CHANGING SOCIO-POLITICAL WORLD OF THE ADIS
OF ARUNACHAL TILL EARLY 1970's: A STUDY
IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

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P R E F A C E

The Adis of Arunachal Pradesh, erstwhile called NEFA, constitute a very ancient tribe of the region and are one of the most advanced from the point of cultural aristocracy. Strangely enough, their past is shrouded in a thick veil of mystery and indefiniteness, on which not much has been written so far. During the mid-1960's when I was in Shillong, it was my Adi students who first made me interested to undertake a study on their tribe. The accounts of how their original alphabet got lost, their valiant clash with the British arms, their socio-political organisations, their oral literature, their religion and supernatural beliefs, their world-view, and winds of change blowing through their land — all these made me eager to study the matter closely. To do that, I travelled in some parts of the Siang district, the homeland of the Adis, during 1969-72, in order to obtain first-hand knowledge and information. This was later supplemented by several secondary materials obtained from various sources. It occurred to me that something significant could be written on their traditional past and the recent present, if one was willing to undertake a course of painstaking library work and difficult trips to their land. I attempted to do that and its consequence has been the making of the present dissertation. It is quite possible that much more remains yet to be said on the matter by future researchers and I can never boast that I have struck the anvil finally and forever.
In this connection, I must express my wholehearted gratitude to my supervisor Prof. S. N. Roy, Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Commerce in North Bengal University, who graciously led me through the different stages of my study with sure and firm treadings. I have taken utmost pains to follow the hints and guidelines that he directed me with.

I should mention with deep gratitude the invaluable help which Mr. B. Das Shastri, former Director of Research, NEFA Administration, rendered by allowing me to freely use the books and other necessary materials, like maps and documents, of the Research Department, as also his personal collections, and by explaining many difficult points.

For the keen interest shown in my study through personal discussions, for granting me the Inner Lines Permission to visit parts of the Adi land like Along, Pasighat, Damroh and the neighbouring villages of the Siang district, and for making the NEFA libraries accessible to me, I should be ever obliged to Colonel P. N. Luthra, former Adviser to the Governor of Assam on NEFA.

I should be grateful to Mr. Tapang Taki, Head Interpreter of Arunachal Pradesh Administration, Mr. J. N. Choudhury, Head Librarian, and to some of the foremost Adi officers, Mr. J. Riba, Mr. Mating Dai, Mr. Talung Rukbo, and Mr. Oshong Ering,
who immensely helped me by interpreting original Adi dialect into English, and also by supplying free English rendering of some of the original Adi texts.

Mention must be made of the names of Mr. Taling Tayong, Mr. Ano Perme, Mr. Talom Gao, Mr. Tomo Riba, Ms. Ayam, Ms. Nayan Irang, Mr. L. N. Chakraborty, Mr. P. C. Dutta, Mr. R. Choudhury, Mr. Kishen Kumar, Mr. K. D. Pyal, Prof. M. C. Goswami, and Prof. A. C. Bhagabati -- the remarkable batch of students, officers, and academic experts on the subject -- who helped me with many informative details, solving many a difficult point, and freely discussing all allied and relevant matters in the course of my many interviews with them.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the friendly assistance rendered by the staff of NEFA Government Central Library, Shillong, State Central Library, Shillong, NEFA Government district libraries at Along and Pasighat, National Library, Calcutta, North Bengal University Library, and the many employees of NEFA Cultural Research Department. But for their kind co-operation, the present dissertation could never have been completed.

My sincerest thanks are due to the friendly assistance and encouragement given by my colleagues and the members of the Himalayan Studies department of the North Bengal University, the Anthropology department of Gauhati University, and
the History department of Visva Bharati University, Santiniketan, by allowing me to participate in all their seminars on Eastern Himalayas and present my papers on the Adis before distinguished scholars and experts.

Last, but not the least, I must express my thankful indebtedness and sincerest gratitude to my wife Keku Banerjee, and daughter Nandini, for all their encouragement to my research project on the Adis, their kind reading of the whole manuscript, correction of the occasional errors in the typescript, and assistance in the straining preparation of the alphabetical order of the glossary and bibliography. In the absence of their all-out help, the dissertation would have taken much longer time to be completed and made ready for submission. They shared with me streaks of both sunlight and shadow in terms of family congeniality during my full-time engagement with the present work.

Two necessary clarifications need be made. It has to be borne in mind that the expressions, NEFA and Arunachal, as and when used in this dissertation, do always carry the same connotation. Hence, they are, and should all through be, treated as synonymous, inseparable, and identical.

As explanation of the term 'Changing', used in the title of this dissertation, I must admit that it is rather
difficult, historically and socially, to pinpoint the exact
date of the starting of the change, which is a somewhat
continuous process. This study has attempted to place it,
roughly, in two stages. The first is after 1912, the year
that the whole of the Abor Hills came under full British
occupation, while the second started after 1947, the year of
Indian Independence.
GLOSSARY OF ABI TERMS USED:

Abang : Myth of Creation.
Abo : Kebang Speech.
Abor : Original name of the Adis.
Abu : Member.
Abuing : Senior Kebang Members.
Abuiyana : Leader of moshup.
Agam : Spirit.
Amang EKK : A religious rite.
Ampibari : Myth about origin of Hunting.
Anyeng : Novice in the moshup.
Apong : Rice Beer.
Aran : Agricultural festival.
Are : Payment made for the bride by the groom.
Arik : Agricultural field.
Aying Uyu : An evil spirit.
Banggo : Area.
Batum Yonmo : A ceremony.
Benji Banna : A good spirit.
Bayop : Girdle for women.
Buiising : Adi month.
Dade Bote : A good spirit.
Danki : Bell-metal cauldron.
Dere : Bachelors' Dormitory.
Digin : Adi season.
Diking : Adi month.
Disang : Adi month.
Donyi : Sun God.
Doying Bote : A good spirit.
Eikki Patar : A religious rite.
Ekkum Arang : A religious rite.
Enlik : Payment for agricultural labour in kind.
Epon : An evil spirit.
Etto : Agricultural festival.
Galling : Adi month.
Gam : Representative of clan in Kebang.
Gammang : Hunting ceremony.
Gumin Shoin : A good spirit.
Idum Bote : A deity.
Iyo : Adi month.
Jhum : Adi system of cultivation.
Karli : A kind of bead.
Kebang : Village council.
Keming : A ceremony relating to war.
Keyum : Maker of the Universe.
Kili : An evil spirit.
Kijir : Adi month.
Kine Nane : A female deity.
Kiruk : Group hunting.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kombong</td>
<td>Adi month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuro</td>
<td>A kind of bead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamroh</td>
<td>A religious rite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Adi season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lungkang</td>
<td>Exchange of presents before marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutter</td>
<td>Agricultural festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabat</td>
<td>A hunting ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannan</td>
<td>A hunting ceremony at moshup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maruk</td>
<td>Inferior agricultural field; also the name of a ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merum</td>
<td>Hearth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migam</td>
<td>Honourable guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mijing</td>
<td>Old moshup members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minelambe Spak</td>
<td>A religious rite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mipak</td>
<td>Slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minyam</td>
<td>A ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miri</td>
<td>Adi priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misungka</td>
<td>A good spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mite</td>
<td>A good spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithun</td>
<td>Ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mopun</td>
<td>Agricultural ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moshup</td>
<td>Bachelors' dormitory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugbo</td>
<td>Son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nqimape</td>
<td>An evil spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngite</td>
<td>An evil spirit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nipo - Nite : An evil spirit.
Nipong : An evil spirit.
Ni-tom : Love song.
Nomtur : An evil spirit.
Nyibo : Adi priest.
Patat : Plot for agriculture.
Padong Nane : Rain goddess.
Pange : Nigre.
Perok Agam : A ceremony
Pet-pum : An evil spirit.
Piang : A daily; also a hunting ceremony.
Polo : Moon god.
Pombi : Agricultural ceremony.
Ponung : Dance.
Poro : A good spirit.
Pulitalam : An evil spirit.
Radeng : Senior Kebang member.
Rashang : Girls' dormitory.
Siglap : Payment for agricultural labour in cash.
Rikti : Agricultural ceremony.
Roksing : A religious rite.
Romsom : Supplementary hearth in Moshup for the old.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siking Kadang</td>
<td>An evil spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solung</td>
<td>Agricultural festival.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadok</td>
<td>Precious medal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagong</td>
<td>An evil spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takuk</td>
<td>A hunting ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taku Binyal</td>
<td>Agricultural ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tale Potum</td>
<td>A religious rite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanno</td>
<td>Adi month.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teram</td>
<td>Adi month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tori Mone</td>
<td>A goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uning</td>
<td>A hunting ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uram</td>
<td>An evil spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ute</td>
<td>A spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyus</td>
<td>Spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viyus</td>
<td>Spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yago</td>
<td>A hunting ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeqling</td>
<td>A ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yite</td>
<td>Adi month.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yodo Yongmo</td>
<td>Vulcan of Adi mythology.</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Adia, inhabiting the Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh, the extreme North-East frontier region of India, constitute an ancient tribe, known to be the oldest and culturally one of the most advanced among the tribes inhabiting this border area of our country, erstwhile known as North-East Frontier Agency, in short, NEFA. The past history of this tribe is shrouded in a thick mist of vagueness and very little is definitely known about the origin, migration and gradual development of the people before their final settlement in Siang district. A full-scale study of this tribe forms an important chapter in the little explored socio-cultural and political history of the North-Eastern region of India.

1.1. Framework of the Proposed Study.

Even though it is known and understood that Arunachal, forming the vital far North-Eastern extremity of the country, is a highly vulnerable and sensitive border area, where an explosive situation can come up any moment, it had remained for many years in rather a state of ignorance, isolation, constant neglect and lack of interest in its upliftment. It started coming into serious attention of the central government since the Chinese
thrust in Tibet in 1959. The Government of India became increasingly aware of its great responsibility to guard this vulnerable extremity of the country's border area from falling a prey to the aggressive territorial rapacities of neighbouring foreign countries. It was felt that serious and sincere interest in the development of this region and in the condition of the life of the tribes inhabiting here was essential for maintaining the territorial integrity of the country.

For the second time Arunachal came to acquire tremendous national importance with the political and martial predicament of 1962, when China penetrated far inward through NEFA. The danger thus posed to the political stability of the country was strongly felt and from that time started an all-out attempt to do something definite and constructive for the upliftment of this region and its people. As such, the Government of India embarked upon a well-planned policy of progress and development of NEFA and its people. This yielded good results in course of time and the whole of NEFA gradually started seeing great development and all-round material progress by definite degrees over the years that followed the great debacle of 1962. The threat of foreign intrusion across the borders is not yet fully over, as the recent Chinese encroachment deep into Arunachal will sufficiently show. The tribal people of the
region who have constantly pined under the impression that they have been kept away, aloof, separated, and neglected, from the mainstream of Indian culture as outcasts, may go out of Indian geo-political periphery by the insinuating temptations of any scheming agent-provocateur at any time. To counteract any such possible menace and threat to the country's territorial integrity and political stability, quite a lot has been done for the development of Arunachal; still much more is to be done to consolidate its position in the political map of the country. The variegated tribal population of the region must be made to feel their due place in the mainstream of national life, thereby rooting out their apprehension of being neglected and kept apart from other states of the country by the central government. Hence, a serious awareness and close study about the people and the place, done with an amount of sincere and sympathetic concern for their past heritage and present socio-cultural and political set up in a spirit of brotherhood, cohesion and integrity, will never go futile.

This process of mutual understanding, identification and fellow-feeling started since the 1960's, reached its apex in the early 1970's with the formation of NEFA into a Union Territory, and attained its fruition in 1987 with the grant of full statehood to it. In course of this elaborate process of change, the attempt of the Government has always been to accept the traditional socio-political and cultural heritage of the people in a spirit of respectful cordiality and fit it into the changing background of the
present times, thereby trying to retain the best of both. The alternating picture of traditional past and changing socio-cultural and political pattern of the current times has thus been the essential core of our study here, with the Adi tribe of Arunachal having been specifically chosen and singled out on the ground of its being the oldest and culturally one of the most advanced. The whole of NEFA might well be regarded as a National Extension Block. Whereas formerly the Administration was mainly concerned with law and order, to-day its chief pre-occupation is the welfare of the people. It has tried to bring the tribes close into the main-stream of modern life. It has pressed forward everywhere with roads which will make the plains easier of access. It has encouraged both Hindi and Assamese to help the tribesmen to communicate more readily with the outside world. It has arranged on regular basis to take the tribal students on tours round India and send parties regularly to New Delhi on great occasions. It has awarded stipends to outstanding boys and girls to study in various parts of India. Its officers have penetrated into the wildest regions with the message that beyond the hills there is a friendly world with a desire to help and serve.

The NEFA Administration believes that advance in these long-neglected areas must be on scientific lines. It is essential that attempts must be regular, orderly and well-planned
for enabling the tribesman to adjust himself to the changing conditions of present times. Until this is done on the basis of his cultural potentiality and cultural accessories, no amount of spoon-feeding or uplifting measures are likely to be effective.

The government felt that the people of NEPA cannot be left to their age-long isolation nor can we leave any political vacuum along the frontier. We wish to see that the people are well-fed, enjoy a happy, healthy life, have better living conditions, necessary education, better yields from their fields and cottage industries through the use of improved techniques, and bring them into contact with all the best that modern India can offer and does possess.

The government also hopes to see as the result of its efforts a spirit of love and loyalty for India, without a trace of suspicion in the tribal mind that government has come into the tribal areas to colonize or exploit. They have to be made to develop a spirit of full integration of mind and heart with the greater Indian society of which they form a part and to whose infinite variety they also can make their own unique contribution. At the same time, it wants to avoid the dangers of assimilation and detribalization which have degraded tribal communities in other parts of the world. The most sensible way to achieve all this is by following the middle path between doing too little and doing too much - the wise policy so effectively followed in NEPA under the
instruction of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. His view was that we have to refrain from interfering with their customs, practices and traditions. At the same time we have to help them to grow according to their own genius and culture and nothing would be more unfortunate than to try to impose ourselves upon them in any way.

Officers of the Administration were required to follow, under the directive of Nehru, the following well-reasoned set of questions in the matter of policy-making regarding the tribes and making schemes for development, welfare, relief and expansion:

1. Will the scheme help the tribesmen to grow according to their own genius and tradition?

2. Will its result be merely to shape them according to our own image or likeness and impose on them our particular way of living?

3. Will it tend to make of the tribesmen a second carbon copy of ourselves?

4. Will it uproot the tribal people from their surroundings and make them grow soft and thus lose some of their fine qualities?

5. Is it open to the criticism that it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach the tribesmen with an air of superiority or to tell them what to do or not to do?
6. Will it involve too rapid a process of acculturation or, in other words, are we trying to go too fast?

7. Is there any danger that we are overwhelming the tribes by too many projects, each good in itself, but in the aggregate imposing too heavy a burden?

8. Will it impair or destroy in any way the self-reliance of the people?

9. Is it really, on long-term basis, for the ultimate good of the tribesman, or is it simply something that will make a good show in the press or an official report?

10. Will it, in the case of NGBA, help to integrate the tribal people with India as a whole?

1:2. Objectives of the present study.

The little bits of information about the people of the Adi land that have come down to us from British explorers, traders, and administrators, are rather inadequate. Those hardly give us a complete and uniform account with dates and definite periods. Hence the major objective of the present study is to present a full account about the socio-cultural-political-literary set up of the Adi people that had been followed by them through the ages.
This primary objective necessarily entails a detailed study of several unavoidable social, cultural and political aspects. They are subsidiary requisites which are immensely needed for a full, all-round study of the subject, and without them the primary objective cannot be effectively supplemented. Hence, first a detailed probe has been made into the different aspects of the life of the Adi people and the place they live in. Then an attempt has been made to discuss the vital socio-political factors and institutions that have become inseparable from the very existence of the Adi community. After that the equally unavoidable and essential factors of the economic, literary and religious paraphernalia without which no human society can proceed have been taken into consideration. The changes that occurred in all aspects of Adi life and society since their awakening in the new morning of the Indian independence from British rule have been probad into next. As supplementary to this, a look into the administrative steps taken by the Central Government for an all-out development of the region, which culminated in its attainment of full statehood has been attempted. Such a course of study has been felt to be the most essential step for an all-round study of the past and present of Adi culture and society. All the objectives of this study become clear and well-defined that way, thereby justifying the aptness and suggestiveness of the title.

The noticeable feature of the Adi race is their impli-
citly faithful adherence to and strong love for the tradition of old in every sphere of life and society. A perceptible snatch of disruption occurred in that phenomenon during the early stages of their contact with the British and more strongly since the post-independence days. An all-embracing, systematic study about the traditional past and later advent of changes will be quite interesting as a document of immense attraction. Moreover, politically speaking, there is a great deal of interest in their traditional polity as also in the later administrative changes worked out by the government which ushered in a new era in the Adi land since the mid-1960's. Such a study will thus keep us fully abreast with the tendencies that may crop up in the near future.

1:3. Hypotheses or Research Questions.

The main purpose of the present dissertation will be to raise a number of relevant questions and to make an attempt to answer them. They are: (1) why did the Adis of old keep themselves away from contact with outsiders and confine themselves solely within the limits of their age-old tradition? (2) why did they switch over to the later changes which were in great contrast with the former stage? (3) What was the exact nature of relation between the British rulers of the Abor Hills and the tribals of the region? (4) What was done by the former towards the latter for change and development of the area in order to consolidate the administrative machinery? (5) How did the matter stand at the time
of India's Independence in 1947 and what was the attitude of the Central Government towards the tribals of the region in respect of policy-making? (6) Were any effective changes brought over the place and people in the context of later administrative and political necessities? (7) Which way are they moving now and how does the situation stand at present socially and politically?

1.4. Overview of the Literature on the subject.

On the Adi tribe as a whole, taking it from all perspectives, there have not so far been many studies. They may be grouped into two categories: (1) Those that are treated as primary sources of information, from the British administrators and military officers in the Abor Hills, as the area was called at that time, all of which were written and published between 1835 and 1923 and, (2) those by Indian scholars, treated as secondary references, published during the last thirty years, along with the various publications on the Adis by the Government departments and individual scholars in the form of journal articles.

Almost all the writings of the British authors are accounts of territorial, occupational and punitive expeditions - very useful works nonetheless - which give us occasional patchy accounts of some facets or other about the Adi people, their land, and their culture and society. Some of them combine explorative accounts of both adventurous and sociological import, occasionally drawing a
comparative study between the Adis and some other tribes of the region. Most of the writings by British and other European officers are, rather handicapped by the individual writer's personal fades, specific need of the occasion, racial bias, and service constraints. Hence their accounts have not much uniformity and unprejudicial approach to the matter, despite all their merits as having been fascinating, explorative and pioneering works on the subject. On ultimate analysis, they perhaps fail to present all-embracing, rounded studies on the Adi people. Among these works of primary reference, the following may be referred to in greater details.

From captain E.T. Dalton we hear first about the Adis in his two writings -- 'On the Nris and Abors of Assam' (J.A.S.B. V. XIV, 1845) and, 'Correspondence and Journal ..., of a visit to a clan of Abors on the Dihong River' (Selection from the Records of the Bengal Government No. XXII, Calcutta, 1853). In these two pioneering accounts he writes about his first impression on the Adi land and gives his views on their character, dress, hair-style, ornament, tattooing and such elementary matters.

N. M. Krick who wrote the fascinating piece, 'An Account of an Expedition Among the Abors in 1893' (J.A.S.B., V. 9. 1913) gave details of the expedition and his visit to the Padam area of Adi region, along with effusive accounts of his views on Adi character, physical features, dress, hair style, ornaments and tattooing.
Next comes G.D.S. Dunbar with his worthy piece of writing 'Abors and Gallongs' (Memoirs of A.S.B., V.V., 1913-17) which attempts to study Adi life and culture more deeply, recording his well-observed views on Adi character, dress, physical features, ornaments, tattooing and games. He next writes about their villages, cane bridge, taboo in food intake. He then goes even deeper and deals with their spiritual world, the evil spirits, their idea about the father of mankind, form of spirits, and propitiatory rites. He also collected a large number of myths and legends and attempted to substantiate his findings through a study of these oral mythical narratives. His book serves as the forerunner of Elwin's formidable Myths of NEFA, compiled in 1958.

Several British officers have given rather very elementary sketches of the Adi tribe. For example, J. Butler in his 'A Sketch of Assam, with some Account of the Hill Tribes' (London, 1847) writes only about character, dress, hair-style and ornaments of the Adis. A. Gille in his 'An Account of an Expedition Among the Abors in 1853' (J.R.A.S.B. Vol. IX, N.S. 1913) describes the expedition and its military consequences primarily, with one or two comments upon the general Adi appearance and nature. A. Hamilton's book In Abor Jungles (London, 1912), H. I. Halliday's 'The Abors of Assam' (United Empire, V. XIX, 1926), and W. B. More's Report on Abor Country (Simla, 1913) deal in general with Adi martial character, the action of their poisoned arrow their
appearance, valiant nature, dress, ornament, and adventurous surrounding of the region.

F. J. Needham, A. B. Lindsay, and J. H. Lorrain approach Adi life from three viewpoints. Needham's Report on a Trip into the Abor Hills, 1894 (Shillong, 1895) is an adventurous account of a hazardous trip into the interior, with all its allied ingredients of narrative charm, fictional interest and elementary surface observation of men and manners. Similarly, 'A Journey into the Abor Country' (Geographical Journal, V. XXXVIII, 1911) by D. M. Lumsdon has all the charm of a travelogue of adventure combined with an inquisitive visitor's interesting views on the people and things he sees. In the same way, A.B. Lindsay's 'Expedition Against the Abors, 1911-12' (Army Review, V. IV, 1913) gives a throbbing account of a tough military expedition which meant to bring the enemy under full control and has thus little interest as a social document. On the otherhand, J. H. Lorrain's A Dictionary of the Abor-Miri Language (Shillong, 1910) has all the value of an academic work on a linguistic subject which becomes immensely necessary to know the Adi language. Last, but not the least among European writers on the Adis, mention must be made of P. Millington, whose book On the Track of the Abor (London, 1912) has all the elements of adventure, heroism and dangerous exploration of a man-hunting expedition in the interior of an enemy country. It has thus more of fictional interest and adventurous fascination to a reader than of any strictly academic utility as giving an unpreju-
diced view of the life and society of the Adis.

* * *

Now to come to the other category of writings, books and journal articles, on the Adis, constituting the secondary source of reference and written by scholars in India. Frankly speaking, most of the Indian scholars have taken the whole of North-East India as the subject of their study and as such for a specific study on the Adi tribe of Arunachal they are not of much immediate utility. As general studies on the people, politics and culture of North-East India, they are indeed valuable but they hardly touch upon the culture and society of the Adis in details.

(3) Among such books, mention must be made first, of Verrier Elwin who is the author of as many as seven books on the North-East Frontier of India. Among them Myths of North-East Frontier of India (Shillong, 1958) and New Book of Tribal Fiction (Delhi, 1970) are collections of tribal myths and legends, including all the Adi myths. Among his other books, India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth century (Bombay, 1959) is a historical account of North-East Frontier during the first-half of British occupation and rule there, while, Democracy in NEFA (Shillong, 1965) is a study in the political progress of the region during the Congress administration there upto the mid-1960's. In the same way, A Philosophy for NEFA (Shillong 1959) chalks out in details the central government's policies followed in NEFA for its
all-round development, touching upon all facets of tribal life and society there. Lastly, The Art of the North-East Frontier of India (Shillong, 1939) traces the rich heritage of handicrafts and fine arts of NEFA, the Adis, of course, never being left out.

Among other works, Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal Pradesh (Shillong, 1973) by L. N. Chakraborty; British Policy of North-East Frontier of India (London, 1970) and The North-East Frontier of India 1865-1914 (Calcutta, 1970), - both by N. P. Choudhury; British Policy on the North-East Frontier of India 1826-1886 (London, 1970) by S. Gupta; and Constitutional and Administrative Growth of NEFA (Shillong, 1971) by P. N. Luthra - are all historical accounts of the political and administrative growth of the region in course of the last one hundred and fifty years. On the other hand, Imperilled Frontiers (Oxford, 1983) by N. Rustomji; Problem of the Hill Tribes: North-East Frontier: A Critical Analysis (Guwahati, 1970) by K. K. Barpujari; and Hill Politics in North-East India (Calcutta 1973) by S. K. Chaube are significant studies in the political growth of the whole North-East, the various trends and movements occurring there during the last thirty years or so, and the intricate political problems, coming up there in the recent past, that have worked major changes in the functioning of tribal life in the whole North-East. Alongside with these volumes, Socio-Economic Study of Arunachal Pradesh (Univ. of Guwahati, 1976) by S. D. Jha; Arunachal Panorama (Shillong, 1973) by J. N. Choudhury.
North-East India: A Sociological Study (Delhi, 1977) by S. M. Dubey; Demographic and Socio-Economic Profiles of the Hill Areas of North-East India (Delhi, 1970) and Integrated Area Approach to the Problems of the Hill-Tribes of North-East India (Siala, 1959), both by B. K. Roy Burman - are all socio-economic studies of the whole of North-Eastern India taken together, and the multifarious problems and changes occurring to the life and society of the tribes inhabiting there.

On the Adi tribe of Arunachal, there have been altogether four studies so far. **Adis of North-Eastern Frontier Agency** (Delhi Univ. 1967) by S. M. Roy is a very significant socio-cultural work of much promise. **An Anthropometry of the Adis** (Shillong, 1965) by Sachin Roy is rather a work on anthropological approach, done strictly from the scientific viewpoint. **A Comparative Study of Adi Religion** (Shillong, 1972) by J. N. Choudhury is a handy volume touching upon the religious and spiritual aspects of the Adi life and draws a comparison between the Adi religion and the Vedic cult. Lastly, **Medum Abang** (Shillong, 1964) by D.S. Guha dwells at length on the Medum and Masheng, or the dormitory system for boys and girls, one of the most vital social institutions of the Adis, and compiles the myths and legends prevailing on the matter in their oral literature.

There are three other essentially allied books that are there. The first is, **Aspects of Padam - Minyong culture** (Shillong, 1960) by **-16-**
Sachin Roy which studies in substantial details the socio-cultural life of the Padam and Minyong sections, the two most representative, culturally the most progressive, historically the oldest, and the most respected in terms of aristocratic heritage. The other book is *Myths of the Shimongs of the Upper Siang* (Shillong, 1965) by T. K. Bhattacharya. Shimongs are known as the third major and most advanced section among the Adis. The author gives a round picture of this particular section and collects the myths and legends prevailing on them. The third book is *Our Festivals* (Shillong, 1968) by M. N. Bordoloi, which discusses the major festivals of the Adis along with the many other festivals of India. It has thus quite an amount of importance for the purpose of studying the Adi religion and hence serves as a helpful companion-volume in an enquiry into the socio-cultural set up of the Adis.

If full-scale books on Adis written by Indian scholars are not many in number, short articles and papers published in journals and magazines are quite plentiful. They touch upon various facets of Adi life and culture and have to be regarded with some serious attention. They are patchy and not very extensive, but when the total mass of them is taken into account and put together, they give us a fairly full picture of the whole Adi tribe in all its paraphernalia. Let us see what they are.

On the origin and migration of the Adis, T.K. Bhattacharyya's article, 'The Adis: Origin and Migration' (Pines, V.I part
3, Shillong 1973) and that by R.C. Nigam, 'Abors and Myths of their Origin (March of India, V. VI, 1953) are there. On their place of habitation and physical structure two individual articles are available; the first is 'Habitation of the Adis of the Siang Frontier Division' (Vanyajati V.V, No. 3, July 1957) by Nilima Roy, and the second, 'The Body-Build of the Abors' (Bulletin, Department of Anthropology, V.2 No. 2, 1953) by Sachin Roy. On the Kabang and the political structure of Adi society, some papers are available. They are: 'The Kabang of the Adis' (NEFA Information, Dec. 1967, Shillong) by Oshong Ering; 'The Kabang of the Adis: Its Nature and Functions' (Seminar Paper, Himalayan Studies Deptt., North Bengal Univ. April 1984) by G.S. Banerjee; Political Structure of the Adi People of Arunachal Pradesh (Quarterly Journal of Local Self-Government, April-Sept. 1975) by P.A. Gogoi; and, 'From Tribal Kabang to National Democracy' (Journal of the NEICSRS, V. III No. 1, 1979) by D.N. Pandey.

The dormitory system of the Adis, Moshup and Rashang, and their marriage system, have about them a host of articles. They are: 'The Abor Moshup: a Training Centre for the Youth (Vanyajati, V.1 No. 4, 1953) by B. S. Guha; 'Traditional Faith and Belief Behind Moshup' (NEFA Information, Nov. 1968, Shillong) by T. Rukbo; 'On Dera-Rashang System of the Adis' (NEFA Information, July 1969), by Oshong Ering; 'Moshup of the Adis' (NEFA Information, Oct. 1969) by Talom Gao; 'Dormitory System in the Adi Society of Arunachal' (Seminar Paper, Himalayan Studies Deptt., North Bengal Univ. July
1983), and 'Moshup and Rasheng of the Adis: Their Mythical, Religious and Social Background' (Seminar Paper, Ibid. March, 1983) - both by G.S. Banerjee; 'Marriage System of the Adis' (NEFA Information, Aug. 1970) and 'Adi Marriage and Divorce' (Ibid., Sept. 1970) - both by Oshong Ering.

After this we come to matters of food, pastime and religion. On these also articles are quite a few in number. They are: 'Community Hunting and Fishing of the Adis' (Arunachal News, Feb. 1973) by Oshong Ering; 'Shifting Cultivation Among the Abors' (March of India, V. XI, 1953), and, 'Agricultural Organization Among the Abors' (Bulletin, Deptt. of Anthropology, V. III No. 2, 1954) - both by B.C. Gohain; 'Conception of the Supernatural Among the Adis' (Pines, Vol. I Part I, Shillong 1971), by J. N. Choudhury; 'Salung' (NEFA Information, April 1963) by Oshong Ering; 'Medicine Men of Abor Hills' (Times of India, Oct. 25, 1959) by B.S. Guha; 'Religious Beliefs and Ritual Practices of the Minyong Abors' (Anthropos, V. XLIV, 1954, 1954) by C.V. Furer - Haimendorff. On Adi myths and literature also, there are some articles as: 'Mithun: Fact and Myths' (NEFA Information, June 1963) by Oshong Ering; 'Myths of the Adis of Siang: Their Social and Literary Implications' (Seminar Paper, Deptt. of Anthropology, Guwahati Univ. Dec. 1970), 'Literature of the NEFA People: A Critical Survey' (Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 25, 1971) - both G.S. Banerjee.

Then, to come to customary laws, social changes, special
and general studies — all vital matters in their own respective way. On these also, there is no dearth of papers and individual articles. They are: 'Traditional Way of Administration of Criminal Oath in Adi Society (Arunachal News, April 1977) by Oshong Ering; 'Customary Laws of the Adis of Arunachal' (Shulinga, North Bengal Univ. Law College Journal, 1985-86) by G. S. Banerjee; 'Function Organisation in the Adi Society' (Arunachal News, 1973) by Y. A. Balikar; 'Population Studies and Living Conditions of the Tribes in the Padam and Minyong Areas of Abor Hills of Assam' (Bulletin, Deptt. of Anthropology, V. II No. 1, 1953) by P. N. Sengupta; 'Padams' (NEFA Information, Oct. 1971) by Mading Partin; 'The Role of Women among the Padam Tribe' (The March of India, V. 6, 1953) by J. Choudhury; 'Social Changes among the Adis' (Tribe, V. VI No. 3, 1969, Udaipur) by K. Kar; 'Adis of Arunachal' (The Himalayas ed. S. K. Chaube, Delhi 1965) by G. S. Banerjee; 'Adis of Arunachal : A Brief Study of the Past and Present' (UGC National Seminar paper on Eastern Himalayas, Department of History, Visva Bharati Univ. April 1980), 'Adi Society and Literature in Transition' (Pines, V. I Part I, Shillong 1971) and, 'Some Reflections on the Cultural Changes and Social Set-up of the Adis of To-day' (Seminar Paper, NEFA Research Centre, Along, July 1970). all three of the last by G. S. Banerjee. It is indeed encouraging to note that with the passage of time more such books and articles by individual writers, government departments and social institutions are constantly being published, thereby immensely enriching the present subject of study in a continuous flow, — endless
and ever increasing.

1:5. Methodology followed.

The present study has adopted a combination of traditional historical methods and the modern empirical methods of the social sciences. The historical data have been obtained from the library sources as well as archival materials and government reports. Secondary sources from the writings of the foreign and Indian scholars and experts have also been consulted. These hard data have been supplemented by perceptive data gathered from interviews, structured and unstructured questionnaires, face to face discussions, and informal talks with Adi commoners, students, officers and government experts. First-hand data have been obtained from surveys and participation as observer in the life and culture and political process of the Adi tribe in as many Adi villages, big and small, major and minor, of the Siang district, as possible. And the sum-total of all this has been presented concisely in the Chapters that follow. The purpose and result of this are expected to be the attainment of a close information and understanding about the Adi tribe, their land, their past history, their social, political, literary and spiritual practices and the events happening in their region in the present times. These are the matters dealt with in the following pages of this dissertation and thereby an attempt has been made here to undertake a full-scale and all-embracing study on the Adi tribe in a single campus.
1.6. Chapterwise Summary.

A single cursory glance at the detailed table of contents will be quite enough to unfold and summarize the matters dealt with in individual chapters. Chapter One serves as the introductory ground for the whole dissertation. It unfolds the main contention of the present thesis, objectives of the particular study undertaken, the hypotheses or research questions raised and answered in the later chapters, overview of the existing literature on the subject of present study, the methodology followed in preparing the dissertation, and thus ushering in the whole matter for a clear and unambiguous follow-up.

The second chapter presents a detailed account of the Adi land, the Siang district, its geographical particulars, and the Adi tribe - their migration, social groups, origin of their name, their physical features, nature and dress - in short, every particular detail about the people under study and the place they live in.

The third chapter deals in details with the socio-political foundation of the Adi people - the village, the family, the place of individual in society, the village council and its paraphernalia, inter-village disputes, customary laws followed by the people and all such relevant matters.

Chapter Four analyses in all their essential features the two traditional social institutions - the Adi dormitory system
for unmarried boys and girls and the vital matter of marriage and all its allied details. Thus, chapters three and four purport to unfold everything of importance relating to the whole social panorama.

In Chapter Five will be seen a conglomerate account of all the equally vital matters pertaining to the past and present economic activities of the tribe, the remarkable oral literature of the people, and their highly interesting religious, spiritual, and supernatural world which governs and guides every step of their life even to-day.

Chapter Six deals with the advent of change among the Adis, particularly between 1947 and early 1970's, the reason and nature of the wind of change, the reaction of the people towards it, the Indian Government's policies and attitudes towards Arunachal and formulation of a definite course of action.

In chapter Seven a detailed account has been given of the growth of Administrative machinery in Arunachal, the territorial changes and modifications done by the Government there, amalgamation of indigenous traditional and government modes of administrative processes, formation of N.E.R.A into a Union Territory, and subsequently granting of full statehood to it.

The last Chapter, the eighth one, consists of the summary of findings and concluding observations, followed by a full
bibliography on the topic of the dissertation. Each Chapter has added to it at the end all the references used in its preparation and detailed notes on some relevant issues as mentioned in its body, along with appendices, where necessary, on several specific references.
Notes and References to Chapter - I.


3. : 'Correspondence and Journal ... of a visit to a Clan of Abors on the Dihong River' (Selection from the Records of the Bengal Govt. No. XXIII.

4. M. M. Krick : 'An Account of an Expedition Among the Abors in 1853' (J.A.S.B. V. 9, 1913)

5. G.D.S. Dunbar : 'Abors and Gollongs' (Memoirs of ASB. V.V., 1913-17)


13. A. B. Lindsay : 'Expedition Against the Abors, 1911-12' (Army Review, V. IV, 1913)


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CHAPTER II

Land and the People


The history of what is now known as Arunachal Pradesh, erstwhile called NEFA, ascends for hundreds of years into the mists of tradition and mythology. Of the vast hinterland there are only scanty recent accounts, but a number of ruins in the foothills suggest some contact between the ancient rulers of Assam and the tribesmen living near the plains. Local tradition regards the country round Sadiya as the ancient Vidarbha and the archaeological relics at Bhismaknagar in Lohit as marking the capital of King Bhismak, whose daughter Rukmini was carried away by Lord Krishna himself. The ruins of a fort at Bhalukpong in Kameng are claimed by the Akas as the original home of their ancestor Bhaluka who was defeated, according to Purana legend, by Krishna at Tezpur. The ruins of the copper temple, Tamashwari, in Lohit and the Brahmakund of Parasuram have attracted Hindu pilgrims throughout the ages. The ruins of the ancient capital of a Kalita king have been identified on the Ita hill in Subansiri.

The old records tell us little of the tribes. One of the earliest specific references to the tribes occurs in the account written by the chronicler Shihabuddin who accompanied Mughal emperor Aurangzeb's general Mir Jumla when he invaded Assam in 1662. The
Ahom Kings adopted a policy of conciliation towards the tribes. Their main concern was to contain the tribal people in their own hills and forests, sending out expeditions only when there were raids of unusual audacity. When the British took over the control of Assam in 1838, they largely followed the policy of the Ahom Kings towards the tribals. They tried to make friends with the tribes, established outposts in the foothills and from time to time made punitive expeditions into the interior when strictly necessary. A few daring explorers penetrated deep into the mountains but without any definite effect upon the outlook of the people.

(4)

The first important step towards some kind of elementary administration in NEFA, at least in the foothills, as well as for the establishment of more friendly relations with the tribes, was the appointment of J. F. Needham as the Assistant Political Officer in 1882, who continued in that post till 1905. He made a number of long tours in the hitherto unknown country and achieved considerable influence over the people by his long tenure of service in the area. Through trade and occasional holding of fairs, which were largely attended by the tribals, an atmosphere of friendliness between the people and the government was sought to be established. Only the Adi Tribe refused to participate in these matters for a long time.

(5)

Then onwards, the task of creating better relations
between the NEFA tribes and the government continued slowly, though it was occasionally hampered by the outbreak of sudden acts of hostility by and confrontation with individual tribes. In 1912 there was considerable activity on the part of the Topographical Survey, whose officers penetrated very far into the interior. Administration gradually spread over the whole tribal area which was divided into the Balipara Frontier Tract and the Sadiya Frontier Tract in 1919. In 1942, the Tirap Frontier Tract was carved out of the Sadiya Frontier Tract and in 1946 the Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into the Se La Sub-Agency and the Subansiri Area. In 1948, the remaining portion of the Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into two divisions — the Abor Hills and the Mishmi Hills. The Naga Tribal Area was at first administered by the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, but in 1951 it was formed into a separate Division, Tuensang, within NEFA. Finally in 1954, the Frontier Divisions were given their present names of Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit, Tirap and Tuensang; but at the end of 1957 Tuensang was re-united with the Naga Hills District as the New Naga Hills and Tuensang Area.

We have so long been speaking about NEFA as a whole. But what about the Adis and their land in particular? Let us now make a brief survey of the past explorations in the Adi land and their relation with the British government; and to try to give a detailed account of the Adi land and the tribe living there.

The present Siang district of Arunachal is the home of the Adis. If one looks at the map of NEFA, Siang will be found right in the middle of the region. This home of the Adis covers more than eight thousand square miles. There are over thirty thousand square miles of NEFA, hardly any of it flat. Bounded by Bhutan and China to the north and east, and Burma to the South-east, it is so mountainous, so cut about, chopped up and divided by countless streams, that on a month’s tour one may well climb a total height exceeding that of Everest. Scores of villages are on steep slopes, the houses rising above each other. The weather of NEFA, in general, is capricious; it may rain any time, which has made it difficult to live in NEFA, and only singularly hardy people can do that. For centuries, the real ruler of the tribal people here has been Environment. The tribesmen have adopted themselves to it. (7)

The habitations of the Adis are concentrated on both banks of the Siang and Yamo river, extending in the north upto the border of India and Tibet, and extended as far as Pasighat and a few miles below in the south; to the west the boundary is demarcated by the Gallong country and the Siyom river. (8) The eastern boundary is marked by high mountains and on the south-east, the last Adi habitations are the Dambuk, Meka and Rayang groups. In the north-east corner their habitation extends as far as Tadadege
and Mechuka.

The Adis, the subject of the present study, are a people who, in a very elementary state of material progress, made, due to historical circumstances, one of the most difficult parts of India their home. Their habitat is a part of the southern slopes of the great Eastern Himalayas, right from the high ranges of eternal snow towering above the Tibetan plateau and marking the boundary between it and India to the low hills along the northern fringe of the Brahmaputra valley through a gradation of tangled succession of hills. The entire area is cut up into innumerable deep gorges and narrow valleys carved out by numerous streams rushing down to the Brahmaputra through large rivers like the Kameng, Subansiri, Lohit etc. Here they have lived a distinct life of their own ekamas characterised by a static primitive economy, virtually unaffected by the two great ancient civilizations of the World - the Sino-Tibetan in the north and the Indian in the south and numerous other streams of culture that flowed into the valley from the east, southeast, and west. High sprawling and twisted mountains, dense tropical forests, precipitous inclines, countless streams, large and small, rendered the land uninviting in the past to the people with more comfortable culture. The Adis themselves have always shrunken from close contacts with outside and maintained a strict aloofness from other civilizations except from extremely rare exchanges of a few essential articles by bartering forest produce.
This avoidance of contact and conservative faiths in
their own way of life and thinking were obviously the effect of the
nature of their habitat which also made the comparatively prolonged
segregation possible. In order to understand the Adi mind and his
world-view we have to know thoroughly the character of the land
they inhabit. We have also to dispel some wrong notions that
might have been created by romantic pictures drawn about their land.
It has been painted by some effusive writers as one of the most
fascinating and exciting parts of NEFA with its superb natural
scenery when it is not hidden by cloud and rain. Largely true
indeed, this picture was natural for a poetic mind thrilled with a
romantic surprise at the scenic grandeur in the course of periodic
tours of short duration. Such elation may be all right for minds
intent on discovery of the beautiful but that hardly represents the
impression of the permanent residents of the region. To them the
passing glories of the setting and rising sun, the majesty of snow-
capped peaks, the monarch of forest spreading over miles and miles
of undulating hills, silver streams flashing in deep dark glens,
have very little appeal. To them the hills were hard cruel rocks
which refused to yield any sustenance; the forests were jungles
encroaching on their small feeble clearings; rains were breeders of
pasts and devastation by landslide and deluge. Nature here is not
a generous and enchanting mistress but a cruel and hard-hearted task
master.

There are great contrasts in Siang. In the foothills
to the south-east, on the right bank of the Siang river, there is the flourishing township of Pasighat. The main Divisional Headquarters at Along, with its beautiful river and valley scenery, is also an important cultural and commercial centre. On the other hand, there are still wild valleys in the north where communications are difficult and the people retain all their old customs and traditions. To a tourist and casual observer the scenery of Siang is of unusual beauty. The great winding river, the forest-clad hill-sides and the snow-clad mountains of the north are really unforgettable to the poetic view of an occasional visitor. The Siyom valley is almost as beautiful, and the Sike river which flows into it, leads into the hills of the Boris - a land of infinite natural beauty.

2.3. Past History of Explorations.

Captain Bedford was the first European to visit the Padam area of the Adi country in 1825-26. He was followed by Father Krick who visited the same area sometime before January 1834. The country was next visited by Dalton in 1835. The British government tried in vain in 1847 to establish a trading post in the Adi country. In 1858, the first punitive expedition against the Adis was sent in consequence of a raid of Beelah village but it was a complete failure. Another expedition was organised in 1859, but this too proved almost a failure as the British soldiers could not reach the actual objective and had to
retreat after destroying a few Adi villages in the lower regions. The government decided to send another expedition in 1862, but gave up the idea after an amicable settlement was reached by which the Adis recognized extension of the British territory up to the foot of the hills. They also accepted a proposal for unimpeded trade and communication across the frontier in both directions.

From 1866 to 1892 it was a period of non-intervention, although the Adis broke the treaty and created trouble from time to time. In the year 1894 a successful expedition was despatched to the Adi villages of Dambuk, Silluk, and Bomjur under Maxwell and Needham. After this no major disturbance occurred in the Adi country till 1903. In the year 1911, Mr. Williamson, Assistant Political Officer, and Dr. Gregorson were murdered near about Koming along with most of their followers. A punitive expedition against the Adis followed in 1912 which was totally successful in breaking down the hostility of the Adis and full British authority was established on the Adi land as a whole.

After this last Adi expedition, it was decided to create two divisions comprising the hilly tracts in the north of Assam. Accordingly, the Western section, and the central and eastern sections were formed. The eastern and central sections lying to the east of Subansiri were placed under the charge of a Political Officer. Mr. Dundas, the first Political Officer of these sections, brought all the large Adi villages of the lower region under
proper control and administration. In 1919 the name of those sections was changed to that of Sadiya Frontier Tract. In 1936-37, W.H. Calver, Political Officer of Sadiya, carried out a tour in the unadministered territory of the Adi Hills. He travelled to Yambung and Komsing and proceeded as far north to Rill and Pangin and came back to Pasighat. The relation between the British and the Adis was cordial and friendly. Calver carried out another tour in 1937-38 in the same region and proceeded as far as the Minyong area on the upper regions of the Siang and also the Shimong and Siyom Valleys.

In 1939, Mr. Godfrey, Political Officer of Sadiya, along with his assistant, Mr. Williams, toured the heart of the Minyong country up to the Tsangpo Valley from Pasighat. In 1940, Godfrey again made another tour and proceeded upto the Siang Valley and Gallong country. The jurisdiction of the Political Officer of Sadiya Frontier Tract now extended as far as to the upper Siang valley and in the year 1941 two posts at Riga and Korko were established. In 1942, the Tirap Frontier Tract was carved out from the Sadiya Frontier Tract. Subsequently, the Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into two separate districts in 1948 - the Mishmi Hills and the Abor Hills. In 1954, the name of the Abor Hills District was changed into the Siang Frontier Division, which is now simply called Siang District, having two divisions, East Siang and West Siang, with their respective head quarters at Pasighat and
Along.

2.4. Origin of the Name Adi.

We have selected the Adis of Siang for our study because among the Arunachal tribes they are supposed to be the oldest and culturally one of the most advanced, and it is primarily about them, and no other tribe of NEFA, that we have adequate amount of information. From the earliest times in known history, the people of Siang who now form the reputed Adi tribe of NEFA, have been known till the other day as Abor, a rather derogatory word meaning 'unruly' or 'disobedient', which correctly described the idea that the plains people had of them in the past.

The use of the name Abor has been traced back to the first century A.D., when Pliny the Elder mentioned a great valley in the Himalayas called Abarimon, inhabited by wild men. The exact location of that valley and identification of these wild people are very difficult from the vague description given by him. The name came to be more frequently used during the Ahom period and designated the turbulent people living between the Subansiri and Dibang rivers. Western writers devoted a lot of research to the origin of the name. It can be said without going into any elaborate controversy that the name is perhaps derived from the Assamese word Bori, meaning, to submit or own allegiance to, with the negative prefix a, thereby referring to one who
does not submit or owe allegiance to anybody, and hence, with more derogatory connotations as hostile, savage, barbarous etc. down the ages. The word may also have some connection with Abo, the first man in their mythology, to whom the Adi tribesmen trace their origin. During the British rule the word Abor was officially used in its broader sense of independent, unruly, disobedient, as also specifically to the tribes of the Southern slopes of the Himalayan ranges between Dibang and Subansiri rivers, and finally to the tribal people living in the Siang district of NEFA.

It is true that the Abors of old have always been a proud, independent people resentful of interference and suspicious of strangers. They kidnapped gold washers on the tributaries of the Brahmaputra; they made many raids on the neighbouring areas and put up a strong resistance to the punitive expeditions sent against them by the British government. The astonishing change that came over the Abors in later years, gradually transforming them into a friendly, co-operative, progressive community, has made the use of the old name inappropriate. So the old name came to be discontinued, having been kept in the old official records and the new name Adi, meaning gallant, brave, ancient hillmen, specifically living in the Siang district of NEFA, came to be unanimously accepted and used about the tribal people of Siang, who form the subject of the many fascinating studies of old days as also of the present dissertation.
2:3. Migration.

The Adis are rich in their folklore. Their myths, legends and the traditional oral literature contain helpful hints about the origin, movement and migration of the people in course of the ages of history. A close scrutiny of their various legends relating to the original home of the Adis suggests that they came to India from the north across the Himalayan barrier. The real cause of their immigration cannot be ascertained at present. It may have been occasioned by some great natural upheaval in their homeland or by large-scale racial movements set in motion by political happenings in those regions. Nor can it be said whether they came in a single mass or gradually in small batches in successive waves through centuries. In the former case, it is just possible that they might have come in a sweeping mass to the plains of Assam and been driven back afterwards into the high lands they occupy now, by a superior power.

Nothing definite can be said up to this point; but it is comparatively easy to picture their later dispersion. Once they had settled in the mountainous regions below the Himalayas, growing communities would be forced to send out colonists in search of new lands. These colonists would establish settlements which, in their turn, would find others. In this way expansion would continue in a sort of chain-work. It may be assumed that in the initial stages the expansion of the Adis was from east to
west, particularly in the Siang area. The southward expansion occurred later, when this area was fully occupied and could not accommodate any further settlement.

Another theory about the migration and origin of the Adis, based upon a different interpretation of the few hints available from their old myths and legends, is that the tri-junction of India, Burma, and China was the original homeland of the Adis. The dispersal of these people from their home of origin might have been caused by some or all of the factors such as pressure exerted by population explosion and consequent movements of tribes, one pushing the other out from their habitats, intertribal feuds, natural calamities and quest of better land, following changes in subsistence occupations, e.g., from food-gathering to agriculture. Whatever might be the cause, they got out of their homeland and followed one of the tributaries of Salwin and Irrawady towards Rima. From there they pushed on and followed the course of a river which they called Nyulum Siang, which is possibly one of the branches of the Lohit. This river is now known as Zayul. Here they stayed for sometime. This is the region where the blue and green beads, so highly prized by the Adis, are reported to have been found in plenty. Beads or Tadoke find copious and prominent mention in the traditional literature of the Adis which vouch-safe a very old association that was formed or developed in this region.

After a sojourn in Zayul, they started on a track
along the river Chindruk. The river led them to the high pass of Dasing La, as it is called in Tibetan and Dejing Ngo in Adi. They crossed it and came upon the Po Tsangpo, which they called Namdong Siang, which again is most probably an adaptation of the Khampa name Langong Chu. This is a large tributary of the Tsangpo and flows through the area known to the Adis as the country of the Taro. They moved on, crossed another high pass, Sila Ngo, and reached Pamako which was more congenial to them. Here they are supposed to have lived for over two hundred years. Their original Solung Abang, which they carried with them, received its final form here. New stories and myths were also composed during their stay here. In short, it was a period of prosperity, contentment, and literary activities. Here the Adi population must have grown rapidly and soon shortage of land was felt to accommodate them. Internecine conflicts started and colonizers began to move southward. Natural calamities, particularly one great flood, called Puma in Adi tradition, might have also precipitated the exodus. So they started on a new journey southward and at last came and settled in the place where they have since been living permanently till to-day.


The Adis are divided into different groups such as Padam, Minyong, Shimong, Ashing, Pasi, Panggi, Bori, Boker, Ramo, Karko, Tagin, Tangam, Milan, Pailibo. Of these Padam, Minyong,
and Shimong are the largest and culturally most advanced groups about whom we have adequate amount of information in almost every respect. Characterization of a people is a rather difficult and delicate task. The reports that we have got about the Adi people often give us a subjective picture that depends more on the temperament, attitude and approach of the observer than on the real character of the people. The occasion and purpose of the observer's visit also, in its turn, determine to a great extent the nature of observation. This explains why the Adis have been painted in different colours, often contradictory, by different observers in the past. Those who accompanied military expeditions were in most cases prejudiced in their outlook and we often get a rather unfavourable picture of the Adis from them, while there are others who describe the people with an open mind or in a spirit of loving curiosity. Out of these, a balanced and unprejudiced account about the Adis is not very difficult to arrive at, although the fact remains that the groups, taken separately, display some individual traits which mark them out from others.

The majority of Adi men and women have inverted oval face, with medium thick lips, dark brown eyes, clear black thick hair, mostly straight, dark brown complexion, short nose, broad face, high cheek bones, flat forehead and short stature. Most of the Adis have a straight eye-slit but quite a majority
of them have a trace of the Mongolian fold with a medium opening of the eye-slit. When in full dress, the Adis look very impres-
sive. Coloured coats are commonly worn. Some wear long Tibetan
cloaks or something like warm jacket made by themselves. They are
fond of wearing coloured dresses with beautiful patterns and
designs; both men and women love to wear a profusion of necklaces,
made of beads, bracelets and rings made of metal or fine cane
strips; and women especially wear strings of bead or bell-metal
discs, called beyog, around the waist. On the ceremonial occa-
sions, they make full use of their grand, colourful dress and
ornaments which will draw the attention of any observer by their
beauty, design and combination.

The various observations by foreigners suggest that the Adi people impress a visitor rather unfavourably at first but improve on later and closer associations. The general appear-
ance, both physical and environmental, is perhaps responsible for
creating such an initial unsavoury impression. They belong to
the Mongoloid stock and as such in almost every matter they con-
form to the habits, nature and outlook of the Mongoloid people as
a whole. Their notions of morality and right conduct which are
fundamentally different from those of ours have also caused some
misunderstanding of their real nature in the mind of the first or
a casual observer. The Adis give the impression of being down-
to-the-earth, practical men of the world. They are indomitable
in spirit, freedom-loving, self-respecting, self-dependent, hospi-
table, filled with a spirit of unity, solidarity and zest for life amid all odds. Their co-operative spirit is admirable. This quality has enabled them to build up a society where the individual blends imperceptibly into the society to combat the unkind nature which surrounds them. With an unfailing brave heart, practical nature, smiling faces, they meet the hard game of life and enliven it with their colourful dresses, merry songs and sprightly dances.


The Adi tribe as a whole is divided into a number of sections, united by a language that, inspite of dialectical variations, is fundamentally everywhere the same, and by a similar culture and temperament. Each of these sections, the names of which have already been mentioned before, consists, in its turn, of a number of clans. Each clan is further sub-divided into a large number of sub-clans, thereby making the whole structure quite elaborate and intricate. There are subtle distinguishing cultural and social traits among the various clans of the same section on the one hand as also among different sections of the same tribe on the other. But that is not a matter of any great concern, and a roughly common and general pattern or formula concerning the clans and sections is not very difficult to arrive at. It is the spirit of unity, integrity, and solidarity existing in the body-politic of the tribe which is of far greater import.

To elaborate the matter a little more. As with
any other tribe, the Padam, Minyong, Pasi, Pangdi and other sections comprising the Adi tribe are composed of clans which are further sub-divided into sub-clans which comprise in their turn a number of families. The density of cohesion thins out gradually from the family outwards towards a nebulous feeling of unity for the Adi people as a whole. This is manifest in the fact that all the sections together distinguish themselves from the neighbouring peoples such as Memba, Khamba, Idu, Dafla, Hill Miri, Apatani. Each section in turn feels a greater closeness within itself than it feels with the others of the same tribal group. Thus all Padams consider themselves a distinct unit in relation to, say, the Minyongs, Shimongs, Ashings, etc. In each section, again, each clan stands by itself and in all spheres of life clan-cohesion proves to be the strongest bond of unity. In situations of conflict clan spirit prevails over the village-patriotism.

(27)

It is probable that originally settlements were of single clans. But later this 'purity' could not be maintained and multi-clan villages became normal. Clanwise distribution of settlers and traces of rigorous single-clan pattern can be only rarely seen in a few of the oldest villages now-a-days. Villages of later settlement seldom show any sign of this, perhaps because the founders belonged to different clans and sub-clans. Villages having single clans were not practicable with the rise in population and lack of space for accommodation in later ages. Small
bands of heterogeneous founders resulted in heterogeneous (20)
arrangement of houses.
Notes and References to Chapter II

9. *Vide Appendix.*
21. Opinions of the two eminent Indians on the matter:
   a) "Our tribal brethren ... have been truly described as an artistic creation of God passionately devoted to their own way of life. ... Their frankness, love of truth and unshakable loyalty to those who win their confidence are well-known. ... It is wrong to consider these people less civilized. They are our own kinsmen and non-tribals can learn many good lessons from their way of life." — Pandit G.B. Pant (Elwin: Ibid., p. 57).

b) "Each section of our large population contributes to the making of the nation in the same manner as each flower helps to make a garden. Every flower has the right to grow according to its own laws of growth; has the right to enrich and develop its own colour and form and to spread its own fragrance to make up the cumulative beauty and splendour of the garden. I would not like to change my roses into lilies nor my lilies into roses. Nor do I want to sacrifice my lovely orchids and rhododendrons of the hills." — J.R.D. Poulatrom, Former Governor of Assam (Elwin: Ibid., p. 57).


25. An idea of clans and sub-clans among the Padam group, Damrob, the parent village of the Padams, may be obtained from the following table to serve as an instance to illustrate the point:

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<th>Sub Clan</th>
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APPENDIX

Extract from The North-East Frontier Tracts (Internal Administration) Regulation, 1948:

"2. The Sadiya Frontier Tract as constituted at present shall be divided into two separate units of administration called the Abor Hills District and the Mishmi Hills District ....

3. All laws for the time being in force in the Sadiya Frontier Tract shall apply in the Abor Hills District and the Mishmi Hills District subject to any reservations or modifications with which they are applicable in the Sadiya Frontier Tract, as the case may be.

The Schedule I

Boundary of the Abor Hills District.

East:— From a point, height 13774, on the MacMohian Line about one mile south-west of the Khangri Kharpo La pass the boundary runs in a southerly direction along the range dividing the Siang and Dibang Valleys through points 13337, 13798, 13663, 1392, 13921, 12959, 13945, 13325 (Abroka) 13640, 13244, 10320, 8120, 6550, to Tirap 10310 and continuing south-eastwards through point 7430 to point 6844 thence down a nameless stream with its source below point 6944 to the Êgadi river; thence down the mid-stream of this river to the Sesseri river; thence down the mid-stream of this river to its junction with the Dihong at old Sesrimukh, thence the left bank of the Dihong and across the mouth of the Lohit to
the left bank of the Brahmaputra which is followed as far as Rangdai Chhat; thence by the Western boundary of the Saikhoa Reserve forest to the Laika Jan.

South:- From the above point westwards down the Laika Jan to its junction with the Brahmaputra river; thence crossing the Brahmaputra river, so as to include the Kaplang and Dorkang Chapris within the area of the Abor Hills District to the point where the Burhi Suti (Channel) leaves the Brahmaputra; thence by the right bank of the Brahmaputra river keeping the Mesaki Chapri in the Abor Hils District to a point where the Sengajan road comes down to the Brahmaputra river; thence in a north-westerly direction by this road to the Burhi Suti; thence by the left bank of the Burhi Suti to the mouth of the Dijmur Nadi, a branch of the Simen river and then by the mid-stream of that Nadi and the parent stream to the mouth of the Dipa (Sinyang) Nadi; thence by the left bank of the Dipa (Sinyang) Nadi to where it leaves the foot hills from where the line of boundary runs to a westerly direction by the path at the foot of the hills so as to include all Gallong Villages within the Abor Hills District to a point where the Jiya Dhol river cuts the Rajgarh Ali; thence up the right bank of the Jiya Dhol river to a point due east of a spur height 3420, thence up this spur and along it in a westerly direction until it drops again at the junction of the Sipru and Subansiri rivers at Siplumukh.
West: Thence by the left bank of the Subansiri river to the point where it cuts the MacMohan line on the Indo-Tibetan Frontier.

North: From the last point eastwards by the MacMohan Line to the starting point.
CHAPTER III

Socio-Political Setting.

The society of the Adis, though advancing rapidly in many respects during the recent past, still now mostly follows the old, conventional practices of the by-gone ages in many spheres, and in its body few changes have been worked so long. Yet, there is a definite and regular pattern in their socio-political set-up, a close study of which will indeed be a rewarding experience.

As we have already seen, 'Adi' is a collective name for a number of communities with close cultural and linguistic affinities. It is a rather recent coinage to replace 'Abor', a name with the derogatory implication of 'savage' or 'unruly'. It represents a new consciousness among some of the progressive members of the group of an enlarged identity attempting to unite the groups into a larger unit. This consciousness is perhaps the result of political contacts with the plains in the North-Eastern parts of India. The native consciousness of cohesiveness stops short at the groups from where it grows more intense as one moves inwards towards clans and village. Each group is like a loose federation of units formed around the two factors — clan and village, which alone, therefore, ultimately constitute the basic element of the social structure. The unity of the group is most active when it comes into collision with other groups.  

(1)
it is a rather dormant feeling and the people are reminded of the homogeneity of the group by the periodical recitals of the Abang or myths of creation during festivals. The major components of the whole fabric of Adi socio-political structure may be stated under the following sections.

3.1. The Village.

The country of the Adis is essentially a land of villages, since township is a rare thing in these remote areas. The distribution of the villages along the course of the three main rivers, the Siang, the Yomme and the Siyom, along with their tributaries, is an indication of the movement of the tribe. It seems from this distribution that they kept close to the river courses in their migration. But, for settlements, they always avoided the low lands lying by the river beds and preferred the nearest tops of the hills with declivities towards the rivers and steep, negotiable falls on the opposite side.

Within a group the structure is an arrangement of adjustments between the two concepts - those of space and lineage. Village constitutes the spatial element. Every village is a unit by itself, self-contained and self-reliant in its own economic and political functions and relations. Each produces for its own consumption with its own resources, except for a limited trade beyond its boundaries. All villages have the same pattern of
lay-out settlement of habitation in a dominating and secure position, surrounded by a belt of hilly land extending to clearly discernible and identifiable features such as rivers dividing its boundaries with the neighbours. These outlying lands constitute the agricultural fields divided into patats and forests that are reserved for games and source of materials for building houses and making articles of domestic use. Stretches of rivers and streams passing through or by the village land belong to the village and are territorial waters but mainly for fishing. These form the resources and the village community provides the labour for production.

Within its area each village watches over its rights on land, forest and water with a vigilant eye. Each member of the village is expected to be unflinchingly loyal to the duty of protection of the right on these national assets and to resist and repulse all attempts at infringement. No outsiders, even if related to the members by clan ties, are tolerated to encroach or poach. Individuals or families from other villages may come and settle with the consent of the village community but they have to renounce all allegiance to the villages they come from and transfer it wholly to their new home. This independence of individual villages is complete, universal and without any exception. Even new villages founded by settlers from older ones are independent from the very beginning. The system of paramount and dependent
villages is absent here. Nor is there any stable confederacy of
villages on political or economic consideration. The only group-
ing of villages has been alliances for some specific period and
during internecine feuds. Thus the village provides the geo-
graphical boundary of the primary unit of the social structure. (4)

Within the village the resources are allotted individ-
ually to households. The allotment is for the utilization for
production only but theoretically the ownership vests with the
community as a whole. The production is aimed at meeting the
requirement of the households severally. However, continuity of
the utilization of the same plots by the same households gives
rise to an appearance of ownership and such ownership can also be
transferred in consideration of payments. But any such transac-
tion has to be done with the consent of the village council elders.
Even the division of land within the members of a household, such
as among the sons after the death of the father, has to be appro-
ved by the council. Development arising out of or related to eco-
nomic activities are always internal matters of the village and
dealt with at the village level. All disputes such as encroach-
ment on land, theft, debt, etc. have to be settled in the village
council and not by individuals or households involved, nor is any
interference from outside sought or tolerated. (5)

In disputes with other villages, a village acts as one
even if the bodies directly responsible and involved are individuals.
Flouting of fishing or hunting rights of other villages by individuals leads to inter-village wars, each village taking up the cause of its members or members involved.

Theoretically the land belongs to the people. There is no such land as may be considered free or unoccupied. But as the people are not a single political unit, but are divided into villages which are independent of one another, every village has its own territory demarcated by prominent natural features, such as mountain ridges and rivers. These boundaries are well-known and respected. Within these, the entire land falling under the jurisdiction of the village belongs to the families inhabiting it. There are clanwise groupings of holdings in some ancient villages such as Damroh and Riga, but division is generally made not according to clans but according to families. Every inch of soil has its owner but his right to it concerns cultivation only, as in theory the land belongs to the village as a whole. An individual has no right to sell his land to an outsider without the sanction of the village community.

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

Ownership of land in NEPA varies from tribe to tribe, though, generally speaking, it can be considered under the three categories of land owned by individuals, land owned by the clan, and common village land. Tribes which practise jhuming and those which have taken to regular cultivation, will naturally have rather different systems of ownership.

Government's attitude to land in NEPA is formulated in the three Jhum Land Regulations which were promulgated in 1947-48. These Regulations give the tribal population absolute right over
their jhum-land. They also provide customary rights to jhum-land in favour of any village community which has cultivated or utilised it for a certain period. In actual practice, however, the local customs and traditions are respected and take precedence over these Regulations. The transfer or sale of land is strictly controlled. Since the whole area is beyond the Inner Line where outsiders are not normally permitted to settle and where no tribesman can sell his land to a non-tribal, it will be seen that there is very considerable protection of tribal land.


As the village acts as a corporate body for its economic and political functions irrespective of the involvement of the individuals or the households, it has evolved a remarkable system of village administration. In NEFA tribal society indigenous system of self-government is a matter of great interest. Almost all the tribes have their own established forms of jurisprudence and administration of justice which are followed and obeyed by the people with implicit faith from times immemorial. Village government varies considerably from tribe to tribe in both its name and mode of functioning. The Abala of the Idu Mishmis, Nele of the Dafas, Jang of the Sherdukpen, Bulian of the Apa Tanis, Phasal of the Kaman Mishmis, Khapsong of the Tangsas, Lengui of the Monpas, Gambus of the Ramos, and the Kebang of the Adis are some of the names of the individual village councils of
different NEPA tribes. Perhaps the most highly developed and
effective of all these different tribal councils is the Adi
Kehang, which may be regarded as a model for the whole tribal
world of NEPA. (10)

In spite of certain differences, particularly dif-
fferences in the degree of development and the authority of the
councils in different tribes, certain things are common to them.
They all derive their authority from ancient times and the fact
that they are the expression of the will and power of the whole
people. They are supported not only by social but also by super-
natural sanctions and to give false evidence, for example, may
cause the vengeance of the gods as well as excite the scorn of
men. Sacrifices are commonly offered to avert supernatural dan-
gers, to implore the divine blessing on the councils' delibera-
tions, and to bring peace between the contending parties. (11)

Most of the councils are informal in character.
Although certain leading individuals are always recognised as
members and among these are included, as in recent times, as a
matter of routine, the officially appointed headmen, the member-
ship is left fairly vague. Anyone, unless he is an excommunicate,
can attend and speak, though there are some tribes such as the
Dafis who do not seem to allow their women to do so. Decisions
are taken, not by a formal vote, but by general agreement.

All the councils have judicial as well as adminis-
trative and development functions, though the latter are more elaborated in some tribes than others.

Some tribes have what may be called a junior branch of the council. The *Ajang Baliana* of the Apa Tanis, the *Mooshup* or *Dara* boys of the Adis, the *Moyung* boys of the Wanchos, and *Noctes* have always played an important part in looking after their villages, maintaining paths, helping in cultivation, providing a simple relief service, as for example, the Adis have a sort of fire protection unit staffed by these boys. Instead of introducing Farmers' clubs or Youth organisations, the Administration is bringing the existing institutions into closer union with the councils, so that their services can be utilised more effectively for village development.

The tribal councils have great potentialities. Established in history and tradition, supported by social and religious sanctions, expression of a genuine democracy representing the co-operative and communal temperament of the people, they can be used not only to establish law and order but also to further progress throughout NEPA. Although in the past these councils inflicted ferocious punishments upon offenders through their verdicts, they have shown in later years, with the change in social atmosphere, practices and outlook, that they are capable of humanity, justice, and common sense.

Politically, Adi social structure and internal admi-
Administration are essentially democratic in nature, autocracy being altogether unknown in any form, and in the absence of a distinct class of nobility, oligarchy has remained equally unknown. The structure is very simple and effective. Every village is an independent, self-sufficient unit by itself, and knows no extraneous authority. It has a council of elders which exercises the highest legal and judicial powers. This is known as the Kebang and all social and political control of the village rests with it. The members are known as Kebang Abus and are chosen from within the village by virtue of their experience, wisdom, influence, and oratorical powers. Some of them are Gams, who represent particular clans. Usually, each clan has one Gam of its own, but cases of clans having more than one or none are also not uncommon. Kebang Abus are usually senior men with long experience and wide and deep knowledge of the tribal lore, but younger Kebang Abus are not rare.

Originally the Adi Kebang was largely dominated by the priests, and derived its authority from the supernatural sanctions that they were able to invoke. It was firmly rooted in custom and tradition and had wide authority over every aspect of Adi life. During the British days it was to some extent transformed. Official Gams, as the headmen are called in Siang, were appointed one for every clan in a village. Because of their being recognised by the government, they gained a certain amount
of authority. They caused the authority of the priests to decline. They introduced an official element that had previously been absent. The chief difference between the older Adi councils and the modern transformed ones is that the latter do not have the same supernatural or social authority. They are more sophisticated and official. Now-a-days we find minutes being kept and resolutions typed out in English and forwarded to the Administration. Here is the beginning of a potential modern political organisation which must be encouraged and sensibly guided towards serving some definite constructive aims, ends, and purposes so as to make it fully effective.

The Kabang directs all village activities according to the traditional laws and customs of which it is supposed to be a repository, and punishes those who deviate from the right path in any way. Before doing anything in practice - political, social or religious - the opinion of the Kabang must be sought. All matters of common interest are placed before it and nothing can be done without its approval and sanction. The opening of agricultural plots, building of new houses, settling of newcomers, going on hunting excursions and every matter concerning the welfare of the village either individually or communally is discussed and decided in it. It is the Kabang which judges all guilts and imposes fines on the offenders. It is Kabang, again, which evokes a spirit of co-operation and unity among all the
members of the tribe. The Kebang speeches are usually lengthy, loudly delivered with formidable gesticulations, always advocating impartial justice, with constant references to the ancient history and glory of the Adi race, and are mostly attended with distribution of drinks. The Kebang may be called some form of democratic parliament which is the final authority in all affairs of the Adi society, the injunction of which are always obeyed to the letter and no one ever complains against its verdict. (16)

The Kebang has three main organisational institutions. They are: the Dolung Kebang or council of a village; the Bangoo Kebang or council of villages, and Bogum-Bokang Kebang or the council of the tribe. Of these three indigenous bodies, the Dolung Kebang is the oldest, smallest and most effective unit of rural self-administration. It deals with the affairs of a village and its jurisdiction is limited within the boundary of a single village. The Bangoo Kebang deals with the affairs of some villages within a compact area. It exercises its traditional authority within the limit of the Bangoo or area. When a problem or a dispute goes beyond the village jurisdiction, automatically the Bangoo Kebang takes up the matter. The Bogum Bokang Kebang sits on top of all these. It deals with problems concerning the tribe as a whole. Various disputes and feuds involving sub-tribes or clans are brought before it for settlement. It is the Supreme Court of the Adis. It is jointly led by active members
or influential elderly Kebang-Abus drawn from various sub-tribes and clans. It is organised on district level and as such it is not easy to arrange frequent sitting of this Kebang.

"The Adis are, so to say, republican democrats in taste and practice", says Oshong Eng. "Their villages form the units of their democracy. The Kebang is an outcome of the age-long traditional democratic aspirations and practices. The Adis maintain their solidarity, integrity, unity, cultural affinity and democracy through their Kebang." The Kebang is divested with four important functions -- administrative, judicial, political and developmental. It is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the rural Adis. All the activities done on social basis, like hunting, fishing, performing festivals, construction and repair of village roads, bridges, receiving visitors, clearing jungles etc. are directed by the Kebang and it also maintains peace and order in the village society. Though Kebang is the court of law for the Adi society, it does not make new laws but only applies the old traditional laws and customs of the people. It tries and decides judicial cases of all nature, imposes fines on the offenders and settles disputes. Politically, it maintains inter-tribal relations and co-operation, directs the people in resisting external threats and aggressions, and decides offensive and defensive measures during inter-tribe war. Lastly, it receives and entertains developmental schemes of the government, associates itself with national community development pro-
jects and undertakes the extension of such schemes chalked out by Blocks for the upliftment of the tribal areas. "It is through the Kebang that the various aspirations and sentiments of the Adi community are effectively expressed."

The significance of Kebang lies in the fact that it is more a board of arbitration, equally sympathetic to both the parties who present their case to its judgements, than a body of stern dispensers of justice which the offenders fear and try to evade. It tries to bring about a compromise, even through divine ordeals, acceptable to both the parties and its method is that of persuasion rather than awarding a coercive verdict following abstract principles of justice. The Kebang considers every offence or wrong in terms of concrete damage or injury caused by it and redress is given in the form of adequate compensation, taking into account the material condition of the offender. That makes the offender feel the weight of the wrong done by him without suffering a moral degradation which gives rise to a criminal class. In the socio-political life of the Adis, Kebang thus occupies a considerably important place.

The proper extent of power and function of the Kebang will be best understood from one concrete example. On 14th July 1970, there took place a great Kebang at Along about the construction of a Dongi-Pole temple started by the then NEFA Administration. It was a heavily attended gathering which lasted for
four consecutive days. All the prominent members of the tribe, old and young, of the surrounding villages as also the Deputy Commissioner, the chief engineer and other government officers took part in it. The discussions started with the customary Adi recitations traditionally known as *Abe*, telling with much gusto and formidable gestures about the greatness of the Adi race and impartiality of the Kebang, which ran as follows:— "Oh, you brothers, you have gathered in this Kebang for justice. Our words and actions should be bold, just, straightforward and uniform. We should be guided by reason and see that justice is done. In this holy place we have assembled for justice. We should all speak in one voice, our decision should be uniform and the verdict unanimous."

As the main part of the proceedings started, each member was allowed to present his own opinion, for or against the issue on hand, in a very orderly and free manner. The participants were clearly divided into two camps. One thought that the construction of such a temple was absolutely against the traditional Adi ideology because the very conceptions of a temple and the actual image of Donyi-Polo were unknown to Adi religion and folklore and as such the proposal of the construction of such things was abhorrent to them. But the other group thought that such a proposal put forward by the government was highly indicative of its honourable treatment to the Adis and their religion and as such should be accorded a cordial welcome. But the most trying fea-
the parties are indigenous to the tract. An important section lays down that no pleader shall be allowed to appear in any case before the village authorities.

This Regulation does, in fact, give the tribal councils very wide powers, for it is recognised that they will function and inflict punishment or order compensation according to their customary law. Since, according to custom and tradition, all sorts of crimes can be excused by payment of compensation, it is possible to bring almost every kind of offence, except those committed against the state, within their jurisdiction. This will also extend to non-tribesmen who are involved in disputes with or offences against the tribal people. Where tribesmen are accused by non-tribesmen, their cases will be heard by village councils, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Divisional Headquarters. The Regulation has also limited the type of punishment to be inflicted upon the offender by the Council in necessary cases. The people of their own accord, have now adopted the system of compensation according to the gravity and seriousness of the offence done, which, in practice, is adjusted to the wealth and position of the accused.

The policy of the Administration is to accept this situation and to strengthen the councils and work through them. Where an autocratic system has previously existed, it is trying to associate with the Chief a number of village elders and give them a stronger voice in village affairs. Where the council's autho-
rity is weak, it is teaching the people how to develop it and make it more effective. Great care, however, has been taken not to over-administer the council and make them conform to our own idea of what they should be. For imparting simple and nominal legal and financial training to the councils and also to impress on the people the Administration's concern for law and order, an official arranges to be present in the council meetings, but only to help and not to control the proceedings of the council. The decisions of the council are reported to the nearest local official who records them if he is satisfied. If he is not, he sends the matter back to the council for further consideration, and if he is even then dissatisfied, he sends it to the Political Officer for a final decision. In practice, therefore, the main task of the Political Officers is to settle finally all disputes and criminal and civil matters which cannot be solved by the Councils. These, in an area where responsibility is so often corporate rather than individual, are usually highly complicated and demand from the official concerned a profound knowledge of local tribal custom and the utmost sympathy and patience to and for the people whom he has to deal with. (23)

In the sphere of development, the value of the Councils has frequently been proved. The people naturally take much greater interest in any project if it has been considered by themselves rather than imposed upon them, and as they will become more
accustomed to the responsible use of money and to wise planning, more and more responsibility for development will be transferred from officialdom to the tribal bodies. There can be no doubt that this will do a great deal to give the people self-confidence, to make them feel that they are the masters of their own destiny and that nothing is being imposed upon them, and thus to initiate true progress throughout the hills.

3:3. War and its Accessories.

In a firmly settled agricultural community like that of the Adis, warfare on a large scale is seldom likely to occur. There may be occasional inter-village or inter-clan disputes but a full-scale battle is most unlikely. Yet there was a time in the past when the Adis had a war-like tradition and as such they had a complete range of weapons both offensive and defensive and also various fighting tactics and principles. Now all those have become things of the past, but still an Adi would fondly like to think of the heroic martial tradition of his society in the by-gone days. Without a discussion of this vital factor, a study of the Adi socio-political set-up is not complete.

With the change of time and passage of years the Adi people are no longer in a migratory stage but have settled permanently on a particular land and now they do not have to use those war weapons of the past. But they still maintain some weapons like shield, helmet, spear, bow and arrow, sword, dao, spikes,
wristlet and small knife. Their weapons are made of cane, bamboo, wood and metal. The elevated position of their villages serves them a lot to watch upon the approaching enemy. Every vital question relating to the mode of war, means of attack and the like is settled in the Kebang. In warfare the Adis lay stress mostly on camouflage and trapping tactics very characteristic of jungle life, rather than on frontal attack. They do not usually like to show heroism and die prematurely; they should rather utilise their cunning and try to fell the enemy by sudden attack from behind or from ambush beside the path or place a network of traps where the enemy will be caught unawares and rendered a helpless victim.

After winning a battle they cut off the right hand of the enemy and carry it to the village in great pomp and glory where they are welcomed by the girls of the village. The hero is then taken to the elders and after reporting the great feat in war he has to perform a ceremony called Patar along with the sacrifice of a fowl in order to satisfy hungry evil spirits. The whole group then comes to the moshup where they dance and make merriment. Here again some more sacrifices follow. For three nights the warrior has to stay in the moshup with all the girls and old men of the village standing guard upon him. After that period the whole village goes out for hunting for three nights performing some more ceremonies and sacrifices to satisfy evil spirits. When
all these elaborate formalities are over, the hero goes first to his mother's brothers and after resting there for sometime goes to his own house where his wife puts a piece of white cloth and ginger hanging on the door in order to prevent the entrance of evil spirits. (26)

Treaties in war are known to the Adis. The party seeking treaty sends a message to the other. The boundary of the village is chosen for the meeting between the two opponent parties where a prolonged discussion is held by the Kebang on the matter. After a settlement is reached, mithuns or oxen from both sides are sacrificed, the meat is distributed among the people of both the villages and thus the treaty is concluded which is seldom broken afterwards. The party seeking treaty has to pay a considerable amount of compensation to the other, taking into account the loss and damage suffered in the battle. The war weapons are protected with great care and reverence and no woman are ever allowed to touch them. But if any woman touches any weapon by mistake, sacrifices of fowls are made to the angry spirits in order to avoid defeat in future battles. In the whole system of Adi warfare the elements of superstition, trickery and opportunism are blended together and it is difficult to say what exact percentage of real heroism and chivalry goes with it. (27)
3:4. The Individual.

The individual is, so to say, the backbone of a society. A society exists because the individuals forming its basis are held together by some factors. If the individuals fall apart, the society becomes disintegrated. Therefore, the position of the individual, both man and woman, in relation to the society, is an important point of study. One of the basic features of Adi character is the co-operative spirit, a quality that has enabled them to build up a society where the individual blends imperceptibly into it and puts the best of his ability for its upliftment along with his fellow men.

In the Adi society the respective position of a male and a female is clearly demarcated, as also within the family. There is no segregation, nor is any seclusion of women observed; but each has a special sphere of activity clearly distinguished. No elaborate ceremony, for example, is observed after the birth of a girl. A girl grows up unacarred for among other members of the family. From the early childhood, a girl knows the type of work she had to do and the boy knows his. While a boy learns the art of self-defence, hunting and other manly jobs, a girl gets habituated to tasks as looking after her younger brothers and sisters, fetching water, cooking, singing, nursing, weaving, and lots of other household duties. A girl, as soon as she learns to take care of herself, and
that also very early, is expected to employ her energy in odd jobs to help her mother and elder sisters. She has still less games or sports to play than a boy. A boy idles his time away in play or otherwise with no particular duty. But she has odd errands always allotted to her. A boy always looks up to his elder brothers and father for guidance in regulating his behaviour. In the same way does a girl derive her instructions from and build up her behaviour on the pattern of her mother and sisters. Thus the girls and boys grow up in different ways, one already a small helping hand in the family, the other just a blank adjunct to it, till they attain the age that qualifies them to enter the community life through two different organisations, the Moshup for the boys and the Rashang for the girls.

The division of labour is scrupulously observed and both the man and the woman accept the traditional pattern without any question and grumbling. Of course, their idea about activities suitable for man and woman differs from ours. An Adi man, for instance, may not mind looking after a child while his wife is away from home in the fields. He may even lend a hand in cooking. But in no case will he handle a loom. So will a woman refrain rigorously from falling a tree and setting fire to the debris in a jungle clearing. In social life no woman will formally join a Kebang, though she may not hesitate in making her voice heard and her opinion felt. This distinction of man and woman makes itself
manifest in the behaviour of the household members also and unconsciously young boys and girls have their character and outlook thus moulded in the traditional form. The girls in Adi society take the clan of the father; but in case of extra-marital relations, they belong to the mother's clan.

Within the family the supreme authority rests with the father. This continues unchallenged till his sons and daughters have reached the dormitory-going age. After that, the responsibility of training with growing age is divided between the community and the father, the community being represented by the dormitories. The respective parts to be played by the boys and girls at this stage in respect of their relation with the family are well-ordered. In the day-time the boy finds his time engaged in both family and community works like cutting the jungle, clearing the forest for agriculture, building houses, joining hunting parties, attending the Kebang and so on. But after taking his meal with the family at night, his relation with it ends since he has to go to the moshup to spend the night there along with other boys of the village. As soon as the son gets engaged, the family loses a further claim on him because thenceforth his shares of games killed go to his would-be parents-in-law. All claims on him cease to exist when he starts his own household or becomes attached to the family of his father-in-law as one of its members. In the case of a girl, on the other hand, after her attainment of the dormitory-
going age, the family surrenders its control over her nights but her whole day she devotes to the household duties. In the morning she helps her mother in cooking food and feeding the pigs and fowls. Then she accompanies her to the field and there sows, weeds and reaps according to the season and comes back in the evening with loads of harvest, fuel and water. Even then she has no rest. She has now to pound the rice and boil it. Only after the evening meal is over, she is free to visit the rasheng and spend the night there. She is now considered as one of the adult members of the house and is often consulted over family affairs.

With the growth of her physical ability, her economic value in the family as well as in the society increases, but that does not much alter her position as a hard-working labourer. When she becomes engaged, her father profits slightly from the dowry which she fetches from her would-be husband. Though marriage her owner only changes from the person of her father to her husband, in whose family she becomes a great asset for doing plenty of manual labour. Even after her marriage she usually continues to stay in her father's family till the time when her husband builds his own house for their independent family life and she goes over there only to carry greater burdens as the mistress of her own household. Her position is enhanced if, in course of years, she is able to bear her husband a male child of his own. Thus the Adi girl in general pulls on a heavily loaded life of burden and responsibility
till her end. Her only solace lies in those young days of her life when she enjoys the jovial company of her lively rashana friends and in occasional snatches of dance and songs in festivals and ceremonies. In the absence of this little entertainment and recreation, the existence of a common Adi girl would have been altogether futile. It is often flatteringly said that the life of her husband would be impossible without her; but the husband who once thought of economic gains by marrying a prospective bride has seldom any appreciable scope for such high effusions.

3:3. The Family.

In a discussion about the Adi Society, something must be said about the family which is an integral part of the society as we have seen already. An Adi family consists of a nucleus of father and mother with separable units in sons and daughters. The parents too, are not tied together with unbreakable bonds as divorce and desertion may occur with no great difficulty. The family remains a solid unit so long as the sons and daughters are still in their adolescent stage. From the time they begin to attend the dormitory, the family's hold on them begins to get loose. When they marry and build separate establishments of their own, the family is reduced to a small unit consisting of the parents only, provided of course no minor son or daughter is left behind. A father of many girls would be considered very fortunate in terms of the high economic value of women in Adi society. So long as the father lives, he
enjoys absolute authority inside the family. But in case of a dispute, his is not the final say in the matter which ultimately has to be submitted to the mediation of the Kebang. Thus, the personal and the public merge together and nobody complains about it. From among the old, experienced and influential heads of families the Kebang-Abus are selected and thus the family gets a chance to represent itself in the council of the village community.

The economic stability of the family has to depend to a certain extent on a sense of economic security of all the component elements. This adjustment has been achieved by dividing the property into two categories, personal and joint possessions. When a village is founded, each family is allotted a piece of land. This belongs to the family as a whole and as the family splits after the death of the father, the land is also divided equally among the sons. Another item of immovable property is the house. Though the house is used by the family as a whole, it belongs to the father and each son can claim a share in it after his death. But as usually the older sons start independent household during the life time of their father, the youngest son by virtue of his being the last to remain with him, comes to an automatic possession of it after his death. None have been yet known to dispute such possession by the youngest brother. But in case all the sons separate before the death of the father, the
house is equally divided among them. The widowed mother should, in normal cases, be the responsibility of the eldest son, but in practice she prefers to live with the youngest son, as he generally continues longest in the parental house.

(32) Widows and daughters do not inherit anything. In case a man dies without any issue, the property may remain in the possession of the widow until she marries again. If a man leaves a minor son or sons behind, his brother shall look after the property as a guardian of the minor son or sons during his or their minority and hand over to each his share according to the customary law of partition as and when he attains majority. Hunting and fishing rights of every family on its allocated areas are very carefully guarded and violation of the rights of ownership has to be compensated by payment of amounts equal to the prevailing market value of one mithun.

(33) Every family has its movable property in the form of domestic utensils, implements, livestock and ornaments. Beads and silver ornaments brought by a girl from her father's house and those given to her by her husband are her personal belongings. These are generally inherited by her daughters and daughters-in-law. In the same way, the father may have beads inherited from his father, his trophies of war and chase, his bows and arrows and items of dress woven for him by his wife. Some of these go to decorate his grave. The remaining ones are inherited by the sons. The live-stock is
equally divided. Where physical division is not possible, as for instance, where only one mithun or ox is possessed by a man, the division is made on the basis of its value. In case of any dispute over division, arbitration may be felt necessary and the village elders sit in Kebang on it. (34)

In this discussion about the Adi society and respective roles of various institutions and members in its working, we should not forget the tremendous importance of the deep spirit of fellow-feeling, unity and co-operation which has kept the people so well integrated all along and held the village community on a sound and stable basis. An individual, in the family or as a member of the society, understands his importance in the social set up and takes an active part in its working. Whatever be the work, clearing the forest for cultivation, going to hunting, participating in any community work, taking part in any entertainment, the Adi male folk, old and young, lends an active hand to it and completes the task in a zealous spirit of friendliness and co-operation. All tasks of the village are divided among them and no one thinks or complains whether his burden of work is great or small, This division of labour is clearly noticed in development undertakings, such as construction of roads, clearing of jungle and mounting guard against attacks. In the absence of this remarkable spirit of co-operation and understanding, the village community particularly and the Adi society in general would have become weak
and unstable.

The Adis do not have any written law book. The rules of conduct that the Adi society enjoins on its members are mainly based on the ethical principles that have grown out of historical and economic circumstances which have conditioned the development of the society. These go to form the conscience of the members of the society individually and the group as a whole and so a simple standard is set up to which the society and individuals subscribe without any question and reservation. Naturally, very rigidly or carefully defined codes are not necessary and subtle distinctions such as between crime and tort are not made. It will also be seen that the Adi society does not prescribe physical punishment to an offender as is done by civilized societies. The Adis are a very practical-minded people who judge a guilt in terms of actual economic loss done by it and that is why in their society payment of fine or compensation is more prevalent than any corporeal punishment to the offender. Any violation of one of these laws is taken up by society through the Kebang, to which individuals come for redress of their wrongs when they are directly concerned. There is no denying the fact that it is through the application of these unwritten but forceful and effective customary laws that the Adi society has been able to maintain its integrity since long past.

Each and every tribe of NEPA is quite serious about maintaining its socio-political integrity by strictly following the age-old customary laws, regulations and code of conduct that have been orally transmitted from one generation to another. Any attempt to disobey or violate them has always been considered a serious breach of social principles and becomes a punishable offence.

In this connection, two important points are to be remembered. First, these tribes are very practical and materialistic in their attitude to life and do not follow any double standard of morality as most sophisticated people generally do. The result is that they consider and judge every action from the strictly materialistic point of view, with an eye to their practical impact on both the society and the individual. Secondly, since these people do not have a rigid and idealistic ethical standard, for the possession of which many of us will feel proud, many actions which appear nasty and immoral in the eyes of sophisticated people, are quite common and easily acceptable to them without being in the least unethical. The most common customary laws of the Adis are relating to matters of the utmost practical interest as marriage and conjugal relationship, divorce, parent-child relationship, status of widows, theft, assault and battery, and lastly, inheritance.

The activities which go by the name of crime in
sophisticated civilised societies are present in the Adi approach the problem of crime from a different standpoint and as a result makes it a less complicated matter. In Adi society an act of so-called crime is easily met up by the amount of compensation which is paid to the wronged by the Wrongdoer and then the matter ends. In this sense their approach to a so-called wrong act is simple, rational and humane. If the dispute can be settled properly, the matter comes to an end, without every giving rise to a criminal class.

In the olden times, Kabang or the village council was the final authority in dealing with the problem of crime. It was a time when inter-clan or inter-tribal feuds and encroachments were quite frequent. The punishments imposed by the councils were severe - retaliatory raid, wide destruction, lasting blood-feuds. Capital punishment was commonly inflicted in former days when human life in the wild frontier mountains was not held of very great account. But things changed in later ages; the mentality of the people also changed considerably. Brutal punishments of the past were replaced by lesser measures, like excommunication and compensation. The people's strong sense of self-respect was a major factor in the gradual decrease in acts of crime. The fear of humiliation has always been a powerful deterrent. Excommunication of the wrongdoer is a serious weapon in the hands of a council, for a man or a woman who is excommunicated can not claim any of the
normal privileges of his tribe. Threats of supernatural punishments also are not unknown. But the most common way of settling disputes or punishing crime has always been by multiple restitution. This system applied to almost every kind of offense and in some cases the amount of restitution was worked out in considerable detail. To-day under the humanizing influence of the Administration, the savage punishments of former days have almost entirely disappeared and the universal custom is for the councils to demand compensation for every type of offence.

The system of compensation is well-founded, for the offender not only suffers materially, but his pride receives a severe blow and he is put to shame. Pride and self-esteem is a powerful psychological force in Arunachal. It is probably true that this loss of face before others through paying compensation is often a greater punishment than going to jail. The fear of humiliation extends even beyond the grave. Tribal eschatology does not reward or punish in the afterlife. You do not go to heaven for being good or to hell for being wicked. A man’s status in another world reflects his status in this. This belief certainly means that if a rich man commits a crime and has to pay compensation, it will react seriously on his position in the other world and this, curious as it may appear to us, is a real deterrent against crime.

The principal customary laws which apply to different spheres of the Adi life and society and most of which have already
been stated in patches in their relevant contexts in the foregoing pages, can be summed up as follows along with their total impact and implication. The tribal society which allows maximum liberty to its male and female members during their pre-nuptial intimacy at bachelors' dormitories known as Moshup, for boys and Resheng for girls, insists upon sexual fidelity to each other after marriage. The customary laws says, on the other hand, that a man may enter into sexual relationship through matrimony with more than one woman, one after another, even during the lifetime of the wife or wives married earlier. The law does not forbid the husband even after marriage to have relation with other women but such a relation is to be kept strictly confined to the premises and members of the Resheng only. Outside it will amount to a breach of social custom and conjugal fidelity. Despite provisions in law, monogamy is the general practice and not too often is a second wife taken before the first has died or been divorced. But instances of a man with two wives are not rare. Co-wives living under the same roof have seldom been known to cause domestic strife or rupture. It is strange yet true that the proverbial dislike of a step-mother for step-children is rather rare in Arunachal tribal society, the credit for which must go to the accommodating and tolerant nature of the women.

The matrimonial laws do not permit a girl, however, to marry another person during the lifetime of her first husband.
without a proper separation having been granted by the Kabang. If the husband habitually performs conjugal infidelity or shows inability to do the sex act to her satisfaction, she may develop a natural feeling of repugnance against him and may be compelled to seek solace in casual Basheng partners. When both the husband and the wife agree, they may separate with the approval of the Kabang. Thereafter, the girl is free to marry another man of her choice. But if she marries before any legal divorce is obtained, she will have to pay a heavy compensation. Similarly, if the husband divorces the wife before the birth of any child, he is liable to pay a heavy fine for the disgrace he has brought upon the girl by his act and also forfeits his claim to the personal belongings of his wife.

There is another set of customary laws concerning the parent-child relationship and position of widows in the society. A child born of casual relations in the Basheng prior to the formal social marriage, shall belong to the man who marries the woman afterwards. But if he disagrees to own it on the benefit of doubt allowed by the society, and refuses to marry the girl, the child will go to the man who later marries the mother. A child begotten on the wife of a man by another will belong to the original husband. If a man takes away the mother of a child from the custody of the legal husband and marries her later on, after obtaining proper divorce, he will be liable to pay heavy compensation to the first husband of the woman for the maintenance
of the child.

In the case of the death of a husband, his immediate younger brother is supposed to marry the widow, but if he is already married, or has his own different choice, and so does not agree to marry the widow, the remaining brothers shall have preference in order of age. If none of them agrees to take her as wife, she may either continue to stay in the family of the deceased as a widow, without having any claim to the property of her dead husband, or may go back to her father's house, or marry any man she likes. The uncle, or son of the deceased cannot marry his widow. If a man marries the widow of another, ignoring the prior claims of a brother of the deceased man, he is liable to pay an amount of compensation as decided by the Kebang, to the aggrieved brother.

Cases of theft of property, causing injury, and assaulting a person are not considered as very serious crimes. In such cases the wrongdoer is usually let off if he pays the required amount of compensation to the person wronged. When a theft is detected, the guilty person is compelled to return the article to its rightful owner. If he does not do so, he must pay an amount of compensation along with the value of the stolen thing, as decided by the Kebang. But theft of food in times of acute necessity or starvation is never looked upon as a punishable offence and in such cases, the person involved does not have to pay any compensa-
tion as a price of his action.

Similarly, in any case of causing injury and assault to a person with the sole purpose of harming him, the offender is required to pay a graded scale of compensation in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. Reluctance and negligence in community work, or refusal to help in the burial of a clansman are usually fined with the payment of a certain amount of rice beer, food, corn or pig and oxen. If the offender refuses to pay the fine, those particular things and items are taken away from him forcibly by the order of the Kebang. In a case of intentional and purposeful arson, the wrongdoer has to pay the price of the damaged property as compensation. Murder is looked upon as the greatest and most serious offence which is compensated with the heaviest amount to be paid to the relatives of the deceased by the guilty person. Inability to pay the compensation may be settled by the selling away of the criminal Mipak or slave to the family of the murdered person by the order of the Kebang. (41) Now a days, of course, cases of murder are handled by the official police department, and not by the village council.

The customary and traditional laws of inheritance are also quite well-ordered and are followed with great care and a fair amount of strictness. These laws are concerned primarily with hunting and fishing rights and ownership of property. Every village and family has its allotted hunting and fishing grounds
and full rights to it. Any violation of an encroachment upon such rights has to be compensated by the payment of the prevailing market value of an ox. Violation of such rights caused innumerable occasions of strife in the past. It is a very commonplace incident in Arunachal tribal society and the kabang has to arrange for frequent sittings over the settlement of such disputes.

In every family the rights of inheritance of property is always maintained with pretty strict procedures. During the lifetime of the father, no son can inherit any property but he is allowed to start his own independent household after marriage outside his father's control. On the expiry of the father, all his movable and immovable properties are equally divided among his sons. Daughters and wife or wives do not have any claim on such property. The daughters usually inherit only the personal ornaments and other belongings of their mother. If a woman dies without any issue, her personal belonging mostly go to her husband. Similarly, if a man dies without leaving any son after him, his widow enjoys his property until her re-marriage. On her re-marriage, the property is equally divided among the members of the deceased person's sub-clan. Again, if a man leaves a minor son or sons at the time of his death, his younger brother looks after his sons and property. The property is divided among the sons on their attaining majority. Any violation of this responsibility and any misappropriation of the property by the person concerned
will be seriously dealt with by the Kabang.

The customary laws of the Adis are concerned more with redressing the wrong than physically punishing the offender. The practical nature of the people makes them feel that it is more convenient and gainful to make the culprit pay an adequate amount of compensation for the damage or injury done, thereby making it possible to redress the wrong to some extent, without getting involved in lengthy legal procedures. Their traditional concept of justice is thus successfully maintained. This way, again, justice is speedy and absolutely free from subtle manipulations.

To-day the tribal council works within the framework of the Arunachal Administration. The Administration which, however, is the sole authority in matters of criminal justice, works through the tribal councils with their full support and is guided by a feeling of compassion and understanding of human and tribal needs. To-day the Adi customary laws are entirely free from any traces of vindictiveness and barbarous cruelty. They also enable the people to lead their lives in peace and tranquility and develop a disciplined code of social behaviour. But though formless and rather elastic, these laws are very effective because through their application the offender is made to feel the weight of the wrong done by him without suffering a moral degradation which gives rise to a criminal class.
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CHAPTER IV

Traditional Social Institutions.

Two customary institutions have played a vital role in the Adi social set-up since their inception in the unknown past. One includes the moshup and the rasheng or the bachelors' and maids' dormitories and the other is the institution of marriage. The significance of these two traditional social institutions should be studied together, because one is supplementary to the other in a very intimate way. Neither of these will be complete without the other, since one is, of necessity, followed or preceded by the other. That exactly has been the custom of the Adi society since unknown past. Boys and girls first come into close companionship through their dormitory acquaintance and that intimacy ultimately ripens into marriage-bond through several stages. The whole process has been followed by the Adis in a spirit of strict discipline and sanctity.

It is strange, yet true, that in some societies religious beliefs and myths have played a decisive role in the origin, establishment and evolution of some well-settled social institutions that have a significant bearing on the cultural growth of the people concerned. This fact can be readily verified from a study of the origin, growth and functional purposes of the very vital traditional social institution of dormitories of the Adi tribe of Arunachal, one of the oldest and perhaps culturally
one of the most advanced people of the North-Eastern extremity of
the Himalayas. The Adi dormitories for unmarried boys and girls,
known respectively as Moshup and Rasheng, have occupied, perhaps
the most vital position as social institutions from every concei-
vable angle, holding an enviable sway over the whole people and
moulding the very character of the tribe. Let us see how the
matter stands.


The Moshup or the bachelors' dormitory is not a club
for idle gossips nor a gambling den. Its importance can be under-
stood from the following comment of B. S. Guha: 'There are two
underlying principles on which the institution is built, namely,
the creating of the habit of discipline among children at their
formative stage of life and in the developing of a spirit of co-opera-
tion and collaboration so that the tribe can act as a unit, and
fissiparous tendencies within the body-politic of the tribe may have
very little room for growth. In addition, it develops among the
young a spirit of responsibility, alertness and habit of taking
risks in the face of danger which are essential for the existence
of the tribe. Although emphasis is laid on the training for the
groups to work together and face a common danger, there is also a
 provision for showing respect and consideration to the elders of
the tribe, specially those who are old and infirm and dependent on
the younger members for their living'.
The institution is called by different sections of Adis by different names. The Minyongs call it Dera, Padams term it Moshup, among the Milan and other allied groups it is known as Naaptek, while the Doris and Ashings call it Dange. Parallel institutions may be found in the Dhukuria of the Oraons of Chhotanagpur, the Ghotul of the Muriyas of Baster and the Morung of the Nagas. It may be said that these institutions flourished in their full glory in the past and in most cases are now in decaying conditions as a result of the impact of modern civilization. The accounts published, however, by early writers such as Wilcox, Father Kriss, Dalton, Hora, Dunbar, Needham, Hutton, Mills and others enable us to form a good idea of the institution and the influence it exerted on the tribal life before the decay commenced.

There are some mythological accounts about the origin of the moshup, one of which runs like this: Padjong Nane was the daughter of Lining Litung, born of Sadhi Malo. She married Idum Bota, a son of Sadhi Malo. Among their numerous children were Robo and Doni. A great Kebang was held to bring about peace and order in the world and where the land and wealth of the world were distributed among the children of Sadhi Malo. Doni and Robo got the largest and best shares. But gradually rivalry and jealousy grew between them which at last broke into open hostility. Robo was far too strong than Doni, the man of peace, by the support of all the wicked and evil spirits. Doni's parents grew anxious at this
and in order to save him built a house where he could live under the protection of good spirits and could learn the art of the war and self-defence. After it was completed, the spirit of Nui, the great hunter, and all the gods were called to live there. They were fed with good food and apong, the rice beer. Ginger was kept in the house to drive away evil spirits. Poisoned bows and arrows were also gathered there and a large quantity of food was stored to feed the hungry gods. This is how the first moshup was built and the same custom and procedure are observed even to-day.

Another version of the origin of moshup has been narrated by Oshong Ering. Long ago there lived a people called Engo-Takar. Among them there lived a brother and a sister called Karduk and Karpung respectively. Both were very beautiful to look at. In course of time they established sexual relationship. This being a strange and serious thing, they were expelled from the ethereal world. They considered themselves to be sinners and roamed to find out a peaceful place for them, but could not find any. They became aimless and haggard. But the warmth of love and rays of hope remained undiminished. At last, the two poor souls came to the notice of Doying Bote and Kine Nane. Kine Nane, the goddess of peace and plenty, invited the attention of Doying Bote, the god of wisdom and courage, to the deplorable condition of the couple and appealed for their rescue and settlement on earth. Doying Bote ordered the people of Doying Ang to construct a dera. The order was
carried out and the couple were accommodated there. Thus for the first time in the history of man a building appeared on the earth.

The moshups are usually constructed in the centre of the village from where different approaches to it can be watched and guarded. For the construction of moshup, bamboo, canes, leaves and such trees as tapit, takinag, talo, tagilana and tagmo are used as they are either favourite of the good spirits or repugnant to the evil ones. The structure is almost similar to barrack-like construction without any compartment as a rule. The back side of the moshup is covered with wooden planks as protection against cold wind while the three other sides are left open. In some villages all four sides of the house are covered, with provisions for numerous exits. The entrances are on the low side whereas on the high side there are rows of pigsties. The walls, the floors, and the partitions, if any, are usually made of rough-sawn planks, and not well-fitted. Logs of notched wood are used as staircases to reach the room. There are a number of fire-places or maruma in a moshup. The number of maruma usually corresponds to the number of sections in the village. But in practice everybody is free to choose his maruma as he likes and there is no restriction of clan or neighbourhood in that. The maruma have occasionally partition walls in between. Each maruma has a separate entrance to the moshup and has a platform or a shelf for keeping the belongings of its members. Over each fire-
place there are suspended trays on which the trophies of animals killed during community hunting are kept.

The moshup is used as a sleeping house by all young men of the village usually from the age of ten till they take wives to their homes. Any man of the village or a stranger can sleep in the moshup. There is no definite age for entry to the moshup. The usual practice is that when a boy is able to sleep away from his parents or take care of himself, he must come to the moshup to sleep there around the merum to which members of his family belong. In the opinion of B.S. Guba, membership of the merum cannot be changed. Even if for some reason a family moves from one section, say from Sango, to the other section, Anga, this membership to the original merum would still remain binding. In the merums there is no scramble for places, for which there is no special rule or procedure, but once a boy sleeps in a particular spot, his place is not taken by any other, even if he may come late.

The inmates of the moshup are called Moshup-ka who are divided into distinct age groups, namely Anyanga or novices, Radang, and the senior group known as the Abuing. The novices usually come to sleep in the moshup after their evening meals and on completion of their day's work for their household. They are expected to bring firewood and light the fire in the hearth. If there is any neglect, they are taken to task by the
Abuing from among whom one senior member is selected by virtue of his ability to act as the leader of the merum and is known as Abuiyanu. He is responsible for the maintenance of the discipline of the merum and is empowered to punish any defaulter. In case of serious disobedience or negligence of duties, fines are imposed on the offender who can not be rectified by scoldings alone and the proceeds of the fine are given to the injured merum and not to the moshup as a whole. The parents of the offender do not and can not interfere as they consider it a just punishment and as the verdict of the moshup is the last word in this matter.

There is another group of elderly moshup members known as Moshup Mijing which is the advisory board consisting of old and experienced people of the village who do no physical labour but are meant to guide and advise the younger folks in all affairs. Side by side with each merum there is the supplementary hearth called ronsom where the old and infirm male members of the families belonging to the merums sit together and chat during the day and may even sleep at night if there is not enough room in their own houses. Each merum and its attached ronsom act as a single unit and supplement each other. After hunting expeditions a share of the meat is given to the members of the ronsom who divide it among themselves. In their turn, they do not remain idle but spend their time in basketry, woodwork and other handicrafts for the community, thus serving it to their utmost ability till their end.
Thus in the moshup old and young, weak and strong, veteran and novice stay side by side in amity and understanding, maintaining the fine community spirit.

The principal function of the moshup lies in giving young men practical training in the traditional mode of life. Here they are allowed to find their way into the mysteries of life. They start with getting training about the social and communal life and then gradually to the mysteries of sex. The training period of a Moshup-ka falls into two distinct parts - the first may be termed probationary period and the other is the advanced or qualifying period. In the first period, the novices are placed under senior members who act as their tutors and guides. They have to obey and carry out the instructions of the senior members. But gradually as they grow up, they start noticing the conduct of the older members who meet the Rasheng girls at night. They begin learning things by simple observation. In this sense the dormitories may be considered as schools of preparation for both matrmony and a future healthy social life.

Moshup has some other functions also. It is used for different types of feasts and festivals. During some festivals, girls, who are not usually allowed to enter the moshup, are permitted to dance inside it. Hunting expeditions are arranged by each marum under the guidance of a senior and experienced member of the training of the younger ones. The ceremonies which
are observed before and after hunting expeditions in order to propitiate the evil spirits are held in the moshup. All matters relating to warfare are discussed in the moshup where the whole village remains present. In addition, the moshup functions as the centre of the village political life. Moshup is the meeting place of the Kebang or the village council where all important matters pertaining to the community, such as clearing of jungles for cultivation, construction of new houses, building up new roads, various community development programmes and many others are discussed. It also serves to be the house where the supreme judiciary of the village has its sitting. It is the duty of the Moshup-Ka to realise the fine or compensation from offenders under the instruction of the Kebang, to inform the villagers of the decisions of the Kebang, to act as messengers on urgent work for the Kebang. Without the moshup, the entire village administration by Kebang would collapse. (14)

In short, the moshup embraces all the major facets of tribal life—economic, social, political and religious. In the past it was the institution of knowledge and wisdom where the mythological first man learned the arts and culture, songs and dances from karduk. It was an august house where Tani acquired inspiration for social and political work, gained the thoughts from karduk and the light of truth and justice from good spirits like Gumin Soyin and Idum Noto. It was an altar where all sacrifices
were conducted by man for prosperity and success in every walk of life. It was also the meeting place of the unmarried young men of the village where they gathered every night and guarded the village to ensure security. If any calamity was detected, the young men alarmed the villagers from this moshup. The Adis perform ponung and festivals like Dalong in moshup. Kabanga are held here to ensure the maintenance of truth and justice. To get good wishes of Gumin Soyin, the Adis collect in moshup before they proceed for hunting. In order to please the spirits the killed animals are brought and kept in moshup and as tokens of offering to the evil spirits, the heads, horns and skull of animals are hung in moshup. Above all, it was a prayer hall, a temple and sacred shrine of Gumin Soyin where he dwelt as the spiritual protector and guardian of man. "But to-day", comments T. Rukbo, "this sacred shrine, this temple and institution of knowledge and wisdom, truth and justice is used as a common rest house for strangers in the Adi village. In some villages, this has been found as completely neglected and abandoned, converting it into a shelter for dogs, goats and pigs." (13) The educated Adis of to-day are becoming increasingly concerned about the preservation and renovation of the moshup. It is quite reasonable to say that if this institution is abolished or neglected to fall upon decay, the whole structure of the Adi society would collapse because it is the moshup which has from times immemorial held the Adi society integrated.
It will not be perhaps off the point to refer to some personal experiences about the Adi moshup and allied matters. During June 1970 and July 1971 I visited several Adi villages in the Siang district like Kabu, Darkang, Robdi, Fakan, Jumlo-Mobuk, Monkum, Pessin, and Banken. In the first four villages there is no rasheng for girls but only moshup, which are not used as dormitories but rather serve the purpose of the community-hall where outsiders are entertained and council meetings are held. In the last four villages both moshup and rasheng are there but that also in name only. People do not attach so much importance to the proper functioning of the institutions. In all the villages there are respective miris and headmen who are quite expert in the tribal lore and traditions. In all the villages I was accompanied by the headman and entertained by the boys and girls of the community with some charming ponung dance and songs which they performed in honour of the miram. In all the villages the matter was done in more or less the same pattern.

The Ponung-miri first took his place in the centre, surrounded by three groups of girls in a circular form—first the youngest ones, then teen-agers, and then by the elderly ones. The subjects of the songs in all cases were mostly five; it first started with the glorious past of the Adis; then there was another on Adi life in general; next it passed on to a song about Gandhiji and his greatness; after that there was another song about the glory of the Assam Rifles and the last was a song about the conti-
nuation of the traditional glory of the people. Even though I could not understand their language, the dances and songs appeared superb in their spontaneity of rhythm and nice refrains. The matter, manner and bodily movements accompanying both songs and dances clearly showed the influence of modernity but in general the whole thing was a fine blending of the old traditions and new influences.

The people were very hospitable and entertained me with chicken curry and apong. The village headman cordially introduced me to the whole gathering and I returned their hospitality by distributing sweets and other gifts. I was requested to address them. Then they followed me for a long distance to bid farewell, requesting me to visit them again and prayed for my safe journey back. The experience was quite unique because though the people showed strong traces of modern influence, it also brought out their desire for the continuation of the traditional past and their fine and unpretentious hospitality towards the guest. Moreover, the fine spirit of co-operation, equality and fraternity struck the eye instantly and made them more lovable.


The women's counterpart of the moshung is called the rasheng, literally, a meeting place or rest house. Actually, it is the dormitory for girls. Parallel institutions for women are
found in the Pol-sera of the Oraons and the Yampo of the Nagas. In the Adi hills rashengs still exist mostly in the upper region such as at Damroh, Sibbum, Jero, Riga and other villages whereas in the lower regions the institution is absent. Many old-timers consider the absence of rasheng in the lower parts as not altogether beneficial to the Adi society for one of the reasons that this institution regulated sexual behaviour within the tribe.

The Abangs or the religious myths give the reason for its construction: to meet the need for gaiety, amusement and the art and regulation of love-making. The boys are trained in the moshup in the various spheres of men's activities such as hunting, warfare, administration and rituals connected with these. In the case of women, however, the duties chiefly concern household affairs, such as cultivation, weaving, cooking and taking care of children. But amusement, such as dancing, singing and the art of love-making cannot be taught by parents. So Idum Bote or the Doying felt, on the completion of the moshup, that a similar institution was necessary for women. As however, love-making cannot be carried on under the observation of the spirits, their presence was not invoked. Thus, the rasheng is of a purely secular character, and has not sanctity or spiritual significance behind it like the moshup, which is sacred as abode of the good gods.

In the ancient times before the rasheng was
established, there was often indiscriminate sexual intercourse and even incestuous relations took place sometimes, as illustrated in the well-known story of Karduk and Karpung. The rasheng was introduced as a means of stopping indiscriminate sexual union and regulating sexual behaviour so that it could only take place within approved tribal laws and codes of conduct. It cannot be denied that while the rasheng as an institution of sleeping-place for unmarried persons is abhorrent to the notion of the sanctity and decorum of sexual life, it certainly acted as a deterrent to promiscuous union and, in the regulation and control of sexual behaviour among the free primitive Abors, it played a very significant role.

The rasheng is generally situated in a secluded corner of the village and its location and functions are not publicized to outsiders but are known only to the villagers themselves. Unlike the moshup, it has no central institution but it is made purely on the basis of clan organisation. In all the upper villages there are as many rashengs as there are clans. The rasheng, being confined to a clan, is a small simple structure, having only one square room with a fireplace in the centre. It is constructed by experienced old men of the village along with the girl members who collect the raw materials. The walls are well-protected with wooden planks and so is the only entrance which is secure and strong to prevent forcible entry and undue liberty being taken by young men.
There is no fixed age for entry to the rassheng. Girls after attaining puberty usually start sleeping in the rassheng, remains unoccupied. The inmates come after their night meals and carry on their spinning and weaving until they retire to bed. They return to their respective house early in the morning. Although the rassheng is not so well organised as the moshup, it has its own system which is strictly followed. The girls constituting the members of a rassheng are called Pomung i.e., bevy of girls organised for music and dancing. Each rassheng is under the supervision of a senior and experienced girl whose duty is to enforce discipline on the members. Any disobedience or neglect of duties is punished with reprimand or fine but the atmosphere is mostly of a free and friendly mixing between girls of different age. Younger girls pass through a period of novitiate when they bring firewood, light fire and do other work assigned to them. Older rassheng girls usually come late but before that everything is kept ready and in order by the younger members. The younger girls or the novitiates sleep on one side of the hearth and the older on the other where they receive their lovers.

After adolescence, a girl really starts her romantic life and in the rassheng she starts her courtship which leads her to choose her mate in future life. Young boys from different moshups come and join the girls in the rassheng in the night. A girl is free to entertain any boy of her choice. There are two kinds of rassheng girls, namely, those who have recognised lovers
with whom they sleep in the rasheng and indulge into regular sex act3 and those who have no regular boy-friends or lovers but consort with any of the moshup boys they please. Only unmarried girls can have such relationship with boys. In the free life of the rasheng it is not possible to prevent sexual union between the members of the same clan although this is against the exogamous rules of the tribe. This has led many observers to think that while marriage is not allowed between the members of the same clan, there is no bar to sexual union in the rasheng outside the bond of marriage. In reality, however, such action, though it is ignored, is not socially approved and if any child is born out of such union, it is considered a serious offence which is liable to heavy fine and the couple may even be excommunicated. Conception in premarital life is not generally liked and steps are taken to ensure against it. The Adi girls often resort to certain abortifacient practices such as the oral use of the juice and roots of some medicinal plants and trees. This is done in secret without the knowledge of the elders, for destroying the unborn child is a crime according to the Abang. In the event of conception taking place, no social stigma falls on the girls but the lover is expected to marry her, if outside the clan, or pay a heavy fine. When a marriage does not take place although permissible, if the child happens to be a boy, he takes the surname of the father, and if a girl, that of the mother with whom she resides afterwards.

Besides this art of love-making which is one of the
principal functions of the rasheng, its other functions are the organization of dances of the ponung and supply of workers for doing various work in the village or in the houses of others during harvesting and entertainment of distinguished visitors or migams. The Abang says that it was Kargung who showed the girls how to dance, especially the Monam which is done by men and women together in the rasheng in demonstration of love. Other dances for gaiety and amusement are also performed in the rasheng, but those which have bearing on agriculture, such as the solung dance, are performed in the dancing ground in front of the moshup, as this concerns the propitiation of various deities connected with agriculture.

Among the Adis dancing is very well organised and has developed into a fine art with great variety of rhythm and dignity. The majority of the dances are connected with various rituals and the invocation of deities presiding over various phases of agriculture and some again are associated with the welcoming of guests. The dances are all of the folk-dance type which are danced not in solo but in a group with the Miri leading and keeping time by moving his sword. The Miri is the acknowledged repository of all tribal lore, myths and abangs, ritual and rites, and all traditional ideas and practices. As such, he is selected to lead the dances. Generally males are selected as Miris but female Miris are not altogether unknown. For each rasheng there is a ponung or group of dancers. The Miri can not demand any remuneration from
the ponung but at the time of his installation he is given a sword and a semi-circular garland of beads as his special insignia. The relation between the Miri and his ponung is not merely that of teacher and pupil but of attachment and love.

The ponung of each rasheng dances separately and does not combine with other groups. Being formed on the clan basis, each is an independent unit with separate organisation and its own Miri. There is considerable rivalry between the different ponungs regarding their dancing performances. It is one of the functions of the rasheng to train the girls in the dances with only vocal music sung without any instrumental accompaniment. The Miri leading the dance will sing the whole song and ponung sings only the chorus. The seniormost and the ablest girl is selected as the leader of the ponung who supervises the work of the other girls, organises dances and enforces discipline. Most often ponung dances are done in a circle or moving in two converging lines meeting each other but there are some dances where at the end there is a pairing of couples. The money and presents received for the dances organized for visitors are kept in the rasheng fund by the ponung leader and spent at the time of festivals. Ponung is such an integral part of the rasheng that without it the latter is a virtual impossibility and it is the ponung which has kept the traditional fine art of the Adis alive.

The dormitory system which owes its origin to the hunting stage of the society can not last in its old form with the
changes that the Adi society of old is facing now-a-days. The gradual abandonment of hunting for procurement of food is undermining the basis of its existence. Yet any attempt to stop it either directly or indirectly through moral pressure will be a mistake and is likely to create a vacuum in tribal life. The dormitories have their immense value which no other institution can serve. In the training that they give the young and adolescents, they amply provide for discipline and corporate existence which are the real ingredients of character-building. The comradeship between the youths of both sexes and its gaiety and fun give the inmates the joy of living, help in the fulfilment of the much-needed emotional demands after hard physical labour and provide the outlet for the release of tensions and repressed forces which otherwise would have marred the development of a healthy social life. The personality structure of the Adis grows through the moshup in a manner most suitable for the welfare of the tribe where struggle for existence is very great and where there is very little scope for the weak and inefficient persons of dissipated nature.

4.3. Marriage.

The institution of marriage plays a vital role in the Adi society and it can hardly be kept separate from the two former institutions of Moshup and Rasheng. The marriage usually follows closely upon the heels of the sexual relationship between the boy and the girl through their dormitory acquaintance which is sanc-
tioned by the society. Marriage thus assumes the appearance of a formal ceremony concerning the two families of the bride and the groom. It is an unavoidable social practice with far-reaching implications in terms of both social status and economic consideration which has to be performed with the sanction of the society—elders as also the parents.

The whole affair right from the beginning of negotiation to the final ceremony is marked by several distinct steps which follow one after another. The idea of getting into a permanent relationship through marriage develops between the boys and girls after their close acquaintance with one another for over a considerable time in the dormitories. Marriage is a state of healthy relationship sanctioned by society into which a man and a woman enter with the approval of their respective families and their own consent, to beget children and start a household of their own. Though the will of the intending partners is supreme and they may unite in matrimony inspite of the opposition from their elders, yet the custom is that the actual negotiation should be done through the parents and if both the parties agree after taking into consideration the social and economic factors involved, the marriage ceremony is allowed to occur.

There are certain unwritten principles followed by the society since long past for guiding this important institution and also for the maintenance of social order and harmony. No man or
woman may enter into wedlock if both of them belong to the same sub-clan and its violation will amount to heavy fine or even excommunication. Again, no free man or woman may establish matrimonial or sexual relations with any one considered as a slave or mipak by the society. Cases of proved and established sexual relations between a free man or woman with a mipak woman or man, may be recognized as a marriage, only with the degradation of the free partner into a slave or mipak category.

After a boy from the moshua chooses a girl from the rasheng to be his would-be bride, he makes his desire known to his parents. If his parents agree, the mother of the boy goes to the girl's house with some apong, smoked squirrels and ginger paste and makes the formal proposal to the girl as well as to her mother on behalf of her son. If the presents are accepted, it means the proposal is agreed upon and from that day the boy and the girl are regarded as being engaged for marriage. If the proposal comes from the parents of the girl, there is no formal procedure of presentation and the like. They simply make their wishes known to the other party with whose consent the engagement occurs. If the girl agrees to the proposal, she allows the boy to visit her regularly at home and spend the nights with her from the day of engagement. The boy shows his attachment to the girl by presenting apong and meat to his would-be parents-in-law now and then. The formal exchange of presents known as lumpang starts with the Sittor festival following the
engagement, during which the girl sends a pong, meat and other foods to the boy's parents, while the boy responds by sending a pig to the girl's home. This formality is observed every year as long as the girl continues at her father's. Among the rich Adis with whom the economic aspect of matrimony is very important, the consent of the girl or the boy to be married is not always consulted. The father of a rich girl is naturally against a union with a poor family and so is the rich father of a boy. When both the families are equal in status and wealth, consent is not normally withheld. Again, the liking or disliking of the girl and the boy is not counted for marriages of convenience settled by the parents.

If during the proposal a major girl refuses to marry the boy chosen by her parents, the would-be groom goes on trying to make her agree. So long as he fails to get her consent, he is not allowed by the girl to visit her and she demonstrates her unwillingness by continuing to pass her nights in the rasheng in the company of her own chosen mate. The groom in such cases can neither raise any objection nor claim any compensation. If this second choice culminates in marriage, then only the rejected groom can demand from his successful rival compensation for what he has paid as the price for the girl. If the marriage is settled by the parents during the infancy of the partners, the boy and the girl after coming of age may freely separate if both agree, rendering the would-be marriage null and void and for that no compensation can be claimed by their parents. The boy's objection to such a marriage is valid legally.
inspite of the consent of the girl and the marriage is annulled without any compensation. The girl's objection, on the other hand, the boy being willing, has no legal value and she can have her own chosen man only if he pays the traditional compensation to the first-selected groom. This brings out the respective position of man and woman in Adi society more clearly and shows that the principle of matrimony is based rather more on convenience and economic factors than on anything else.

Since the girl in the Adi family is always considered as a highly valuable economic asset, naturally, depriving a family of a girl by taking her away in marriage has to be compensated by payment, equal to the status of a family and the personal belongings of the girl. Known as Aro, this payment is made not in a lumpsum cash or house or land, but it takes the form of a continued supply of meat by the groom and his relatives to the parents of the bride according to the need of a tribal family. The boy's father-in-law gets the major share of the sacrificed mithun or pig on the occasion of various festivals that take place from time to time. In case of a bride from a well-to-do family with valuable personal possessions, specially of beautiful beads, the presentations to be made by the groom are also very high. In the same way, marriage between two poor partners is attended with presents commensurate with the maximum ability and affording capacity of such a groom. Of pure economics, whether between rich families or poor ones and as such
love and other emotions between the boy and the girl is a significantly less important consideration.

Two ceremonies are performed when a man is lucky in marrying a girl from a rich family. The first of these is known as Maruk which is performed at any time after the marriage according to the convenience of the groom, but usually at the time of the Uning festival. Ten loads of rice, two pigs, ten tubers of apong, four loads of cooked rice, three loads of dried meat, and the same quantity of smoked rats and squirrels along with a mithun are arranged by the husband. If such be the fantastic amount of dowry, the marriage between a poor boy and a rich girl will be impossible and therefore the gap between the rich and poor will for ever remains unbridged. All the young men of the clan dressed in gay war dance costumes carry these things to the bride's house in a colourful procession. Half way they are met by the bride's party and a noisy mock-fight takes place between the two. When both the parties get tired, the matter is concluded, the bride's party yielding passage to the processionists. When the party comes near the bride's house, they are received by the women of the family and when the presents are handed over, the groom's party is welcomed with apong and some food. Then a mithun and pigs are killed by the bride's parents and all the clan members including both the parties join in a grand hilarious feast. The second ceremony is known as Minyan;
in it pigs are offered in place of the mithun. (31)

This is the usual and normal marriage. The procedures are almost the same in cases of both the rich and the poor with the only difference in the degree of pomp and grandeur attending the whole affair. Other forms of marriage also are in practice with due sanction of the society, though they may be less common. One of them may be described as marriage by exchange. In this, a boy intending to marry a girl undertakes to fill the gap in her family by supplying a suitable girl for a marriageable boy in exchange. By this method, the difficulty sometimes felt by the groom in paying the dowry is solved. In case the marriage in exchange does not take place on account of the unwillingness of the girl who may not like her selected groom but runs away with some one else, the bride-price that would have been due had there been no exchange, has to be paid. Side by side with the legal marriage, elopement and marriage by abduction are not unknown. Such irregular affairs in the matter of matrimony are looked upon with some seriousness by the Adi society which does not sanction such practices. But usually those who elope, leave the country and settle in some distant land outside the tribal Jurisdiction. But the customary compensation equivalent to the bride-price is always claimed in such cases. Therefore, whether it is a marriage of convenience, or of exchange or of mutual agreement, it is mainly an economic factors that the whole institution of marriage hinges upon. The partners
bother not very seriously about affairs of the heart or beauty of temperament. As very practical natured people, in the matter of matrimony they are not forgetful of the economic aspect of this vital event of life.

The girl continues to stay with her parents after the marriage if her husband in the mean time has not been able to have a house of his own and still lives with his parents. It is, however, expected that he should try to have a separate establishment of his own as early as possible and take his wife there to lead the life of a full-fledged family man. The maximum period allowed for keeping the wife at her parents' family is generally up to the birth of the third child. After marriage, the boy generally does not sleep in the mashup or get into intimacy with other girls. If the wife for some reason or other refuses to go to her husband's place and prefers to live with her parents, there is no legal compulsion to make her do otherwise. In such a case, the matrimonial relation on the part of the boy continues by staying in his parents' house as well as in father-in-law's alternately.

During the period of the wife's stay at her father's place, the husband is known as magbo and thenceforward he has to perform the Yaqiling which is the first ceremony in his new status in his wife's family. It is, however, optional and the husband performs it only if he can afford it. In this ceremony a pig is to be sacrificed and the flesh is divided among the members of the
wife's family. In his position as the magbo or dependant son-in-law, the boy has to stay with and render full service to the father-in-law's family as a full-fledged member of it. In such a circumstance, marriage for the boy means rather a servitude to the father-in-law, not as a hired slave of course, but as a dependant son-in-law who is incapable of maintaining an independent and separate family unit of his own. He is relieved of this rather awkward status only when he takes his wife to his own independent dwelling where he opens a new leaf in his life as the proud, self-contained head of a separate full-fledged family of his own. (34)

The social custom of marriage does not say that one has to stay permanently with the conjugal partner even though some marital incompatibility persists for long. The Aidi couples, like the many men and women of to-day in other parts of the country, try at first to mend up marital breaches under the guidance of the sensible elders of the society. When the attempts prove futile and better remedy is considered possible through divorce alone, the society, being represented through kebang members, allows the partners to get separated and divorced from marriage-bonds. The couples involved understand the practical utility of the severance of a useless marital bond and separate with the intention of leading another life with the mate of their new choice. (35) Since the Aidis appear to be people who are utmost practical by nature and do not seem to bother much for emotional matters, such divorce from one
another is not expected to disturb their sentiments much. There are certain well-adjusted measures followed by the society which are worked with the support of customary laws for the purpose of divorce. These have been discussed in the proceeding chapter and need not be repeated here. These unwritten customary laws of divorce have become firmly established in society and the people pay due recognition to them along with the whole custom of marriage itself and the procedures guiding it.
Notes and References to Chapter IV.

3. B. S. Guha : Moshup Abang, pp. 3-5.
7. Talom Gao : Ibid.
8. B. S. Guha : Moshup Abang, p. 29.
10. Talom Gao : Ibid.
11. B. S. Guha : Ibid., p. 84.
17. B. S. Guha : Moshup Abang, p. 34.
18. B. S. Guha : Moshup Abang, p. 38 ff.
19. B. S. Guha : Ibid., p. 35.
20. B. S. Guha : Ibid.
22. Oshong Ering : Ibid.
24. B. S. Guha : Ibid.,
26. Wide : the accounts given by Wilcox, Dunbar, Dalton, Nedham, M'Cosh, Hora, Vatch, Krick and such other British Officers for a fuller discussion on the matter.
28. O. Ering : Ibid.
30. S. Roy : Ibid.
31. S. Roy : Ibid.
33. S. Roy : Ibid., p. 204.
34. O. Ering : 'Adi Marriage and Divorce.'
35. O. Ering : Ibid.
CHAPTER V

Economic, Literary and Spiritual Panorama.

In order to get a complete picture of the traditional Adi culture and society in its entirety, a study of the economic, literary, and spiritual background also is most necessarily involved. In the present chapter, therefore, an attempt shall be made to present that background as it prevailed in the Adi land till the other day before the processes of modernisation started leaving their definite impact on all fronts of life and society of the Adi people. Our first concern is with the economic panorama.

3:1. Economic Activities.

Among the economic activities of the Adis cultivation, hunting, fishing, weaving and some little trade have all along been the most important ones and have close affinity with various social, spiritual and literary practices. Agriculture provides the people with their staple food and the main material for their dress. According to their mythology, the gift of the knowledge of cultivation was made to them by the gods and it was a goddess who invented it. As such, in the matter of cultivation all through, Adi women play a major part and do it with their characteristic skill, efficiency and neatness. Again, a large number of Adi festivals and ceremonies centre around various agri-
Cultural operations which are intended to please and propitiate the relevant presiding deities for greater benefits and prosperity.

The kind of cultivation resorted to by the Adis is popularly known in North-East India as Jhum. It aims at exploitation of the natural fertility of the soil till it is exhausted by croppings, and has to be got restored by a period of fallow during which wild vegetation is allowed to grow freely on the plots. All the cultivable land or arik of a village is divided into a number of blocks or patats which are taken up for cultivation in succession, after a definite number of years of fallow, in a cycle.

The main bulk of agricultural products is food crops. Both grain and garden crops are cultivated, like various kinds of paddy, job's tears, millets, maize, tomato, potato, pumpkin, onion, gourd, brinjal, mustard, chilli, ginger, jackfruit, orange, banana, papaya, pine apple, sugarcane. To feed the cottage looms cotton is largely produced and tobacco for smoking.

Agricultural production aims at meeting the requirements of the household consumption. The producers are themselves the consumers and engaging additional labour to produce more is not envisaged in the system. But there are provisions for taboos in agricultural activities, death depriving families of working hands etc. To meet such emergency, there are two systems. According to
one known as riglap labour is hired on payment of cash, while according to the other called anlik, payment for hired labour is made in kind.

Every family has its individual plot for cultivation allotted to it on which it exercises full right of ownership. But in cases of troublesome and complicated disputes, it has to accept the decision of the Kahan and submit to its directions to avoid inter-family conflicts. The fine democratic and community spirit of the Adi people makes the whole village participate in a body in all the different stages of agricultural operations from start to finish.

Several important festivals and ceremonies have become essential parts of agricultural operations. Fencing of the fields against intruding cattle is attended with the performance of Etor festival, the first weeding of the fields with the Lune Solung, the final weeding with the Lutter Solung, and lastly, the storing operation of the grains is marked by the Rikti ceremony to purify the granaries. An idea of the agricultural processes of the Adis may be had from the calendar appended to the end of this chapter.

Hunting and fishing, two other major engagements of the Adis, may be described as gathering of animal food. With the progress in domestication of animals and introduction of agriculture,
hunting and fishing gradually change from essential means of livelihood into a form of community entertainment and pastime mainly and source of protein food in the next place.

Though hunting is far less important than agriculture as an economic activity, the very high and special social status accorded to chase indicates its much older existence as being the only definite source of sustenance of the people. Every household prominently displays its collection of trophies of chase as a sign of its social status. Every member of the tribe is valued in terms of his participation in the community hunts arranged by the moshua with elaborate codes of conduct, rules of procedure, rituals, and principles governing the sharing of the game among all. In spite of the many changes occurring in the Adi society over the years, hunting is still now a great event with them and during the lean months of agriculture it solves their food problem to some extent.

Likewise, fishing is firmly established among the Adis as a mode of obtaining animal protein for food. Fishing has the similar place among the economic pursuits as hunting but it is much inferior in social importance. Like hunting it is also organised on community basis. As a sport, it is more national in character, in so far as it is, unlike hunting, open to both the sexes. At the end of the agricultural season, it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in
gay batches for fishing. Various kinds of traps and nets are used in fishing and methods like catching by hand, by pelting stones, poisoning the water, drying up or diverting or barricading the river bed are also applied by the Adis. The total catch is usually collected in one place and divided equally among the villagers who take part in the expedition. That invariably lots are cast, omens are read, and trips are planned or postponed according as the spirits decree, only indicate the prevalence of the Adi belief in the supernatural. Performance of Ampi, Unning, Kirug rites and ceremonies associated with chase, points to the same mood of propitiating the unknown powers and spirits.

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Among the other occupations in which the Adis keep themselves engaged for sustenance are weaving, basketry, rearing domesticated animals, and a little trade with home-made products. The Adis are good at weaving and their taste in colour scheme and artistic designs is excellent. Weaving is now a major occupation of the people which makes them self-dependent in the matter of dress. Weaving is solely confined to women. They weave well, with patterns and colours which are very much perfect taste and particularly adapted to the surroundings. The Adis are expert in basketry also. It is generally an occupation for the old people who spend their leisure hours in knitting baskets, fishing nets, traps, mats etc. Both weaving and knitting products, clothes, garments, shawls
and basketry supply household needs and outside markets.

Rearing some domesticated animals as pig, mithun, cow, goat, and fowl for supply of meat and milk as also for sacrificial offerings is an important occupation of the Adis. They are also expert makers of various instruments and implements for the purpose of chase, cultivation and various other uses. They do their little trade with all the various cottage products already mentioned and purchase the various necessities and little luxuries of their simple life. It is nothing on a grand scale but is just enough to keep their life going without either much hardship or lavishness. Now, to state the economic setting, as it was prevalent in the Adi land till late 1960's, a little more elaborately for clearer understanding.

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Farming is the major occupation of the Adis. In the matter of cultivation all through, excepting in falling big trees and clearing the debris on the land before actual cultivation starts, Adi women play a major part. Again, quite a large number of Adi festivals and ceremonies centre around agriculture because they think that they must please and propitiate the various unknown and unseen beings who are the presiding authorities over this matter, so that they may enjoy the full reward of their labour. Adi economy centres round agriculture and that agriculture is of an
first is left fallow and the fourth is taken up. In this way the cycle continues till after tenth year the first block is taken up again. This allows ten years' fallow to every block. This cycle is commonly called 'Jhum' cycle and ensures against the exhaustion of soil. The cycle depends on the number of 'patat' available and the population to be supported. Thus each 'patat' has alternating periods of tillage and fallow succeeding each other in fixed rotation. It would appear that the time a 'patat' is to be brought under cultivation being fixed and known in advance, there would be no need for fresh selection each time. Yet the routine rotation has to be got approved by the spirits to ensure success of crops. So the village elders have to gather in a Kebang, everytime a 'patat' is opened, to deliberate on the selection and get it approved by the unseen guardians of fields and crops. The village mini reads omens to know their will.

Large-scale use of single blocks is characteristic of the Adis. A large Adi village, has, therefore, a very large continuous block of land, say a thousand acres cultivated at a time. Gentler slopes of the hill are usually preferred, but in some cases the fields are pretty steep. The highest altitude for agricultural land is six thousand feet. Every 'patat' is divided into household plots. Every family has its individual plot allotted to it from the day it settled in the village. Though there are no written records, the village memory retains all the details
of such allotments and if not in theory, in practice each family may be said to exercise right-of-ownership on its own land. During fallow all these plots are open to common pasturing of the village cattle, but such trees on the land as are of any use with its leaves used to make mats etc. continue to be owned exclusively by the owners, and these can in no way be utilized or interfered with except with the explicit permission of the rightful owner.

The family ownership of plots however is more evident in the cultivation stage of the cycle. After the omens are read and found favourable, a day is fixed by the Kabang for the clearing, and the whole village, men and women both, except the invalid or otherwise disabled, go to the block. Here however they split up into family units, each working on its own plot, which is well known to all from generations. This working on family basis is maintained all through the cultivation period, except the occasion of fencing. The entire area under cultivation has to be fenced in against the semi-domesticated mithuns. In this work the village men serve as a single unit. In others, the family as a separate unit works by itself.

Clearing comprises cutting down the jungle that has grown in the fields during the period of fallow, spreading the debris over the fields to dry and burning them when dry. The cutting is extremely thorough. The land is completely cleared of the natural vegetation and only the stems of larger trees are left standing, and
are used in marking the boundaries between family plots. Some of the heavy pieces of log are carried home for the family hearth and the rest are burnt, when thoroughly dry, on the fields in order to add the fertilizing ash to the soil. The unburnt charred logs are rolled to the boundaries. This burning of the debris and clearing after that are done by the families separately, mainly by the men, the woman helping and keeping them well-supplied with bear. Man's hard labour ceases with the burning and woman's begins; sowing, weeding, harvesting all are woman's charges.

Agricultural production aims at meeting the requirement of the household consumption. The producers are themselves the consumers and engaging additional labour to produce more is not envisaged in the system. But there are provisions for taboos in agricultural activities, death depriving families of working hands etc. To meet such emergency, there are two systems. According to one known as 'riglap' labour is hired on payment of cash, while according to the other called 'enlik' payment for hired labour is made in kind.

Slavery may also be mentioned in this context. In the early days it was a source, though to a limited extent, of labour from outside the family. But in whichever way it was procured, slavery can not be considered as external labour. For once procured, a slave became a member of the family, at least
of an inferior status.

The main bulk of agricultural products is food crops. Both grain and garden crops are cultivated, like various kinds of paddy, job's tears, millets, maize, tomato, potato, pumpkin. Fencing and weeding of the fields are two important stages in the agricultural operations. Some areas are fenced to confine the mithuns so that they may not escape and destroy the crops. Along with this the Littor festival is performed. The first weeding starts about a month afterwards when the seeds have sprouted and grown about six to nine inches in height. After the first weeding all the women of the village perform the Lune Solung festival. The second weeding is carried on when the crops have grown higher. Just before the final weeding the Adis perform the Luttar Solung festival for the prosperity of the cattle. The last important agricultural operation on the field are reaping and threshing. Crops are reaped about one and half months after the final weeding. The grains after reaping are carried to the field-house for threshing. The straw if left in the field is burnt to use as manure. The storing operation is celebrated by the Nikt ceremony to purify the granaries.

Hunting and fishing as means of producing food stand in the same relation to the domestication of animals as gathering of wild fruits and roots stands to agriculture. They may, there-
fore, be described as gathering of animal food. With progress in domestication of animals, hunting and fishing gradually change from means of livelihood into a form of entertainment and pastime. With the Adis, they are in a transitory stage where they have developed a few traits of the latter though retaining still their main economic character. This stage has however, been long static as domestication of animals and has not made any appreciable advance. So it is as economic activities they are still to be considered.

Though hunting is far less important than agriculture as an economic activity, yet its social significance is much greater. It is a man's occupation par excellence and stands second only to war in dignity. Its high position is reflected in the social recognition it is given. Every household prominently displays its collection of trophies of chase as a sign of its status. Everyman is valued for his manly qualities, among others, by his contribution to this collection and some of these go to decorate his grave to add to his status in the next world. The moshups treasure similar collections as proud souvenirs of all community hunts. Indeed arranging such hunts is one of the principal functions of the moshup. Community hunts are important social undertakings attended with elaborate codes of conduct, rules of procedure, rituals and principles governing the sharing of the game. The entire village participates in it in some way or other. Only the women are to be satisfied with distant and
neutral observation. The heroes are to abstain from any contact with women after success. The engaged males are bound to give shares of the kill to the families of the brides.

This high and special status of chase indicates that it is an occupation much older and indigenous to the community. It once formed the only important source of sustenance of the people. It originated at a time when they were nomads moving after the beasts of the forest. The degree of success depended on the availability of game and the supernatural element naturally dominated. As the community depended on the game bagged, chase had to be a collective enterprise and every kill had to be shared fairly by all. These aspects still linger in the rites performed and in the community cooking and eating in the mashup after a hunt in which the old people are specially entertained.

This has been in the earliest days. But when the Adis came first to be known closely in the 19th century, they had already switched over to agriculture as the mainstay of their economy. This must have come through the women who came therefore to bear the principal burden of the labour. It brought stability to the society in respect of food and made permanent settlements possible. Chase lost its economic importance and tended to turn into community entertainment mainly and source of protein food in the next place with the passage of time.
Yet since it was the earliest organised occupation of the society, it retained its old position in its estimation. Agriculture — the woman’s innovation — failed to deslodge it from that position in a patriarchal society. Naturally Adi heroes are great as hunters or warriors and not as producers of rich harvests.

The Adis start practising hunting quite early in life. The elders teach the youngsters the use of various weapons and traps of chase, and the young are always eager to accompany hunting parties whenever they get an opportunity. Young children are generally allowed to join group hunting parties for beating the forest and to learn the game well. Bows and arrows are used to kill big games whereas traps of various kinds are used to catch birds, rats, hares, squirrels, and porcupines. Whenever a hunting party is decided upon by the village council, an announcement is made on the previous night, and all young men assemble in the moshup next morning with their bows and arrows and dogs. With burning sticks in hand they proceed to a part of the forest in a half-circle with dogs while they fix nets on the other side. As the animal is sighted, dogs are let loose after it, while the hunters from their position behind the trees shoot at it with poisoned arrows.

The rites performed before hunting are quite elaborate. Before the hunting actually starts, the Adis observe some worshiping ceremonies in the moshup, drink apong, and sing the
origin of hunting known as 'Ampibari'. In the last night of hunting another ceremony is held in the moshup, followed by a feast. When an animal is killed, the man who first spotted and wounded it, gets the major share. The rest of the meat will be shared by those who helped him in hunting on that particular occasion. In group hunting the rule is different. All collections go directly to the moshup where all the male members of the village assemble. The meat is divided among all and the whole community enjoys a grand feast. To the Adis teeth, skulls and horns of the hunted beasts are great trophies which are either taken home by the hunters or kept in the moshup as articles of decoration and valour. During the hunting periods, sacrifices of mithus are very frequent and for a number of days a great festival called 'Uning', with dance and ritual, ensues. Every able-bodied Adi must take part in community hunting, failing which he will have to pay a fine and it will go to the moshup fund. The Adis do not eat the flesh of tigers, wild dogs, jackals, cats, snakes, kites, hawks, crows, and bats. Various kinds of deer, wild boars, dambars, squirrels, rats, and variety of birds are their favourites. Inspite of the many changes in the Adi society, hunting is still now a great event with them and during the lean months of agriculture it solves their food problem to some extent.

The absence of fish from the traditional list of offerings prescribed at sacrifices and the methods employed in catching it, point to an exotic origin of fishing among the Adis.
It is, however, firmly established for over such a long time in the country and is so widely practised by all the sections of the people that it may well be taken for all practical purposes as a mode of obtaining animal protein for food. It is everywhere reckoned as a delicacy and a nutrient. The surplus of catches is smoked and laid by to supplement nutritive deficiency and to relieve the monotony and scantiness of the menu particularly in lean periods of the year.

Fishing has the similar place among the economic pursuits as hunting but much inferior in social importance. Like hunting it is organised on community basis. As a sport, it is more national in character, in so far as it is, unlike hunting, open to both sexes. Though more of a man's job, women also participate in it helping the man. At the end of the agricultural season, it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in gay batches for fishing. There are no celebrated rituals or procedure for fishing as in the case of hunting. But still a kebang of the village council is held in which the method and the place for fishing are decided upon. Usually lots are cast before the party sets out for fishing. If the omens are favourable, they decide to go on the trip; otherwise, the trip is postponed. Various kinds of traps and nets are used in fishing and methods like catching by hand, by palting stones, poisoning the water, drying up and diverting the river-bed, and barracading a portion of water with stone or bamboo fencing are
also applied by the Adis. The total catch is usually collected in one place and divided equally among the villagers who take part in the expedition. But no social honour goes to the successful catcher and none have to observe any taboo. Since fish and the land of fish find frequent mention in the Adi Abang, it denotes that the people were familiar with it as a source of obtaining ready food since long past.

Besides agricultural products, cultivated vegetables, hunting and fishing which meet their food requirements, the Adis collect various other wild roots, fruits and leaves for eating. Because of the fairly abundant supply of such forest products, starvation among the people is quite unknown and in the past-known history of the land, no famine has ever occurred. Again, as there is no selfish motive, everyone helps his fellow neighbours in case of real need. Moreover, the fine spirit of equally dividing the flesh of animals killed in hunting or the total catch in fishing among all, without degrading anybody, brings out the essential socialist nature of the people.

The Adis understand the value of dress as a means of protection against the rigours of the climate, supernatural influences and natural enemies, as also for enhancing physical charm, rank and wealth. The Adis are good at weaving and their
taste in colour scheme and artistic designs is excellent. What puzzles one about Adi weaving is that in their Abang or mythology of creation, there is no reference to the origin of weaving. Whether among the Adis it is an invention of a later date than that of the Abang or practised in imitation of the neighbouring tribes, is a point of dispute. The possible explanation has been offered by B. B. Shastri, Director of Arunachal Research, when he says that in old times the Adis used to accept finished woven products from the Idu, since they themselves did not know how to weave. Later on, they drove away the Idu from their habitation, captured their villages along with the weaving-loom and started weaving for themselves. This conclusion is reached with an eye to the striking similarity between the Idu garments and those of the Adis, particularly coats, in colour and design. Whatever it may be, weaving is now a major occupation of the Adis which makes them self-dependent in the matter of dress. The Adis also grow cotton in the Inum fields but they purchase dyed yarn mostly from the Marwari shops. The quantity of finished woven products was quite meagre which met their own requirements somehow in the past. But nowadays these are sold far and near. Weaving is confined solely to women. The Adi women weave well, with patterns and colour which are very much in perfect taste. The colour-sense of the Adis is very well-marked and is particularly adapted to the surroundings.

Domestication of certain animals is an important occupation of the Adis which is also of great use from the economic
standpoint. The mithun, pig, dog, and fowl are the principal domesticated animals. Of these, mithun is both economically, ritually and socially by far the most important. It is reared in semi-domesticated state, roaming free in the forest for most of the year. Identity marks on the ear indicate ownership. Its economic importance lies in the high price attached to it. In fact, it is the highest denomination currency. That is why its possession is a mark of wealth. Being costly, it is used for high denomination payments only either as bride-price or in bartered trade. In religious rites it is the highest and best offering which can be made to the spirits and the greatest festivals are always attended by mithun sacrifice. The method of sacrifice by strangulation and by axing the back portion of its head is considered to be unique. It is one of the earliest animals which the people have known and it finds frequent references in the mythology. In their theory of creation there were four mithus from which all other beings and things were created. So the mithun is considered as the sacred animal and theft or wounding of mithuns is looked upon as a very high crime. Killing of mithun for the purpose of sacrifice bestows high social honour on the host and the skull is proudly displayed in his house.

Pig is fully domesticated. Its utility is not only for its flesh but also as a scavenger. It plays an important part in Adi rituals as it is a cheaper and common offering to the spirits. It is sacrificed by suffocation and piercing and cutting the wind
pipe. It is used as an exchange payment for barter trade where the amount involved is not much. But it never receives the honour that the mithun gets. If mithun is the most honoured, dog is the most loved of the domestic animals. It has no economic value whatever but has a place in rituals. It is the prescribed sacrifice on the ritual gate built for the outsiders to keep away evil influences following them. But it is a domestic pet above all. It has free access in the houses and lives with the men sharing their bed, food and everything. This may be a survival from the days when the people were kamaz hunters and the dog was their most useful and constant attendant. That is why the mythology gives high recognition to it. It is the dog which is said to have brought paddy seed from the lower world and helped man in many other ways. The domestic fowl is the most customary article of the Adi rituals. Chicken liver and egg are the principal ingredients of divination. It is largely used as sacrifice to the spirits. In almost all festivals and ceremonies fowls are killed and the meat is highly enjoyed in feasts. Fowls are considered as part and parcel of every Adi household.

Another occupation in which the Adis find their time and energy engaged is in the task of manufacturing the various instruments and implements for the purpose of cultivation, war, chase and various other uses. For this job there is a special class of people, the blacksmith, about whom we get some references in their
mythology through Yodo Yongmo, the first blacksmith. The Adi smith is an expert in metal work. He does not extract iron from ore, but purchases pig iron from Pasighat or gets by barter from the Tibetans. He is an expert in manufacturing dao, spearhead, knife and arrowhead. In rare cases, he manufactures swords, which are generally obtained from the Tibetans. These smiths are not of a separate clan, but the profession is generally inherited from father to son or by the nearest male relative. Once a man takes up this profession in a village, nobody competes with him. The Adi smith is not distinguished from other villagers in any way and leads the same kind of life as the other villagers do, excepting that he, by this profession, adds a little more to his usual agricultural income. His charges are paid mostly in kind. The Adis are expert in basketry also. It is generally an occupation for the old people who spend their leisure hours in knitting baskets, various kinds of fishing nets and traps and other things for domestic uses. For this they use jungle creepers, cane, bamboo and such other materials. For pottery they mostly depend on supply from outside; so also about metal utensils.

Till the other day the Adis did something of trade, mostly on the basis of the barter system, since they did not have the use of coins in their past. The Adis from both the upper and lower areas usually came to Along, Pasighat and Pangin in the past for barter. They purchase from shops of these places
salt, yarn, raw wool, cotton, blankets, and little luxuries such as hurricane lanterns, electric torches, flasks, beads and tin boxes.

In any economic system, however primitive, an article can be regarded as true money only when it acts as a definite and common medium of exchange, as a convenient means in obtaining one type of goods for another. In so doing, it should also serve as a measure of values, allowing the worth of all other articles to be expressed in terms of itself, and it should also be a standard of value with reference to past and future payments, while as an economic reserve, it should allow wealth to be condensed and held in reserve. Judged by these criteria, the Adi area can hardly be said to possess any true currency. So the following can be termed as primitive money in both a very elastic and restricted sense at the same time. In their society, two kinds of objects are used as money -- (i) articles of practical use, and (ii) articles of decoration.

The first comprises articles of domestic use, generally of metal, and domestic animals and skins of wild beasts sometimes. All metal utensils are used as money in Adi lands. Of these danki or the bell-metal cauldron, imported from Tibet, is of the highest denomination. Of domestic animals the mithun is the most important. A man's wealth is estimated by the heads of mithun, tedoks, utensils and dress he possesses, thus indicating his social
status. Mithun is the highest denomination 'coin' which has to be taken and paid in full. It is, therefore, used in big transactions only. Pigs and fowls are also treated as money, usually in petty business. The value of individual animals varies according to their worth in terms of flesh, physique and luckiness. Nowadays goats are being reared for earning money, but they do not belong to the indigenous economy. Bronze plates of Tibetan origin are standard valuables, used for large payments, and Tibetan prayer bells are used as barter objects.

Adi economy is based mainly on the consumption level and that also family-wise. Every family as an independent unit produces its own essential requirements of food and dress. The common section of the people who are mostly poor, produces the bare minimum requirements for living and thus the major part of the general economy is in the mere subsistence level, with no surplus at all, in which hoarding things for profit motive is out of the question. Concurrently, there is another handful class of people who produce more and have surplus, which they utilize in acquiring things of prestige, decorative and material value. The Adis believe that the social status and authority enjoyed by one during this lifetime will also be carried over to the other world beyond death. Thus a rich man will always try to enhance his riches and position, thereby ever widening the gap between the have and have-nots, which is a perpetual malady of the sophisti-
cated world. But the matter is not yet that bad with the Adis. They still now retain largely the spirit of democratic fellow-felling, co-operation, and balanced sharing of things with all, without pretending to show traces of hypocritical charity to the less fortunate members of their society.

5:2. Literature and Fine Arts.

The Adis are known to be very practical and materialistic in their approach to life. In almost every matter concerning human existence they are said to be most unemotional in their ideas and outlook. Yet such a materialistic race of people do actually possess a highly interesting oral literature of their own that has been transmitted through the generations and which is not lacking in the imaginative quality that all literary specimens of the world possess. Some may say that the imaginative quality expressed in Adi oral literary samples is somewhat blunt or gross in comparison with that from other smart specimens of world literature. But it must be borne in mind that such a comparison is rather unfair, that Adi literature must be appreciated for all that is fine in it on its own strength, and that due concession must be allowed for the primitive state of the tribal society when this literature was first composed by the nameless Adi authors of hoary past. They contain a fascinating record of the mental, moral, spiritual, and intellectual growth of the tribe and serve brilliantly for the purpose of sociological study.
If a reader can follow the Adi speech, he will come across some real gems in this literature, which is rich in both religious and secular varieties. Adi literature can be classified into several groups as 

Abang, Abe, Pange, Punung, Hitom and YO YO Gognom or myths of origin and creation of things; introductory speech to Kebang; funeral hymns, dance-songs; love-songs; and lullabies. Nothing is known about their authors and date of composition. (10)

Adi language has the credit of being remarkably rich in oral literature, both religious and secular. The religious literature is represented mainly by rhapsodies known as abangs, relating the myths of creation, origins of social institutions and the original history of the people. The exact number of abangs is not yet known and the collection may be said to have merely started. One of them deals with the origin of the moshup. It is divided into three sections. The first narrates the creation of this world and the titanic struggle between the originator of the human race and his adversaries. In the second part, it deals with the progress of the race and the development of agriculture and war. In the third, it recounts how the moshup came into being and stresses its importance in the social structure of the Adis. (11)

Similarly, there are abangs on the origin of the mithun, the most acceptable sacrifice for the gods. The bari is a special kind of abang which is sung by men only to celebrate the
building of a new house in a village. It narrates how man first came to build houses and live in them. It is sung solo, followed by a chorus after each stanza.

The abans may be compared with the Puranas of the Sanskrit literature and the sagas of the Teutons. They are written in an archaic esoteric language which is unintelligible to the layman. They exist in the memory of a special class of Miris and even among them, only the most experienced and learned remember them correctly, and understand and can explain their exact significance. This class, however, is gradually dying out and if the abans are not recorded early, soon a time might come when they will be lost to the world. Dr. B.S. Guha has collected a few and engaged himself on a special study on them.

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

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

The name ponung has been extended to secular compositions which celebrate some non-religious special occasions, such as the arrival of an honoured guest. They are short lyrical extempore pieces depicting the sentiment of the composer at the time of occasions celebrated. They too, however, have traditional forms beginning with well-known traditional lines which are used as refrains. But the successive lines which form the body of the songs are usually changed to suit the occasions and the predilection and power of composition of the singers. So, they are mostly fluid in form, changing from locality to locality and singer to singer. Every
song, in this way has got numerous versions formed round the same nucleus.

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

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

Now-a-days, new fields in literature are being attempted, specially by young writers who have had the benefit of the school or college education. There has grown up an appreciable amount of writing, especially poetical compositions, in praise of the development work initiated by the Administration, exhorting the people to co-operate with the Administration in its schemes for.
the progress of the land, deprecating addictions such as opium and
delineating the duties of the younger generation to their land and
people. These are, however, still limited within the educated
class that is forming, and it is yet to be seen how they are accep-
ted by the people. These compositions in some cases, have departed
from the traditional Adi norms and have borrowed themes and forms
from the more developed neighbouring languages. The old religious
literature, on the other hand, is showing signs of losing its hold
on the people, especially the young generation that is going in for
modern education. Convervance with it is decreasing day by day and
though Adi men and women do not yet find it difficult to recognize
a particular piece when it is recited, there are few that can claim
a full knowledge of the themes. Familiarity with the refrains and
rhythms of the secular ponung is still wide-spread, and as soon as
a Miri starts a song, the dancers immediately react with the rele-
vant movements with appropriate rhythms and instantaneous repetition
of the refrain.

Traditional Adi literature has been orally transmi-
tted by generations of Miris who form a class of professional rhap-
sodists. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge
to ascertain how far they have been able to hand it down faithfully
in its original form. The system of transmission however cannot
claim the utmost perfection and rigorous exactitude. Yet the great
difference between the original language and the speech of the
common men of to-day speaks for its ancient character. This process, however, is coming to an end; even sons of Miria renowned for their knowledge of the ancient lore are showing a marked preference for the modern methods of book and pen, and a great reluctance for memorizing a dying literature that fails to appeal to them any longer.

All these different forms of literature are rather public in character in the sense that they are meant to be recited in or to entertain public gatherings. There are two other classes of compositions which are personal in nature. One is called Mi-tom or love songs, which are never to be sung in public and meant only to be whispered into the ear of a lover or lady-love in seclusion and privacy, expressing amoral feelings and desire for union and marriage. The other class consists of lullabies which are sung by girls or elderly persons while rocking babies on the back. It is these two classes of poetical compositions which bring a touch of softness, charm and sentiment in the hard, practical life of the Adis, thereby offering the pleasure that literature ever stands for.

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

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

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

In Adi dances, there are usually two parties - one consists of a single individual, the Miri. The Miri, originally the medicine-man, is the repository of all tribal myths; through oral transmission he learns by heart traditional ballads - which are usually very long, relating the stories of creation, of the origin of the people and animals, of the discovery of poison for their arrows, legendary histories and genealogies of the tribes and so forth. He is the authorised musician in these dances. Girls who are to dance deck him in his official attire: a red cape over his usual dress, two kirings hung from his neck, so that one dangles on either side of his chest. He holds a sword upright in the right hand. Thus attired he takes his stand in the
centre of a circle formed by the dancers who are generally thirty to forty in number. He chants his songs and jerks his sword jingling the metal discs loosely attached to the hilt keeping time with the music. No musical instruments are used. The girls catch the refrain and sing it in chorus and dance to the rhythm. The office of the Miri is normally a male prerogative in the lower region. But women officiating as Miri are quite common in the north. The steps in the dances are almost the same all over the Adi country and are not very difficult.

The whole body of Adi folk literature consisting of myths, incantations, prose speeches, songs, lyrics, dirges, and lullabies, however seemingly elementary, are nevertheless exceedingly effective aids to the understanding of the course of the tribe's development in the past. The many references to the Kehang, Moship, Rashang, etc. point to a quite advanced state of socio-political atmosphere. The parallel mention of both hunting and cultivation may be looked upon as the co-existence of these two vital occupations of the tribe and the respective roles played by males and females in society. The references to domesticated animals point to a stable state of social existence, where nomadic roamings were no longer there, whereas the repeated mention of supernatural activities and superstitious beliefs points to the essentially vacillating and unscientific state of mental growth and intellectual immaturity. Contrarily, the excellence
in artistic matters, songs, dance, and poetry is sufficiently indicative of the extraordinary progress in cultural sphere. Everything combined together will only point to the existence of a somewhat mixed state of socio-cultural attainment by the Adi tribe at the time of the composition of these collected literary samples.

5:3. Religion and Spiritual Life.

Now, to come to the ethereal, spiritual, religious side of Adi life. What we understand by Adi religion, has got two sides—negative and positive. On the negative side, we may refer to their predominant belief in the existence of a whole world of invisible spirits, generally called jyu, who are not favourably disposed towards man and have thus to be kept satisfied by propitiatory measures. On the positive side, the Adis conceptualize higher deities who rank as makers of all living creatures. These higher gods, in their opinion, are really the moral upholders of the created world order.

The Adis have been placed by historical circumstances in a very difficult country. It denies them the easy luxury of material comforts and they have to lead a life of extreme hardship for centuries in the difficult world of nature. Environment has been the real ruler of the people for centuries. Nature, more hostile than friendly, appears to the Adis to be controlled by a host of spirits who are ill-disposed towards man, and lurk in every corner looking out for chances for doing them
harm. His untutored mind sees a demon everywhere and in everything, and the beginning and end of his religion is to appease the malevolent spirits of an unseen world.

The world of Adi religion can be said to have five main features as stated below:

First, there is a very general belief in a supreme god who is just, good, and benevolent. For example, Donyi-Polo, the sun-moon deity, is regarded as the great witness in the sky, the upholder of truth. Secondly, there is in their religion a genuine emphasis on the spiritual realities behind the life of everyday. They believe in a circumambient unseen world, in which gods and men, the living and the dead, are one great family.

Thirdly, the religion is built up from an elaborate mythology which is regarded as representing, metaphorically, a world picture, and an insight into life generally, and may, therefore, be considered as primitive philosophy or metaphysical thought.

Fourthly, their religion is associated with a social ethic that unites the tribe in its discipline and makes for a certain nobility of conduct. The great tribal virtues of discipline, devotion to work, generosity, hospitality, etc. are reflected in their religious faiths and link the Adi religion with the most advanced ethical and religious systems.

Finally, the religion gives the people the power to
reconcile themselves to the eternal emergencies of life. It is true that there is an element of fear in all primitive religions, which gives rise to many propitiatory rites. That is what happens in all the great religions of the world. The Adis approach the matter of religion from a realist's viewpoint and keep the unfriendly gods propitiated, as is done in all the world religions.

A notable feature of the Adi religio-supernatural world is that here unseen powers and deities are well-graded in accordance with their authority, position, and degree of superiority, in their respective fields of control. Again, these powers, both hostile and indifferent, are closely related to men and the belief goes that men and spirits were in fact the progeny of the same forefathers. In the beginning, men, animals, gods and other spirits had no difference and they all lived together in a homogeneous setting. There are myths telling us that it is because of the cheatings committed by men that Gods went apart from them. The gods and other higher deities clearly distinct from ordinary spirits, have always been superior to men in status and power, and it is they who created the basal objects in nature and shaped its general form and character. There are undefined eternal beings who existed before the creation and have stood aloof since the creation of the world started. This distance and aloofness make their help ineffectual at the time of dire necessity. The first of the series is Keyum—the first cause. Sadi, the earth, was the
issue of Umseng who was born of Keyum. Melo, the sky, was her brother and they together began what later on became the normal course of propagation-sexual reproduction. This incestuous first pair is conceived as a double deity, though their separate individualities are always clear. In the many stories told of them, they have been credited with the creation of all important phenomena. Plants, animals, metals came out of the different parts of the body of Lingen Sobo, their first offspring. Of their other offsprings Sadi Rasiya and Sadi Taba were the first hunters, Tusing Mati, the first exponent of tribal law and justice, Yidung Bote, the repository of Wisdom and, Gumin Shoin, the protector of mankind. They are neither man nor ordinary spirits or Gods - but some kind of composites of all three and take their place as members of the spiritual hierarchy.

Pedong Nane, the great grand-daughter of Sadi Melo was the last of the series of creators. Donyi, the sun and Polo, the moon are a twin of hers. Dade, Kine-Nane, and Doni, the father of Robo and Nibo, are her other children. The real identity of Pedong Nane is difficult to establish. Sometimes she is identified with the rain that links heaven and earth and also with the snow on the high hills. With Pedong Nane the age of creators is over and the age of spirits and other creators begins. In the border land stand Donyi-Polo - the Sun-Moon duality. They are not creators themselves but stand aloft above the rest. They may be taken to represent the Adi idea of moral deities who watch over
the maintenance of law and order and truth in the universe. That is why they are invoked in the beginning of Kebangs on disputes to reveal the truth and expose the false. Doying Bote has been included by some among the children of Pedong Nane. We also get references to another deity, Kano-Dane, who might have existed before the creation and for having taken no part in it, does not receive any great importance. Tori Mona, a goddess of worldly wisdom as distinct from the moral or celestial, is another opaque character of the ethereal sphere. Her position in the hierarchy is not known, but her association with Ute and Poro, the controlling spirits of the wild beasts and reptiles argues in favour of her being a spirit herself. The origin of the human race is traced back to the creators of the world through a complicated genealogy of semi-ethereal mythical beings.

The world of spirits being unseen, clashes between men and spirits are unavoidable and the Adis have been forced to put up a defence against the evils of the active and watchful powers of darkness and to devise means to ward off the wrath of guardian spirits. So, a class of defenders has been organized by the Adi society who are capable of combating the spirits in their own sphere. They are persons gifted with spirits more potent than those of common men. They show signs of their psychic superiority by early propensities to fall in trance and foretell things to come. They have, however, to undergo a practical
training and gain experience in techniques of application of their natural gifts with an experienced preceptor in the trade. The mainspring of their efficiency lies in their inborn capacity for contacting the world of spirits. It is believed that certain spirits take fancy on certain persons on account of some spiritual affinities and treat them as their media. It is through these familiar spirits that they get access into the supernatural world and find out causes and remedies of misfortunes. Such persons in Adi society are called the Spak Miri and Nyibo. The exact distinction between the functions of the two is not known. Nyibo is a diviner whereas Spak Miri is a curer of diseases and other calamities. A Nyibo performs by day whereas an Spak Miri functions only at night. The means adopted by the Nyibo to win the favour of spirits is the narration of old stories of creation, reminding the spirits of their common origin with man and their past mutual friendship, whereas the Spak Miri uses songs and dances to attract the spirits. Miris and Nyibos usually do not partake of their shares of the sacrificed meat. Miris and Nyibos live a common life in society along with all others without getting any special privilege. Their dress and ornaments only differ from those of the common people. They wear special types of beads in their hair and waist. Their fees are nominal. Both men and women can be Miris by virtue of their spiritual aptitude manifesting itself through special signs only and never by heredity. The rites of the Miri are propitiatory, and always follow, never precede, mis-
fortunes. The soul of the Miri acts as an emissary to the land of the spirits and uses all the craft of a diplomat in inducing the spirits to come to terms, make treaties and be appeased by offerings with the hope that they would not do harm but would become friendly. The service of the Spak Miri is of vital necessity in every phase and sphere of the Adi life.

Except for a kind of black magic reported to be practised by the Gallongs in which chopping of certain particular trees are supposed to inflict corresponding injuries on an absent person, purely magical rites have not been observed by the Adis. But all their religious rites are tinged with some magical traits. Though forcing spirits into desired acts is not in the power of any according to them, yet they seem to believe in some magical power in natural objects. For example, hostile spirits dislike and keep away from the tapit, tang, tagiyang and tangmo trees. So the Adis use these trees in the construction of their mohipa which were originally given to them as the strong place of refuge from the attacks of evil spirits. Branches of chir and tan trees are used in sacrificial structure and in suffocating pigs and mithuns in sacrificial rites. The liver is supposed to resemble the Bkam leaf in which Nibo had wrapped up his knowledge and wisdom. So the liver is considered to possess the power of revealing the mysteries of the spirit-land and that is why the Miris consult the livers of the sacrificed animals in divining causes of diseases in
Roksing rites. The hollock tree is a favourite haunt of Epoms that waylay unwary travellers. In such a case the villagers attack this tree in the locality with weapons in the hope that this would compel the spirit to set the wrong to right.

 Implements used in sacrifices are believed to acquire special sacred properties and are not to be touched by women. Banana trees, being the favourite haunts of the dreaded Nipongs, are used in some religious rites. Smoked squirrels and 'meri' flowers are also believed to possess some highly magical traits. Songs and dances and women's skirts used by Miris are considered to be specially attractive to the spirits. It is due to the Adi ceremonies accompanied by such songs, dances, invocations and prayers that we have got some of the finest and sublimest utterances of the Adi language in which the moral tone of the human soul, the spirit of submission to the highest deities and the sincerity of heart are pitched to the highest. Blood of animals, ginger, plantain, stocky twigs and many such objects are used to ward off the evil spirits and whatever be the occasion, — birth, death, house-building, hunting, marriage, war, cultivation, Kebang and what not, — the number and varieties of rites accompanying them are simply innumerable and in each case the presiding spirits are attempted to be propitiated or expiated with utmost care. But any distinction, if it ever existed in the beginning, between purely
magical and purely religious practices is lost now-a-days and both are blended into one and can be detected only on meticulous analysis.

The Adis are a practical and materialistic race. They weigh everything in terms of loss and gain in their concrete forms. Their relations with gods, men, spirits and animals are characterized by this attitude and all their transactions are based on the system of barter and purchase. They barter men and worldly goods for animals in their dealing with spirits; they bribe off the wicked ones and demand and pay compensation for harms and breaches of contract. Absolute submission to the divine authority and sublimity of faith are gradually decaying from among the Adis and some kind of businessman-like mentality has perhaps wiped traces of spirituality out of their religion to a certain extent in recent times. (22)

The most predominant feature of the ritualistic aspect of the Adi religion is the place accorded to sacrifice. The culmination of all religious rites, whether on social or individual level, is almost invariably associated with some special kind of sacrifice. There are roughly three theories about the origin of sacrifice. These are: (a) Communion, underlying in the wide sense of contact — the most rudimentary forms of sacrifice; (b) Conciliation, underlying the wish to avert, neutralize or expel evil by means of sacrifice; and (c) honorific
offerings, underlying the more developed freewill offering in
greatful recognition of the goodness and beneficence of the
deity.

Sacrifice in Adi religion is mainly conciliatory or propitiatory. It cannot, however, be asserted with any cer-
tainty that the other ideas are completely absent. The Adis,
for instance, seem to make a distinction in the status of the
deities or spirits in accordance with their power of doing good
or evil, and the magnitude of sacrifice is rated accordingly. A
lesser spirit has to be content with the sacrifice of a chicken
while a powerful spirit will be satisfied with nothing less than
a muthun. Among the Adis sacrifice plays another role which is
different from the ordinary propitiatory rite. They believe
that the soul of a man goes to another world after death where
they enjoy the same status which they enjoyed in earthly exis-
tence. This world is dominated by different spirits. It thus
becomes obligatory on the descendants of the deceased to well
provide the soul for its journey to the land of the dead. Thus
things which were his cherished possessions go to decorate his
grave and animals are sacrificed during funeral rites in the
belief that they go to their owners in their spirit forms, and
the dead is gratified with food so that the ghost of the dead is
prevented from returning and molesting the survivors. (23)

In this connection the peculiar manner of sac-
rifice practised by the Adis should be noted. The method of
strangulation applied to the sacrifice of pigs and mithuns has
no parallel among other tribes in the north-eastern region.
Haimendorf observes that in no case the gushing forth of blood of
the sacrificial animal is essential to the Adis. At the same
time no particular precaution is taken against spilling of blood
in the process. The only parallel of such a practice of sacri-
ficing animals by suffocation, as he has cited, is that by the
nomadic tribes of Eastern Tibet. No one can say definitely whe-
ther the Adis had any conscious belief in such a procedure. Per-
haps the practice grew out of some such old belief which is now
lost to the people that the this particular mode of sacrifice
would please those spirits for whom this was meant and that pro-
cedure is being followed till to-day without any question. (24)

An extension of the idea of sacrifice can be seen
in some forms of divination which constitute almost a universal
trait of all religion. In so far as it is thought that divina-
tion is associated with omens sent by supernatural beings, de-
ties or spirits, it forms a part of religion and even so-called
higher religions are not absolutely free from it. There is no
end to occasions which call for divination. The Adis perform
divination through the Ipak Miri and the procedures are gene-
really of three kinds. The first is known as 'Haruspicy', in
which the entrails of the dead animal contain cryptic message of
a deity, intelligible to the enlightened eyes of a diviner or a priest. The second is oracular and necromantic method. In this, the priest falls into a trance and when in this supernormal state the desired rapport is established with an intended spirit, it answers questions through his mouth. A third process of divination is called 'hepatoscopy'. This is the method of divination by the liver of the sacrificial animal, mostly chickens. Before starting out on a communal hunt, or building a new house, they use such divination. In it, the diviner exposes the animal's liver and by an examination of its principal parts predicts the future.

Closely associated with the practice of divination is the idea of ordeal which does not call for a sacrifice. Ordeal is generally connected with torture, divination, oath or wager. Among the Adis supernatural guidance is sought through ordeals only when human discernment proves inadequate for deciding disputes. In this matter the accused person, professing his innocence, is challenged and compelled to submit to a physical test or some kind of torture. If he is innocent it is believed that he will come out unscathed even if he has to pull out an egg with bare hand from inside boiling water or if molten lead is dropped on the palm of his hand. Such methods are sanctioned by the Adi society as legally justified.

In such a peculiar setting where man is always conscious of a pervading network of a host of spirits, both
friendly and hostile, many festivals and ceremonies to keep the spirits satisfied are quite natural to crop up. The large body of superstitious beliefs of the Adis has given rise to a good number of ceremonies and festivals concerning every sphere of activity which takes place throughout the year and which serve to perform the three-fold functions of entertainment, communal get-together, and ritualistic propitiation of the spirits. Offerings, sacrifices, incantations, dance, songs — all join together to form the essential ingredients of these ceremonies which are only expressions of the Adi people's religious sentiments.

Among the various Adi festivals and ceremonies mention may be made of names like Gammang, Takuk, Pater, Mabat, Piang, Kaming, Mopun, Aran, Pombi, Btto, Lune or Luttor Solung, Rikti, Mannan, Ampu, Kirug, Unning and Yage. It will require a whole volume to deal in details upon these. So we should just touch upon their nature, significance and the occasions they celebrate in brief.

Ceremonies like Pater, Kaming, Piang, Takuk, Gammang and Mabat are related to warfare and are done when the Adis come back victorious to their villages after a successful fight with the enemy. When the hero approaches his village from the battle field, he is greeted by all members of his tribe before fire is lit and the warrior has to sacrifice a fowl in order to
satisfy the hunger of the evil spirits. People gather around him, make joyous noise and dance in glee. This ceremony over, the hero comes to the moshup where another ceremony called Kaping is performed. In this pigs and mithuns are sacrificed. These animals are killed by pricking them with spikes; then their blood and intestines are scattered on all sides and lastly their legs are hung on a bamboo pole. The ceremony, though apparently horrible, has a lot of fun for the observers. If a woman by mistake touches the weapons of war, the Adis sacrifice one fowl to the Piang deity and the woman will perform the Takuk ceremony in order to avoid disaster in war. To test the effect of the sacrifice, they first of all go out for hunting. If they are able to kill an animal easily, it proves that the offering has been answered. If not, they are to perform Gammang, Mbat and Piang ceremonies with sacrifices of fowls, uttering incantations and taking all possible efforts to satisfy the displeased deity.

Festivals like Mopun, Aran, Pombi, Lune Solung, Lutter Solung and Rikti are associated with cultivation and storing of food crops. These festivals are celebrated every year or at interval of a few years. The time of celebration synchronises with the end of the sowing of seeds in the Jnum agriculture fields. They symbolize the desire of the Adis for a life full of peace, contentment, all round prosperity and happiness for entire humanity. The Mopun festival is performed during the cutting of jungle and
clearing of the land before cultivation. The old people dig the ground along with two branches of 'tan' and 'sinkang' trees. A cane basket called 'mapun' is filled with earth and leaves and is hung on the branches of the bamboo pole. Pigs are sacrificed near the poles and their blood is sprinkled over the mapun with some incantations. The major share of the sacrificed meat goes to the aged, the rest is shared by the young. The function is followed by dance and drinking in the moshup and rashang. The conclusion of the clearing activities is marked by propitiation of domestic spirits or Gumin Shoin. The festival is known as Aran or Pombi. The entire village abstains from work in field for five days and fastens to the house post offerings of ginger, meat and rice to the spirits. Then a platform is made with bamboo poles and branches of trees. A pig and a chicken are sacrificed with the chanting of incantations in order to propitiate the presiding spirits controlling the fertility of the soil, jungle treasures, domestic animals and rain. The pig is sacrificed by suffocation and the fowl by cutting the throat and then the chicken's blood along with some rice paste is sprinkled over the platform. Old people of the village are invited and are feasted with the meat, rice and sang, specially prepared for them.

The sowing of seeds and fencing of the fields being over, some rest days follow during which the Ettor festi-
val is performed. The days are fully enjoyed by the whole community with feast and offerings to the Agam, lord of the animals. The major contribution to this festivity comes from the owners of the mithuns. After the first weeding all the women of the village perform the Luna Solung or Taku-Binnyal ceremony in their respective houses. This festival has all the paraphernalia of Nopun, excepting that two pieces of ginger are stuck on an arrow planted near the house. Then a chicken is sacrificed near the granary. The blood is strewn round the granary and the body of the bird is kept inside for a whole night. The feathers are taken out and planted on the ground near the granary. In the night dances are organised by the girls, Miris sing Solung Abangs and rhapsodies on the origin of crops, and the whole community indulges into a jovial festivity. Just before the final weeding the Adis perform the Lutter Solung festival for propitiation of Togpyogam and Agam. It is meant for the prosperity of the cattle. All the families that possess mithuns, bring them home from the jungle and tie them to the posts in the yard in front of their houses. Every family then sacrifices pigs and chickens according to its means, and the sacrificial meat along with pieces of ginger is offered to the spirits. A bow and a few arrows are hung over the door of each house. At night every owner of mithun holds a feast of apona and rice. Sometimes this festival continues for four or five days. The climax of the festival is the Solung dance, performed each night
near the moshup. The Miri sings about the evolution of the crops, and mithuns and the girls follow him in chorus and dance to his tune. The storing of crops is celebrated in some villages by the Riki ceremony to purify the granaries. This festival is performed by each family independently. They prepare rice-cakes, sacrifice a chicken near the granary and sprinkle the blood all round it. The rice-cakes are eaten with apong. Occasionally the festival concludes with dance and song.

Hunting and fishing are two favourite pastimes of the Adis which are attended with some ceremonies known as Mannan, Ampi, Kirug, Unning and Yage. While at the moshup on the day previous to the annual hunt, the Adis worship Ampi. At night the moshup boys drink apong and sing Ampibari, which gives an account of the origin of hunting. On the fourth day of hunt they perform the Mannan ceremony and hold a collective feast of rice and apong in the moshup. The last day is meant for the Donio Kirug ceremony which gives them another chance for a grand feast in the moshup at night. Unning is an important festival extending over as many as nine days of community hunting. On the first day girls of the village prepare apong and food for the hunters. On the second day young men erect posts for sacrificing mithuns. On the third mithuns are killed. On the fourth the sacrificial meat is distributed to different clans, while on the fifth and sixth poor people of
the village are given the meat and the whole community enjoys the delicious mithun meat in a great feast with dancing and merrymaking. This fact indicates the fine democratic spirit of the people, who think that anything good should not be enjoyed alone but should be equally shared with others. The seventh day is meant for performing ritual for the welfare of the mithuns by their owners. The eighth day is a taboo day for the whole village, while on the ninth all male members of the village rejoice in a grand feast in the moshua. In the lean months of the year when the stock of food is small, the Adis observe a festival called Yaga. They go out in a community hunting, share the meat equally among themselves and returning to their village hang a piece of ginger along with a bunch of millet in front of their houses to frighten away evil spirits. As a sport fishing is equally favourite with the Adis and at the end of the agricultural season it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in gay batches for fishing; no ceremony attends the fishing expeditions which are looked upon as harmless minor events; yet lots are cast before the party sets out for fishing to see if the omens are favourable; if they are not, the trip is postponed.

Some other minor ceremonies, or rather rites, are performed by the Adis which are more of personal nature than communal. 'Ekkum Arang' celebrates the completion of a new house
or any new construction. "Amang ëkk" is a fertility rite with the offering of a pig. A victorious warrior celebrates his success by distributing pork among the poshup boys and the ceremony is known as Kening. Tale Potum is observed when by accident any part of the body of a man is injured. Offering of a pig is resorted to in order to secure the aid of the spirits. The injured man has also to perform the 'Lamroh' rite with the sacrifice of a red cock. If a woman develops disease after child-birth, a religious ceremony called 'Nimelambe Epak' is performed with the sacrifice of a grey hen. The ceremony called 'Perok Agam' is performed when an epidemic occurs among chickens, while 'Jatum Yonmo' ceremony is observed in order to prevent epidemic among pigs. Again, ceremonies like 'Sikking Kedang' and 'Epom Wo' are performed with the sacrifice of chickens to prevent stomach ailments and to find out a kidnapped person. 'Doni Nopung' is performed during the rainy season for sunshine. 'Pedong Nopung' is a ceremony against drought in the summer months. 'Gamsi Nopung' is a purifying rite when by accident a rice field is burnt down. 'Eikki Patar' is performed when any stranger or new-comer enters a village. 'Nipong' is a religious rite in cases of difficult delivery, in which a black dog is sacrificed. Similar other rites and ceremonies are performed by individual households on the occasions of child-birth, marriage and death.
Propitiatory and expiatory rites are performed to ward off premature death through disease and accident. But the natural death which comes to man at the end of the span of life allotted to him is not a calamity; it is seen. Stories are there which explain the appearance of this mysterious phenomenon. In the days of old there was no death and in order to keep food sufficient for the people death was sent to man so that their number might be uniform. From that day on, men have died. Men have accepted the fact but wondered as to what happens to men after death. They have come to the conclusion that man does not cease with death; he only changes his material life for the spiritual. There is a land beyond the grave and man continues his existence there in a subtle form which corresponds to a certain extent to the concept of soul. The land beyond the grave is but a shadowy replica of this material world. It is divided into several regions which are the domains of different spirits or uyyas. The soul of a man after its separation from the body goes to the domain of that spirit who has been the instrument of his death.

The Adis believe that after death, in the land of the soul they would enjoy the status that they had on earth and lead the same way of life and they also feel the same want for the things they owned during lifetime. It is therefore customary to dedicate the earthly possessions of a man when he dies. These
are placed either inside the grave or on the top of it and if it is not possible to part with such things, representative tokens are buried instead. In the funeral rites, animals are sacrificed in the belief that they go to their owners in their spirit-forms. A man must be supplied by his descendants with all his cherished possessions, trophies of war and chase, food and drink for his life after death. Unless this is done, his hungry soul will torment them.

The Adi funeral customs are based on this belief in a continued existence after death. Usually the burial takes place a few days after death. The gap is perhaps due to the idea of allowing relatives living far away to come and be present at the funeral. The body is wrapped in a sheet of cloth and then put into the grave which is lined with branches of trees and bamboo poles. Over the body planks are placed to form like a box. Cheap beads and necklaces and a brass vessel are buried along with the body. On the grave a hut-like structure is made in which rice and soy are kept. These are changed daily for a week and then left there. A fire is also made inside the hut which is continued for one year. Personal belongings of the deceased such as hats, weapons and trophies are hung on the structure and left there.

From the day of death seven days are observed as taboo. Relatives of the deceased and those who carried the corpse do not
eat some particular food nor enter their houses. The funeral rites
end with a feast to those who helped in the burial by killing a
foul, pig or mithun according to the financial ability of the heir.
A portion of the sacrificial animal is offered to the soul of the
dead man to whom the soul of the animal is requested to go. The
funeral rites are performed with great care and responsibility. In
case of non-performance, the offender is brought before the village
council and fined, whether it is relating to the death of a child
of a grown-up person. It is also believed that after death
to domestic animals too go the land of souls and continue their
existence there in shadowy forms. During lifetime, man depend on
the world of shadowy souls; and when they die they depend on the
land of living for their proper sustenance.

* * *

The last thing to be mentioned in this connection is
the great importance of dreams to the Adis. They think that a good
or bad dream affects their daily life. The effect of a dream is
psychological and the belief of the people in them is so deeply
rooted that they take it for granted that they will be fulfilled.
A study of the various dreams and their significance is quite
interesting. If any person dreams of eating Jackfruit or banana
or constructing a bridge or fighting another man he will succeed
in killing an animal. If one dreams of being bitten by a snake
or dog or bee, one will suffer illness. If a man dreams of a
house being dismantled or of being wrapped in white blanket or of being chased and killed in a battle, he will die either by drowning or in landslip. Dreaming of a snake coming near but not biting, or the sun and moon together, means future illness and death. The dream of abundant crop is an indication that cultivation will fail. Dream of a graveyard indicates that the dreamer will be rich. If anybody dreams of a man carrying a big load, then that person will have to pay a heavy fine. The dream of a fish being caught in trap indicates that there will be plenty of food; a bamboo water-pipe being laid also presages a good year for crops and sufficient food. Snowfall indicates that the house will be burnt; on the other hand, the dream of a burning house indicates that the sky will be clear and sun will shine. If one dreams of heavy rain and everything covered with water, one will not be present beside a dying relation. If a man dreams of a grog, he or his wife will die; the dream of landslide denotes that the dreamer will die in war or by falling from a tree. If one dreams of an animal being killed and of shouting, someone in the village will be badly injured with a deep cut. The dream of a wild cat catching a foul or a vulture being shot indicates that a thief will be found out. A river in spate and a bridge being washed away indicates that Kebang will be unsuccessful, while the dream of a bridge remaining intact despite heavy rains, means that the Kebang will be successful. The
dream of stones being thrown away from the roadside or of a tooth
being extracted indicates that mithuns and pigs of a man will die,
while the dream of the toe or finger being cut off, means that
his son or daughter will die. If one dreams of the loss of
beads, one will recover from illness, whereas the dream of hair
being pulled out indicates that one will fall ill and lose his
beads and other valuable property. Lastly, if one dreams of
weeding with a bamboo weeder or of a fencing being made, one will
possess many fowls and mithuns.

The Adis have both individual or personal ceremonies
and communal festivals which are quite well-graded and it is
firmly believed by them that non-performance of these will bring
upon them displeasure of the spirits. It is the communal festi-
vals performed during harvesting or hunting seasons that offer
 occasions of entertainment to the whole tribe while individual
ceremonies and rites have their importance in the family circle
only. But whatever their nature or significance may be, festi-
vals, ceremonies and various rites have struck a deep root in
the mind of the Adis and they observe such occasions with great
care and nicety. To the Adis the higher supernatural world,
the spirits, the ceremonies and festivals, the death rites and
dreams are very closely linked and necessarily follows and sup-
plement the other imperceptibly beyond man's knowledge. All these matters of the unseen and unknown world, with their suggested implications, are not special to the Adis alone but are universal and thus they make the Adis identified with the general psychology and superstition of all the peoples and tribes of the world in some way or other.
Notes and References to Chapter V.


4. Adi Agricultural Calendar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seasons</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Corresponding English Months</th>
<th>Agricultural Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Terng</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Collection of firewood for the house; killing rats and squirrels and fishing; harvesting of job's tear completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Buing</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>Collection of firewood, fishing and hunting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Kombong</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Clearance of forest for cultivation and preparation of land. Sowing of early paddy, maize, finger-millet, linseed, arum, foxtail millet and cotton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Galling</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Clearance of patat continues; construction of fencing in cultivation fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Kiji'</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Sowing of highland paddy, maize, job's tear and finger-millet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...........
Contd............

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lobo</th>
<th>Diking</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>Weeding in cultivation fields.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>Weeding completed; Harvesting of early crops starts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Ylo</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>Harvesting of foxtail millet starts, Harvesting of early crops completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>Tanno</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Harvesting of foxtail millet, arum and maize completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Iyo</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Harvesting of autumn highland paddy starts, Growing of winter vegetables starts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Yite</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Harvesting of Autumn crops completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin</td>
<td>Disang</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Harvesting of winter highland paddy and Job’s tear starts; Construction of house completed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7. G. Roy: Padam - Minyong Culture, pp. 70-93


10. For some specimens of Adi folk literature, Vide Appendix.

11. R.C. Nigam: 'Abores and Myths of Their Origin' (March of India, VI, 1953).
15. S. Roy: Ibid.


23. S. Roy: Ibid.


29. S. Roy: Ibid.

30. T. K. Bhattacharyya: Myths of the Shimongs of the Upper Siang (Shillong 1965), pp. XXXVII.

31. T. K. Bhattacharyya: Ibid.
APPENDIX

Some specimens of Adi folk literature:
(Collected from and translated by Oshong Ering, T. Rukbo, J. Riba, Mating Dai, Taling Tayang, Miss Ayam and Miss Nagan Irang.)

A. Incantations or Prayers:


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

  Note: Recited at the time of Aran or Pombi festival, preceding clearing of the field before cultivation.

2. Ane Donyi-e-kalangka:
   Abo Polo-e-tallangka:
   Ngo Lusi Latummilo,
   Pyosi Pyotumilo,
   Bosi takama Kandaklangka,
Ana Donyi no siyumka yume wim
Aagge dsklangkak
Donyi-e-kalangkak

/English rendering:/ O, the Sun! O, the Man! If I
have told a lie, or, committed theft, let the world know and
you, the setting Sun, take me along with you! O, the
truth and Justice, here I am! Note: Recited by a con-
victed person before his judgement starts by the Kebang.

3. Nogoluk e arik amin ali aya takamaem kine Nane no aipe
ibilanka ema Nogol Dori Aji takame nom Siki Nopunam punbi-
dung. Noka Nogol diobotemela kine Nane Nom Siki Nopunem
punbiding.

/English rendering:/ We the children of yours, are hereby
offering the Nopun festival to you, for better crops and all
round prosperity. Oh, Dayibote (father of rain) and kine
Nane (earth mother), the Nopun is offered to you for your
honour and satisfaction. Note: - Chanted during the performance of the Nopun festi-
vale, performed during the cutting of jungle for cultivation.

4. Donyi anea,
Polo abus;
Ngo Pyosi Lo Pyodak milo,
Tisin Ko tidak milo;
Silo ke sadakna donyi no,
Siyumka adakna polo no;
Takame Kabang Kenbang doré
Sangga angga Daklangka.

/*English rendering:*/ O the Donyi Polo - representatives of Truth and Justice; you be the witness if I have committed an offence; and O, the rising Sun and the Setting Moon, take me with you if I am telling a lie. Truth and Justice will prevail upon the humanity till the sun and the Moon exist.

8. Aabé 1–2: Traditional Introductory speech before the start of a kaban held for the judgement of some matter:


English rendering: Oh! Villagers and brethren, let us strengthen our customs and Kebang, let us improve our regulations; let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment; let them speak in a bold voice, unabashed and undaunted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform; let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide differently for different persons; let us be guided by reason, see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties. Let us keep nothing pending; let us decide while the dispute is fresh, lest small disputes grow big and continue for a long time. Let the fine be levied reasonably; let it be commensurate with the guilt and be just. Poverty should have compassion and justice be tempered with mercy. We have met in this sacred place of justice; we have come together for a kembang and let us speak in one voice and decide on one verdict. Here are the iron pots and brass pots brought by the accuser and the accused; here stands the mithun. So let us decide and mete out justice so that all these go to him who is in the right.

Some extracts from the Abangs or Myths of creation

(1) Kayum Kenmang Yayang Ko,
   Kero Kamango Yayang Ko;
Sadi dimyange myane Ko,
Malo lomyange myane Ko.

Kayum Kenmanga Yaya namde,
Kero kamange yaya namde;
Sadi jimipe jysyna lenkai,
Kayum monape rapin-repyon
Lenkai.

Doni aji takam ngolu,
Dongor ëlo takam ngolu;
Sadi gordunge katuko;

Aji komjinga reya dung,
Olo dokpange sisa dung.

[English rendering: Kayum - the unknown of the unknown, and the unseen of the unseen; the unlimited of the unlimitedness, and the great of the greatness. The unknown of the unknown and the unseen of the unseen started throwing out ethereal vibration. The great Image then appeared and floated in the sea of ethereal friction. This process continued. The entire humanity are the children and players in the womb of great Sadi. Human beings are divine born and brought up in a divine Home -- the Earth 7.]
Note: Chanted during the recitation of the Abang.

(2) Kayum kemang Yayangko
    Emde Dem
Kero Kamang Yayangko
    emde dem
Kayum Sadi Dilingko,
Diling Litung Tuyoko,
Yuye Yape Pedong Nanako,
Sala Angung Luru Lankai.
Pedong Nane Aji Diri Bilina
    Bikane
One Lingoko O Lingo Ko olen
    Pakto
Nane Yoyie Yoya dem Amin
    Bidung
Pulina Bikane Doni Kope Aji
    Kope
Dongor Kope Olo Kope
    Lzagre Luntoku.

*English rendering:* Conceived of the Nothing - unknown of the unknown and unseen of the unseen - there sprang up Sadi, and then he was transformed into Diling, Litung, Tuyas, Yape and finally Pedong Nane. Pedong Nane issued five hundred sons
and five hundred daughters. Her last child was named Doni Aji or Baby Human.

(3) Kayum Pedong
    Nane de,
    Nane tile
    Bayi nade,
    Nane Sangke
    Kikane
    Todi ditak,
Pilngo Ko Kibomkai
Deloge Rongama
Name diri aji diri
Olo piyo goklene bilenkai
Pedonge nane Ke
Aji diri dinam de,
Doni gite pobe so
Miyi takmin kep ins
Mima takse Kelobe
Lenkaku.

Gist in English: Kayum Pedong Nane or the infinite mother gave birth to all living beings after suffering excessive labour for long five years.
Kayum Kenwang Yaya Namde,
Kero Kaman Yang Yaya Namde,
Kewam Kope Mona Kope,
Mona Rapin Rapyonlankai,
Mona Jimi Jyamyalankai.

Sadi Kori Koyya De,
Ambong Rapin Rpyon Pe,
Bling Regin Rpyon Pe,
Sadi Gita Pobepe,
Doni Gite Pobepe Lankaku.

Sidi Gite Pobe So,
Ngolu doppang sisange bidola,
Aji Komjing Rayinge bidola,
Doni Gite pobe so,
Doni Aunam Kangkula lajuka,
Polo lolat em Kapade lajuka.

*English rendering:* The unknown of the unknown and unseen of the unseen started throwing out a great ethereal vibration or friction. This then shattered the eternal silence and the vacuum was filled with waves of ethereal vibration. The dirt of Sadi became condensed and transformed into the earth. At the beginning the earth appeared in a condition in which the soil was like mud and granite and stones were soft. In course of time it
evolved into the present earth on which we live. The earth
is the physical form of God and we are the dwellers of this hea-
venly home. So having been born in and inhabiting this heavenly
home of ours let us see and enjoy the light of peace and
prosperity.

In the next two specimens from Abang the story pre-
dominates and the chanting is calculated to enhance the effect
of the narration. Rhythm and symmetry do not count for much and
it is the singsong narration that brings it within the domain of
music. These songs are sung by men and young boys, and are
rarely accompanied by dances.

These two abangs sung during Sitor festival (on the
evolution of mithun and cock) are given below. Both these songs
are sung by men and inside their dormitories.

(5) **Evolution of mithun**

DALI DALIE

DALOA DALOA YING

HEUME DADIE DATZ DE

DADIE KIJUEI AOE

TAPUELEGUE PINDAPELMEN PAKATO

TAPUMEGUME GUINASIM

INKOE TAPUMBELSEM PILENNE
DADI BATE BATE DARUNG EM
TUMI DARUNG EM LURUNG KAI
KUANE PEDANGE DABU BISIKA
TAPOM BILAHM PITAKA
PEDANGE DABU BISIKA BATHE
DADI BATE
BATE TARANGEM
GAMU TARANGEM METMATO
KUANE BISI BATE
TAPOM BILAHM PUKAI
BISI BATE KE BISI BADE JAGGATE
IRMINGE LAINGE
KAMKINGE LAINGE DATKA
MEUME SEDIG
DILLING LIMIR SAMAKE
SABU MIGABUGANGE PUTETA
LIMIR LIKA
AGADANG BASINGE
SITAG TAMPPING
BAPADA DEMPAKAI
TAKAPANG PURULU PARALA
BISI LAING KAMKING LAING DATKA
TELA IKKI LANGAR TETAR CELANG
TAMPPING TALAK TALAM NAAG
TAMPPING LANGAR TETAR KAKU
Summary: Bis, the son of Dabi and grandson of Padong, created the white ant. When the insect started moving, he took out an eye from the Limir’s body and went to the Yongmo’s house. From this eye grew a tree with large leaves, which looked like the eyes.
of a mithun. These eyes were then dipped in water and kept in a pot in the house of the Yongmo. There they became as clear as water. From a portion of Limir's leg grew another tree named Dugla. The Yongmo fixed this tree and it became the feet. The branches were a little curved and forked which formed the hoofs. The Pasu tree was fixed and became the sharp tongue. The Kamgang tree was cut and fixed so as to grow as a tail. From the body of Limir grew another tree which was called Takat. The tree was then fixed on the head and thus became the horns. He then found a bee-hive which was hanging from the branch of a tree. The Yongmo then fixed it in the animal and it looked like the hump.

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

(6) Evolution Cock

MBUM PEDON DUPUNG PEMU
PUMUKHE PERI LIPIKA TELA
PUMU API GEMUL LENTUNG
DEM KUUM MINUR AJIME
PEBONG NHANCE DJIBI DITA
ALA GALLANG GALATA
DELA PEDONG RJOANG KADANG TELA
KINUR SUM AJI SUM SENDUM
KINE IOMANG RAJANG PELA
MINUR GUM S'INDA IEME
MINUR BAYAB KINE BAYAB
MANJING BAYAB YABLENG DAGENG
KINE SIKING DAJENG ATA
PEFONG BISI BABING KINA
BISI TAKU SICA IAGALANG
SICA GANAM KALA
MANJING SIKING DAJENG ATA
PEDANG MANEME MINUR LUPE IEGOLA SITA
NANE SUCI TAKIL SUCI PAPITAKU
MINUR DJUDUNG KEBUNG LENKA
TAKIL SUCI PAPI NAMDEM
SINGING LABBE KENJ BELAG
MINUR DJUDUNG KEBUNG DEGEM
PEDUM DJUDUNG PUMJ PERI LIPTK TELA
PUMJ APH AJT APH GEMUL NAMEM
MINUR LIPTK GETKA ALA
APH REUM SUMTA
PUMJ APH GEMUL NAMEM
MINUR KANGKEN KANGA KIRAM
BISI BATE MENA APH LIBAM BAKN LEHAT
BISI BATE APH KANGKEN KANGA TAKU
PUMJ DIBI DH NAMBEAI
Summary: At the place where the great river rises near the Ruang valley, Padong Nane gave birth to a child, named Minur.
At night Minur had a bad dream. He then travelled through many villages and at last came to place where the Yongmo had his workshop. He had a talk with Pedong, Manjing and Siking also came down to that spot and joined in that discussion about the dream. Pedong Nane did not believe Minur and said 'you are telling a lie'. At that Minur fled away. But he lurked near about and secretly watched the movements of Pedong Nane. He saw Pedong Nane concealing objects looking like eggs. When Pedong Nane had gone away he took one of those egg-like things. He could not recognise what it was; so he went to a famous Yongmo named Bisi. Bisi recognised the egg and said that as Bisi had been able to identify the egg, he was the proper person to prepare something out of it. Bisi then started giving it a shape. He first prepared the eyes by throwing hot iron into a pot of cold water.

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

There are songs within this group which relate to the origin of death and also brings forth the importance of the Miri. This differs from other abanga in this that the girls also may join the choir and also dance.
AIE AT MAMANG GO DELO PE
IE SINING AIE CO DELO PE
DEKB PEYIM DONI AJING PE
GE DONI ANYI AJING PE
GE PEYIM DOIING BOTELANG PE
DOIING ENA BAREE BOTELANG PE
GE RIKAP KAPSI BOTELANG PE
IEI KAMMAME TADZE PE BOTELANG PE
MELA DONI KITIM IRONE BOTELANG
PE DOIY RIKAP PE KAPSILENI PE
DE TADZE KARE SILING A PE
IE SASIN KAI PE
DE DOIY RIKAP TAUKE PE
MELA TADZE KENA PEJIOKO PE
GE GORONG PEBAKA PE
TAPUP GRENJ JENESI LENG KAKI PE
DEI TAPIAKENA GOKIOKO PE
IE BEINE RUPO PE
GE GONGGANG KENA RAMTAGH BEYAGE DUNGAI PE
DNA MEYIM DONI AJIKING PE
DE TAPIAKENA PIRIE PE
DE MANGANE LANGELULANG
DONI MAM MIRTU PE
DE DONI KITIM IRGETOKU PE
GE MEYUM DONI A AJIDE PE
DONI TABEMBA BENG BAKU PE
GE DOYI MIRI INTUNGEM DELO PE
DE DANA TABEM BENGKAKU PE
DE KEUJ MAM MAM MIRI METENG PE
GE DONI MAM MIRI METE PE
DE PEDONGE DAMBE PE
MIGI AHE AJIME PE
MOLA MILI AJI KAIDE PE
GE TANMEM LENTOKU PE
MEYUM NA RIPUNING PE
DE MILINANG RIPUNING PE
BISIKENA GALSIAK PE
DE GALNA KAPENA PE
DE PHONI MAM MIRIME PE
DE GALSINENAM NAMLANGKULA PE
DHONI METE TAIKZA PE
DE ALAM TANEM ABAM KAKONE PE
DE PHONI PUNAM DUKKAKE PE
DE TAKI PUNEMA DUJLENKAI PE
GE TAKI PUNEMA DUJLENKAI PE
DELAK MAKA TANIKE SILIE PE
DE MILI KENA GAIN PE
DE MILIKENA GAINPE REDINGE PE
Summary: Doying was the first Miri. His son was Rikap and Rikap's son was Kapsi. After the death of first Miri, the soul started searching some man into whom he could enter. During this transitional period all music and songs disappeared from the land. At last the soul found a place in Kapsi. From that time onwards all men started singing Doy's songs. Mets, an old woman gave them a kind of fruit, which was for the Miri only. A special gale was also given which the Miri should put on while singing. If men other than the Miri were to partake of that fruit, they would die. This taboo was broken and that is why people die now-a-days in large numbers.

(a) Pedong Nane de
    Nane the baye nade
    Todi Tanggo Ko
    Ome Sangki em
    O Sangki em
    Kilan bomkai.

Pedong Nane/Aji Diri em
Dilen kana/Olo piiyo em
Gaklen Kane/Ome lingo ko
O lingo ko/Olfn to
Pedong Nane Ke/Nane Ojie oyang dem
Donii Aji Kope/Amin bidung em
Pulem Pakto.
Pedong Nane/Donii Aji Me;
Nane Dire em/Dilen toname,
Donii Aji de/Aji Kabinga Riri Lenkai.
Donii Aji Me/Sekoi Aji Ayang em
Kepa Biyen? / Aji Nilung em
Tuman Biyen?

English rendering: Pedong Nane, the Divine Mother, began to
conceive as a result of divinely union with the Divine
Father, Yidum Bote, and the conception lasted for several
ages. She then experienced pain and labour for a long period
of five years. Ultimately the great Divine Mother gave birth
to thousands of children. From her ten organs came out innum-
ererable beings, animals, birds, fish and insects. Her last
issues were two sons, Taro or Robo and Tani or Nilo, the
latter being the youngest. After giving birth to Tani, or the
first human being the parents retired into the world of divi-
nity, leaving the baby to the material world. Being the
youngest and a baby of very small size, Tani started crying
helplessly. For what did he cry? For parents or protection?
For food and water? Was this cry a divine voice?
There was none to come to his rescue.
Note: The passage forms part of the Taktor Abang, dealing with the birth and divine protection to man, his triumph over evils, his struggle for survival and finally the establishment of his supremacy on the earth.

(9) Anyi Karupunge Mimmum Langi,
Abing Karduge Yemang Binyil;
Birme Latiem Kabang Minula,
Biro Lakpongem Kabing Minula,
Enge Ginyingem Femi Siki,
Takar Ginboem Simin Siki,
Enge Yomsie Didum Telokka,
Takar Janggoe Didum Telokka,
Enge Nituga Rukpak Lento,
Takar Kiruge Rukpak Lento.

Siking Koje Nane De,
Nane Ayame Kasang Siki,
Sedi Didonge Doying Bote,
Nane Posie Pomol Likto,
Enge Karduge Yama Meling,
Takar Karupunge Mimmum me,
Doni Gite Pobe so,
Enge Rutumam Tumbi Kanman,
Takat Barungam Rudikaman.
Sadi Didonga Doying Bote,
Bote Mijinge Mingo Lenkne,
Doni Gite Pobe so Enso Dereko,
Takar Dereko Lerep Bitoku.

[English rendering:  Long ago there lived a people called the
Enso-Takar. Among them there lived a brother and a sister,
called Karduk and Karpung respectively. Both were very hand-
some. In course of time they established sexual relationship.
This being a strange and serious offence, they were expelled
from the ethereal world. They also considered themselves to
be sinners and roamed throughout the three worlds to find out
a habitation for them but failed. They became aimless and
bagnard but the warmth of love and the rays of hope remained
undiminished. At last the two poor souls in their desola-
tion condition came to the notice of Doying Bote, the god of
wisdom and courage and King Nana, the goddess of peace and
plenty. The kind goddess appealed to Doying Bote to think
about the rescue of the unfortunate souls and to rehabilitate
them on earth. At this, Doying Bote ordered the people of
Doying Ang to construct a house or Dare in which Karduk and
Karpung could be resettled. The order was carried out and
these two persons were accommodated in the Dare.]
Note: The passage forms part of one of the different versions of the *Moskup Ahang*, which narrates the origin and development of the dormitory for A'di youths known as *Moskup* or *Dera*.

(10)  
Koji Sirige Rali Sirige Rihhato  
Koji Bintunge Rali Bintunge  
Yoyong gela  

Gumgo Laine Nuyi Leenam Osot To  
Nuyi Tagiro Dirang Kai.  
Noying Gelinge Mijo Bulu  
Nuyi Tagiro Dira Tokunam  
Tilis Bikie Kadung Dula  
Doli Mimara Kotok Dula  
Nuyima Yirube Bujub Bomkai.

*English rendering:* The Gumpong, a gigantic wild bear was killed by Nuyi, the expert hunter. The bear was then carried by Nuyi with an ordinary string of jungle leaf. On the way home the string broke and the sharp edge of the teeth of Gumpong cut off the main artery of Nuyi's leg. Nuyi died of bleeding from that wound. As soon as Nuyi died the evil spirits who were thirsty and were in quest of blood for long, rushed to the spot and sucked the blood of Nuyi to their hearts' content. They relished it very much.
Note: The passage occurs in the Tektor Abang, narrating the myth about divine protection to man and his triumph over evils. In this part also the myth tells about man's grim struggle for existence.

(11)

Donie siringa dudi yokupa emla
Gumin basie yimo Kane
Kayum Karie tagire dirpom lok
Banji pit Kunge esing kope
Nei belunge dubuk kinadem

Gumin des nga bombing kito
Gumin snumbume yayum dada.

Kayum minunge karike
Kari gonjonga sop Yong genama
Doyin lolonge ampa to
Nei lokua lesak kope
Nayang duda-e pela nadem
Gumin boyie latan to
Gumin snumbume yayum dada.

Kayum minunge karike
Kari leyonge songgonage
Siking Kitange takmo kope
Nei omure emar repnabem
Nune leruma pemdiri kita
English rendering: Kari, the first man born when the world was young, was an expert hunter and warrior gifted with spiritual power and energy. After his death sacred trees and creepers sprang up from his limbs and garments at the place of his burial. These are now known as Takmo, Tapit, Tatke Lesak and Talo. Gumin Soyin cut and brought them from the grave of Kari and put them in the moshup. But still it was not attractive and
Tani, the youngest son of Pedong Nane and Yidum Bote, was also not satisfied. At last, bamboo, which grew out of the broken horn of Polung Soho (mithun) was brought. Cumin Soyin then made different kinds of beautiful festoons out of it, tied them around the moshup and thus decorated it. The house then looked colourful and charming and Tani became very happy at this.

Note: The passage, occurring in the Moshup Abang, gives an interesting account of how and when the materials for the decoration of Moshup were collected.

(12) Konmo doni labinge tumbo dakadma
Enge Karduge mite bulu
Donime iyie gipum daka
Siking Kinunga nunane
Nane gabe rappa bito.

Enge Karduge yame bulu
Donime musubem ibyil bote
Takar kassenge mimum bulu
Donime rasengem ibyil bote.

Yidum Bote tumi tarome tonkana
Doni lakponge garname
Dona lamanga beser na
Keko lingkaba regap daka
Enge Kargenge gayi bulum
Gayi sienge bibo muakla
Doni nogine todi yem
Kayum minungu nui me
Soka buyia bibi dakla
Gayi popuma tonbilangka
Dorung popuma tonbilangka.

English rendering: From karduk and karpung, Tani learned how to maintain the Moshup - Rasheng most perfectly as also the various arts. Thus Moshup - Rasheng as well as the culture and arts of the Adis were introduced by Karduk and Karpung of the Engo-Takar land. Afterwards, Tani arranged a great feast in the Moshup and invited all the gods and spirits and beings under the patronage of Gumin Soyin. Yidum Bote, Tani's father, was very pleased. He also advised Tani that he must give offerings to Gumin Soyin from time to time as his guardian. Behind Him and in presence of Him, he must tell no lie and commit no sin. To commemorate the glory of Kari and Nuyi and to immortalize the great day of his own career, he should celebrate it annually for ever.

Note: This passage from the Moshup Abanq gives an idea of the beginning of the arts and cultural performances associated with the Moshup as also the annual feast held in the Moshup and participated by all the members.
D. Nitom / Or love songs, sung by the young boys and girls who have fallen in love through the dormitory associations and plan for marriage in near future.

(1) Lele lele tamang arume minama,
    Mulu sirmia okayam,
    Polo lolada Kisado,
    Go deloyang.
    Tamang arume nineka,
    Migmì pelibe pelopde,
    Libo yarie Kisado,
    Go deloyang.
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Ingkopeyi latbonga,
Titonga bidakne,
Ingkopeyi yarie,
Lalyire bidakne,
Go deloyang.
Sekoyi nulungs,
Mubu sima nilungs,
Tumane boyane,
Go deloyang.

English rendering: O my friend, when my mind bends on you, you look like the moonlight. The frequent casting of your eyelids appears like the sky-light of summer. Or, why does the moon bloom and what does the light of the sky indicate? Who will sing lullaby and soften my heart?

Note: Such a song appreciating the physical beauty of the girl, removes the usual shyness of the virgins and thereby encourages them to reply in the same traditional style.

(2) Oge-ge ngoko arume Kalime,
Migmika poduko,
Kikange bitonam,
Narmike letie,
Siginge runako,
Nalonge lakponge,
Somjome runako,
Oge-ge.
Ngokana gitalo,
Alopa dokpanga,
Sisabosi duamil,
Ajipe Komjinga,
Rayibosi duamil,
Lakope balunga,
Nayikope balunga.
Oge-ge.

"English rendering: When I look at my friend, I find him handsome and lovable. Oh if we had been born and brought up in the same village, we would have developed into a single life, like two plants attached together."

Note: This reply of the girl inspires the boy to sing more stories of love, thereby to advance his case by inspiring more passion in the girl. He will then sing:

(3)  Ane gola annai:
      ane yo-anna
Ngoke jale gadda,
Anesyo-anna
Ajom jale gadda,
Anesyo-anna,
Kayum jale gaddai,
Ngumiko ba ge dokpas,
Ana-ya-anna,
Leken ja go dokpas,
Ana-ya-anna,
Sisi yoe kupia,
Hagen ja ne makala,
Ana-ya-anna,
Sirum ruge diri sim,
Ana-ya-anna,
Diri ruge nesire,
Sirgo yoe lajuka.

"Gist: Oh, good-looking and beautiful friend, we may not be reborn and enjoy a pleasant, youthful life like this! So, considering that, let us enjoy this evening to our complete total satisfaction."

Note: The girl, listening to such intimate invitation from the boy, will naturally feel more attracted towards him, and will, therefore, sing out in romantic effusion:

(4) Tatpo tatpec
Babingke nitoma,
Tatop tatpo.
Tatpo tatpo
Mime Ke neiye,
Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Nayanga ngolu,
Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Nyamna me pisako,
Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Gummema likpe,
Tatpo tatpo.

Gist: O, my dear friend, your songs are extremely sweet, absorbing, and infatuating. They are so intensely attractive and intimate that my heart is fully leaning towards you and I cannot think of anything else but you. So I accept your invitation.

(5) GE LARILE DAME ABULE LA
GE LAR LE DAME A ULE LA
GE MITIGE MAMIE ABULE LA
GE NITENA BALUA ABULE LA
GE TAREE MIMIE ABULE LA
GE NITENA NALU ABULE LA
GE TADANGEM TAKUE ABULE LA
GE TABACE BANAPED ABULE LA
GE MITIGE NINE ABULE LA
Summary: O my young and old friends, you will all sing and perform your dance. But I, the youngest of you all will have many songs in my mind which I do not know how to express in words.

O my senior friends, you all will sing during the festival; unfortunately I will not be able to sing as I do not know the words. You should have rehearsed before, so that I could have opportunity to learn them and to join you in dancing.
and singing._7_

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

(6) DOBO GOCNAM

DE YAME DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU DAGALO
EKE DEKE YAM EY ADA SISANG BOSU
DAGALO ADAI
DE MIMUN DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU
DAGALO EKE DEKE MIMOM DEM
ADA SISANG BOSU DAGA LO
ADAI
LOME PEBO SUJUAMA YUJANTUNG KO
LOME PEBO SU DUAMANG ADAI
GILE IK PENG BOSU DAGAMA MITI GE GILE
IKPENG BOSU DAGAMA ADAI
BOMPE TEYI DUA ALU BUIDUNG KE BOMPE;
TEYI DUA ALU ADAI
MUULO MIYAN SU DJAMA, YANG DE
MUULO MIYANSU DJAMA ADAI
MUULO MIYAN SUDJA MA MIUM DE
MUULO MIYANSU DJAMA ADAI

TAYI GAM SI YAI BOMI AUKNE
RUMNE NE TAYI GAM SI YAI
LUBO LOYIRI NAKUI I SIN KELOBO
LOYI RUNA KJAI ADAI
ISIN GOP NGORU NAKUI BUIDUNGKE
ISIN GOPNGORU NAKUI ADAI
APUI BOM SOSU DUJAMA MIMUNE
APUI BOM SOSU DJAMA MIMUNE
APUI BOM SOSU DJAMA ADAI
APUI BOM SOSU DJAMA GAVE YE
APUI BOM BOSI DJAMA ADAI
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA MIMUNE DEM:
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA ADAI
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA YOMANGE
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA ADAI
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA YANG DE
GINNYING SIBO SU DJAMA ADAI
SHEDANG BYARTAN KE DJAMA
Among the boys there, who is he who matches me in age and status? Oh! could he be mine!

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

I like him for his age and beauty. How I wish he would like me—oh, how it could be done!

It would be nice if his heart inclines the way as mine.

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

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

She is quite my match.

Oh! My friends, just tell me how I could win her.

It would be nice if her heart and mine grow one and the same.
E. *Ponung Song: i.e. song accompanying dance*

(1)  
Mopin-ripin nag-la-ju  
Lo-si lo-re bom la ju  
Mamen memen mem-ne,  
Asi abirr okum-to  
Nedu teter go-ju  
Di-ko bok-do men-dim mem-be  
Asi abirr okum-to  
mopin mopin ma-la  
Losi lora bom-in-la-ju.  
Rugum rugum ado-be  
Asi abirr okum-to  
Asi abirr okum to.  
Gom-te nyrk-te ga-i-be,  
Menji menji Ko-be?  
Losi lori bom-la ju.  
Nipin puk-ter go ju,  
Ye-go du-go la-ga-be?  
Losi lori bom-la ju.  
Ajer amar apuke-e?  
mopin popirr rek la ju  
Pok-ter ka-ma-be pok-ju-la-ju  
Losi lori humen-la ju.

*English rendering:*  Oh brothers, we have all gathered here
with a very joyful heart and let us heartily welcome the merry Nopin. We pray for the health and wealth of all Brothers, young and old; we call the Nopin most cordially. Brothers, young and old, let us perform the Nopin dance round and round; it is a very merry day for us all and we shall spend the whole day in fun and frolic. Happy be the celebration. We join it all with a glad heart. O brothers, young and old join us in a merry company. Let the rhythms of the butterfly animate us and we shall flit and flutter and dance and sing the whole day.

Note: Sung by boys and girls in accompaniment with dance during the Nopin festival, celebrated in honour of Nopin, the goddess of rich crops and all-round prosperity. After the song and dance a community feast follows.

(2) Glang a elang yakka delang
Aba deiga rangam yakka delang
De lamaa rangam yakka delang
De kekana rangam yakka delang
De meuma unie yakka delang
De darine melu yakka delang
De daruka santum yakka delang
De eruna dem yakka delang
De meuma deing e yakka delang
De kaja Batte yakka delang
Dena Daeing Bate tumia yakka delang
De gibe dagden yakka delang
De maume pakianga yakka delang
De abiang pakianga yakka delang
De babu ayaba ya a delang
De kayaba ke karie yakka delang
Le abiga name yakka delang
Te kine ke degua yakka delang
Te irang ke bala yakka delang
Le kari ke pejeng yakka delang
Le cajenga name yakka delang
Le kilung ke rugling yakka delang
Te rugtang bulu yakka delang
Le debaka tatkin yakka delang
De bali bulu yanna delang
De bana darima yakka delang
De datibam Kala yakka delang
De anike santum yakka delang
De erungna dem yakka delang
De maume na atum yakka delang
De tabi mona yakka delang
Le cename rugling yakka delang
Le gidanni lenka yakka delang
Le balina bulu ya a delang
E gina upa ya a delang
Meume na atue ya a delang
Ge tabimena ya a delang
Ge tabi a dabiasa ya a delang

Summary: In ancient times Doying Bote saw that the paddy the people grew in the field was destroyed by insects that looked like lice. These insects were trying to go under the ground. They found that those numerous insects were white ants. Meume and others talked over it and with the help of Kine Nane found an egg. From that egg came out a cock. The cock was ordered by Kine Nane to kill all the white ants. In this way the insects were destroyed and paddy was saved.

Note: Sung by the Miri along with girls of the village during the Salung (harvest) festival. This Ponung song describes how by heavenly grace the growing paddy was saved from pests in the past.

(3) Gao gatato tanmang
Gao dilu lebi tanmang
Gao rumme bulua tanmang
Gao rumme bulue tanmang
Gao lingum okuem tanmang
Gao lingum okuem tanmang
Gao lingum okuem tanmang
Gaolingum amue tanmang
Gao a bidung tanmang
Gao lingum gabi tanmang
Gao labliding tanmang
Gao metabuluua tanmang
Gao dibang tanmang
Gao saman ta.ta tanmang
Gao alma nida tanmang
Goo dolig damin tanmang
Goo anjonako tanmang
Goo Jibgi ema tanmang
Goo gaisha tanmang
Goo gaisha tanmang
Goo tadataku e tanmang
Goo gana iara tanmang.

English rendering: 0 my friends with beautiful voices, it
pains me and shames me that my voice is not sweet and it is
difficult for me to sing. I fear there is something wrong
with my voice. I request you all to teach me the tune and
the words of the beautiful song you all are singing. But O
my friends, you are neither lending your ears to my request
nor are you trying to bring me up to your standard. As I
would like very much to join you, I request you again to
teach me the melody J.

Note: Such song is usually sung on very light occasions such
as the welcoming of guests, when the girls take the lead, compose extempore songs suiting the occasion, and sing and dance to the tune.

F. Yo Yo Cognan or Lullabies: Sung by girls with their younger brother or sister on their back rocking and jerking their bodies rhythmically and singing slowly, so that the child will fall asleep.

Yoyolo O psyolo oi
O yoyo gage O psyo gage oi
O ingko Koi O apuk mujir O gayir duna Oi
Ngokke so O mimi ka O lamku so O kalu so
O asope O dak langka Oi
O ngokke sim O ani sim O toni sim
O ingko mibo O padangei O lutune Oi
O ingko mibo O padangei O matung bulling
O ditune Oi.
O ingko mibo a padangei O magap buidong
O sutune Oi
O ngokke sim O ani sim O toni sim O matung
Bulling O dina demi Oi
O ngokke sim O magap buidong a sona dema Oi
O ngokke me O yayime O pobisue Ku Oi
O ngokke me O tete me O yoyongma O yiyme;
O pobisuyaku Oi
O yoyo lo opeyo lo o gayolo ei
O ingko mibo O padangsei O lutune ei
O milo ko milo O yayi ke or raling site o
Tetunglo
O temin gemo pe o
O mine ko milo of mamike o rikhilo
O bitulo of bimin gemo pe o
O mimi bulukke of mongko taodde of kotutulo
O kotmin gompoa o
O yoyolo opeyolo oyoyo gage of peyo gage o
O ngokke simo ani sim o toni sim
O aji ti the olilene sim o olo kom pange
O rangga na sim o
O ngokke no o ani no o toni no
O apuk rangage o beyo mapeka o
O ayin mujir oge yire of mapeka o
O ayin buine of edem do yika
O apuk buine o edem doyika o.

[English rendering: Oh ! hush baby, do not cry. I rock you on my back; you are my younger love; do not be angry with me. Stay quiet and rest silent on this loving back. Does any unknown face frighten you? Does anyone come to beat you? Oh ! do not fear, I will beat him with this stick. Oh ! You are a boy and you will succeed your father in the work on the field when you grow up.]
(in the case of a girl) Oh! You are a girl and when you up, you will help your mother in the field and your elder sisters in fetching fuel and water. We will all work together when you grow up. 
CHAPTER VI

The Changing Scene

The major difficulty in our study of the Adis in particular and also Arunachal as a whole is the absence of any regular and conclusive historical evidence about origin, migration, and gradual development of this tribe. When the people first came to be known to the explorers, they had already attained some definite stage of progress in their socio-cultural life. But everything about their distant past is shrouded in mystery and nobody possesses any definite knowledge about that. From explorers, administrators, and traders we hear of them, but we can hardly get a full account of the people with dates and successive stages in the course of their development.

From the faint internal evidences supplied by their literary specimens, we may say with moderate certainty that they were a people who did considerable roamings, migrating from place to place, until they found a permanent home. Then gradually they made life more accommodating; invented the means of satisfying their needs, domesticated animals, started agriculture, built up an organised and disciplined society, with customary laws, institutions, rites and rituals and had thus fairly advanced along the road towards material progress.
For centuries thereafter, the Adis became pretty well adjusted to their socio-cultural set up. Their basic demands in life were already attained and they reached a stage of peaceful equanimity, a stage stable indeed but static, rather, in which they felt no further bothered about anything more. Their social institutions, customs, conventions, beliefs and literature went on continuing in the same way ages and ages thereafter. With the passage of time, no sign of anything new, original or different was in sight and nothing went off from the same old traditional track to usher in an era of change or advancement. For some pretty long time the Adi people, culture and society reached and continued on with a spell of happy compliance, static lull, and hackneyed repetition in every sphere.

This fact is apt enough to strike the curious notice of a keen social observer. But what can be the possible cause of this somnolence and ecological stagnation? The reasonable answer perhaps lies in the truth that a human level of existence not only necessitates a unique biological structure and a sin socio-cultural mode of life, it also needs a peculiar and distinctive kind of psychological structuralization characterised by a level of personal adjustment and experience in which a unique and complex integration occurs between responses to an 'inner' world of impulse, fantasy, and creative imagination. Constancy in the cultural world over time results in stability in the
shared characteristics of the members of a group. Unless new forces from the 'outer' world give a mighty shake to the compliance and constancy of the 'inner' world of the mind, creation of anything new and original is not possible. If a society ever reaches this stage of equilibrium and continues for some longtime with it, it is bound to become stale, unproductive, and unfit for survival in a world of constant change. Men will invariably lose talent as they do not meet any intellectual challenge and social practices and literature will obviously turn into a tedious repetition of what is bygone, past, and stale.

6:1. Forces of Change.

Some such thing occurred to the Adi society also. There came a time when the social mobility reached a stage of almost complete and total impasse. In every aspect of their culture and society they became static and ecologically balanced. In course of many centuries prior to the last, the Adi culture started, grew up and adjusted itself on the north-eastern extremity of India. Despite all primitive means of communication through their country, they had remained almost beyond cultural penetration by outside agencies. They maintained a stiff wall of isolation around them, keeping themselves aloof, away and separate from the neighbouring tribal brethren as also from the aliens and impact of all foreign matters. Even if some changes
occurred to them in the past, these have been so slight, slow and easily modified by the proud Adi nature that they failed to leave any ultimate trace whatsoever.

In course of the last century, several events occurred which apparently shook the sturdy foundation of the Adi society, penetrated the almost invulnerable exterior of the rigid Adi tribal character and made them susceptible to a series of changes that they had resisted for long. The British occupation of Assam in 1826 and the several occasions of armed clash between the British and the Adis worked a powerful change over the latter. They felt the superiority of the foreigners in every matter. A sense of inferiority and a temporary loss of the former proud self-reliance were caused in the Adis. The British supremacy had, to some extent at least, twisted their strong backbone and defiant nature which they did seldom bend to anyone else before. Some form of psychological complex cropped up in them. The void thus created by their weakened mentality was promptly filled in by the new winds of change that had already started blowing in the land and went on steadily increasing and as a result their former cultural balance was upset. The British regime ushered in the Adi land a period of transition from the former rejection of exotic culture to an eager imitation of it and gradually made them become susceptible to the new forces of change.

Even though the British did not intervene in the
socio-cultural affairs of the Adis and impose anything on them in pursuance of their policy of non-interference in tribal matters, the impact of foreign culture upon their whole mental and social setup could be strikingly visible. A section of the younger generation among them almost lost faith, at least temporarily, in the efficacy of their own cultural traditions, underestimated themselves in comparison with the foreigners, fervently acclaimed the exotic and started imitating them. Similarly, the old generation also was in a state of dilemma and could not decide whether to accept the new, rejecting the age-old tradition of proud seclusion, or maintain both old and new side by side or to shut their door totally against any infiltration of the new and stick fast only to the old. It was indeed a trying situation for the whole Adi tribe, this recurrent temptation for the smug new and this emotional inclination to preserve the old.

The whole system of social values, feeling of tribal solidarity and characteristic proneness towards a glorified traditional heritage - everything got a severe shake and this jolt disturbed the social balance to a considerable extent.

We have to understand the exactness of the situation in the backdrop of our knowledge about the Adi character which is and has always been down-to-the-earth practical. In the context of British supremacy over them, a sense of rebellion was of course running below the surface of Adi society, but it had seldom burst forth with any vehemence by brushing off the tradi-
tional past completely. It will be quite illogical to expect the young folks to remain blissfully unaware of the new forces of change. It is not true to say that the Adis clung only to the old or switched on to an equally mad rush for the new. Rather, they followed both side by side with some reservations and attempted to strike a golden mean. This was intelligent indeed in the sense that it accepted the good of the new without throwing away the old. The dictates of the Kehang went on being honoured, Moshup and Rashang continued to be as in the past, the Miri did not lose his power and influence absolutely, traditional tribal laws did not become ineffective, and the old oral literature did not become altogether forgotten or neglected. At the same time modern dress, education, laws, and other means of comfort were allowed to be utilised without any approbation.

The infiltration of the new civilization and the blowing of the winds of change started first near about the seats of government and the rate was rapid or slow, wide or on a small scale, according to the size and importance of that seat. Cheap sentiments which were absent among the Adis of old began to grip the younger generation. Unhappiness and frustration which characterize the average modern man spread among them as infection and all complications of modernity began to have their way in Adi community steadily. From these they of course recovered very timely.
After independence the government of India seriously felt the need to do something helpful and constructive for the vast tribal world of the country. The national government altered the policy of isolation towards the tribals so long followed by the British. They began to be treated as full-fledged Indian citizens enjoying all the fundamental rights, with all compensations having been granted to them for generations of long neglect and alienation in the past. Full recognition was extended to their culture and customs. The basic policy of the government towards them was guided by the spirit of friendliness, love, and sympathy. All possible steps for the progress and well-being of these people were assured. All responsibilities for their proper adjustment in the changed setting were shouldered by the Indian government in an ardent and zealous spirit of philanthropy and paternal affection. The Adis also, along with all other tribals of India, thus came under the all-embracing care and concern taken by the government for the preservation and steady development of their culture.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru the government realised that full protection must be extended to the traditional culture of the Adis so that it might be saved from any loss of their rich heritage. In 1954 Nehru remarked that he would be unhappy to see them become a blind imitator of modernity, despising their rich cultural tradition which can in no way be
replaced. It was this timely caution from the Prime Minister which resulted in the formulation of the India government's celebrated Third Policy which intends to follow a middle course between the extreme policies of complete assimilation and non-intervention in tribal affairs. This policy proved to be quite beneficial for the Adis in the sense that the Adi culture was saved from the existing state of ferment which was caused by the meeting of two different cultural worlds, the vacuum of one being invaded by the rapid current of the other. Because of the opposite nature of the two cultures, one hoary traditional and the other smart up-to-date, there could be no healthy and proper fusion. As a result it caused some disruption and disturbance of the social balance, old norms, and customary values. Such a state of Adi culture got a timely check by the application of the Third Policy which saved it from all possible decay.

The policy is based on the spirit of love, fellow-feeling, understanding and aims at teaching cleanliness, spreading the ideals of justice, equality and humanity and integrating the life of the people in a smooth way. But such a policy should be followed with some amount of care and caution, because any sudden and rapid measure may frustrate the whole purpose of the government by creating psychological complex of a different nature in the tribal people.

On the material side of Adi life honest efforts have
been made by the government to make the life of the people smooth. Thus, numerous roads have been constructed in the Adi land to make communication between the people easier; in major urban areas electricity has been extended; hospitals and health centres, schools and cultural centres have been established; shops and markets have been opened by traders for easier availability of commodities; indigenous cottage-industry products have been given a boost; a number of philanthropic institutions have opened their branches for catering to the various needs of the people; regular radio programmes have been provided to popularise the artistic talents of the people; all steps have been taken to facilitate the creation of original literary works and studies on the manifold sides of social, political and artistic life of the people. What is more, the officers of the government have been made to work with and for the people through their traditional Kebang, keeping in mind the key instruction—'the tribesmen first, the tribesmen last, the tribesmen all the time'. Political allegiance to Indian government, creation of a feeling of identity and integration with the greater Indian society and culture, plus an honest desire to bring comfort, development and confidence in the life of these long-neglected people were the results that the Third Policy intended to achieve. In that matter, much, much more than the expected degree of success was no doubt achieved by the government. There may be deeper and more extensive considerations about the intri-
cacies in the application of the Administration's various measures towards the tribals of Arunachal. Hence, in the next section of the present chapter, let us try to review the matter as a whole.

6:2. Emergent situation.

During the British rule the administration's principal concern with regard to the North-Eastern tribal hills regions of India had been the maintenance of law and order and it had been left to Christian missionary bodies mainly to attend to the medical and educational needs of the hill-tribes.

By the time of the transfer of power, a fair number of tribals from these areas had studied in educational institutions outside their own native hills. Apart from missionary enterprise, the government itself had also established some schools and hospitals and the tribals of some of these areas were no longer strangers to the outsider and his life-style. They were as resolved as before that there should be no interference in their customary way of life, but they no longer regarded the outsider as an animal from another world to be kept at as wide a distance as possible. Many tribals had formed personal friendship with plainsmen and until the latter began to show signs of an over-possessive approach, they were content, except for extremists amongst the Nagas and Mizos, to co-exist with them in peace and amity.
The vast, mountainous tract north of the Brahmaputra, designated after Independence as the North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA, was one of the few tribal regions that had never been appreciably influenced by Christian missionary enterprise. Two French missionaries, who were on an exploratory visit, were killed by the chief of the Mishmi tribe of NEFA in the nineteenth century, and subsequent acts of hostility on the part of the tribesmen convinced the British that these inhospitable hills and their inhabitants would best be left undisturbed.

Although, under the new Constitution, NEFA was included as part of the state of Assam, it was specifically prescribed that its administration was the responsibility of the President of India and that the President's Agent for the discharge of this responsibility was the Governor of Assam. It was further provided that, in the discharge of his agency functions, the Governor would act, not on the advice of his ministers, but in his discretion.

The Constitution-makers were aware that the northern tribes had no contact with the outside world and that their ties even with the contiguous plains of Assam were tenuous. The Assamese on their part had little experience of the northern tribes or knowledge of their culture, language or customs. They could lay therefore no special claim to their administration. More important still, the Chinese were beginning to take a belligerent stand in the regions along India's north-eastern borders. The
northern border had thus become a sensitive region and the problems of the frontier tribes were now a matter of national concern for which the central government decided they must take direct and sole responsibility.

The Governor of Assam's chief aide in the discharge of his responsibilities as Agent to the President was his Adviser for Tribal Areas. The Adviser's was a post normally held by a very senior officer in the closing years of his service. Soon it came to be considered more politic to appoint an Indian officer to this sensitive key post, where India's international frontiers were involved, than to extend the services of a British Officer. N. K. Rustomji had the credit of being the first Indian Officer to be appointed to the post of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas of the North-East. The NEFA tribals had no particular love for the former British government that had left them alone to run their own affairs and not been middleman. The new Indian government felt the need to change its policy.

The Assamese regarded NEFA as part of their domain, but realized that here they must tread more warily, as the administration of NEFA was constitutionally the central government's responsibility. There was on the other hand an enabling provision in the Constitution whereby NEFA could also be brought under the Assam government's direct administrative jurisdiction as soon as its tribes were considered ripe for the change. What the Assamese apprehended was that, as long as NEFA remained the cen-
tal government's responsibility, the climate would never be created for its ultimate integration with Assam. It would be administered by central government officers who had little knowledge of or sympathy for Assam, her people or her culture. The centre would create a vested interest for itself in the area and would not readily surrender the patronage in appointments, contracts and other fields that central rule offered. The Assamese argued that the tribes of NEFA had enjoyed age-long historical ties with Assam and that, if only offered the opportunity and choice, would readily accept being administered by the Assam Government in preference to New Delhi. The Assamese further maintained that they had a better understanding of the ways and attitudes of the tribes of NEFA and that many of the latter were conversant with the Assamese language. New Delhi, on the other hand, was too remote to be able to appreciate the problems of NEFA, and officers appointed by the central government would, in any case find themselves handicapped in communicating with the tribals, who had a smattering of Assamese but none of the other major Indian languages such as Hindi, Marathi or Telugu.

It was the Assamese case that, if the ultimate intention of the Constitution was to bring NEFA within the administrative fold of Assam, preparatory action towards this end must be initiated at once or else NEFA would be kept perpetually as a separate entity under the centre. The first desideratum, in their view, was to vigorously promote the spread of the Assamese langu-
age for official, educational and other purposes. It was not long before agitations were set afoot all over Assam to bring pressure on the central government to enforce Assamese as the medium of instruction in every school in NEFA. Pressures were also progressively built up for posting Assamese officers in NEFA in preference to officers from other states, in the expectation that Assamese Officers were more likely to favour and work towards NEFA's early integration with Assam. 

What the Assamese failed to appreciate was that this Assamese Veneer was limited to the narrow southern belt of NEFA that was contiguous to, and had some limited contact with, the Assam plains. But in the absence of internal communications, by far the greater part of NEFA had enjoyed no such contact. Many of the tribes inhabiting the extreme Northern areas found it indeed more convenient to cross over to Tibet for their essential requirements and had little occasion for visiting the Assam plains and so coming under Assamese cultural influences. The casual visitor to NEFA therefore, moving along the Southern regions contiguous to the Assam plains, would gather a totally misleading impression of the overall culture of the people.

To do them justice, though the Assamese pressed their case for the immediate integration of NEFA, it was in a spirit of reasonableness and restraint. This was partly in
deference to the statesmanlike guidance of the then governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, who was able to convince his ministers that he favoured the ultimate integration of NEFA with Assam and was steering his course to that end. The appointment of Assamese officers to focal posts in NEFA, including the posts of Political Officer, went a long way towards satisfying Assamese aspirations and allaying fears that their people would be excluded from the administration.

6:3. Administrative Steps for the Region.

The Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, however, marked a turning point in NEFA's history. Whatever might have been govt's stand in the past regarding the future shape of NEFA, it now became abundantly clear that NEFA was a zone of vital political and strategic importance which must not on any account be allowed to become the sporting ground of rival, bickering politicians. High-level committees were constituted to examine every aspect of the administrative apparatus, developmental, cultural as well as strategic and a final blueprint drawn up to set the pattern for NEFA's future.

There were, however, certain original features in the overall policy approach that saved the tribes of NEFA from much of the distress, cultural degradation and loss of nerve that has been the lot of tribes elsewhere subjected to the processes
of civilisation. For although the plans for the social amelioration of the tribes followed a conventional pattern, very special, and not so conventional, measures were adopted to ensure that their implementation on the field should not cause them shock or emotional hurt.

(13) The first essential was to recruit a team of officers who would be both professionally equipped and temperamentally suited for the very unusual and exacting conditions of NEFA. It was decided to constitute for this purpose an All India Frontier Service, which would carry prestige and status no less than that of the Indian Administrative Service. Recruitment to this new service was to be through interview by a high-level board consisting of experienced administrators and specialists in the field of tribal culture, including Verrier Elwin, who was appointed tribal consultant to the NEFA administration. Applications for the new Indian Frontier Administrative Service were also invited from the Defence and Police Services. Moreover, a decision had been taken that the British policy of non-interference in the tribal areas required to be reconsidered, for the administration's objective was no longer to be limited to the maintenance of law and order only. It was to be extended to ensure that the Directive Principles of the Constitution should apply to the remotest corner of the tribal areas with as much force and effect as in the capital at New Delhi.
It was expected that officers from the Defence and Police Services would have had a good grounding in discipline and would be physically well-equipped for the strains of touring in the hills. A special Recruitment Board was constituted to sift the thousands of applications received from the Defence, Police and other services and recommend, after scrutinizing their records of service and on the basis of a searching interview, which would be the officers best suited, temperamentally and otherwise, for the new frontier service.

On finalisation of the selection, the officers were put through an intensive training course directed to preparing them for their new responsibilities. While the trainees were duly briefed by the heads of the various technical departments, such as Agricultural, Forest and Medical, more particular emphasis was placed on giving them an insight into the basic problems of tribal administration especially the problems arising from contacts between communities at different levels of culture. It was wanted that the officers should understand that tribal culture was not a primitive anachronism to be summarily swept away, that it was the very flesh and life-blood of the people, that with its extinction would be extinguished also their vital force and motivation for living. The officers were intended to understand their land, forest, agriculture, song, dance, handicrafts, institutions, art, language, literature, beliefs and how much hurt could be caused by insen-
sitivity to tribal sentiment.

It was decided, as part of the training exercise, to invite tribal representatives from NEFA, so that the officers of the administration should be enabled to have an idea of the rich spectrum of tribal life. This orientation was intended not for the officers alone but also for the public at large; for unless the public could be educated and led towards a more rational and objective understanding of tribal values, official endeavours would not bear fruit. It was no less essential therefore to offer the public an opportunity of appreciating something of the richness and beauty of tribal culture. It was made clear that the officers were for the tribals and not the tribals for the officers.

The Chinese entry into Tibet in 1950 had changed all this. Political and strategic pressures dictated henceforward a more elaborate and complex administrative structure in the tribal areas than before. It also required a heavier physical presence of the bureaucracy and of the engines of law and order in the very centre of the hills, and not merely at their extreme southern periphery as in the past. A new policy was necessary which warranted a difference of technique to be followed in the area at this crucial transitional stage.

The enormousness of the task of setting up a regular and full-flanked administrative apparatus in NEFA will be
appreciated when it is realised that there was not even a rudimentary net-work of hill tracks throughout the area. The organising of a routine tour involved endless logistic problems and it can be well imagined what would be the difficulties of establishing a net-work of administrative headquarters, with offices, residences for staff, hospitals, schools and so on, to cover the entire hills. So although the policy decision had been taken to set up a regular administrative apparatus, the inaccessibility of NEFA's terrain and the austere, if not perilous, living conditions of the area discouraged recruitment of staff, despite the offering of compensatory benefits.

It was decided as a principle that whatever work and measures were undertaken for the benefits and development of the NEFA regions, must be only in consultation with the tribal people and with their consent. Nothing, however good or apparently beneficial according to plains people's standards, should be forcibly imposed upon the tribals in order to avoid unnecessary friction and irritating relationship between the administration and the people of the soil. Officers were warned against the patronising attitude of assuming that they knew better what was good for the tribals than did the tribals themselves. It soon became apparent that an over-rapid programme of road construction would cause serious hardship to the tribals if they were to be conscripted to carry out the work. And there would be complications of
a different sort, and no less harmful, if a labour force from outside was inducted for the purpose. The momentous decision was thus taken to resort to air-support to maintain the administration. The air-lifting and air-dropping of stores at the administrative centres eliminated a major cause of discontent and humiliation amongst the tribal population. It also reduced the number of outsiders who would otherwise have been moving about through tribal villages, giving rise to friction and misunderstanding.

The policy and aim in NEFA was not however merely negative, the protecting in passive isolation, of the tribes from outside contacts. The first objective was to win the confidence of the tribes by assuring them that the government respected their culture and way of life and had no interest in destroying it and imposing an alien culture. Following closely upon this fundamental aim was a positive and constructive endeavour to prepare them to meet the challenges of an inevitably changing situation -- to so equip them that they would be competent to assess and make their own choice, with wisdom and forethought, between the traditional values of their community and the new values they found crowding in on them from all directions.

Definite steps were taken to build up a Department of Tribal Research, to collect material and publish a series of monographs on NEFA's manifold tribes. A team of young research
scholars was recruited and was quickly put to work. The objective was to make available to the administrative officers, in a compact, easily-readable form, the basic data regarding the tribes amongst whom their work lay -- their customs, beliefs and superstitions, their art, history and language. Attempts were made to make the tribal people know that the administration considered their culture important enough to be worth studying and telling the world about; for past experience had taught that nothing is so damaging to a tribe's vitality and sense of well-being as loss of self-respect, as a devaluation in their own estimation of their own culture and heritage. It was necessary, again to educate the public about the frontier tribes and to correct the popular misconception that they were no more than backward primitives. Unless the public could be made aware that the tribes had a culture and identity of their own, it would see no justification for troubling about their survival as tribes -- and the tribes would soon become engulfed in the vast ocean of India, to be lost and forgotten for all time. 

The administration took pains to recruit officers with a sympathetic approach to the tribal people and to give them some training and insight into tribal problems. The officers were desired to understand that tribal practices which might appear strange and meaningless on the surface were generally based on the soundest practical experience. The administration was never
opposed to change on principle, but it was opposed to change for the sake of change alone. There was need to be as alert as watch-dogs to ensure that only such projects were taken up as were directly beneficial to the tribal people. As important as putting a curb on the proliferation of unrealistic schemes was to ensure that, whatever might have been the approach and attitude towards tribals before independence, officers of the administration should treat them in future as equal and respected partners. (22)

It was decided therefore to discontinue the use of appellations that were derogatory to tribal self-respect and to adopt instead the names by which the tribes referred to themselves in their own languages. The uncouth 'Abor' thus faded from history and became 'Adi, damizen of the hills.' While these may appear to be small matters, they were significant as token of a fresh and more enlightened approach. It was made clear by this deliberate change in nomenclature that, as far as the administration was concerned, the concept of the tribal as a primitive boor was a concept of the past — that, in the new India, the tribal, whatever might be his language, dress, customs or religion, was an equal and respected partner with the rest of his fellow-citizens. (23)

The administration in the early stages was essentially patriarchal, and the selection of tribals for training courses, scholarships and appointments was finalized only after a personal interview with the highest executive, the Adviser himself.
But this was possible only as long as the administrative structure was kept within manageable limits and the pace of administration was carefully regulated. The subsequent stability of NEFA owed much to the personal hand-picking and rearing of the first generation of tribal leaders.

NEFA's administration was the responsibility of the President of India and therefore excluded from the jurisdiction of the politicians of Assam. And, until the Chinese invasion of NEFA in 1962, the politicians at the centre were too remote and had their minds too pre-occupied with pressing issues nearer home to trouble themselves much over the tribals of the northern hills. The Chinese entry into Tibet in 1950 had focussed interest upon NEFA. But it was a limited interest and it was not until the full-scale invasion of 1962, which was a direct threat to India's security, that NEFA's concerns were considered to be of sufficient weight to warrant a review of the policy followed by the government towards it. But by then, strong and solid foundations had already been laid and there was a nucleus of tribals in NEFA with a balanced approach to the changing situation and who were largely free from the apprehensions and suspicions that had poisoned the relationship between tribals and non-tribals in other parts of the country. The administration had gently held its hand during the official years since indepen-
dance, without pushing them or hustling them. They saw India, therefore, not with an unfriendly eye, not in the light of a cultural aggressor, but as a friend, associate and guide in every matter pertaining to their very survival, socially, culturally and territorially.


The first serious challenge to NEFA came with the dislodgement by the Chinese in 1939 of a small Assam Rifles outpost from its position at Longju in the Subansiri Frontier Division, just south of the McMahon Line. This blatant act of aggression made it clear that more would in future be needed for the defence of the borders than a light net work of paramilitary Assam Rifles outposts. The time had come for the positioning in strength of regular army troops at strategic points of NEFA to hold the Chinese back from a full-scale attack on India's frontiers. With the Chinese threatening to make an issue of the boundary question, sizeable army dispositions needed to be permanently established in NEFA itself for defence of its frontiers with China.

Before much progress could be made in this matter the Chinese struck. So rapid was the enemy advance and so utter the collapse of Indian resistance that it was taken for granted that, within a matter of days, the whole of NEFA, if not Assam, would be
lost to the Chinese. During their brief period of occupation of NEFA, the Chinese went out of their way to be friendly to and win over the tribal population. Fortunately, in course of several months the Chinese vacated the occupied areas of NEFA and matters became normal. It was a miracle that within six months of the confusion and tension of the invasion, the tribals should have peacefully settled down to their normal life, without the slightest feeling of bitterness against the Indian administration. The blandishment of the Chinese proved ineffective and the tribals' feelings of loyalty to the govt. remained firm although they had been virtually abandoned at a time of their gravest peril. Within the next ten years, NEFA was formally bifurcated from Assam and constituted as a Union Territory, designated as Arunachal Pradesh, or, 'Land of the Rising Sun', a stepping-stone, in the fullness of time, to ultimate Statehood which it achieved on February 20, 1987.

NEFA's orderly constitutional progress provides an invaluable case-study, as it is one of the rare, if not unique, instances of primitive tribal communities being successfully guided to adjust themselves, within a relatively brief period, to a smooth and harmonious co-existence with, and within, cultures of a fundamentally different pattern. What is significant is that the relationship of confidence that has been built up is not a superficial veneer. It has stood the severest of tests, the test of a full-
scale military invasion. At a time when civil and military personnel were taking flight in fear and panic from their posts, the tribals of NERFA came willingly forward to porter loads for facilitating army movements and to bring in intelligence of the enemy's positions. The tribals might have been expected to bear resentment and hostility against the administration. But they showed no bitterness and their loyalty remained steadfast.

It may be asked wherein lay the success in the building up of a relationship of such unshakeable confidence and goodwill. The administration had been very scrupulous in showing respect for tribal culture and creating a propitious climate for its growth and fruitful development. But there was nothing new in all this. What was new in the administration's approach and gave confidence to the tribal people was that, whereas it respected their culture, it respected equally their aspirations and their right to move forward with the times, should they so wish. For while the tribals are sensitive and resent any slight to their traditions and customary way of life, they resent no less the imputation that, as tribals, they are not fit or ready to adjust themselves to and hold their own in a fast-changing world.

In a world where the techniques of mass communication are developing at a phenomenal pace, it is questionable whether any culture can indefinitely maintain its individual entity. We respect the culture of the tribes of NERFA, not out of any sentimental
feeling or expectation that their culture and languages can indefinitely survive in their present form. We show respect to their culture as this is a way of showing respect to the tribes that are its heirs and whose responsibility it is to decide in what shape this heritage is to be passed on to their successors. (31)

In the case of NEPA, political and strategic considerations ruled out the possibility of the tribes remaining in indefinite isolation. And if the Government of India had not taken the first initiative in including them within its embrace, they might well have fallen to the less tender mercies of their northern neighbours. Once the processes of change have been set into motion, there is no foreseeing to where they may lead, and it would be unrealistic to expect that the future pattern of life of the tribes of NEPA will survive in the form it was found when the Administration first made its contacts with them. (32)

It is not in human hands to preserve and crystallize in perpetuity the cultural pattern of NEPA's tribes, even if that were desirable. What the administration has succeeded in doing is to save the people of NEPA from the shock and trauma primitive people throughout the world have had to suffer during the painful period of breaking out of their chrysalis. This has been achieved not so much by dictating to them the way as by the assurance that it is for the tribes themselves to make their choices, for
them to decide whether any change is to be brought about in the pattern of their lives, and, if so, the timing, manner and pace of its introduction.
Notes and References to Chapter VI.


2. In the following words Nehru clarified the nature and aim of the Third Policy to be applied by the Government of India:

"Government of India is determined to help the tribal people to grow according to their own genius and tradition; it is not the intention to impose anything on them. Development must be according to their own genius and not something that they can not absorb or imbibe and which merely uproots them. I feel, therefore that it is unwise to try to do too many things at the same time there which may result in disturbing the mind of the people or in upsetting their habits. I have no doubt that development and change and so-called progress will come to them because it is becoming increasingly difficult for any people to live their isolated life cut-off from the rest of the world. But let this development and change be natural and be in the nature of self-development with all the help one can give in the process". (V. Elwin: *A Philosophy for NEFA*, p. 56).


6. Rustomji: Ibid.
7. Luthra: Ibid.
8. Rustomji: Ibid.
12. Rustomji: Ibid.
15. Rustomji: Ibid.
22. Luthra: Ibid.
25. Luthra: Ibid.
27. Rustomji: Ibid.
29. Rustomji: Ibid.
31. Dubey: Ibid.
33. Excerpt from the speech of N. K. Rustomji (Former Adviser to the Governor of Assam) on the matter:

"We have as much to learn from the hillmen, as they have from us. Much of the beauty of living still survives in these remote and distant hills, where dance and song, are a vital part of everyday living, where people speak and think freely, without fear or restraint. ... The hill man has, essentially, a clean, direct and healthy outlook; he is free, happily, from the morbid complexes inhibited by the unnatural life of the city-folk, ... divorced from ... the beauty of nature, fresh sunlight, and free, spontaneous laughter. ..."

The greatest disservice will be done if, in an excess of missionary zeal, our workers destroy the fresh creative urge that lives, strong and vital, within the denizens of the hills. If we wish to serve, we must show that we have respect for the hillmen, their institutions, their language and their song; and, in showing such respect, we shall secure their
confidence... as one amongst the people themselves.

Workers among the tribes must be men of adventure and elastic intellect. The mind must be constantly on the alert to discover ways and means of overcoming the hundred and one problems of administration in such unusual areas and amongst such unusual people. ... But the worker who plods along the beaten track, hesitant to undertake any venture lest it might not meet with immediate success, will be of little use for work in areas where the commonly accepted rules and practices are impractical of implementation and are a hindrance to the development and growth of the people. (Elwin, Ibid., p. 267 and 151).
CHAPTER VII

Constitutional and Administrative Development of Arunachal.

As has already been said, Arunachal Pradesh is, by and large, a mountainous province on the North-Eastern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas and North-Western slopes of the Patkai range. Its total area is approximately 8048 square kilometers and it sustains a population of over five hundred thousand. The province is the home of about 110 tribes and subtribes and has been divided into five districts. The capital was at Shillong till 1972 but was transferred to Itanagar in the Subansiri district from April 1974. Till 1971 the province was known as NEFA and was constitutionally a part of the province of Assam. Its territory was defined in the part B of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian constitution. Its administration was carried on by an Advisor to the Governor of Assam. The Governor in his turn was a deputy of the President of India, acting on the advice of the Union Home Ministry.

At the time of Indian Independence in 1947, NEFA consisted of Balipara, Tirap, Sadiya Frontier Tracts and Naga Tribal Area which lay beyond the regular administrative jurisdictions of Assam. A wall of separation, built from 1873-76 by the application of the Inner Line Regulation of 1873, developed in the tribes an isolationist psychology and attitude and they continued to live in a separate world. Agencies of modernisation like school, postal services, telegraphs, railways, roads, hos-
pitals, administrative offices etc. did not practically exist in the Frontiers during the British period and no systematic attempt was made to provide a regular system of government in the area.

7:1. Changes between 1947 and 1972

The Constituent Assembly of India which was convened just after Independence to prepare the Constitution of the country appointed a sub-committee to recommend the future pattern of administration of the Hill Areas of Assam and the Frontier Tracts. The Committee, headed by Gopinath Bordoloi, visited the tribal areas of Assam and received deputations, but it could not proceed to the Frontiers for lack of communication. Whatever information it received from British officers in the employ of the Frontier affairs formed the basis of its recommendations and these ultimately assumed the form of the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution of 1950. It provided for the management of essentially tribal and inter-tribal matters by the tribal people themselves, but the general administration and law and order matters were kept under the government of Assam. It was also provided that the tribes of the Frontiers should continue to be kept under the Political Officers and their assistants until they were developed enough to assume the control of their own tribal affairs and from then only the pattern provided for the Tribal Areas of Assam would be introduced in full swing.
The Bordoloi Committee had envisaged the gradual development of the Frontier Tracts of Assam. In keeping with the spirit of these recommendations, the plains portions of the North-East Frontier were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the government of Assam in 1951. With a view to follow up the recommendations of the Committee, the Governor of Assam, who, under the new constitution, acted as the deputy of the President of India, undertook a programme of Indianisation of the Frontier Service. Very competent, energetic and highly capable persons, carefully chosen from all over India and preferably from the Assam Cadre, who could give a very favourable impression of India to the tribes of the North-East, were appointed to serve in the sensitive Frontier Service. As a matter of fact, even before the promulgation of the newly-formed Indian Constitution, the first Indian Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, and Gopinath Bordoloi, the then Chief Minister of Assam, had already initiated the policy. After 1950, the next Governor, Jairamdas Dhaltram, activated the policy only more vigorously and with all sincerity to the best of his remarkable zeal and competence.

The proper development of the tribal people was a problem of far greater national magnitude, since one-fifth of the total population of the Indian Republic is tribal. The tribes of the north-east in particular were kept outside the
mainstream of Indian life by the British government and the
general development that had taken place in India during the
British rule had practically resulted in the impoverishment and
exploitation of the tribal world of the country. Therefore, it
was strongly felt after Independence that it was a just and very
urgent necessity of the time to devise a regular, definite, and
systematic plan for the proper development and uplift of the
tribal population. Hence, the Union Home Ministry convened a
seminar to devise workable plans and sensible principles for
all-round uplift and development of the tribal areas of the
North-East Frontier which was a very sensitive zone in terms of
political importance.

The scheme recommended by the seminar found an
ideological framework in Verrier Elwin's *Philosophy for
NEFA*. It envisaged five principles of development. First,
the tribes should build upon their traditional heritage and
genius, and there should be no imposition of any kind on them.
Secondly, tribal right in land and forests should be protected.
Thirdly, a team of tribal people should be trained up with the
purpose of enabling them to undertake the responsibility of
development and administrative works in the Frontiers in course
of time, and till such a team would actually come up, technicians
and administrators would be employed from outside. Fourthly, the
administration should be simple and should not forcibly suppress
the tribal institutions and customs; rather, the traditional tribal culture and institutions should be activated and re-invigorated. And finally, the results of the money spent by the government should be measured in terms of the quality of human character that was likely to emerge as a result of development programmes instead of by complicated statistical data.

Meanwhile, the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 added greater importance to the task of development in the Frontiers, as did the advent of the Chinese general Chao in 1960 across the boundary. The problem of communication in the Frontiers was highlighted by the devastating earthquake of 1950 and the far more important problem of defence of the border now caught the serious attention of the government of India. So long New Delhi had remained content with what the Governor had been doing for the development of the Frontiers; but now the Ministry of External Affairs, under the charge of which the Frontier affairs were held, began to show definite interest in the matter. T. N. Kaul, Joint Secretary of the Ministry, who enjoyed the special confidence of Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, undertook to organise a special service for the Frontiers, recruiting very specially chosen, tough and competent officers, mainly from among army men with outstanding and brilliant service records.

The Frontier territories which had been divided
into several administrative divisions from time to time were so long known variously as Frontier Tract, Frontier Division, Sub-Agency, and Frontier District. These terms were standardized in 1954 and all the territorial divisions henceforward came to be named after the principal river of the area, instead of after the tribes or place names as was the practice before. Thus now emerged six divisions: (1) Kameng Frontier Division instead of the Se-La Sub-Agency; (2) Siang Division instead of Abor-Hills District; (3) Subansiri Division in place of Bada-para Frontier Tract; (4) Lohit Division instead of Mishmi Hills District; (5) Tirap Division instead of Tirap Frontier Tract; and (6) Naga Tribal Area was named Tuensang Division. The headquarters of these Divisions which were mostly located below the hills on plains far away from the interior of the Divisions, were transferred within the Divisions in centrally situated places. Thus, the headquarters of the Kameng Division were pushed to Bomdila at an altitude of 9000 feet, which commanded the territory of the Division on both sides of the Pass; the headquarters of Subansiri was located at Ziro on a plateau within the Dafla Hills; that of Siang Division was transferred to Along from the foothills at Pasighat; the headquarters of Tirap was pushed up to Khela and later transferred to Khonsa; and the headquarters of the Lohit Division was shifted to Tezu from
Saliya, as the latter place was transferred to Assam in 1951.

Gradually, new administrative Sub-divisions were created, which, in their turn, were again split up into circles for the proper development of the areas. In order to speed up development programmes, responsible higher officers were posted. Thus there were circles usually consisting of thirty to forty villages, and sub-divisions, sometimes consisting of one or even more such circle. Some sub-divisions were put under the charge of an Additional District Officer. It may be mentioned here that the concept of Additional District Officer was something new in Arunachal administrative machinery and it was readily adopted in order to cope with the tempo of the all-round development work that had been initiated in the long-neglected tribal areas so urgently.

The terms of territorial divisions and sub-divisions of the Agency Area were rationalised and standardized in 1954 but it was only in 1965 that the designations of the official hierarchy of the districts of the Agency were assimilated with those existing in the neighbouring state of Assam. Hitherto the officers were designated as Base Superintendent, Assistant Political Officer, and Political Officer. Henceforward they were to be designated as Circle Officer, Assistant Commissioner, and Deputy Commissioner respectively. At the same time, the divisions were to be termed henceforth as Districts as in the state of Assam. In order to rationalize the control from above, the
Agency which so long operated under the Ministry of External Affairs, was transferred to the charge of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Parliamentary Committee which visited NEFA in May 1966, recommended to transfer the capital or the principal Headquarters of the Agency from Shillong to NEFA territory itself. A committee was appointed to recommend a suitable site for the purpose and as a result steps were taken to establish the new capital of NEFA at Itanagar in the Subansiri district.

Though the NEFA territory has for ever been an integral part of the Indian Union, its administrative machinery had become quite elaborate with the passage of years of change and developments. It was appreciated from all corners that NEFA now required to have a separate government of its own and that the people of NEFA who did not so long enjoy any privilege to franchise should be granted this basic and vital fundamental rights to have an elected government and ministry for themselves. To probe into the matter the Government of India set up a committee under the Chairmanship of Daing Ering, the then nominated member of Parliament from NEFA. The committee recommended the introduction of a three-tier system of government in the Agency territory. A regulation known as Panchayati Raj Regulation was duly drawn up in 1967 and the same was put into effect in 1969. The promulgation of this special Regulation provided the popular support for sustaining the Administration
of the North-East Frontier and relieved the Official NEFA Admin-
nistration of much of its responsibility for local government.

The Panchayati Raj Regulation of 1967 provided for
the recognition and reorganisation of the local self-governments
in all the districts of NEFA. As a matter of fact, all the
tribes of the Agency had some sort of democratic village institu-
tions which dealt with the tribal and inter-tribal issues. The
new Regulation now provided legal bases to the existing village
institutions and supplied de jure local governments for the
newly-created sub-divisions and districts of the territory in
conformity with the rest of the country. Thus the villages of
the circle had a council which was now termed Anchal Samity; the
council which co-ordinated the activities of Anchal Samities of
a district was termed Zilla Parishad; and finally, to co-ordi-
nate and supervise the activities of the NEFA Administration and
advise the Chief Commissioner on administrative and legislative
measures, an Agency Council was provided for at the Agency level
in 1972.

The development of the North-East Frontier since
Independence has created a sense of unity and oneness among the
Frontier tribes. The improvement of the communication system
has resulted in the removal of narrow clanish outlook of many
tribes. The spread of education and growth of the administra-
tive apparatus have broadened the horizon of the tribal world and
mentality considerably. The operations of Anchal Panchayats and Zilla Parishads have further bound and integrated the different tribes in a common interest on a solid footing. Yet, in spite of all these, the tribes feel that the full security of their interests lies only in the formation of a separate territorial state of their own. The Government of India, therefore, which began with a policy of safeguarding the tribal people's interests, aspirations, and separate identity, had no alternative in the end except to provide a home for the Frontier tribes in a Union Territory, separate from Assam, by reorganisation of the North-Eastern India in 1971.

January 20, 1971, saw the emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a Union Territory, with a Lieutenant-Governor at its head and a council of ministers to run the administration. But the close association and natural interest of both Assam and Arunachal Pradesh required some amount of common planning and development projects. Therefore an agency known as the North-Eastern Council comprising not only Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, but also the other contiguous states had been formed. This Council consisted of the Chief Executive of each of the constituents except Arunachal Pradesh, which was represented by a member of the Pradesh Council who might be nominated by the Chief Commissioner of the Pradesh. The Council acted through its secretariat having a Secretary, Planning Advisor, a Financial Advisor,
a Security Advisor, and such other officers appointed by the Central Government. This Council was required to undertake economic and social planning, arrange means of transport, communication and flood-control measures for the entire North-East India and thus foster a feeling of unity and oneness among all its constituent member-regions. Officers of the Council were required to undertake extensive tours, meet the people and their representatives, and acquire expert firsthand knowledge about the multifarious problems, requirements and hazards of the areas concerned.

Despite all these various measures for the upliftment and progress of the North-East undertaken by the Union Government, the people of Arunachal with all their peace-loving and tolerant nature could not ignore the fact that theirs was not yet a full-fledged State like those of the other parts of the North-East as Nagaland or Meghalaya which had already been granted full Statehood and thus raised from the point of view of national status. As a Union Territory, Arunachal had now of course its ministry under the leadership of a Chief Minister and a Lieutenant-Governor to head it, as in Mizoram. But that alone did not fully satisfy the need, dream, and aspirations of the Arunachal people. They wanted to have a full-fledged State of their own, free from any intervention or imposition of the Central Government. And that was exactly the next step in the
offing, which was fulfilled right fifteen years and one month after it became a Union Territory. Arunachal became the 24th State of the Indian Republic on a fine morning of February 20, 1987.

7:12. Attainment of Statehood.

It was on December 8, 1986 that the decks were cleared for Arunachal Pradesh to attain full statehood with the Lok Sabha passing the Constitution (55th Amendment) Bill and a companion bill relating to the Legislative Assembly of the new State. While the constitution amendment bill mustered 338 votes in support and 34 against in the mandatory division, the state of Arunachal Pradesh Bill was passed by a voice vote. The votes cast against the constitution amendment bill, despite the unanimity over the conferment of statehood, reflected the difference of the opposition to arm the state Governor with some special powers.

The Prime Minister intervened in the debate to explain that it being a highly sensitive border state, it was prudent to vest the Governor with some special powers. In his view, the people of Arunachal had stood by India during the trying time of Chinese aggression and over the years acquired the political responsibilities to be eligible for Statehood. He hoped the pre-
sent Central Government would protect the culture and the local
customs of the various tribes and work for their prosperity. The
new State will see that there is no infringement on others’
rights and the local customs are protected. He thought that in
view of the critical situation in the extreme North-Eastern
areas, the Governor of the new State should have some special
powers which he would not possibly have to use and that the major
border dispute in the area would be solved without much trouble.

The then Chief minister of Arunachal said that
congering of Statehood to Arunachal Pradesh has come as a Christmas gift from the Prime Minister for the people of the State. He
said that apart from economic developments, emphasis by the
government would be given on improvement in the spheres of educa-
tion, communication, transport and power. He thought that Aruna-
chal was now the most peaceful area in the country. It was rich
in natural resources; the harnessing of coal, oil, gas and ura-
nium, available here in plenty, would change the economic cha-
acter of the State. The centre had been requested to set up a refinery by utilizing the crude reserve tapped in the State.
He said that so long Assam had not shown any interest in solving
the border problems between the two states and that a mood of
non-co-operation on the part of Assam made matters rather stra-
nuous.

With the passing of the State of Arunachal Pradesh
Bill by Parliament in the second week of December 1966, Arunachal, which was till the other day known as NEFA, emerged as the 24th State of the Indian Union. Arunachal has travelled a long way from the days when Jawaharlal Nehru took what was then known as North-East Frontier Agency under his special care. Nehru had made NEFA part of the responsibility of the External Affairs Ministry - a departure which was resented by many who thought it tended to make an unnecessary distinction between NEFA and other centrally administered territories which were all under the Home Ministry. Nehru did not yield, contending that while NEFA was to be brought to the mainstream, it had to be ensured that the tribes of NEFA - Nehru called them 'Children of Nature' - retain, by and large, their culture and way of life. He knew how delicate the task was and brought in the famed Verrier Elwin to advise him. The Bill just passed by Parliament to confer on Arunachal the status of a full-fledged State of the Indian Union is proof that Nehru's patient approach has paid. Even the opposition parties conceded this, for the Bill was passed unanimously.

There was stiff opposition though, to the connected Constitution Amendment Bill which sought to fix the strength of the proposed Arunachal Assembly at not less than 39, instead of the usual 60. Much more controversial was the provision to empower the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh to exercise his own judgement, after consulting the Council of Ministers, in regard
to the action to be taken for the maintenance of law and order. The Opposition found the provision all the more exceptionable because the right of the Governor to decide where to use his individual judgment had been made absolute in the Bill. The special power of the Governor can be terminated by the President on the basis of a report from the Governor himself that he no longer needed it. Clearly, the provision is permissive and not mandatory, and there is no reason to apprehend that the Governor would resort to the plenary power indiscriminately. In fact, he may not have any occasion to invoke it, as has been explained by the Prime Minister. The provision is in the nature of ample precaution, for Arunachal lies in a sensitive area and a part of it is, even at this moment, in alien occupation. The special power is for a special situation and is not meant to be permanently retained in the Constitution.

Right on the eve of the Indian government's decision to grant full Statehood to Arunachal, a fresh complication of a rather sinister nature cropped up in the form of China's vehement protest against the proposed move. India lost no time to reject the Chinese protest by branding it as a clear interference in India's internal affairs. Reacting to the Chinese Foreign Ministry statement issued in Beijing on December 11, 1986, that Arunachal Pradesh was basically an India-occupied area of Chinese territory, Indian External Affairs Ministry
said that this was totally unacceptable and that conferring of full Statehood to the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh, which is an integral part of Indian territory with an elected legislature, was entirely a matter of Parliament of India to decide. The government also sincerely regretted the baseless allegations made by China which was entirely contrary to its professed desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question on maintaining peace and tranquility on the so-called line of actual control in the eastern border. The Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh also expressed his definite view that Arunachal was a part and parcel of India, that the Centre's plan to grant it full Statehood was legal and constitutional, and that China's claim over the area was illegal and unfounded.

The Chinese government, on the contrary, reacted by pointing out that Arunachal, which is a part of Chinese territory illegally occupied by India will never be recognised by China, that it is entirely futile for the Indian authorities to try to legalise its occupation through domestic legislation, that this act of India has seriously violated China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, deeply hurts the feelings of the Chinese people, and that the consequences arising therefrom will be serious. The Chinese statement goes on to point out that the boundary between China and India has never been formally delimited. However, a traditional customary boundary, respected by
the two peoples, has long taken shape on the basis of the extent of each side's administrative jurisdiction. The McMahon Line, contrived by the colonialists in 1914 during their rule of India, is illegal and null and void and has never been recognised by any of the successive Chinese governments.

The Chinese statement further continues to state that, after Independence, India has not only carried on with the occupation of Chinese territory in the most disputed eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, but further pushed northwards in Chinese areas lying between the traditional customary line and the illegal McMahon Line and that Chinese Government and people will never accept it. Chinese foreign office then goes on to regret that India has deliberately taken this step during the on-going Sino-Indian talks on the boundary question and asserts that this has created obstacles to a settlement of the boundary question, further complicated the problem, and may even give rise to serious consequences.

It would have been out of character with China if it had let pass the Government of India's move to confer statehood on Arunachal Pradesh without a protest. The Chinese had created a row over the inclusion of the speaker of the Arunachal Assembly in an Indian delegation to an international conference in
Chinese protest it may be assumed that China has no intention of vacating its intrusion into the Union Territory and will continue to hold the territory under its illegal occupation for an indefinite period. May be the Chinese occupation is designed to buttress on the ground its claim to Indian territory south of the McMahon Line. Despite the threat of serious consequences given by the Chinese, it can not be overlooked that China has re-affirmed its willingness to settle the boundary question in a spirit of mutual accommodation and understanding. This is India's stand also. The Indian Prime Minister said that he was not in favour of aggravating the situation created in the North-East by the Chinese encroachment and that India was keen to settle the issue through negotiations. As long as the two countries adhere to their preference for a negotiated settlement, peace on the border may not be disturbed.

Fortunately, no further complication or disturbance cropped up in the matter and the Parliament agreed to confer the status of full Statehood on Arunachal Pradesh with a 60 member Assembly instead of 40. Considering the vastness of the area, the rough terrain and to give proper representation to various tribes, Arunachal Pradesh was allowed to have at least 60 members in the Assembly. The Chief Minister of Arunachal said on the occasion that historically, traditionally and culturally the people of Arunachal were always with India. He remembered thankfully
that during the 1962 Chinese Aggression, though some areas of Arunachal were occupied by China and even administered by them for about two months, they could not win the mind of a single Arunachali and this should be a good lesson for China to remember. February 20, 1987, was a red-letter day for Arunachal and its people. On this day it became the 24th State of the Indian Union, with the Prime Minister personally inaugurating the conferment of Statehood ceremony, promising solemnly to promote its all-round development. Emphasizing the need for preserving the cultural heritage of the State, he reminded the people that with the attainment of statehood their responsibility increased manifold. He expressed the hope that the people would certainly live up to it. Calling Arunachal an "island of peace", he said, it was the only state which always maintained its distance from the turmoil elsewhere and he expressed his firm conviction that the people of the place would continue this noble record of performance in the years to come. Along with our leader, let all Indians also join in according our warmest welcome and heartiest greetings to Arunachal and its people, with their age-old cultural heritage and glorious contribution to Indian civilization, on their noble integration with the mainstream of national life.
Notes and References to Chapter VII.

1. Vide APPENDIX I (1)

2. Vide APPENDIX II (2)


4. Dubey: Ibid.

5. Dubey: Ibid.

6. Contributed feature

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.


12. Luthra: Ibid.


16. Ibid.


27. Amrita Bazar Patrika : Ibid.
APPENDIX : 1

1. Chronological statement of Territorial Adjustments in NEFA.

1914
1. The Central and Eastern Section, North-East Frontier Tract.
2. Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
3. The Western Section, North-East Frontier Tract.

1919
1. The Sadiya Frontier Tract.
2. The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
3. The Balipara Frontier Tract.

1943
1. The Sadiya Frontier Tract.
2. The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
3. The Tirap Frontier Tract.
   Sala Sub-Agency.
   Subansiri Area

1946
1. The Sadiya Frontier Tract.
2. The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
3. The Tirap Frontier Tract.
   Se La Sub-Agency.
   Subansiri Area.

1948.

1. The Abor Hills District.
   The Mishmi Hills District.
2. The Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.
3. The Tirap Frontier Tract.
   Se La Sub-Agency.
   Subansiri Area.

1950.

1. The Abor Hills District.
   The Mishmi Hills District.
2. 
3. The Tirap Frontier Tract.
   Se La Sub-Agency.
   Subansiri Area.
   Naga Tribal Area.

1954.

1. Siang Frontier Division.
   Lohit Frontier Division.
2. ........................................
3. Tirap Frontier Division.
   Kameng Frontier Division.
   Subansiri Frontier Division.
   Tuensang Frontier Division.

1963.

1. Siang Frontier Division.
   Lohit Frontier Division.
2. .................................
3. Tirap Frontier Division.
   Kameng Frontier Division.
   Subansiri Frontier Division.

1965.

1. Siang District.
   Lohit District.
2. .................................
3. Tirap District.
   Kameng District.
   Subansiri District.
   ................................
Excerpt from
Regulation No. 1 of 1954.
The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

A Regulation to provide for the re-adjustment of
the administrative units of the North-East Frontier Tract specified in part B of the table annexed to the Sixth Schedule to the
Constitution, and for certain matters incidental thereto.

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (2)
of article 243 of the constitution, read with sub-paragraph (2)
of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, the
President is pleased to promulgate following Regulation made by
him.

1. (i) This Regulation may be called the North-East
Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

2. It shall come into force on such date as the
Governor of Assam may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint.

3. On and from the commencement of this Regulation,
(a) The North-East Frontier Tract, including the Balipara Frontier Tract, the Tirap Frontier Tract, the Abor Hills District, the Mishmi Hills District shall be known as the North-East Frontier Agency.
(b) The Balipara Frontier Tract shall be divided into two separate units of administration called the Subansiri Frontier Division and the Kameng Frontier Division.

(c) Each of the areas specified in Column 1 of the table below shall be known by the name mentioned in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 thereof.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Existing name of areas</th>
<th>New name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tirap Frontier Tract</td>
<td>Tirap Frontier Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abor Hills District</td>
<td>Siang Frontier Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mishmi Hills District</td>
<td>Lohit Frontier Division</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Any reference in any existing law ... to any of the areas specified in Column 1 of the table shall be construed as a reference to the area specified in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 of the said table.

Explanation:-

In this section "existing law" means any law, ordinance, order, bye-law, or regulation passed or made before the commencement of this Regulation by any legislature, authority or person having power to make such law, ordinance, order, bye-law, rule or regulation.

Rajendra Prasad, President.
No. FA.140/50/122 - In pursuance of the sub-section (2) of the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954 (Regulation 1 of 1954), the Governor of Assam is pleased to appoint the 26th January, 1954, as the date on which the said Regulation shall come into force.

N. K. Rustomji,
Adviser to the Governor of Assam.

Regulation No. 7 of 1965.

Promulgated by the President in the Sixteenth Year of the Republic of India.

A Regulation to make further provision for the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency and for certain matters connected therewith.

In exercise of the powers conferred by article 240 of the Constitution, read with sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, the President is pleased to promulgate the following Regulation made by him.

1. (1) This Regulation may be called the North-East Frontier Agency (Administration) Regulation, 1965.

2. It shall come into force on such date as the
Central Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Regulation
   (a) "Division" means any of the Frontier Divisions referred to in section (2) of the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation 1954.
   
   (b) "Existing law" means any law, ordinance, regulation, order, by-law, rule, scheme, notification or other instrument having the force of law in India or any part thereof.

   (c) "North-East Frontier Agency" shall have the meaning assigned to it in the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

3. On and from the commencement of this Regulation, each of the Divisions of the North-East Frontier Agency specified in column 1 of the table below shall be known by the name mentioned in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 thereof.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Existing name of Division (1)</th>
<th>New Name (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kameng Frontier Division.</td>
<td>Kameng District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subansiri Frontier Division.</td>
<td>Subansiri District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siang Frontier Division.</td>
<td>Siang District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohit Frontier Division.</td>
<td>Lohit District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirap Frontier Division.</td>
<td>Tirap District.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Any reference in any existing law to any of the Divisions specified in column 1 of the table annexed to section 3 shall be construed as a reference to the District specified in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 of the said table.

5. Whenever an expression mentioned in column 1 of the table below occurs in any existing law as applicable to the North-East Frontier Agency, there shall be substituted therefor the expression set opposite to it in column 2 of the said table, and there shall also be made in any sentence in which the expression occurs such consequential amendments as the rules of grammar may require.
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Officer</td>
<td>Deputy Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Political Officer</td>
<td>Additional Deputy Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Political Officer</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S. Radhakrishnan,  
President,  
R.C.S. Sarkar,  
Secretary to the Government of India.
2. Chronological statement of changes in the Pattern of Administration in NESTA.

1914.

Administered by the **Government** of Assam.

1919.

Administered by the **Government** of Assam with special safeguards.

1937.

Administered by the **Governor** of Assam acting in his discretion independently of the Provincial Ministry.

1947.

Administered by the **Governor** of Assam acting on the advice of the Provincial Ministry.

1950.

Administered by the **President through the Governor** of Assam as his Agent acting in his discretion under the general supervision and control of the Ministry of External Affairs.

1965.

Administered as before by the **Governor** as Agent of the President but under the general supervision and control of the Ministry of the Ministry of Home Affairs.
1972.

Administered as a full-fledged Union Territory, under the newly acquired name of Arunachal Pradesh, by a Lt.-Governor with an elected popular Ministry.

1987.

Attains full-fledged Statehood as the youngest member of the Indian Union (Feb. 20).
CHAPTER - VIII

Summary and Conclusion

8:1. Summary of Findings.

In the foregoing Chapters an attempt has been made to study the traditional life of the Adi tribe of Arunachal with relevant references to their origin, physical features, nature, dress, divisions, village settlements, family patterns, social institutions, customary laws, economic life, oral literature, religious practices, ceremonies and world view. In short, it has been an attempt to sketch the whole folklore of the place so to say, which has been prevailing in the area since unknown past, having been retained with implicit faith and obedience. Next, the changes in the Adi life and society which took place after their contact with the British and Assam plains people have been pointed, with relevant references to the state of matters as they stand at present.

This study of Adi folklore is never without a definite aim and purpose as has been followed in the preceding chapters by way of displaying a sense of historical continuity in which both tradition and modernity combine. Folklore has a historical background and the subject induced scientists to look back into the pre-history of mankind and their primitive practices that are still surviving. Folklore usually suggests
traditions passing through the centuries through the oral medium. It has a wide domain in so far as it refers to orally inherited tales, songs, saying and beliefs, or to village festivals, household customs and popular rituals. In all these matters tradition plays the most important role and since tradition varies from place to place, the study that a folklorist has to follow must conform to the shape and form of a particular civilization. The growth of interest in the study of folklore in different countries of the East and West was prompted more by a sense of national spirit than by a spirit of academic pursuit.

Each tribe and each locality has a folklore and it is obvious that to set forth any given folklore, with all its stratifications, in a comprehensive and orderly way, would virtually amount to exhibiting fully the past and present intellectual, moral, religious and social conditions of the people to whom it belonged. Folklore limits itself to a study of the unrecorded traditions of the people as they appear in popular fiction, custom, belief, magic and ritual.

Folklore may well be called a historical science; historical, because it attempts to throw light on man's past; a science, because it endeavours to attain this goal, not by speculation or deduction from some abstract principle agreed upon a priori, but by the inductive method which underlies all scientific
fic research whether historical or natural. So far as the ancient tribes are concerned, it would seem that the greater proportion of trustworthy data is to be derived from that department of their folklore which manifests itself in traditional practices. Even the modern usages of social and domestic life, when skilfully read, are capable of telling us something at least of the condition of the people and society of old times.

Folklore is a living and inextinguishable force, ebbing and flowing with the rhythm of social life, carrying into the present the traditions of the past and constantly adapting itself to the changing conditions of the times. Old customs disappear and superstitions vanish with new techniques and knowledge, but ancient forms of thought continually reappear in a new guise. Folklore material is no longer looked for solely in the country or in the records of the past. The products of the folk mind working under present conditions in urban as well as rural areas and the effect of modern ideas upon the birth of new folk traditions form an important part of the study to-day. (2)

The whole account as presented in the preceding chapters doubtless points to, in perfect accordance with the norms of the historical science of folklore, the Adi tribe's strong adherence to the traditional past and customary practices in almost every sphere of life and society. There have of course been infiltration of many and varied changes with the
passage of time and changes in the socio-political condition and atmosphere in the neighbouring arena. But these could not completely topple the old solidarity and strong plinth of the settled social structure. Rather, a sensible and adjustable balance could be arrived at without much strain, primarily through the practical outlook and accommodating, adaptable nature of the Adi people on the one hand and the Government's wise, mature and sympathetic handling of the whole situation on the other. Let us sum up the whole matter.

Till the early 1950's only a few of the tribal communities inhabiting the North-Eastern Frontiers of India had developed some measure of close association with outsiders. The multitude of tribes of the vast mountainous tract north of the Brahmaputra, had hardly ever been brought under direct and effective administrative control during the British regime. The British could see no financial profit from these intractable, inhospitable areas, considered it pointless to commit themselves to infructuous expenditure and hence left the tribes to themselves in their undeveloped state without any direct interference in their internal affairs. The British had also previous experience gathered elsewhere during their imperialist expansions that in tribal practice any sudden intrusion by strangers into their territory meant subsequent pillage and outrage of their culture. The tribals were perfectly content with their own way of life and
resisted with all violence any attempt to force exotic ways and patterns upon them. While they might not have been aware of long-term implications of such changes, their own way of life was as important and meaningful to themselves as was that of the others elsewhere. These considerations led the British to follow their policy of non-intervention about the tribals of the north-east excepting in cases of necessary military domination.

In sharp contrast to this policy is the second one of assimilation or detribalization. Although it has favoured, elsewhere in the world, a few gifted individuals who are able to assimilate the new way of life, it generally deprives the mass of the people of their standards and values without putting anything comparable in their place.

The government of India since the attainment of Independence was thus faced with a problem much like the performing of a delicate balancing trick in forming an acceptable policy regarding the vast tribal population of the country, including that in NEFA. In administering NEFA, specially in view of the presence of possible unfriendly neighbours across the borders, it was necessary, on one side, to demonstrate that the writ of the government extended as far north as the McMahon Line. It was equally necessary, on the other side, to ensure that the entry of the administration into virtually unexplored tribal
territory did not raise suspicions and apprehensions in the minds of the tribal people. It was indeed a delicate task which had, in its onward course, met with occasional set-backs and much of the administration's success in establishing friendly contacts with the tribes of NEFA may be attributed to its calm and reasoned, restrained and sensible handling of the whole process. It ended in ultimately winning over the complete confidence of the NEFA tribal world and their unaffected friendship and co-operation.

8:2. Concluding Observations.

There can be no doubt that the people in this vital promontory of our country need be given the full benefits of modern science and knowledge. There should be an all-round progress in their cultural, economic and social spheres. The walls of separation and isolation should be pulled down in the interest of the democratic progress of the country as a whole. This progressive policy became imperative particularly after the Chinese invasion of 1962. It advocates the advancement of these people and their integration with the rest of India. In the implementation of this objective, care is duly taken to ensure that progress is built on the foundations of their existing values and social patterns and that the process is touched off by the widening of the mass consciousness of the people. In concrete terms, it means arousing the awareness of the people to
the fact that they are a part of a big nation which is devoted to high-minded democratic and social ideal, freedom, oneness, equality of opportunity and a wide range of human tolerance. The policy objectives in NEFA in terms of constitutional aim have been to set out a process of building a representative government of the people so that they, in keeping with the advance in education, may manage their own affairs and have freedom in developing their social and economic condition within the framework of the constitution.

The administrative aims in Arunachal are those of integration, prosperity, and security. Integration lies in the realm of the mind and it is not achieved merely by showing a certain territory on a map. The initiative has to be taken to generate a sense of belonging to the country as a whole and to its various other parts. This necessitates social intercourse and one of the methods to achieve this is provided by the non-government social welfare missions. Some of these were inducted into NEFA from 1963 and these are playing a useful part in nurturing bonds of comradeship between the people of NEFA and the rest of the country. The awareness of the people that they belong to a big nation has also been strengthened by the various archaeological finds as those at Shismaknagar, Malinithan, Parasuram Kunda etc. which speak of a very rich Indian culture of old that prevailed in the area cen-
turies ago. They point to the historical and cultural links which have existed between these areas and the other parts of the ancient India.

Side by side with this, to promote further intercourse with the rest of the country, boys and girls from NEFA are sent every year to academic institutions in the four corners of India and even outside the country. This will help in bringing up a spirit of national leadership among the promising youth of the region and effectively assist the growth of a bond of emotional integration between NEFA and the other provinces of the country. With regard to the indigenous beliefs and religious faiths of the people, programmes of regular studies and researches have been undertaken by the departments of education and culture. The general policy of the government is to respect them and to help their expansion and development in keeping with the wishes and sentiments of the tribal people. Such an organized and consolidated programme of propagating the faiths, beliefs, and traditional culture of the NEFA tribes will go a long way to enrich the composite culture of our country as a whole.

The administrative aim of prosperity has yielded good results by showing distinct evidence of economic growth in the matter of production and in the uplifting of the general condition and well-being of the people. In recent
years, a few industries have been started in NEFA. Further surveys have pointed to the future scope of prospective forest and mineral-based industries which are proposed to be gradually taken up in the Five Year Plan. These programmes did and are expected to sufficiently enhance the economic prosperity of the region and, what is more, establish a spirit of interdependence and co-operation between NEFA and other regions of the country.

The government's most vital aim in NEFA has been to provide the people of the region with proper security against the backdrop of foreign invasion threat from across the international border. The people of NEFA, particularly the young men, are getting enrolled in increasing numbers as members in the Home Guards, the Police and the Armed Forces. In addition, they are availing themselves of the opportunities to enlist in the Assam Rifles and the Assam Regiment which are special to this region. Their contribution to security is a vital and undeniable part of the defence system of our country. Since these areas and these people are located and positioned in a very sensitive frontier of India, both have a vital role to play in the overall safety of our country.

To-day in this late 20th century the appearance of the Adi culture and society has immensely changed, showing the full truth of Tennyson's proverbial saying, 'old order changeth, yielding place to the new'. The people got a State
and government of their own; boys and girls are enjoying full benefits of Western education and greater Indian culture; they are spreading their talents in various fields, becoming ministers and responsible officers, participating in the national life of India to the full and perhaps at times thinking: 'What once I was, what am now'. People from all over the country are flowing into Adi land either for business or employment. Smart towns and humming colonies are coming up. The whole place is bubbling with activity and all-round development, while in a dark corner of a remote village the hoary-headed, dim-sighted, antediluvian great-grandfather is still perhaps trying feebly to cling to the rusty, traditional past, thinking of the days that are no more and feeling with a heavy heart: 'My days among the dead are past'.

Since the time that Arunachal Administration was formed, the keynote of the policy of the government to be followed towards the tribals has been that of friendliness and sympathy, as hinted in the remark—"the tribesmen first, the tribesmen last, the tribesmen all the time." The task of the Administration has been to educate the people to know, love and be loyal to India; the people were trained how to build up and manage their Councils for judicial and development work; the officers of the Administration inspired them with the ideas of equality and justice inherent in their traditional set-up.
Schools were set up in almost every village where the people are taught, along with the basic three R's, means of better cultivation, habits of cleanliness, and the ideals of love, justice, equality and humanity, as also a stronger devotion to the essential tribal integrity - cultural and religious.

Besides, on the material side all efforts are taken to make the life of the people smooth, happy, and comfortable. Thus, numerous roads were constructed to make communication easier; regular transport arrangement has been made; in major urban areas electricity has been extended; hospitals and health centres have been built; one of the biggest colleges in North-East India was established at Pasighat for higher education in arts and science; and lastly, Cultural Research Officers were posted in every town for the preservation, study and careful propagation of the arts, literature and cultural tradition of the people. The result was the construction of several fine libraries and the creation of a smart, enlightened, and dashing young generation. Adi boys are becoming big officers, doctors, engineers, teachers and politicians but at the same time they are proud of their rich cultural heritage which they are eager to preserve, enhance and propagate. This remarkable blending of the two different worlds—one hoary past and the other smart and progressive present - is really praiseworthy and that shows the commendable success of the Third Policy of the government.
With the formation of the Union Territory and subsequent State of Arunachal Pradesh with a regular elected popular ministry, the matter of development and progress became quickened more than before. The people had a chance to send their elected representative MPs at the Centre to voice their needs and demands. The setting up of 'Panchayats' and abolition of some of the powers of the traditional Kabangs may have given rise to occasional controversies but that the whole area has made tremendous progress by leaps and bounds can never be denied. The people have become increasingly conscious of their needs, rights and demands. The percentage of literacy has gone up quite a lot. Problems and disadvantages are there. But that they will be eased in near future is sure and certain, because the Adis, like Browning's hero, are both optimistic and persevering, who believe in the saying: "Ride, ride together for ever ride," that is to say, to accept life as it comes, with its beauty and filth, good and bad, relief and agony, joys and sorrows, hopes and fears. In this background

In this background of social, political and cultural reconstruction literature has also a vital role to play and that role is played through the writings of the educated members of the younger generation. Modern education and close contact with the outside world have broadened their outlook and killed all parochial bias. Their knowledge about the problems of today has
widened, making them conscious about the problems and needs of their own society. They feel that to uplift their own land, to cure its problems and to make it worth living is their first duty and in this they enjoy the whole-hearted support of all sections of the society. They have realized the vital truth that their first and most important task is to revive the literary heritage of the past and to bring their literature and culture to a stable footing because that is the only object of everlasting truth and permanent value. Thus enlightened Adis of today, Lumer Dai, Oshong Ering, Mating Dai, Talung Rukbo, Jikom Riba, Ano Perma, Ette, Talom Gao, to name some, have devoted their energies to a serious study about the traditional past of their literature, culture and society. They have published books and papers on the various aspects of the Adi life and society, their moshuo and rasheng of yesterday and today, their social laws and institutions, translations of their myth and folk literature, their abangs, ponungs, songs and lyrics, critical articles on their festivals and ceremonies, their supernatural beliefs, spirit and religion and such other varied topics. They have also started composing original songs and novels of their own which have really enhanced the prestige and utility of their literature to a great extent. Thus not only in the regeneration of tradition and a new social mobility, full of vigour and liveliness, but also in the production of a fresh literature, both popular and intellectual, the culture of the Adis has achieved a really creditable dimension
that demands sincere appreciation.

The literature of today, which is written and not oral as in the past, finds expression in two different scripts, Roman or Devnagari and Assamese. While the critical literature which is written by and for the educated intellectual section of the people, has to be expressed through English medium, the stories, novels and such other things which are meant for popular reading, are written in Assamese medium, because Assamese is as well-known to them as their mother tongue. Thus the novels of Lumin Dai like 'Prithibir Hanshi' (Smile of the Earth) and Bai Prithibir Shile Shile (On the Rocky Steps of the Earth) are written in Assamese and have drawn much popular appreciation and have also been awarded great recognition by the Assam Sahitya Sabha. Similarly, the other Adi writers, already mentioned, who have written critical papers on traditional life and society of the Adis, have used the English medium and these also have been equally applauded. In this way, a very healthy trend of integration is perceptible all round which will definitely place the Adi culture in near future on a sound footing.

The eminent historian Toynbee once observed that every society is characterised by an alternating rhythm of static and dynamic movement and pause and movement. This statement mirrors the old history and the new dynamics of the NEPA people. After a
pause of centuries, they are now stirring to a new movement, a movement which will establish them in the very core of our country from the viewpoint of defence and social and economic growth. The varied and colourful NEFA personality has undeniably started lending a remarkable richness to the diverse wealth of our motherland India - a wealth which is never exhausted and which constantly grows richer with the addition of each and every newly-explored facet.
Notes and References to Chapter VIII.

2. Ibid.
3. Excerpts from the writings and speeches of some eminent Indians on NIRA tribals and policies to be followed about them:

Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

There can be and should be, no idea or intention of forcing anything on them either by way of religion, language or even mode of living and customs. Even where we feel that the religion or the life that is offered is better than theirs, there is no justification for forcing it upon them against their will. My own idea is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them to choose whether they would like to be assimilated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence .... Personally, I am for service to them uninfluenced by any consideration of winning them over. ... It is only in that way that we can win their confidence. (Elwin: A Philosophy for NIRA, p. 56).

Jawaharlal Nehru:

The problem of the tribal areas is to make the pau-
ple feel that they have perfect freedom to live their own lives and to develop according to their wishes and genius. India to them should signify not only a protecting force but a liberating one. Any conception that India is ruling them ... or that customs and habits with which they are unfamiliar are going to be imposed upon them, will alienate them and make our frontier problems more difficult.

We must inspire them with confidence and make them feel at one with India, and realise that they are part of India and have an honoured place in it. This can only be done by allowing them to retain their own cultural traits and habits and leaving them to develop along their own lines without any compulsion from outside.

I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguishes them in many ways. ... What I am anxious about particularly is to avoid large numbers of outsiders being sent to the tribal areas in some capacity or other. ... The danger is that these people will lose their culture and have nothing to replace it.

To some extent, there is danger of the so-called Indian civilization having this disastrous effect, if we donot check and apply it in the proper way. We may well succeed in uprooting
them from their way of life with its standards and discipline and give them nothing in its place. We may make them feel ashamed of themselves and their own people and thus they may become thoroughly frustrated and unhappy. They have not got the resilience of human beings accustomed to the shocks of the modern world and so they tend to succumb to them. We must, therefore, be very careful to see that in our well-meaning efforts to improve them, we do not do them grievous injury. It is just possible that, in our enthusiasm for doing good, we may overshoot the mark and do evil instead. ... We must cease to think of ourselves as different from them and approach them in a spirit of comradeship and not like someone aloof. ... In some respects I am quite certain they possess a better variety of cultures than ours and are in many ways certainly not backward. ... They lead a corporate communal life which, I think, is far better than the caste-ridden society from which we suffer.

Our people all over India should develop affection and respect for these fine people. ... I hope there will be no attempt made to impose other ways of life on them in a hurry. Let the changes come gradually and be worked out by the tribals themselves. ... We should avoid two extreme courses: ... to treat them as anthropological specimens for study and ... to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. ... It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political
and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture which had so much of good in them.

I am alarmed when I see ... how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness, and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain theirs is the better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second-rate copy of ourselves.

We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of to-day that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued
within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2. Tribal right in land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved. (Elwin, Ibid., pp. 53, 94, 113, 254, 238).

S. Fazl Ali (Former Governor of Assam)

The people of NEFA are sensitive and intelligent and
though they might occasionally be bewildered by the advance of an unfamiliar world, yet I think they will be disposed to greet this advance with all the friendliness of their open-hearted and hospitable nature. They are observant and intelligent and are deeply conscious of the natural dignity of their simple ways of life.

We must, therefore, approach them not with any feeling of civilized superiority, but with a genuine spirit of service and seek to learn from them at least as much as we would like to teach them. They must be made to feel that it is their own prosperity and happiness which we are anxious to promote. If we try to change their traditional modes of living too rapidly or too rigidly, in accordance with any pre-conception what a civilized social order should be, they might be easily led to believe that we are seeking to disrupt their way of life or to uproot them.

We must follow the golden mean between leaving too much alone and interfering too obtrusively in their daily life. It is our duty to go ahead with the task of removing their pressing needs and doing everything which will really add to their happiness and prosperity and broaden their outlook. But they should not be overwhelmed by a multiplicity of projects in such a way as to undermine their self-reliance without evoking their enthusiasm. More important ... is to arouse the enthusiasm and
co-operation of the tribal people who will then be able to realize in their own way the advantages of more intimate association and contact with the rest of India (Elwin: Ibid, pp. 37-38).

Verrier Elwin:

We must approach the tribesman with the mind of the tribesman. ... The tribal folk are not 'specimens', 'types', or 'cases'; they are people; they are human beings exactly like ourselves in all fundamental ways. We are part of them and they are part of us; there is no difference. They live under special conditions. They have developed along special lines; they have their own outlook and ways of doing things. But the ultimate human needs, aspirations, loves and fears are exactly the same as ours.

With this background, I have tried to apply ... humane and scientific ideals to concrete situations. To do this loyally and intelligently is, I believe, the chief source of hope for the people of NEFA and indeed for all the tribal people of India. (Elwin: Ibid: Preface)

K. L. Mehta (Former Adviser to the Governor of Assam):

Unless we are clear in our minds about what we are trying to do, unless, in fact, we have a philosophy behind all our activities, we may do more harm than good with the money and labour we spend.
There is little point in laying down targets which are unachievable and making promises which can not be fulfilled. ... We sometimes have to slow down the tempo of development to avoid the feeling among the people that our welfare schemes are being imposed upon them. ... The incalculation of self-confidence in the people is perhaps the most important single factor in bringing success in the type of work we are attempting to do.

... I doubt whether we are still doing as much as we should to develop a sense of confidence and pride among the people ... and to give them scope to solve their own problems. ... Development is for the people, not the people for development. (Elwin: Ibid. p. 113 and 207)
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