk Gawhkai of the chief who before long would come from the Hukawng Valley protesting friendship—affecting brotherliness and friendship to the degree of eating from the same rice plate—but who was really an enemy.

Lakang Hkyeng Nawng and Madawk Gawhkai spent many days discussing their spheres of influence and whilst these discussions were going on the Tsasen Gumsas took away and killed the only child of Madawk Gawhkai. While the father searched for his lost child the Tsasen Gumsas reminded him of their warning that the chief from the Hukawng Valley would come in the guise of a friend but was really an enemy and his offers of friendship should be refused; who else would kill his son, they asked. Madawk Gawhkai believed them, seized Lakang Hkyeng Nawng, shackled his hands and feet, and threw him into the lake at Tabuzup. For seven whole days after the body was thrown in the water continued to bubble. This incident occurred 250 years ago.

After that time the Burmese Government ruled; the Burmese Government ruled first in the lifetime of Gasheng Tu and Daihpa Gam.

Gasheng Tu took a child of the Pyisa family, named N'Gaw Ja Pan, to wife. One day Gasheng Tu sent word to his cousin Daihpa Gam asking him to come over and see him. Daihpa Gam came and on the way met Gasheng Tu, who was setting out on a journey. Gasheng Tu asked him to look after the tract in his absence and to collect dues from the Assamese who would come to pay them if he sat on a high place near the village each morning. Gasheng Tu went on his journey and Daihpa Gam went to the appointed place and sat down. The Assamese came, looked at him and went away saying that this was not their overlord. He sat for two more mornings; but as the Assamese refused to pay him he became annoyed and ashamed and returned to his own house even before Gasheng Tu returned. About ten years after this occurrence the Burmese "Wun" came up to the Valley and called Gasheng Tu and Daihpa Gam to see him. Only Daihpa Gam went and met the Burmese "Wun."

"Daihpa Gam, have you not an elder brother?" asked the "Wun."

"Sir, I have an elder brother," was the reply

"Who is he?"

"His name is Gasheng Tu."

The Burmese "Wun" then produced a *passo* and handed it to Daihpa Gam for delivery to his brother with instructions to tell his brother to come when called the following year. Daihpa Gam said that he would call Gasheng Tu and returned to his village. He did not, however, deliver the *passo* to Gasheng Tu as he was highly dissatisfied over his previous treatment when looking after the Gasheng tract.

Next year the Burmese "Wun" arrived again and Daihpa Gam alone once more appeared. The non-appearance of Gasheng Tu annoyed the "Wun" who sent out men and had Gasheng Tu brought in under arrest. He was produced before the officer.

"Last year I sent you a *passo* by the hand of Daihpa Gam and with this present sent word that you were to appear before me when called this year. This year when I called, you failed to appear again. Why was this?"

"Sir, I did not know you called me and I never got the *passo*," answered Gasheng Tu.

Daihpa Gam was then called and questioned. He was asked if he had given Gasheng Tu the *passo* and message and he replied that he had explained to Gasheng Tu that the "Wun" had called him. On this evidence Gasheng Tu was taken under arrest by the Burmese and subsequently died.

After Gasheng Tu's death his son Gasheng Ninggun was highly dissatisfied over his father's death and the blood feud so brought upon him so he set about to look out a hired brave to avenge his father. He crossed over to the Triangle as he had heard of Wum Roi, a notorious killer there; but Wum Roi had given up all killing and so could not be employed. After hearing of Wum Roi's abandonment of his former occupation Gasheng Ninggun saw a place in the east from which smoke rose day and night; he asked whose house that was and was informed that it was that of a famous killer Nawhkum Karing. An attempt to hire Nawhkum Karing also failed as he also had stopped killing.

After the failure to hire braves by Gasheng Ninggun, Lakang Hkyeng Tu, the younger brother of Lakang Hkyeng Nawng Gumhkawng, the head of the Gumlaus, had called a force and had gone to Assam to search for his brother's head and to ask for the compliance of the Tsasen Gumsas in the killing of Madawk Gawhkai. The Tsasen Gumsas refused to agree to the killing of Madawk Gawhkai so after being away three years Lakang Hkyeng Tu expressed his intention of returning to the Hukawng Valley. At this the mother of Gasheng Ninggun, N'Gaw Ja Pan, spoke up and said :—

"My brothers-in-law, it was not Madawk Gawhkai who killed your brother ; it was Daihpa Gam."

"Is that true?" asked Lakang Hkyeng Tu.

"It is certainly true!" was the reply.

So Gumlau Lakang Hkyeng Tu collected his men and in the course of a fight Daihpa Gam received nine knife wounds and was left for dead. The attackers thought they had killed him ; but his own slaves came out and picked up his wounded body and carried it outside the compound. In accordance with custom they sacrificed a dog on behalf of the wounded man and then carried him away into the jungle where he recovered after treatment. All this happened merely because these Assamese refused to pay their dues to Daihpa Gam ; both sides met trouble and shame as Gasheng Tu died in a Burmese prison.

After he fought with Daihpa Gam, Lakang Hkyeng returned to the Hukawng Valley.

The British Government had not entered and taken up the Government of Assam at that period so that it was a time when the strongest and most lively forced their way into power and their will upon those subjugated. Daihpa Gam, after he had recovered from his wounds, returned to the Hukawng Valley and stayed in the house of Gum Wa while he was investigating the matter of the assault upon him. While he was living in the house of the Gum Wa he mentioned that he would fight the Gumlaus as though he could not be certain that Lakang Hkyeng Tu, head of the Gumlaus, had cut him he strongly suspected that was the case.

"Daihpa Gam, the bamboo spikes which stuck in you came from the bamboo sacrificial cross of Chyinglung Laka Tu who lives at the junction of the Mawning and Bram Bram rivers," said Gum Wa on hearing the accusation against Lakang Hkyeng Tu.

"Is that true?" asked Daihpa Gam.

"It is," replied his companion.

On hearing this Daihpa Gam went over to the Triangle in search of Nawhkum Karing, the killer whom Gasheng Ninggun sought. On hearing of Daihpa Gam's proposed mission N'Gaw Ja Pan, mother of Gasheng Tu, sent a message to Nawhkum Karing asking him to kill Daihpa Gam on his arrival. On hearing of this intention to kill Daihpa Gam the wife of Gasheng Ninggun called out three times sorrowfully : "I wonder if it will concern your mother or your father?" Considering this question the wife of Gasheng Ninggun knew that if the reply was that it did not concern his father it was their intention to kill their uncle. The reply was that the matter concerned both.

When Daihpa Gam arrived Nawhkum Karing asked him why he had come and whether his visit concerned a demand for a marriage price.

"No, son-in-law, I do not come for a marriage price. Look at my body!" replied Daihpa Gam whilst removing his coat to show the marks of the nine wounds he had received from the Gumlaus.

"The time has now arrived for you to avenge this, son-in-law!" said Daihpa Gam, and with the idea of avenging this wrong he returned to the Hukawng Valley with fighting men under Nawhkum Tang, younger brother of Nawhkum Karing. Satisfied that his vengeance was at hand Daihpa Gam returned to the Hukawng Valley to fight the N'Dup Dumsa Gumlaus. The news of his coming also reached the Gumlaus and Chyinglung Laka Tu took his men to N'Dup Dumsa where they waited in the compound of the N'Dup Dumsa who were the heads of the Gumlau faction.

When Daihpa Gam arrived in the Hukawng Valley he did not go to N'Dup Dumsa to fight ; he went to the compound of Chyinglung Laka Tu and took over that place. The present village of the Daihpa people is the former site of Chyinglung Laka Tu. As Chyinglung Laka Tu waited at N'Dup Dumsa he heard

of the capture of his land by the Daihpa force, so he collected his men and took them by river to his former stronghold. Four days of fighting availed nothing against Daihpa Gam's men and Chyinglung Laka Tu lost his life.

When he knew that Chyinglung Laka Tu was dead, Daihpa Gam came out of the compound and called out loudly "Is there anyone else wishing to settle any blood feud with me?" As no one replied the forces were all dispersed and the fighting died down. From this fight the Daihpa people attained the land of Chyinglung Laka Tu and remained there up to the present time. They never returned to Assam.

Before Daihpa Gam had been many years in this place Tabawng Zau Sam, son of Tabawng Yawng of Tabawng Ga in the Hukawng Valley, took a Pyisa woman to wife. Tabawng Zau Sam took his wife up to Assam to see her people. Whilst there he decided he did not want his wife further and so returned leaving her with her people.

Wahkyet Chyang Nawng eloped with this woman, so his younger brother Wahkyet Doi La was, in accordance with Kachin custom, seized and put in stocks. Many days passed but the Wahkyet people made no attempt to purchase the release of Wahkyet Doi La; neither did they return this woman who was the wife of Tabawng Zau Sam. The Pyisa finally released Wahkyet Doi La and sent him back to his people with a message. They informed him that at the time of elopement his brother's wife was wearing two necklaces; one of these necklaces he could retain as compensation for his seizure and captivity the other must be returned to them. When he returned to his brother's house he asked for the necklace as a condition of his release. His brother refused to give it saying, "If you want the necklace you must also take the woman." At this refusal Wahkyet Doi La went to the Hukawng Valley, saw Daihpa Gam and discussed many matters with him.

When you were cut so badly it was not the Gumlaus who did it," Wahkyet Doi La explained to Daihpa Gam, "There were four Pyisa guns present on that day."

"It may be true that the Pyisa took part in that fighting but as a result of the fighting I was able to get this land from the Gumlaus. If I go up to Assam the Gumlaus will come and take

the land back. If you wish for my help in your fighting you had better go and tell the N'Dup Dumsa Gumlaus," replied Daihpa Gam. Wahkyet Doi La went up to N'Dup Dumsa and met the Gumlaus there.

"Your ancestor, the head of the Gumlaus, Lakang Hkyeng Nawng, who was shackled with irons and thrown into the Tabuzup lake in Assam, was not murdered by Madaw Gawkhai. It was the Pyisa people who did it. As Daihpa Gam is not satisfied regarding the matter of his wounding he wants to go up to Assam and fight the Pyisa; but he feels that if he is not here you will take back his land," said Wahkyet Doi La in explaining the purpose of his visit. The Gumlaus were glad to hear this and replied to Wahkyet Doi La, "Go back to Daihpa Gam and tell him that he may go up to Assam to fight the Pyisa. We will not take back the land. We will keep guard on it for him in his absence." Wahkyet Doi La carried this message back to Daihpa Gam who decided to go to Assam and fight the Pyisa. He got ready with his men and went to Assam. As the Jagun and N'Htem people were on bad terms with the Pyisa over a refusal to return slaves N'Htem Htingnu Rin went up with Daihpa Gam as one of his warriors.

On the way Daihpa Gam and his men slept one night at Tayun Hka. After they had eaten their evening meal, Daihpa Gam asked his men how much rice they had left. As they produced their bundles of clothing from the baskets their rice streamed down into a heap upon the ground and there became all mixed with sand. However, seeing this did not distress them. They said, "If we win to-morrow's fight there will be plenty to eat. It is the same whether you die eating or fighting!"

Early next morning they entered Pyisa village and fought. After having killed 99 of the Pyisa and eaten their fill they prepared themselves for further fighting by making a fort around a main house-post five fathoms in girth. The Pyisa then went and informed the officials of the British Government in Assam about this fight and troops were brought up to help the Pyisa.

For two or three mornings after their arrival the British sent a follower up to the fort to shout and tell these troublesome visitors to go away peacefully. Daihpa Gam fired at this

messenger with a gun. Having waited patiently for three mornings the British then destroyed the fort with a cannon. Daihpa Gam was not captured and he escaped back to the Hukawng Valley. Three or four years after he arrived back in the Hukawng Valley, Daihpa Gam was called before the Burmese King at Mandalay where a British Captain had arrived to decide this case of the Pyisa fighting. On his way to Mandalay Daihpa Gam went into Mogaung and visited the "Wun" there. It is said that he wept on the shoulder of the "Wun" and stroked his beard saying that the beard of the "Wun" was as the beard of his father. The "Wun" then asked him why the King had called him to Mandalay and was told that it was probably on account of his fight with the British.

"Where did you fight the British?" asked the "Wun."

"On the Burma side of what was formerly decided as the Burma-Assam frontier!" was the reply.

"Tell me, then, what was the decided boundary?" asked the "Wun."

"That I do not know," replied Daihpa Gam.

So the "Wun" explained the details of the boundary to him and together they went to Mandalay. On arrival at Mandalay they went before the British Captain and the Burmese King for decision of the matter. Daihpa Gam took off his coat and showed the King the wounds he had received from the Gumlaus.

"Sir," he explained, "I did not go into their country to fight—they came into your country and fought me. Look at the wounds I received."

"Can you describe the frontier of the country?" asked the King.

An affirmative reply being given Daihpa Gam was asked to do so and his description was that in which he had been tutored by the Mogaung "Wun"

*Htau malin gau gam
Maisaulung gung gung
Hkindu Makyt mai*

After referring to a book the King decided that Daihpa Gam had won the case over the British Captain. Daihpa Gam was given permission to fight his enemies and was also given the saddle, clothes, hat, and *dahs* of one of the King's fighting men

together with a high office under the King. After this matter had been decided Daihpa Gam went to a Burmese merchant with a bottle of gold and sand mixed which he had brought down with him from his village. He showed the gold to the merchant and told him there was a great deal of it in his tract. The merchant was surprised, he bought the gold for Rs. 3,000 and said he would come up later to the Daihpa country. With his office from the King and this large amount of money Daihpa Gam was able to take a large force of Burmese soldiers up to the Hukawng Valley where he intended building a palace.

The jungle at one section still grows in a line following the frontier between Assam and Burma which was the place described as Htau Malin Gau Gam, Maisaulung Gung Gung, Hkindu Mahkyit Mai.

Daihpa Gam, bearing office and under the instructions of the Burmese King, returned to the Hukawng with his Burmese Officer and men. On his way back he entered Walawbum village and explained to the Walawbum people, "My brothers-in-law, I have received only a small office from the Burmese King; that chief who can deliver a pure white man to the King would get great office!"

He made this statement as he had promised the Burmese King that when he arrived back in the Hukawng Valley he would send down a white man.

The Walawbum chiefs consulted their relatives the Ningbyen and finally decided to send the N'Zang albino. They took this albino to Mandalay and after they had offered it to the Burmese King asked for high office. They said the white man was the man sent by Daihpa Gam. The King refused to give them office of any kind and the Walawbum people returned sorrowfully to the Hukawng Valley. They were exceedingly angry with Daihpa Gam.

On his arrival at his village Daihpa Gam prepared to build his palace. He sent word out to all the chiefs in the Valley to bring him one post each to help in the building of this palace. The head of the Gumlau faction, Matsawhpyi, refused to produce a post and went to Munghkawm jungle after Daihpa Gam with a force of eighty men. Daihpa Gam was waiting there for him surrounded by his Burmese soldiers after the Burmese

manner of fighting. When the force of Matsawhpyi arrived his force was spat upon by the Burmans who then retired to Daihpa Gam's house. Daihpa Gam entered his house and the Burmans suggested that they beat and drive away the Gumlaus.

Daihpa Gam said, "If we beat these people we will not be able to stay here," and then entered his living room. The Burmans outside murmured against him and declared he had lied to them in saying he was the Jinghpaw King; they decided to have no more to do with him and returned down country.

After their departure Daihpa Gam was never able to build his palace so he moved to the place where they now live. That place is the former village site of Chyinglung Laka Ta.

The Daihpa Chief still has the saddle and many of the letters he received from the Burmese King. He has also Appointment Orders from each of the Burmese Kings.

He got these because of his ability to lie in a convincing manner! The Daihpa people were formerly in Acsam but have now been in the Hukawng Valley 150 years. From the time Daihpa Gam came back to the Hukawng Valley the Gumsas became increasingly powerful. The titles conferred upon Daihpa Gam by the Burmese King were:—

- (1) Taunglon Thiha Kyawzawa
- (2) Saton Mani Nawyahta
- (3) Tanebung Naung Nawyahta
- (4) Ganda Thikdi
- (5) Taunglon Thiha Kyawhtin
- (6) Sawbi Thura Nawyahta
- (7) Thiri Papbahta Tabayaza
- (8) Thingba Thura Yaza
- (9) Maha Thiri Zeya Tabayaza

These names were taken from the writing on the leaves in the copper heirloom now in the possession of the Daihpa chief. Daihpa Gam was accepted by the Burmese King and his ministers as a man of authority in his own land so they raised him to power and made his name great. He was a power in the land even as the British Government is now; he was the only Jinghpaw to aspire to build a palace and be a King of his people; and he was thoroughly versed in the art of war.

CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORY OF THE SHANS IN THE HUKAWNG VALLEY BEFORE THE ADVENT OF BURMESE RULE.

The first Shans in the Hukawng Valley were the Hkawseng Hkamawng Hkaman groups. At that time it is said there were 7,000 Hkawseng Shans so there were many Shan Chiefs. The Shan Chiefs at the time were:—

- (1) Hkawsawng Sawbwa, who lived in Chyinglap village in the Tanaihku country.
- (2) Pangsang Sawbwa, who lived where N'Bawn village now is.
- (3) Hpahnaw Sawbwa, who lived where the Ninghku Lahpai village now is but subsequently moved to the Mungkawng river area, where the Jinghkang people live now.
- (4) Mungkhawm Sawbwa, who still lives in the Maingh-kwan plain. This plain is not now governed as formerly; it has not one big chief, as formerly, but only a group of small headmen.
- (5) Hkawseng Sawbwa, who lived above the Tanai and Mungkawng river junction. He was the head of all the Shans.
- (6) Kangdau Sawbwa, who lived at Kangdau.

Four hundred years ago these six chiefs had 7,000 households in their tracts. The Kachins followed the Shans by a slow infiltration which subsequently led to them inducing a Gumlau mode of thought amongst the Shans. In the fighting consequent upon this Gumlau movement Kachins were employed as fighting men by both sides. The people on the losing side in this fight ran away from the Hukawng and their land was taken over by Kachins. As more and more Shans ran away more and more Kachins entered into their land; finally the Kachins were in complete possession of the Valley. Of the Shans who left the Valley some went to places down the Chindwin river, some to Kamaing, and some to Mogaung. After the great

exodus the only places where they remained in the Hukawng Valley were Kangdau, Mainghkwan, and Ningbyen. There were also some Shans in the Dalu.

The Shans formerly at Kangdau were so badly treated by the Kachins that they finally moved to the Dalu area. The Ningbyen Shans are still in the Valley as they accepted the overlordship of the Ningbyen Kachin Chief. They remain subordinate to him even now.

The Mainghkwan Shans were looked after by the Walawbum chiefs so no one dare ill-treat them. They are still at Mainghkwan.

Because of their bad treatment at the hands of the Kachins some of the Shans settled at Manpang Ga down the Chindwin Valley. From there they sent two of their most knowledgeable elders, named Po Sing Taga and Po Sing Lung, to the Burmese Court at Ava to ask the Burmese King for a Sawbwa's appointment order. The King bestowed this office of Sawbwa on one of them; but unfortunately on the road back the office-holder died of cholera. On the arrival of the survivor at the village the elders and people did not realise the value of the power bestowed by the King and so allowed it to be transferred to the ancestors of the Munggang Shan U Po Hlaing who lived in the Singkaling Hkamti. That is why there is now a Sawbwa in the Singkaling Hkamti. These Munggang Shans in the Singkaling Hkamti formerly were in Assam and were sent down to the Singkaling Hkamti by the Chief of Ningbyen as described in the history given earlier of Ningbyen Wongdu Nawng and Pyisa Wa. The present Sawbwas of Singkaling Hkamti are not hereditary Sawbwas. They were ministers of the hereditary rulers of the tract. The hereditary Sawbwa's family had absconded down country as they were concerned in the murder of Wadat Zau Hpan so the present ruling family was able to come into power.

If the British Government had not come into the Valley even the remaining three villages of Shans would have gone away. The three remaining villages are:—

- (1) The independent Mainghkwan Village.
- (2) The independent Dalu Village.

- (3) The Ningbyen Village which is subordinate to a Kachin Chief

When the British Government first collected tribute in the Valley it was decided that Mainghkwan and Dalu should pay independently and the headmen got commission; but Ningbyen had to pay through the Kachin Chief who got the commission.

After the Kachins and Shans had mixed in the Valley and the Sawbwas had all departed the Burmese Kings ruled for a short while. During that time a Myoök was stationed at Mainghkwan and this Myoök collected tribute in gold. His rate of tribute was two tolas of gold per household. As this rate was oppressive the people were highly dissatisfied with him and Shans and Kachins joined together against him. Next year when this Burmese Officer (named Sikke) came up to the Hukawng Valley he was murdered as he passed through N'Ding Ga.

From this time of the Burmese King's collection up to the time the British Government arrived no tribute was collected in the Hukawng Valley.

THE COMING OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE VALLEY.

It was not long after the murder of this Burmese official that the officials of the British Government began to tour in the Valley. The first visit of all took place on November 24th, 1890, when two Officers visited the Valley. They were :—

- (1) Lieut. Harry F. Loch, Military Police, Kindat.
- (2) Lieut. E. W. M. Noree, Officiating D.A.D. Intelligence of Saraw.

On January 10th, 1892, two further officers visited the Valley from Assam. They were :—

- (1) Mr. J. Needham, Assistant Political Officer, Sadiya.
- (2) Captain R. M. Maxwell of the Assam Rifles.

Then came what was called the Mainghkwan column with Mr. Andrew Symington as its Civil Officer. Mr. Hertz, then Deputy Commissioner, Myitkyina, visited the Valley after this column and after him came a Survey Officer. In 1919, a Senior Survey Officer visited the area with Mr. C. W. King, then Civil Officer at Kamaing. Several officers visited the area between this visit and the arrival of the complete survey party in 1921-22. Enquiries regarding slavery were held by several officers who visited the Valley about this time and as it was found that there was a large number of slaves in the Valley preparations or slave-releasing expeditions were begun in 1924. In October of that year Kamaing Taungok, Kawlu Ma Nawng, A.T.M., was sent to Mainghkwan to carry out preliminary arrangements for a *manau*. In the cold season of 1924-25 His Excellency the Governor of Burma, accompanied by 13 other officers and many sepoys, visited Mainghkwan and held a *manau*. There His Excellency informed the assembled chiefs and headmen of the Hukawng Valley that it was the intention of Government to free all slaves in the Valley. In March of 1925 Mr. J. T. O. Barnard, C.I.E., Special Deputy Commissioner, with Kawlu Ma Nawng, A.T.M., prepared a list of slaves in the Valley. In 1926 the slaves were freed by a column which included :—

- (1) Mr. J. T. O. Barnard, C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner.
- (2) Mr. A. W. Porter, O.B.E., Assistant Superintendent.
- (3) Mr. T. P. Dewar, O.B.E., Assistant Superintendent.

- (4) Two Military Officers.
- (5) One Myoök.
- (6) One Assistant Surgeon and three Sub-Assistant Surgeons.
- (7) One Taungok.

A sum of five lakhs was taken up to the Valley by this party and over four lakhs was expended in freeing 3,445 slaves. After freeing the slaves this party returned to Myitkyina, but a Taungok and five Armed Peons were left in Mainghkwan to see to the welfare of the slaves. Next year (1926-27 cold season) Mr. T. P. Dewar, O.B.E., and a column of one hundred sepoys visited both the Hukawng Valley and the Naga Hills. Kawlu Ma Nawng, A.T.M., accompanied this party.

The Nagas were a people addicted to the offering of human sacrifices to their spirits.

In 1927-28 another column, including the same personnel as that of 1926-27, visited the Naga Hills with the object of stopping human sacrifice and of inducing the Nagas to give up the heads of those sacrificed already in their possession. The Nagas gave up about 100 heads and these were handed over by Mr. Dewar to the Deputy Commissioner, Myitkyina.

From 1928 until 1933 annual expeditions were sent up to the Valley under the charge of Mr. A. W. Porter, O.B.E. In 1933 a *manau* to settle finally all former feuds was held at Mainghkwan by Mr. Porter.

In 1934, a tribute was collected by the British Government for the first time by a column under Mr. J. L. Leyden. Kachins paid at Rs. 2 per house and the Shans at Rs. 4 and the collection was carried out without any trouble.

In 1935 and 1936 Mr. J. W. Leedham visited the Valley and collected tribute. In 1936 the Deputy Commissioner came up to Mainghkwan and held a *manau* which is known as *Lamu Ga Jahkut manau* (literally, the *manau* celebrating the settlement of the Valley). After this settlement *manau* a Kachin school was opened at Mainghkwan in May 1936.

This school which was opened by Government as a result of the efforts of Mr. J. W. Leedham, is now supported equally by Kachin and Shan headmen.

PHYSICAL AND OTHER FEATURES OF THE HUKAWNG VALLEY

In the course of a railway journey from Mogaung to Myitkyina a high range of hills is seen on the west side of the railway line. This is Gwi Marit Bum range and its more northerly portion is called Hkitmung Bum. The Burmans call these hills the Shwedaung Gyi Taungdan. In these hills the Chindwin has its source and from there it flows through the middle of the Hukawng Valley. The villagers of Ura Ga used the source of the Chindwin as their communal water supply.

Following this river downstream from its source the first place reached is Mungjibum. A small plain here known as the Tanaiyang is worked by people around Mungjibum as wet paddy land. Coming further downstream, past a rather high hill called Tanaibum, Lachyau Ga is reached. Here there is an old village site of Daiky and nearby a small plain of amazing fertility. It is said that if one basket of paddy seed is planted on this land one hundred baskets will be reaped. Unfortunately as many people have in the past died of fever in this place no one is now willing to settle there. A large type of mosquito is responsible for the sickness in this area. Passing further down the river many villages will be seen beside the river on either bank. Formerly this was a very heavily populated area; but as the more prosperous members of the community died out the numbers of the people decreased and their economic condition worsened.

On this part of the river a village named Nga Gahtawng is seen; on the east of this village is Hkitmung Bum. From this village starts the Daru pass road over to Sumprabum Sub-division and the Triangle. Nga Gahtawng is on the west bank of the Chindwin so it is necessary to cross the river to proceed on the road to Sumprabum. Ten miles up this road is the Daru pass in Hkitmung Bum.

Leaving Nga Gahtawng many more villages are seen. On the left hand is Dari Ga, Chyinglap Ga and Kaidau Ga; on the right is Kadung village. Eight miles below this is the junction

of the Hkummau river and on the left, a little below the junction, is the Hpabum village. A hill road to Mainghkwan starts from Hpabum. East of Hpabum is N'Bawn Ga and 20 miles lower downstream is the junction of the Kapdup river, a large gold-washing centre. The gold from this river is found in large pieces and washers pay a due to the N'Bawn chiefs. Ten miles lower down the river on the right bank is N'Pawp Tanai village and five miles further on is Sengtawng. Eight miles below Sengtawng is the Tabyi river junction. Gold is washed in the Tabyi river but no dues are paid.

A little below this junction on the right bank is Lashu Namtat village and fifteen miles below Lashu Namtat the Nambru river enters the Chindwin on the left bank. The road from Mainghkwan to Kamaing crosses this river at Kumnyen. The Nambru river is also a gold-washing centre. Five miles below the Nambru junction is the Tawang junction. The Tawang river passes through the middle of the Gumlau country. Five miles below the Tawang junction is the ferrying place called Maishi Numhtan. The ferry here crosses the Chindwin on the road to Mainghkwan. On the right bank at this ferry is Taring village and from it the road to the Gumlau country. Near here also is the mouth of the Edi river—this river supplies Mainghkwan with water and in its upper reaches are salt deposits. Everything planted near this river in the neighbourhood of these salt deposits slowly dies off.

Continuing the journey down the Chindwin, seven miles below the ferry is the Munggawn river junction. Up this river is a gold mine from which large pieces of gold are found. Dues are paid to Lahpai N'Tawng Nawng for working this mine. Seven miles below the Munggawn junction the Samak river enters the Chindwin and eleven miles lower down still is the Mawning river junction. On the right bank below the Mawning river junction is Daihpa village. These Daihpa chiefs received appointment orders from the Burmese Kings. At their village is a ferry on the road to Mainghkwan. From Daihpa the road goes out to Assam. Nineteen miles downstream from Daihpa is the Tarung river junction. Up the Tarung river are the Sharaw and Ningbyen tracts. Six miles below the Tarung river junction on the right bank is Kangdau village in the Sharaw tract.

A further thirty miles downstream is the Tawa river junction. Up the Tawa river Ningmoi and Shingbuiyang villages are situate. Gold washing is carried on in the Tawa river without the payment of dues. About eight miles below the Tawa junction the Chindwin passes through a gorge caused by the Kangseng range coming to the right bank and the Wantuk Bum range on the left. The gorge passing between these two ranges is called Saigawngu. Thirty miles below this gorge, on the left bank, is the Dalu country containing the Dalu Shan, Kachin and Naga villages. Five miles below this on the right bank is Lakchyang village where the Lajawn people live. Thirty miles below Lakchyang is a place called Tanai Tat or Chyause where very good fishing is available in the rains. A due is paid to the Lajawn people for the right to fish here. From this place the river enters the Singkaling Hkaanti of the Shan Sawbwas. This is the boundary of the Hukawng Valley.

The Chindwin therefore flows through the centre of the Hukawng Valley and finally joins the Irrawaddy near Pakokku.

The Hukawng Valley is a large plain and at the centre of it is the Shan village of Mainghkwan. The Edi river flows through the centre of Mainghkwan village and provides drinking water for the village. The villagers of Mainghkwan cultivate lowland paddy. Mainghkwan is seven miles from the Chindwin and seventeen miles from the Wantuk range. The road from Mainghkwan in a north-westerly direction leads out to the Naga Hills and Assam. Mainghkwan is fifty-two miles from the Naga Hills and forty-eight miles from Shingbuiyang. Travelling to Shingbuiyang from Mainghkwan the Chindwin river must be crossed after eighteen miles at Daihpa; three miles beyond Daihpa the Bram Bram river is crossed and after that the road passes through thick jungle country up to the Tarung river (three miles distant). At the river crossing are N'Chyaw and Yawpang villages. The Tarung river joins the Chindwin and in its upper reaches is the country of the Tsasen people. In the Sharaw tract at Sharaw village the Tsasen chiefs live and lower down the Tarung river the Marip chiefs live in Ningbyen village which also contains some Shans.

Between Yawpang and Shingbuiyang on this road is the Tsasen village of Ninggam which is situate on the Tahkyek

river, a tributary of the Chindwin. Shingbuiyang is on the Tawa river which contains much gold and which is annually the scene of great gold washing activity.

Up the Bram Bram river is the Gumlau country with the head of the faction living at N'Dup Dumsa. The Bram Bram river joins the Tarung river.

Above Daihpa on the Chindwin is the mouth of the Mawning river. Along the Mawning river is the Htaumaja country consisting of nine villages under the Ningbyen chief. The Htaumaja people, who are a most obstreperous group, work wet paddy land. Actually on the Mawning river is situate the Maran N'Hkang village of N'Hkang Kayang. Travelling seven miles east of this village the Tawang river is reached. This river joins the Chindwin and along its banks live the Gumlau people. Just above the junction of the Tawang river and the Chindwin live the Hkasha Marips at Taring village and above them live that lying and turbulent group, the N'Hkumshangs. The Makaw Ningran people also live in this locality but they are considered as part of the N'Dup Dumsa chief's tract. East of Tarung is the Tabyi river where are found more N'Hkumshangs. The heads of the N'Hkumshangs are the N'Htem who live on the Tabyi river. These N'Htem people are the group who having once formerly fought with the Hpupsumprasha Marips were compelled to run away to Assam up the Tarung river valley. The Tabyi river, which joins the Chindwin, is a popular gold washing centre. N'Htem village, near the Tabyi river, is twelve miles from Taring. In an easterly direction from N'Htem is another tributary of the Chindwin named the Hpungkran river where the N'Hkum N'Pawp people live. Further east is the Kapdup river which also enters the Chindwin. This river is a large gold washing centre and the N'Bawn chiefs collect a due from all washing gold here. These Tsasen N'Bawn people were the former holders of a Gumla 'ban' (Burmese King's authority).

Further up the Chindwin from the Kapdup junction is Lachyau Ga. On the west bank of the Chindwin at Lachyau Ga is the Walawbum tract. The actual village where the Walawbum chiefs live is thirty-four miles from this part of the Chindwin. This village, N'Ding Ga, is on the Namhpyek

river, a tributary of the Nambru river. Six miles east of N'Ding Ga is the Namhkang river and the Nawbum tract of the N'Wanghkang chiefs who live at N'Wanghkang village. In this tract the fertility of the wet paddy land cultivated is such that one basket of seed will produce a harvest of eighty to ninety baskets. To reach Mainghkwan from N'Ding Ga the Nambru river must be crossed. Down the Nambru river is the Lahpai country, another fertile area of wet paddy cultivation. Up the Nambru river is the Tsasen Lalawng tract of which the Anai people are the ruling chiefs. They live at Anai village. West of Anai village is a small hill called Noiye Bum. In this hill are the amber workings. Each year Shans from Yunnan come and work this amber; they have done this annually since before the British Government took over this area. The amber workings are seven miles from Mainghkwan.

Across the Wantuk Bum range, forty-five miles from Mainghkwan, is Dalu village in the Dalu tract. This village is situated down the Chindwin on the river. Formerly this area could only be reached by travelling down the Chindwin by boat; but in 1927-28 the British Government made a mule track across the Wantuk Bum range and now this route is used.

Mainghkwan village is the largest village in the Hukawng Valley and in the centre of this large plain. From Mainghkwan in an easterly direction the foothills of the Hkitmung Bum (Gwi Marit Bum) range are forty-four miles distant; in a westerly direction the Wantuk Bum range is seventeen miles distant; in a northerly direction at a distant of forty-six miles is the Patkoi range which joins the Hkitmung Bum range; and in the southerly direction is a place Chyambu Hkindang, the boundary of the Kamaing Sub-division and thirty-two miles distant. Hence the Hukawng Valley is a large plain seventy-eight miles from north to south and sixty-one miles from east to west. There are only very low hills between Mainghkwan and the Chyambu Hkindang. There are many salt and gold workings in the Hukawng Valley. The two largest and most productive gold working centres are the Kapdup and Munggawn rivers. Gold can be worked along the entire length of both of these rivers. The gold is found in pieces of considerable size. Dues have been paid from time to time to the N'Bawn chief at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ tola of gold for each pit worked. In the

Munggawn river workings the Lahpai chiefs from former times have collected a due of Rs. 3 from each group of two or three men working for a whole open season. Besides these two centres there are other places where gold dust is obtained. The British Government has permitted the continued collection of dues on gold washing in places where these dues have been collected in former times.

There is a salt working in the Edi river which supplies Mainghkwan with water. At this working much salt is boiled in the dry season. This salt is brown like jaggery—sandy in texture, but its pleasant taste and the fact that it keeps the people free from goitre makes it very popular locally.

There is another salt working called Namaw east of the Tingkaw camp on the Kamaing-Mainghkwan road. Much salt is obtained from this working in the dry season; the salt from here is similar in appearance and texture to the Edi salt. These two are the most productive salt pits but there are many other smaller pits in the area.

At present this local red salt provides half of the total annual salt consumption of the entire Hukawng Valley. If these salt boilers knew the work better and could work more efficiently, then the import of foreign salt into the Valley could be stopped entirely.

There is another amber mine up the Munggawn river and this is known as the Lajamaw. This mine is not worked now. It is owned by chief Lahpai N'Tawng Nawng. The other amber mine seven miles from Mainghkwan at Noiye Bum is worked annually by Shans from Yunnan. The local chief collects a due from people working amber pits in this area.

Mainghkwan village was formerly made up of four or five small and scattered villages. In the lifetime of the Payindwin *Sayadaw*, a famous Buddhist priest in that area, these villages were amalgamated by his efforts and the present large village constituted. This priest did not limit his activities to the Shans in the Valley; he toured the whole area, even the hills, preaching the evils of Animism. It is as a result of his efforts that there are pagodas venerated by the people near many of the Kachin villages. The good work this priest did in the Hukawng Valley was so appreciated by the people that it is said they used to

meet him at their tract boundaries and carry him to his destination. He is said to have died when on a visit to Wunzu Manle at Manle village. The word of this priest was implicitly believed by both Shans and Kachins in the Valley.

In the Hukawng Valley three paddy crops are obtained each year. A crop planted in April is reaped in July; one in May is reaped in August; and after these two, the wet paddy land crop is reaped. The most influential chief in the Valley was Walawbum Gam, chief of the Walawbum tract. There was no important feud case ever occurred in the Valley that he could not settle. When the British Government took over the area his loyal service and assistance was appreciated by all officers. He died in March 1934 at the age of 67 leaving a son named Walawbum Gam who was only one year old. After the death of this chief of the Hukawng Valley was emptied of its only outstanding personality. His face was thin, his body long and his legs short. He had a mole on one eyebrow. He wore a beard but the hair on his head did not grow well; it was about a thumb's length when rolled into a turban. If he had not died he would have won much praise from the British Government; if any of the chiefs now in the Valley had his character, knowledge and strength of purpose, they would undoubtedly win the praise of Government.

KACHIN CUSTOM IN THE HUKAWNG VALLEY.

1. *Maidens' Room.*—The former Kachin house (called Htingnu) was usually built with four rooms. Coming into the unfloored front of this house the first room reached was the maidens' room. This is the room wherein the maidens of a village sleep and to this room at night come the young men to visit the maidens. If a young man and a maid fall in love with one another they will plight their troth by the young man giving the young woman a gift as a love token. If a couple fall in love against the wishes and intentions of their parents then the parents will cause them to part. If the man is not willing to part from his girl then her relatives will present the man with a *dah* and a spear to signify that relations between them are definitely severed. If a girl falls in love with two men trouble invariably ensues on the ground that one or the other of the men is stealing the girl away from the second party. Frequently fighting has taken place on this account.

2. *Taking of wives.*—The man's family will first of all hire two go-betweens to go to the house of the girl and ask whether they are willing to give a woman. If they are, then a date for her delivery will be fixed and definitely agreed upon. When this date arrives the man's people with their go-betweens will go to the woman's house carrying presents to confirm the arrangement. On that day the articles to be given in the marriage price will be detailed. When the husband's people have stated definitely how many *hpagas* will be given on the day the woman leaves her home and how many will be given on the wedding day, the engagement is confirmed. These *hpagas* must be given at the time stated; any balance remaining after these have been given can be given when the husband's people can raise them. Once this engagement is made definite a case of adultery can be brought against the woman if she goes wrong with any other man. If the woman's people fail to deliver her after the engagement has been confirmed they must return all presents given at the time of the engagement and also must compensate the man's people for breaking the promise to deliver a woman. Similarly, if the man's people fail to keep their side of the engagement they lose

all presents given and in addition must pay compensation for breach of the promise. If the two groups who are parties to this marriage quarrel over the matter the go-betweens' evidence is accepted as sufficient to establish guilt and the guilty party must pay compensation. These go-betweens are given one *hpaga* each by the parties on the day of the wedding. They must be paid for their services; but if there is no wedding they get nothing.

3. Compensation for giving a woman a Bastard Child.—

There are four types of cases which arise and each varies in the amount of compensation given.

- (a) Fifty *hpagas* must be paid for a bastard given to a woman of chiefs' blood.
- (b) Ten *hpagas* must be paid for a bastard given to a free born woman.
- (c) Five *hpagas* must be paid if a free born man gives a slave woman a bastard.
- (d) Three *hpagas* must be paid if a slave man gives a slave woman a bastard.

This compensation is known as *Mayu Sumrai Hka* and is paid to the woman's family. This is only paid when two unmarried people produce a child. Of this compensation two *hpagas* are given to the woman. One *hpaga* is given for the nursing and upbringing of the child and is called *Chyu Manoi* the other is a necklace of beads given to the woman for the loss of her chastity. This compensation of two *hpagas* is called by the Myitkyina Kachins *Ninggun Ban* and by the Bhamo people *Hpraw Jaw*. These two *hpagas* are the woman's own property and may be taken away by her if she subsequently marries; but it is the matter for the woman's relatives to see that she gets this compensation. These two *hpagas* known as *Ninggun Ban* are included in the list of *Sumrai Hka Hpagas* for chiefs and free born people; in the case of slaves who pay three *hpagas* a further two must be added for this *Ninggun Ban*.

As soon as the compensation is fully paid up the child belongs to the father's people. Even though the mother is given to wife elsewhere the child is not given. If a woman marries another man while the child is still small the woman's people must divide

off a part of the compensation for the bastard and give it to the man who is helping to support this bastard child of his wife's. If a woman who has two lovers is still sleeping in the maidens' room and conceives the elders will decide who is responsible for her condition and will order that he must pay the compensation. The other man, who has very probably also had intercourse with the woman, must pay one *hpaga* as compensation to the man who is held responsible. This compensation usually consists of either a ten span gong or a sum of Rs. 30.

The man held responsible for the child will take presents (*Hka Woi Hpaga*) to the women's house and, after handing them to her people, will bring her to his house. When the woman has given birth to the child in the house of the man's people she is led back to her own house with the child. At that time another *hpaga* (*Hka Sa Hpaga*) is given. All the presents given up to this time (i.e. *Hka Woi Hpaga* and *Hka Sa Hpaga*) form part of the total compensation (*Sumrai Hka*) to be given. If the child dies it is usual for chiefs and free born Kachins to receive two more *hpagas* over those already given; but the elders must decide how much more is to be paid. These are called the *Si Sumrai Hpaga*. Slave people, however, only pay the *Ninggun ban* to the mother if child should die.

The rate of compensation of 50 *hpagas* is paid by those of chiefs' blood between themselves; if one of less than of chiefs' blood is concerned in the pregnancy of a woman of chiefs' family he will also be severely punished in addition to the payment of compensation. Before the British Government entered the Valley the whole family of a commoner so wronging those of chiefs' blood would be seized and sold into slavery; this offence of giving a bastard to a woman of chiefs' blood is regarded as very serious indeed.

LIST OF ARTICLES GIVEN AS COMPENSATION FOR A BASTARD

(a) For a free born man 10 *hpagas*—

- (1) A viss of silver.
- (2) One gun.
- (3) Ten-span gong.
- (4) One *n'ba bujung* (Paso) valued at Rs. 15.

- (5) One silk Chinese coat.
- (6) One string of 100 beads.
- (7) Two buffaloes.
- (8) One *dah* to cut off the feud.

(b) For a free born man to a slave woman 5 *hpagas*—

- (1) One viss of silver. (4) One cow buffalo.
- (2) One eight-span gong. (5) One *dah* to cut off
- (3) One *paso* (n'ba bujung) the feud.

(c) For a slave man to a slave woman, 3 *hpagas* with an additional 2 for the woman—

- (1) Fifty rupees in money or silver.
- (2) One *paso* (n'ba bujung).
- (3) One eight-span gong.
- (4) One *paso* (valued at about Rs 5) for cleaning the woman's face.
- (5) One *dah* to cut off the feud.

4. *Compensation for loss of a life.*—When a man is killed the relatives of the killer must compensate the deceased's family for the loss of his life. There are three kinds of blood feud:

- (a) For a man killed in a fight.
- (b) For an accidental death.
- (c) For the death of a woman in child birth when she is bearing a bastard child for whom no payment has been made (*N'Dang bunglat*).

Formerly it was rare for any settlement to be accepted in a blood feud; usually a member of the other side was killed in place of the life lost. Those people who had not the force of arms to revenge themselves by taking a life from the other side would usually refrain from taking any action against the other side for as much as one or two generations; the feud would be remembered and in the course of time the parties would come together to arrange a peaceful settlement. Such a settlement might only be reached one or two generations after the time the killing had actually taken place.

Feuds of the type (a) shown above usually arose from a quarrel arising from the stealing away of a woman promised elsewhere, from a case of adultery, or from a dispute over land.

Feuds concerning accidental deaths [type (b) above] were usually brought about by men being mistaken for wild animal and accidentally killed in hunting or when a man endeavouring to separate two parties quarrelling was accidentally fatally injured. Even in these cases of what appear to be accidental deaths the feud must be settled and compensation paid.

The feud known as the *N'Dang bunglat* is that brought about when a woman is pregnant with a bastard and she dies in child birth before the man responsible has had the opportunity to take her back to her house after the child birth was completed at his house. If the woman dies before, after, or during the birth of the child this feud results. If the birth of the child takes place without undue trouble but the mother becomes ill after that and dies of such illness the amount of compensation is lessened (this smaller kind of feud is called *Dang-yut* in Jinghpaw). The feud is outstanding as soon as the child is born so the woman must be taken as soon as possible to her parents' house if this liability is to be avoided. If she is not taken quickly then the liability for the feud can only be avoided by the man's people sending agents to the woman's parents to express their wish that the woman be taken to wife.

When a child has been born it is customary to send a present (*Jahtawng*) of a packet of food, containing either dried meat or fish, to the girl's people to acquaint them of the fact.

5. *Settling of blood feuds.*—When a life has been lost by some violent means elders or friends of the deceased must go to the killer's village on a visit of investigation. When they come on this visit they must kill whatever animal (pig or buffalo) they first see in the village to let blood run. If they see no animal they must ask at the house of the killer for some animal, even a dog, to be sacrificed for this shedding of blood. If the animal killed for this purpose does not belong to the killer then he must repay it to whoever it belonged and it will be added to the compensation given on the day the feud is settled.

When a date for discussion of the settlement has been fixed and agreed to by both sides word is sent out to the parties. On the due date a large group of elders and armed men from the deceased's side will appear at the killer's village and will take up their place sitting in the communal sacrificing place of the village. From there they send up two agents to the killer's house and ask for two *hpagas* to build a hut for themselves. If these two *hpagas* are received the hut will be built. The two *hpagas* will be a *dah* (to roof the hut) and a *paso* (*n'ba bujung*). When the agents have handed over these two *hpagas* to the assembled chiefs and elders the hut will be built. When the hut is completed agents will be sent again to the killer's house to ask for a dog to sacrifice to the *Sa-wa Nat* (the spirit responsible for violent deaths) and for a buffalo for their food. The killer's family will send a dog and also a buffalo or bullock. The dog will be sacrificed and the buffalo shot and the flesh eaten. The day after this the chiefs and elders will send further agents up to the house to say they are ready to discuss the feud.

If it is a feud wherein the deceased was of chiefs' blood the elders will send a bundle of 200 bamboo sticks to indicate that the compensation required will be 100 *hpagas*. If a free born Kachin is concerned in a feud and 50 *hpaga* compensation is called for a bundle of 100 sticks is sent; and for the 25 *hpaga* compensation customary for the death of a slave 50 sticks will be sent.

When this bundle of sticks is received the elders and agents of each side will decide that the compensation is to be half the amount demanded (the number of sticks sent symbolises the number of *hpagas* actually demanded and this is usually twice the number of *hpagas* actually payable for the offence) and will take out from the bundle half the number of sticks.

Whilst the feud is being heard heavy firing of guns is indulged in as the elders hearing are fearful of the spirits whilst carrying out such work.

After the agents of each side have considered the matter for two or three days a decision will be reached as to what compensation is to be given. Those who act as agents can only be so appointed if they are indicated in a divination which

takes place for the purpose of making these appointments. The man who is appointed to collect the compensation will take it over and will see that it is distributed to those persons entitled to it. After all the compensation has been collected the agent collecting the compensation is given a gong (*Bawng Magap Bau*, literally, the head covering gong) which he places on his head like a hat and goes from the village. On that day of final payment of the compensation the agents must be paid their fees.

When a decision of a feud has been reached the elders meet at the hut on the day the compensation is to be collected. They cook and eat a meal in the hut and then pack up all their belongings and proceed to the house of the killer who is to pay compensation. On arrival here the articles of compensation listed by the killer's elders will be found laid out on a large mat spread on the ground at the open front of the house. The elders will sit by this heap of *hpagas*; they may wait with guns but there must be no shot in the guns. As they sit the agents will come up and check over the *hpagas* with the list decided upon. If it is correct the compensation is collected by the agents. If there are any articles of compensation remaining unpaid a bamboo token showing the exact number is given to each side. Each token is precisely similar and the two sides keep these as reminders of the amount outstanding. When the elders have seen the compensation collected and the chief agent wearing the *Bawng Magap* gong on his head they return to their hut, collect their belongings, and return to their homes. As they rise and leave the killer's house guns are fired.

The elders who had represented the killer's family rise at the same time as the elders of the deceased's family; but they merely move to one side to fire guns beneath the mat on which the *hpagas* had been laid. After this mat has been moved about by the explosion of guns beneath it the killer's elders move to the hut which had housed the elders of the other side. This hut is burned by them as a sign that the feud is at an end. After a year has passed and any remaining compensation has been paid over each side will drink liquor with the other as a final peace ceremony.

Once the feud has been decided by the elders the family of the deceased is at liberty to pay a visit to the killer's house.

On the day the compensation is finally paid up the agents of both sides will together call out lists of the articles paid up. Having given details of the full payment they call out in a loud voice:—"Is it not true that we have settled this feud today? The old Shalung tree knows of our settlement; so does the old Shala tree!" Though all the compensation may not be paid up on the day a feud is settled the articles to be used for the burial ceremonies (NAM RAI HPAGA) must be paid up. If the whole compensation is not paid up after the expiry of a year and the performance of the final peace ceremony, any remaining articles can be demanded slowly from the children or grandchildren in the course of generations.

If they are not demanded because of some mutual agreement between the parties there is no question of the feud remaining outstanding as the parties have usually exchanged women between them and have become related groups. These related groups do not trouble about the small amount of compensation remaining.

LIST OF HPAGAS IN BLOOD FEUD.

1. <i>HPagas</i> in blood feud of a chief	100
These 100 <i>hpagas</i> are made up as under:—	
(a) For the burial ceremonies	33
(b) For the body of the deceased	39
(c) For compensation for the loss of life	28
	<hr/>
	100
<hr/>	
(a) The burial ceremony <i>hpagas</i> are those necessary for the actual burial of the deceased and a slave is necessary to carry deceased's property (<i>dah</i> , etc.) to the grave.	
(b) The bodily organs and activities of the deceased are replaced by these <i>hpagas</i> .	
(c) The compensatory <i>hpagas</i> are slaves, buffaloes, and other articles and are paid in compensation for the offence committed.	
(a) List of thirty-three grave <i>hpagas</i> —	
1. For building of hut, one <i>dah</i>	1
2. For roofing of hut, one silk <i>paso</i>	1
3. For the centre post of grave superstructure, a gun	

4. For supports of structure over grave, 10 <i>dahs</i> ..	5
5. For ditch around grave, one cooking tripod ..	1
6. For thatch of grave, one blanket	1
7. For spade for digging grave, one silk <i>paso</i> ..	1
8. For image on top of grave, one gong	1
9. For clearing ground around grave, 10 <i>dahs</i> ..	5
10. For clearing ditch around grave, one <i>dah</i> ..	1
11. For digging ditch around grave, two spades ..	2
12. For flag post, one spear	1
13. For flag, one silk <i>paso</i>	1
14. For shroud, one silk cloth	1
15. For sacrifice, one cow buffalo	1
16. One slave for carriage of deceased's personal apparel, <i>dah</i> and bag to the grave	1
17. For the grave, a sufficiently large piece of land from the village	1
18. For circle of bamboos placed in front of house of dead man, 10 spears	5
19. For the coffin, one gong	1
20. For flag at the house of the dead man, a red cloth	1
	<hr/>
Total <i>hpagas</i>	33

(b) List of thirty-nine for *hpagas* bodily organs—

1. For skull, one <i>lakhawng</i> gong	1
2. For spinal column, one gun	1
3. For the hands, two spears	2
4. For the feet, two spears	2
5. For the skin, one silk Chinese coat	1
6. For the guts, one necklace of 100 beads ..	1
7. One slave to replace deceased in the matter of maintaining his dependents	1
8. For the abdomen, one shell horn	1
9. For the cheeks, two small gongs (<i>bausa</i>) ..	2
10. For the forehead, two cymbals	2
11. For the hair, one bunch of hair from a sheep or goat	1
12. For the blood, ten tolas of gold	1
13. For the eyes, two meteoric stones	2
14. For the ears, two plates	2
15. For the brain, 2½ tolas silver	1
16. For the flesh, one cow buffalo	1
17. For the finger nails, ten cowries	2
18. For the toe nails, ten cowries	2
19. For the teeth, ten cowries	2
20. For the nose, one plough	1
21. For the tongue, one rupee	
22. For the penis, one spear	1
23. For the excrement, one blanket	1
24. For the liver, one gong	1

25. For the heart, one silver cup	1
26. For the head-dress, one turban	1
27. For the haversack, one haversack	1
28. For the scabbard, one scabbard	1
29. For the skin of the shoulders, one leather scabbard	1
30. For the throat, one pipe stem	1
Number of articles 63, Total <i>hpagas</i> ..	39

(c) *Twenty-eight compensatory hpagas—*

1. One " blood feud " gong (<i>Lakhawng</i>) ..	1
2. One blood feud necklace of 100 beads ..	1
3. For the blood feud, three slaves	3
4. Blood feud silver, two viss	2
5. Ten blood feud buffaloes	10
6. One blood feud silk Chinese coat	1
7. One blood feud gun	1
8. One blood feud <i>paso</i> (<i>Lahkyik</i>)	1
9. Two cooking pots	2
10. One cooking tripod	1
11. For ending feud, one <i>dah</i>	1
12. To show feud is ended, one spear	1
13. For smoking tobacco, one pipe stem ..	1
14. For clearing away the refuse after ceremonies, one viss of opium	1
15. For taking down hut where feud was settled, one <i>dah</i>	1
Total <i>hpagas</i>	28

This list of 100 *hpagas* for a blood feud is for those of chiefs' blood. Those of chiefs' blood who have not the power to offer sacrifices to the Shadip, a terrestrial *nat* to which offerings can only be made by ruling chiefs, have not the right to receive land for the grave shown in the above list. If the feud is one requiring only 50 or 25 *hpagas* then the elders will select the 50 or 25 articles to be given from the lists shown above.

If a man who has been hired as a general servant or as a field labourer is injured or even killed in the course of his work and no blame can be attached to the employer it is customary for the employer to help in the burial ceremonies. If the man has been killed in an accident the employer will give three *hpagas* and will help in the supply of meat, vegetables and other food necessary for the offerings to the *nats* on behalf of the deceased.

The three articles usually given are :—

- (1) A buffalo for sacrifice.
- (2) A gong.
- (3) A *paso*.

6. *Sale of Land*.—Land for the establishment of their village was usually purchased from the owners at that time by the ancestors of the present owners. These ancestors had to pay out articles of value to purchase the land so that if any question of the sale of land arises the matter concerns all the related groups whose ancestors joined their resources to purchase this land. Hence it is only after agreement by all the interested groups that any sale is possible. On the day land is to be sold the price obtained must be divided up amongst all concerned in the ownership. Agents will be hired to carry out the transaction and their fees must also be paid. Of all the price paid for land the most important articles are a necklace of 100 beads known as the *Shawang gaitawng* (literally, the necklace of the parcel of land given) and a steel *dah* signifying the cutting off and handing over of this parcel of land. The possession of this *dah* removes for all time the possibility of the ownership of the land being disputed.

Land given to the head of a group of hired braves as a reward for a victory is called *Regau Ga*. It is payment for the victory and no one can ever dispute the ownership of land so acquired.

The Jinghpaws rarely sell land; they have a habit of merely expanding into neighbouring land such that, though there are practically no tracts which have bought the land they occupy, there are many other ways of acquiring land. Land has usually been acquired in one of the three ways :—

- (a) It has been obtained as a result of a victory in a fight.
- (b) It has been occupied by wandering tribes who thought it looked good for settlement.
- (c) It has been given as a price for the hire of braves (i.e. *Regau Ga*).

Sometimes, land is given by the bride's parents to the bridegroom as one of the presents but such gifts are rare. This occurs in cases where the owners of the land have no sons and no near male relatives. With the permission of the various other persons

concerned in the ownership of the land they will on occasion allow land to pass with a daughter about to be married. This gift of land is known as *Kungdawn Ga*.

If a site is required to establish a village a price must be paid to the owners of the land. This demand for land for a village site is known in Jinghpaw as *Malihpa ra* (to require a site). When the price has been paid the land owners hand back a *dah* and a spear saying, "This land is now yours for any purpose you want it!" Land made over in this way may be used by those acquiring it for even purposes of violence. The purchasers may also put up the large main post in the front of their house, which is usual amongst only chiefs and land owners they may also make sacrifices to the great *nat* (*Madai*) of the chiefs. Even so, they can only have a *manau* with the permission of the original owners and after they have given such original owners gifts.

If the price as described above is not paid to the chiefs who were the original owners then those desirous of entering land to establish a new village cannot commit any violent act on the land, they cannot make offerings to the *Madai Nat*, they cannot dig out the large graves which are the prerogative of those of chiefs' blood, they cannot erect the large main house-post and they cannot hold a *manau*—if they do any of these things they must compensate the chiefs who own the land, so it is absolutely essential for the full price to be paid to the owning chiefs if rights over land are to be acquired and a new village established.

Close relatives of the ruling chiefs who assist in fighting can, when living in the tract, exercise all such rights as the digging of large graves and the offering to the *Madai Nat* without any payment of gifts to the actual ruling chief.

KACHIN CUSTOM IN MYITKYINA DISTRICT.

In the Myitkyina District a man with a marriageable daughter is said to go about with her "in his bag." Thus hawking her to possible groups he makes known to those concerned that his daughter is available. A man desirous of taking the woman will hire an agent and having either paid or promised to pay the marriage price, will go with this agent to the woman's house. There the engagement will be confirmed by the planting of elephant grass in front of the girl's house and the final amount of marriage price to be paid will be decided and agreed upon. The agreement will be to the effect that the full marriage price agreed upon will be paid on the day of the actual marriage ceremony. On the day of the wedding ceremony the marriage price will be completely paid up.

On the day the engagement is celebrated four or five *hpagas* will be paid over. To one of the agents arranging the marriage the man's people will give a *hpaga* and to the other the woman's people will. These agents have to be paid for their trouble and also for the possibility that they will have to appear before the chief's court as witnesses in the event of any dispute arising from this marriage.

When both parties have agreed upon the marriage and the engagement has been finally made known by the elephant grass at the woman's house the woman is then definitely regarded as being the property of the man. If any other man has intercourse with her after that celebration of the engagement then he has committed adultery and can be punished accordingly if such adultery has been committed in the house of the woman's people. If the girl misconducts herself in the house of the man's people then no adultery compensation is called for.

If, after the agents have been hired and the engagement concluded, the woman's people fail to give the woman the price already paid by the man's people it must be returned with two additional *hpagas* which are called *Kumbang baw hpaga* (literally, compensation for a broken engagement). These are:—

(1) Rs. 100 in cash.

(2) One silk *paso*

Similarly if the man's people fail to take the woman they lose all the price already paid and must give the two additional *hpagas* for breaking the engagement.

If a woman is engaged to marry and then is given in marriage to another man who has paid a full marriage price for her then no case of adultery can lie against this second man as he has paid her parents for the woman. In such a case the engagement gifts must be repaid and the compensation for the broken engagement paid. In addition, a buffalo for sacrifice (the *Marawng Nga*) must be paid over.

In the event of the second man having paid over no price for the woman the woman's people can cause the man first engaged to sue for compensation for adultery and he will get back the woman. If the woman is taken by another man after the final wedding ceremony then that is no concern of her people, except if it is because of some interference on their part that she has gone to the second man. In that case the woman's people must return the whole of the marriage price, they must pay the compensation for the breach of the contract, and they must give a buffalo for sacrifice. The second man also will be required to pay compensation for adultery.

When a woman who has been properly married but has remained in the house of her parents misconducts herself with another man, her parents must settle the matter with her husband to remedy their neglect. When once a woman has completed the ceremony of eating rice from her husband's hand at the evening meal of their wedding day she becomes his wife for all her life.

After the wedding ceremony has taken place and all the price has been paid it is sometimes found that even for four or five years a woman utterly refuses to leave her parents' house to go and live with her husband. If this time elapses without the woman appearing at her husband's house then the husband's people can demand their marriage prices back. If the woman's people refuse to pay the prices then the woman must be delivered to the husband.

In this period during which the woman refuses to leave the house of her parents her husband can, if he wishes, take another wife. His wife cannot object to this as she has refused to come to him.

If the death of the woman takes place during this period wherein she remains in her parents' house her husband must go and take delivery of the corpse. He must perform all the burial ceremonies and he cannot claim any return of his marriage prices. It is usual for a man taking a second wife to get the permission of his first wife's people; if they refuse to agree then they must see that their daughter joins her husband. If they refuse to give their permission for the second wife and their daughter refuses to go to her husband's house then all the marriage price must be repaid to the husband's family and a buffalo for sacrifice must be given. (the formerly mentioned *Marawng Nga*)

This custom of the Myitkyina District is also followed in Bhamo.

CHAPTER XI.

KACHIN CUSTOM IN BHAMO DISTRICT.

In the Bhamo District if the brothers of a girl hear that she is being courted by a young man on the front porch of the house they break up this rendezvous in accordance with a custom known as *Brangdup dup*. The brothers call up friends and they proceed to the place where the couple are consorting. On finding the couple they seize the man's bag, *dah* and turban and take them to the elders where they can be redeemed for a cash payment by the man concerned. With the money they buy liquor and drink it. They also give some to the man concerned and warn him not to come courting any more. If after this warning he does come again they will treat him as before and having done this will send him a spear and a *dah* to warn him off. A further appearance after this second warning results in the man being caught and beaten.

In arranging marriages the man's parents will send an agent to the girl's parents and this agent will ask for the girl's hand in marriage. If the girl's parents agree a definite date for the ceremony will be fixed. Agents will then come and collect the girl on the due day and the marriage will be performed. The morning after the marriage has taken place the centre portion of a sacrificed pig, including the chest and the two forelegs, will be taken to the girl's people with the marriage price still remaining to be paid. Some of these prices are paid when the agents collect the girl and the balance is handed over with this flesh of the pig.

The custom of hawking a marriageable daughter about "in his bag" is not followed by fathers in Bhamo District. The custom there is for the man's parents to hire agents who will go and ask the girl's parents for her hand. If the girl's parents are willing to give her she will be collected by agents and married in accordance with custom. If it is decided to collect the girl after a period has elapsed from the time of the initial arrangement then the girl will be betrothed by a gift of a bracelet or necklace. If a woman thus betrothed misconducts herself with another man no claim for compensation for adultery can lie;

hence it is that in most cases a woman is married very soon after her hand has been first asked. Betrothals lasting even for a short period are rare.

A man who commits adultery with a woman who is married but still living with her parents is quickly seized, tied up and produced before knowledgeable elders who will assess the compensation to be paid for the adultery. The rope with which the man is tied is made by twisting strips of the bark of the *Kahla* tree; he is very tightly tied and to keep the ropes from slackening as the bark dries they are wet with water from time to time. This rather drastic treatment is to ensure that the offender commits no more adultery.

If a married woman has a child as a result of adultery the man is fined a seven-year-old buffalo and other less valuable articles. After a woman has been married but is still living with her parents if they wish to give her to another man then they must give back the whole of their marriage prices and in addition a *Marawng* buffalo. It is customary for a woman to spend four or five years in her parents' house after marriage. As she has eaten rice from her husband's hand after the marriage ceremony she is his possession for life such that should she die whilst still remaining in her parents' house it is the duty of her husband to go and collect her corpse and perform full burial ceremonies. Merely because she has remained in her parents' house for some years after her marriage she cannot be considered to be free from the bonds of marriage.

Sometimes when the parties cannot afford big feasts men and women are hired by the two concerned and an elopement is staged. The custom of elopement and subsequent marriage is recognised and accepted. Before the elopement takes place the man gives a present (*Dinra mahtan*) to an elder of the girl's village to signify his good faith. When the girl's parents search for their lost child this elder explains exactly where she has gone and that she has become the wife of this man as she loved him. If this custom is followed no feud can result. After the elopement a marriage ceremony must take place as soon as possible and the chest and forelegs of a sacrificed pig together with as much of a marriage price as the man's people can produce must be taken to the girl's people. If the man does not marry

the girl quickly he is liable to be fined for abduction ; because he is thus liable the custom of marrying a girl immediately after the elopement is strictly followed.

Compensation for Bastard Children.

When two people, both unmarried, fall in love and have a child compensation must be paid—this is the *Sumrai hka*. On the day on which the compensation is to be paid the man responsible for the pregnancy will employ friends to carry the articles of compensation to the village of the girl's parents. On arrival there they will either 'make a camp in the jungle nearby or will live in a granary in the village and from there will send agents with the compensation to the girl's parents' house.

Compensation for a Sumrai Hka.

- (1) A calf, small enough to enter the pig-pen.
- (2) One gong.
- (3) One *pas*.
- (4) One small iron cooking pot.
- (5) One *dah*.
- (6) One necklace—to " wash the woman's face."
- (7) One *pas* in which to wrap the child.
- (8) One cow buffalo, for the milk for the child.

Items numbered 1 to 5 above are given to the girl's parents and numbers 6, 7 and 8 are retained by the girl. The necklace which is given to restore the girl's reputation must be paid over on the day the feud is settled. The *pas* and buffalo (items 7 and 8) are paid over when the child is brought to its father's house. If these two *hpagas* are not paid over the child will not be handed over to the father ; also if the necklace is not paid over on the day the feud is settled the child will not be brought to its father.

If a man who is married gives another girl a child as a result of a clandestine affair then he must pay the eight articles mentioned and also an additional buffalo. This type of case is known in Kachin as *Dinghku la pru* (literally, the married man steps out).

If a man denies paternity and refuses to accept responsibility and the child subsequently dies he becomes liable for what is called a *Ma bunglat* as the death of the child is usually attributed to his refusal to accept his responsibilities. For this he will pay the usual eight *hpagas* with an additional buffalo.

If the child dies then the necklace, *pas* for wrapping the child, and the cow buffalo are not given. In the case of a married woman being given a child other than by her husband the case is treated as one of adultery and compensated accordingly. The man responsible for the adultery does not get the child.

As the compensation for giving a bastard to a chief's daughter is very heavy the compensation may be paid whenever the man responsible is able to pay. If he has no property at the time of the offence he can pay by instalments, over several generations if necessary.

MAINGHKWAN,
HUKAWNG VALLEY

KAWLU MA NAWNG,
K.S.M., A.T.M.

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON TRANSLATED TEXT

1. *Shaoi N'tsin*.—In the story of Sangahkum and Machyanghkum and their triumph over the Lep Sanam mention is made of a very valuable article recovered from this Lep Sanam. This article was the *Shaoi N'tsin* (see page 25)

This was a tube of water which is said to have been drawn at the time of the Flood and retained since that time as a charm. This great Flood which spread over the land is usually known in Jinghpaw as the *Shau Shaying*. The child of the first couple on the earth was Ninggawn Wa Magam and he was apparently half man and half spirit. He is said to have made the earth and the sky. Many hills (like the Kasung Hill in the Laukhaung Subdivision) are pointed out by Kachins as having been carved by the Ninggawn Wa. This Ninggawn Wa decided to hold a *manau* at Lachaung Bun (Htaung tract of Laukhaung Subdivision) so the peoples of the earth and the wealth thereof could be divided off. Having completed the division of peoples and wealth the Ninggawn Wa decided to make a bridge over the N'Mai river near Tamu. This bridge was to be known as the N'Krawn Hkaiwa and was to be built about four miles from Tamu where there are two large stones in the river suitable for bridging. Whilst he was working on this bridge the Nine Brothers (said to be *nats*) came along and addressed him, "Ninggawn Wa Magam, your mother is dead: you had better go back to your home in the Central Tibetan Plateau." "Another woman can take her place. I will not go back," replied Ninggawn Wa.

Then the Nine Brothers said, "Your father is dead Ninggawn Wa Magam. You had better go back to take his place." "If my father is dead I must go back to take his place," replied the Ninggawn Wa, and he journeyed to his home to find his parents both well. He was exceedingly angry over the deception of the Nine Brothers and on his return to the N'Mai Valley he slashed the top off the Kasung Hill and flung it into the river. His anger was so great that he called out loudly "I have made this earth as beautiful as possible yet I am lied to. I will destroy the earth. I will bring down rain and destroy everything."

Great rains fell and a flood came over the earth. All the earth was covered with water except a part of the Central Tibetan Plateau and on that part Ja Yung and Ja Jan, a brother and sister, climbed up into a hollow tree. They stayed there until the floods subsided. On coming down they found themselves entirely without clothes, so they wandered about the earth naked until they found the *Nahtam Lap* (leaves of the big wild yam). They made clothes of a sort with these and with thread made by shredding the bark of the plantain tree.

At the time of the flood the earth was cleaned out of people and only this brother and sister remained. Even though they were brother and sister these two were the beginning of the re-population of the world. It is said that their bodies became itchy through irritation from the *Nahtam* leaves so they scratched one another: this contact between their bodies is said to have led to co-habitation and the production of a number of children. One of their sons is said to have married a monkey woman and had children by her such that even now it is a very offensive remark to a Jinghpaw to say, "You are of the monkey family."

It was the water of this flood which was preserved. The Lungjung Chiefs in the North Triangle were said to have this charm until a matter of three generations ago when one of their number decided to bury it as he felt his line was dying out and he did not want this powerful charm to fall into other hands.

2. *The Maiden's Room*.—There are many interesting customs surrounding this maidens' room and a brief outline of these might clarify the remarks in the translated text. All visitors entering a Kachin house must do so by the front (*n'pan*) entrance. As they enter they will see the maidens' room (*n'la* or *Pinla dap*) on their right and the cooking place (*shat dap*) on their left. Passing further along the house they will come upon the family's rooms on their left and on their right the compartment wherein the pigs' food is cooked and the "lesser breeds" sleep (such people as slaves and commoners would use this place in a Chief's house). Passing still further along the house on the left will be seen the place where the elders sleep (*dap htau dap*) and on the right the men's room (*dap hpren*). It will thus be seen that the men's and maiden's rooms are at opposite ends of the house. If a man is desirous of paying a visit to the maidens'

room from his own sleeping place in the men's room then he must go out of the back (*n'bang*) door of the house and re-enter by the front door. It is exceedingly bad manners to walk straight through the house of a Jinghpaw; it was formerly a practice of braves visiting a house to settle a feud to insult the householder in this way.

It might be mentioned that the Gauries never use the back door of their house; that is left for the *nats*. The Atzis also reserve the use of their back door for *Dumsas* and others taking part in offering to the *nats*.

Visiting women in a Kachin house must sleep either at the *shat dap* (if married) or in the maidens' room if unmarried. Visitors usually retire to their allotted quarters without question though it is sometimes found that maidens refuse to sleep in the *n'la dap* and so join their married companions around the cooking place.

A girl who is sleeping in the *n'la dap* must consider herself as open to receive lovers; if she shows any unwillingness there is often a scramble and forcible love-making. A girl sleeping out at the cooking place can be pulled in to the *n'la dap*; but she will usually be left alone as any attempt at love-making outside the *n'la dap* is offensive to the house owners.

Formerly a married woman could only enter the *n'la dap* to speak to the maidens but nowadays this custom has been largely abused and married women enter the *n'la dap* to sleep in the absence of their husbands. A husband hearing of such an affair is entitled to compensation for adultery; but the amount of compensation will be largely reduced from that usually given for adultery. To set forth any specified amount of compensation for adultery is a matter of some difficulty as each case must be decided on its merits. In some areas the compensation for adultery is assessed at half the amount of the marriage price which has been paid for the woman at her marriage. Under old custom a man who committed adultery would invariably be killed and his family seized and sold into slavery. An old Jinghpaw couplet sets forth this principle—

Lamu ra timung ga madi ai da

Num ra timung la si ai da

which might be translated—

Just as the ground gets wet with the rain
So a man who takes another's wife must die.

Any child born of adultery is solely the property of the woman's husband. The adulterer is not entitled to it.

Old custom allowed anyone to go to the maidens' room and an old Kachin saying states, "Just as the salt lick is common ground to the elephant, rhinoceros and monkey so is the *n'la dap* common to all men." Formerly only those of Chief's blood could go to the *n'la dap* of a Chief's house but now that custom, like many of the other sanctions governing this institution, has fallen into disuse. The entry of foreigners and money into the hills has caused much of this abuse. In the northern hills now women demand money in the *n'la dap*. Such a demand is only made of non-Kachins entering the *n'la dap*; but such other sanctions as that governing compensation for disease acquired by one party from the other in this maidens' room have practically disappeared even amongst Kachins.

3. *Blood Feuds*.—In addition to the three types of blood feud mentioned there is another concerning attempts to murder. This is the *hkrung bunglat* and compensation for it is only paid to Chiefs. The amount of compensation is half that paid in the ordinary feud where death actually occurs. Fifty *hpagas* are paid for this feud.

The Gumlau element (and this includes Lashis, Marus, Atzis and Jinghpaws of that mode of thought) demands and receives only five or six *hpagas* for a killing in addition to the usual burial ceremony requirements. Compensation in all blood feuds has to be paid for the purification of the village and house wherein killing took place; this compensation is particularly heavy if a killing takes place in the house of a Chief. There exists throughout the race a wholesome respect for the person of a member of a Chief's family. For any assault on the person of a Chief very heavy compensation would have to be paid; such cases are extremely rare, if not unknown.

If the servant of a Chief is beaten whilst on his master's business this is regarded as a grave insult to the Chief himself and two big *hpagas* must be paid to him. Other cases concerning those of Chief's blood are:—

- (a) If in the course of two persons quarrelling a Chief is accidentally hit then he must be compensated with two *hpagas*.
- (b) If two persons quarrelling with spears or *dahs* accidentally wound a Chief then they must compensate him for a *hkrung bunglat* (i.e. 50 *hpagas*).
- (c) If, in the course of a quarrel over land or women, a Chief is caught and placed in stocks he must be compensated by a payment of ten large *hpagas* (such as slaves or elephant tusks) and the house in which he was confined must be burned.

In the old days a commoner who offended a Chief would be either killed or sold into slavery. This former custom was the reason why villagers never dared to answer their Chiefs back when the Chief upbraided them. He could abuse them to any limit but their reply could only be "*Anhte mana sha re*" (we are but fools). If on the other hand a commoner was seriously beaten by a Chief a *dah*, spear, or cooking tripod was usually given to smooth the matter over—this was not regarded as a fine, as no fine could be imposed on a Chief.

Other customs concerning deaths and injuries are :—

- (a) If a man is employed for a specific hire and dies as a result of injury received in the course of his work no compensation need be paid. The man's hire is paid up and usually, if he has been killed in the course of working in a *taungya*, a buffalo or a pig is contributed by his employer for sacrifice at his funeral.
- (b) If a man is hired by a Chief to go out with a message to call up people to attend a *manau* and is accidentally killed in the course of the journey a buffalo is paid to his relatives in addition to the ordinary hire.
- (c) If a hunter is called out to finish off a wounded animal, such as a tiger or a bear, and is killed by the animal his relatives must be paid fifteen *hpagas* for his life.

- (d) If a man is murdered in a tract other than that in which he lives then the murderers must pay one large buffalo to clean up the village and a smaller one to clean up the house. These two sacrifices will clear a tract of the evil influence which prevailed at the time the murder was committed.
- (e) If a commoner dies of illness in the house of a Chief his relatives must pay the Chief one large buffalo to propitiate the prevailing evil spirit in the house. A commoner similarly dying in the house of a commoner would pay a similar gift, such as an iron cooking tripod, to the house owner.

4. *Bastard Children*.—In most parts of the Myitkyina Kachin Hills a girl who becomes pregnant as a result of intercourse in the *n'la dap* must name the father of her child within five months. The father usually accepts the blame; but if he can show that others also have had an intercourse with the girl within the first two months of her pregnancy then these others must each give one *hpaga* to the lad who has accepted the paternity. At a period of about six months in the pregnancy the man brings the woman to his house where the *nats* are propitiated.

About a month after the birth the mother and child are taken back to the girl's parents' house and the child is kept there until the full compensation is paid up. This may take many years but once it is paid the mother has no further interest in the child. If the child dies during its time in the house of the girl's parents then the father must collect the corpse and perform all the burial ceremonies in addition to the payment of compensation. I have, however, come across cases wherein this custom was not followed. These were usually cases wherein a child died within a few hours of its birth. In such a case the *Sumrai hka* is reduced to two *hpagas* and no full burial ceremonies are performed on the ground that the child has not become a fully fledged human being. Ordinary burial ceremonies are exceedingly costly and require elaborate sacrifices; that is avoided in cases where a child lives only a few hours and a very interesting custom substituted.

The dead body of the child is placed in a large bamboo tree of a sap giving variety is sought in dense jungle of the type usually inhabited only by *nats* and the bamboo containing the body of the child is tied to the tree by a *dumsa*. A *Jaiwa* is then sought and he recites to the spirit of the dead child after he has slashed this bark of the tree sufficiently to cause the sap to trickle down the trunk. He explains to the spirit of the child that it cannot partake of its mother's milk but this tree is giving forth milk which can be used. The tree is then made the mother of the child's spirit and the spirit remains in the tree.

Such trees are sedulously avoided by all *Jingpaws*. A similar ceremony is carried out in regard to abortions; these are buried in a special piece of jungle set aside for the purpose.

5. *Kachin Beads*.—It will be noticed that in large feud and marriage settlements the Kachins place a high value on necklaces of beads. The customary significance of beads is too well-known to require comment here; but there are several interesting stories attached to the stones which constitute these brown and white bead necklaces.

The stones used are not even semi-precious stones and their intrinsic value outside Kachins must be negligible. Formerly these stones were mined at many places in the Kachin Hills but now these places appear to be either worked out or lost to the people as the increasing rareness of these beads is causing some trouble in the settlement of customary cases which require them as part of the compensation.

There was formerly a place near Konglu (Putao Subdivision) where the Nungs used to work the stones used in these necklaces. It is said that the people who worked these quarries got angry when the value of the stones fell to such an extent as to make the working profitless and in their anger closed the workings by filling them with large stones. They cursed the place and no one else has ever been able to work it as their curse caused two large snakes to take up position guarding the place.

There is also the story that these stones are found near the foothills of the Tibetan Plateau somewhere between Putao and Assam. At this place spirits carefully guard the deposits. About twenty-five years ago three Kachin sepoys are said to have

deserted from the Lansdowne Barracks and to have attempted to return to Burma along the Assam-Fort Herts route. They came by mountains where these stones were seen in large quantities and they naturally could not resist such great wealth so they filled their Kachin bags with the stones. As the result of this they were all stricken down by the guardian spirits. One went blind and lost his way in the jungle in endeavouring to return to replace the stones; another was stricken with illness and died on the road; and the third was said to have been devoured by wild animals while wandering in the barren wastes of the Tibetan Plateau. Their bags and bones were afterwards found; but no one would touch them on seeing the stones in their bags.

This is a very picturesque explanation of what was probably a very sordid affair; whatever it was there can be no doubt that the sources of supply of these beads have now been lost so that the value of the necklaces increases with each generation. Some at present in the Triangle are said to be valued at a thousand rupees.

SUMPRABUM, April 1941.

J. L. LEYDEN.

16-1-64

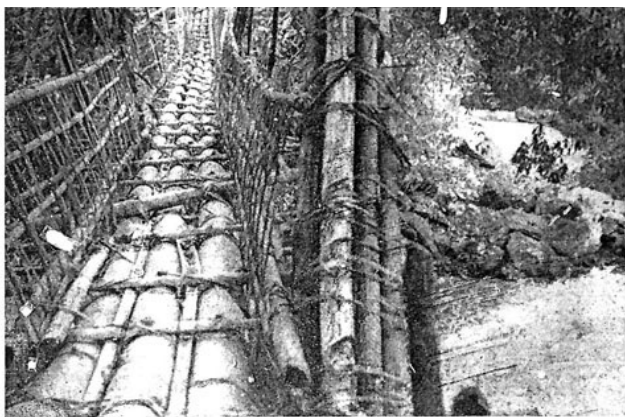


A typical Kachin house 200' long.



A group of stunted Kachin tribesmen.

Printed by H. W. Smith at the Times of India Press, Bombay, and Published by Kawlu K.
Nawng. K.S.M., A.T.M., Burma.



A Kachin bridge indicating the use of bamboo. No nails used.



Collecting the stunned fish in communal fishing.



Flowing peacefully the Hukawng Valley



The communal manau dance. Note boats with sun and moon shirts represented



An old woman ginning the cotton grown in taung-yas.



Weaving. Typical Kachin small loom.