

A NORTHERN CHIN TRADITION

Other Voices, Other Eyes

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S. Khup Chin Pau

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*Architecture, History, Life, Death and Feasting in
Sukte-Kamhau*

S. KHUP CHIN PAU

Other Voices, Other Eyes – Volume 2



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Map 1 Chin areas in South East Asia.

Foreword

Books contain and communicate knowledge in many different ways. The work you have to hand here is not anthropology, written to articulate with a body of theory or a comparative framework of other distilled 'cultures'. Nor even is it traditional ethnology or any other variety of academic description structured by scientific pretensions and conventions. Nor indeed is it a simple eyewitness account of experiences reflected upon and ascribed cultural meanings, although personal memories do form the basis of some of its contents.

A Northern Chin Tradition is instead best characterised as a personal synthesis of a treasury of 'local knowledge' collected, recorded and transcribed by an author with privileged access to a range of knowledgable sources and private manuscripts. The data is rich and extensive, but also fragmentary and sometimes perplexing; even our guide, our 'author', does not understand the significance of all he passes on to us. But such is the nature of lived, inevitably incomplete, cultural knowledge; its communication in this way should not be seen as a flaw, rather as a strength and a commitment to the importance of that 'passing on' of culture. Academics too often leave unmentioned that for which they cannot find a 'meaning', in doing so they let much historical culture slip between their fingers. S. Khup Chin Pau does his people and his readers a service in grasping so much that would otherwise be lost.

A grandson of Chief Hau Chin Khup, S. Khup Chin Pau grew up amongst the feasts of merit and clan funerals of Kamhau chiefs at the height of their power and opulence. Beyond 'information' about the customs of Chin peoples at that time in history, the reader soon gathers that he is concerned to convey the nature and the poetry of the men and women he knew in his youth and has revisited in his research on 'the way things were'. Such ephemeral matters are amongst the first to be lost in the conversion of once living communities to 'accounts of culture', but it is in such intangibles that cultural identity actually has meaningful continuity. In the context of long-standing Christian antipathy to, and denigration of, 'the way things were' before the widespread acceptance of their creed, the value which S. Khup Chin Pau clearly places on knowing the way his forebears actually lived, who they actually were, is both commendable and hugely important for the current day diaspora of Chin, allowing them to bring a historical hinterland to their own modern, often globalized, identities.

Sean Kingston
July 2011, Wantage



Map 2 Chin chieftancies in northern Myanmar.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Pu Vung Za Kham, Secretary to Chief Pum Za Mang for several years, for having given me his notebook, from which most of the section on Kamhau customs has been translated. He was one of the earliest Chin to learn to write Burmese, as a student of Thra Po Ku, and used Dr J. Herbert Cope's Roman alphabet to record many of his own feasts in Kamhau dialect, using a number of words known only to priests. His understanding of the history of the clans who once lived, or still live, in Kamhau tract or Kamhaugam brought out many of the differences and nuances in the customs and manners of clans such as the Teizang, Saizang, Dim and Zo.

As one of the early Christian converts who later converted to Buddhism, and one who studied alchemy, botany and Buddhist literature, no-one could be a better witness to the impact of the American Baptist mission on Kamhau society. He blamed the *tapidaws* (early Christian convert) of the times, of whom he himself was one of the most zealous before he reverted, for the decline of the Sukte rule. While the consequences might not have been obvious in Chief Hau Chin Khup's time, the Christian banning of the *zu* beer, at the least, was felt every time a *haitawi* (cup-bearer) or other important member in the *bangkua* (family network) turned Christian.

Revd T.K. Thawng Khaw Nang, who was from a family of *siampi* priests, understood the significance of the *zo inn* architecture in our ancestors' worship and rites. The architectural details and methods of construction, adapted for this book, are the result of his tireless efforts.

The late L. Gin Za Cin BGM, whose ancestors Cin Kim and Pau Am were among those who helped promulgate Kamhau customary laws, was not only a retired general administration officer, but also a historian in his own right, and had translated parts of the Book of Psalms into *zo la kam* or Kamhau poetic diction.

The late Pu Khup Za Mung's Hatzaw family had been with Kamhau chiefs since Kam Hau's time. His contribution to the literature¹ details the changes that took place during Chief Hau Chin Khup and Pum Za Mang's rule, as well as the changes in the social landscape prior to the death of the last chief.

Tape recordings of Teizang-speaking Pa Hau Nang, a folk historian from Mualbeem, and Kamhau-speaking Pu Kam Khen Kham (son of Pu Vung Za Kham) have been invaluable touchstones for the Teizang and Kamhau elements of the research for this book.

Two childhood friends, my cousin Sian Lian Pau and Thang Do Pau, had taped different types of songs and had arranged singing sessions for me to

participate in. I want to believe that this helped me to do a *dynamic equivalent translation* of Kamhau songs into English.

I have had the good fortune of drawing from the early life of my wife, Rita Man Lam Cing, who spent her childhood on the knees of her grandmother, who happened to be the wife of Chief Pum Za Mang. In her I have the element of first-hand knowledge of the life of the matriarch. Her own grounding in mission-school English has often stood me in good stead in compiling this work in English. Her encouragement during the writing of this book, which covers our entire married life, has helped me to persevere.

Lastly, and most helpfully for the work, my wife and I thank our children: Ciin (and John), Buah (and Ai Mung and granddaughter Joy), Thang, Niang (and Carel) and Tuang, and Professor F.K. Lehman, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois, Champaign Urbana, for welcoming us into his home for several wonderful days to plan this book.

NOTE

- 1 He is one of the authors of *Kam Hau Gam Ukpote'Taangthu leh Tonzang Khua Taangthu* (2002), a book on the Kam Hau chiefs and the history of Tonzang.

Chapter 1

Architecture of the northern Chins

The slow speech, the serious manner, the respect for birth and the knowledge of pedigree, the duty of revenge, the taste for and the treacherous method of warfare, the curse of drink, the virtue of hospitality, the clannish feeling, the vice of avarice, the filthy state of the body, mutual distrust, impatience under control, the want of power of combination and of continued efforts, arrogance in victory, speedy discouragement and panic in defeat are common traits throughout the hills.

(Stevenson 1968:165)

Introduction

To the above observation on the character and manners of the Chins, one must add the desires for prestige and the perpetuation of one's name even after death. These traits defined my ancestors, the Suktes and Kamhaus. They risked their lives to shoot elephants and tigers with flintlock muskets loaded with night-soil gunpowder, starved for days to track and kill an enemy, and hoed and hacked thin-soiled fields to produce hundred-basket harvests so that they could celebrate their feasts of merit in society.

If, as is commonly held, 'conflict has been a central theme in the human story from pre-history to the present',¹ our forefathers accepted it as simply another aspect of manliness, like killing tigers or exacting revenge. However, having achieved prestige, they made sure their deeds were remembered by giving feasts in their honour and by chronicling them in the songs they sang: *han la*² victory songs and *minsial* cries in which they counted their coups.³

More tangibly, they erected memorial stones, and engraved pictures of all the game and enemies the dead had killed, and of the animals they had slaughtered. Then, to be living testimony, they composed their children's names so as to epitomize the deceased's deeds or wealth. We still practice the custom of perpetuating a person's name by naming children for them, but many of our memorial customs are now forgotten.

Of all the manners by which our ancestors tried to perpetuate their names, the extent they would go to in building their houses is the most tangible. To set up a new house, or *inn tuan*, is not just a matter of a man building a house to live in. The paterfamilias is responsible for building a house for his

sons or brothers, giving them land to till, and equipping them with all they will need to start a life with ‘coals from his hearth’.

The whole pattern of traditional living begins with a new family around the hearth. The way a man’s house is built reflects his stature in society: the teak sundeck displays his wealth, and the *songh* poles and *guamung* bamboo banners make statements about his achievements. This is why I believe it proper to begin the study of the customs and history of our people with the study of our architecture.

Village aesthetics

Close to nature

Frank Lloyd Wright is admired for blending his domestic buildings with the surrounding landscape. Perhaps he would have admired the way our ancestors built their houses along the contours of hillsides, actually hunkering them down into the earth. From the ritual prayer at the completion of roofing, ‘*Huihkhi neem aw, kaammei neem aw*’ (‘Wind, be gentle; fire be gentle’), we know partially their provision against strong winds. The invocation against *kam mei* (fire) may refer to the practice of the time of burning enemies’ houses; hence their defilading the houses.

Aesthetics are however also involved in house-building, and are certainly attached to the use of curved rafters and the hunkering-down of the whole structure so that it looks like a brooding hen. The feelings of warmth and tranquillity the houses give moved our ancestors to use terms like *sau nuam* or *sau maang* in their songs.⁴

The pah tang (sundeck) vista

The common view of the house, from a higher point on down to the plaza of the court yard, the teak sundeck (serenaded as *pah tang zilzal* in scores of songs) with the soaring, nutant bamboo *ton mung* banners, the stately *songh* posts and the asymmetrical *suangphah* flagstone offset, presents an open arena for activities in times of joy and sorrow.

Guests and friends from near and far come and sit in rows on the upper and lower tiers, along the *tuangdung* planks in the *inn liim* parlor, and partake of the generosity of the host and his household establishment. Those who can afford, and those who can hardly do so, will slaughter animals, apportioning the meat on the deck for their proper distribution, so that the *pah tang* gets impregnated with the opulence of fat and oil. In the words of the matriarch, Ngul Zam:

Pah tang zilzal
Tulta duang hoih pah tang zilzal,
Namcih a tuan na hi e
Ningzu aisa tang bang zeekna
Pah tang muisi tawkw bang e.

Pah tang vista
 Choicest timber, *pah tang vista*
 Where great and small come to rest

'Nointed with oil, meat and wine,
Where merry men drink and dine.

**Pahtang* is poetic diction for *innka* teak deck.

Khua mual, village portal

At the entrance of every village, and within sight of it, a park was levelled and planted with banyan (*peepul*) and other leafy trees, and stone and wood memorials were erected. Successful hunters sing *hanla* victory songs at the *khua mual* and fire volleys from their guns. Villagers stepped out on their *innka* sundecks and, listening to the songs, found out what the trophy was.

The whole village would come to the *khua mual* with musical instruments and *zu* beer and ply the returning party with *zu taak* drinks. There would be more *hanla* songs, probably from older warriors who had earned their right to sing them. The wives of the heroes would also contribute songs, perhaps composed for the occasion or adapted from old ones.

After the drinks have been gulped down, and once the drummer and other instrument players, usually *phiit* pipers, have got organized, a dance file⁵ will be formed and the party will come dancing to the home of the hero, or to the headman's house, for more celebration.

MEMORIAL SPIKES

Rare efforts at sculpture can still be found at some *khua mual* parks. A head effigy is surmounted with a sharp spike, on which the skulls of animals slaughtered at a funeral were impaled. The timber is about a span wide and a hand in thickness. Instead of a head, the pole may instead have two spikes with pictures of beads cut at the 'neck'. Pictures of elephants and other wild animals were carved on the trunk.

MEMORIAL STONES

Slabs of pink stone engraved with animals, both feral and domestic, were preferred by Kamhau chiefs. On earlier stones animal heads were carved in bas-relief frontally, or even in a somewhat 'cubist' style, to show the beauty and size of horns. *Ki kawng* or horns that have developed into magnificent curves are highly prized, as are multi-point *shambur* heads, for the same reasons tusker elephants were depicted in side views to show the tusks to best advantage. (Male game often has different *hanla* victory songs, by which a man might boast about his trophy over lesser ones.) After writing had been introduced to our people, memorials had epitaphs which featured genealogies and the achievements in war and hunting of the departed. Animals slaughtered at the funerals were also included, because they represent the wealth that the deceased had taken to the village of the dead. Chief Hau Cin Khup comforted himself with a song which charged the soul of his wife to ride on one of the five tuskers he shot, with leopards leading the way to the portals of heaven.

Sang lian tung ah na tuang in la, ziin khua mual ah, zata sin lai liap sak aw
Kamkei lunglian ma ciang suan aw Kulnuh dang na hong sak aw

Ride on my love, mount the mighty, peerless tuskers, cow the portals of heaven

Brave-heart leopards be your pilot, let them open heaven's gates

The epitaph on Chief Hau Chin Khup's memorial stated in Kamhau dialect that 74 mithan *sials*, 11 buffaloes, 18 cattle and 2 horses (a total of 105 animals) were slaughtered at the funeral. The souls of the animals would accompany him to the abode of the dead, with the two horses for him to ride. The game that the chief killed in his lifetime was listed as: 5 tusker elephants, 28 *zang sial* bison, 2 Bengal tigers, 2 leopards and more than 200 common game; he also counted five *do khens* (enemies killed in battle).⁶

Trophies for khua mual

Our ancestors removed the heads of their enemies, and impaled them on *ngai-ngaw* poles at their *khua mual* portals. However, they did not bring them home like other hunting trophies, and would do their utmost not to allow their own kind to suffer this ultimate indignity. Many of our traditional *la pi* ('traditional songs') are about the triumph of having displayed the heads of enemies at the *khua mual*.

Village community

A Kamhau village is not just a collection of buildings. Newcomers are *peem*, satellites, till they have built proper houses.⁷ They count on communal help to get set up. After they are allotted sites for their houses they become somebody's *kongte*, *inntung te*, *inn nuaite* or *phaitam te* – that is, the family in front, the family uphill, downhill or at the backyard, who may come in to get burning coals for their hearth, or seeds for the year's sowing, or leave their children in your care in emergency.

They are now *khuapih* or 'of the same village', for the whole village will be comrades in hunt and war, and could be expected to stand by a fellow villager, or *khuapih*. Once newcomers are properly settled, they will appoint their household establishment, called *panmun*, *bangkua* or *vakna* according to various dialects in Kamhau society. Even the most humble newcomer need not be alone in sorrow or trouble in a Kamhau village.

The flexible home⁸

The typical traditional Kamhau home has the unique distinction of being a fortress, temple, banquet hall, granary and corral, all in one. The need of our ancestors to survive the ravage of severe weather and internecine wars, and the need to have adequate room for feasts and certain spatial features (e.g. the *sungpi*, inner sanctum chamber) for worship, have caused the Kamhau domicile to evolve to the shape and form it had in the last decades of the nineteenth century (see pp. 16–18).

The hearth as a centre

The primordial concept of fire as the source and sustainer of life, and the hearth as the centre of a family unit, is basic in Kamhau architecture. The

hearth, or *tap*, is in the spatial centre around which all domestic activities take place. The head of the family 'holds court' from his seat on the pallet alongside the single-piece *lupna pi* master bedstead⁹ facing the front of the house. Preparation of food, shelling corn and other domestic activities take place around the *tap* hearth. Even pounding corn and winnowing grain at the *sumtawng*, pounding area, are always within earshot of the head of the family.

From the hearth, the family reaches out to the community by its *bangkua* network. This is composed of relatives by blood and marriage, but also includes other clans. The grid of these family networks in Kamhau society is bonded by the order of *zu* (beer) and meat called *zuhai-sabaak*.

Flexible planning at its best

Frank Lloyd Wright's concept of 'flexible planning where the interiors and exteriors flow into one another',¹⁰ could not have transmuted to a better application than the Kamhau domicile known as *zo inn*. When there is need to entertain a large crowd, as when the *tong* feast is celebrated or when there is a funeral, it converts into a banquet hall by opening the double back doors of the *sungpi*. From the fireplace one may go out to the whole *innka* sundeck, the *inntual* courtyard, the whole length of the uphill-side of the eaves (the *inn kun*), and the backyard, *phai taam*, and enter by the back door through the *sungpi* room and to the fireplace. Truly, 'the interiors and the exteriors flow into one another'.

The funeral of dowager Tel Ciin, mother of Chief Hau Chin Khup, gives an idea of how the Tonzang *innpi* (chief's house) could accommodate the mourners from the 135 villages in Kamhaugam and the slaughtering of 105 cattle. Hundreds of portions of meat were cut and laid out for distribution to relatives according to the order of meat (*zuhai sabaak*). Hundreds of *zu* pots were lined up according to protocol, with the *sasem* (meat-cutter) and the *thusa* (recorder) hanging the portions of meat from the *peeng zu*-drinking pipes of each pot. Feeding of the guests, serving drinks and preparation for the funeral ceremony and other activities continued unabated.

THE FORTRESS HOME: A DEFILADE STRUCTURE

A unique feature of Kamhau architecture is the massive excavation below the building known as *gulh tawng* or *kulh tawng*.¹¹ (The word *kulh*, meaning a defensive trench, suggests a warlike origin.) The building is oriented along the contour of the hillside, and the uphill stockade fencing is built on a level along the building. The uphill edge of the front courtyard is excavated to eye-level. The *inntual* (courtyard), the *sumtawng* (pounding area), the *haamnui* (space below the *sawm* boy's berth), the *inn kuun* (uphill eave), and the *phaitam* (lawn) of the back yard are cut to the same level.

Then there is another eye-level excavation underneath the *innka* (sun deck), the *innliim* (parlour) and under the whole of the *innsung* (family sleeping chamber) and *sungpi* (inner sanctum) rooms, so that the lower level of the *gulh tawng*, *inn nuai* and *innka nuai* (below *innka* deck) are all of five feet lower than the floor level of the main building. In military parlance, the

basement *gulh tawng* area is effectively defiladed, that is, safe from enemy fire from the sides. Open to the downhill side only, it is almost impossible to flush out even a single defender from it.¹² In an emergency a man can cross over from his seat by the fire to the main door with the knee-high, five-inch thick *sangkil* sill in two or three bounds. From there he has a clear 'field of fire' over the front lawn while the darkened inside of the house makes him invisible from the outside.

An enemy trying to enter the home must first negotiate the perimeter of thick palisade fencing, which is in fact called *kulh* or palisade (see p. 20). The entry must be through the main gate, which is constructed with strong timber. As the plan of the house shows, the gate is off-set from the main door so that one gets only an oblique view of the door from the gate, ensuring that a passer-by cannot see inside the house from the gate. Thus we see how the development of the building seems to reflect the warrior tradition of our ancestors.

LIVE-IN GUARDS AND SAWM BOYS

A chief's house has an extra room called a *tap lai* which accommodates house-slaves and personal guards.¹³ The raised berth on one side of the veranda, called *haam*, sleeps a dozen or more unmarried men and boys from the village called *sawm* boys. They are available for extra-judicial law enforcement and emergency duties. The *sawm* is also the equivalent of a boy's club, and with their parents they make up the *lawm* families in *lawm an neek* and *khuado* festivals (see Ch. 5, Communal feasts).

THE HOUSE AS A TEMPLE

Every household makes three propitiations to the *dawi* spirits. The family sow, called *vokpi kun ngak*, supplies the piglets for the *kawmlak dawipeeng*, *sum tawng* (grain-pounding corner), the *sungpi* (inner sanctum) and the garden. The best three of the litter are sacrificed in that order. The *sumtawng* is where the guardian spirit of Thang Ho and Lian Do disappeared after having looked after them when their widowed mother left them to re-marry. The *sungpi* inner sanctum is where the *pusa* ancestral spirit is worshipped. The third piglet is killed and cooked over a stone trivet.

The *sungpi* chamber is always closed except for the *tong* feast or during a funeral, when it is necessary to have 'the interior and exterior flow into one another'. Other rites are carried out at the *sum tawng* (pounding area), *suang phah* (bordering flagstone), *sunden* (area where the dead are laid), *pial khang* (mourner's area) etc.

THE HOUSE AS A GRANARY

In the days of internecine wars, it was necessary to have a safe place to store food. The corn harvest was hung by the shucks from the ceiling in the *inn sung* and *tap lai* rooms, and the millet grain was stored in *beem* bamboo bins under the *haam* sleeping berth. It is the tremendous weight of a year's harvest, and the need to bear a whole house of people at a feast or funeral, that are

the reason for the substructure's minimum of 58 post-struts at 4½-foot apart (measured from centres) for a building of 10 × 5 *laam* or 60 × 30 ft.

THE HOUSE AS A CORRAL

Livestock, the wealth of the family, need as much protection as possible. A kind of ox, the mithan (*Bos frontalis*) or in local language, *sial*, is the only proper animal for the feast of all feasts, the *tong*.¹⁴ They are also the medium of exchange in important and high-value transactions, like tribute to an overlord or payment of bride-price. Called *nun vom* in the language of poetry, they are the gold of Sukte-Kamhau society.

Types of building¹⁵

Although the people who live in what once was Kamhau, Sukte and Sihzang tracts have the same architecture and many similar customs, there is often a difference in terminology. I refer to *Kamhau architecture* not to imply a distinctive architecture of the Kamhau branch of the Sukte tribe, but to be consistent in my terms,¹⁶ because in the Tedim sub-district we have not only Kamhau but also Sihzang (Siyin), Teizang, Dim, Zo and other dialects and terms. (See Appendix I.)

Stages of the house

- a *Peem inn*. If a family migrates to a new village, and there is no house ready for them, they build a temporary shelter large enough for the family, just about the size of a field hut or *lo buuk*. However, despite its resemblance, it is not called *lo buuk*, but a *peem inn*. (*Peem* has the connotation of being a satellite and thus of inferior status. It is impossible to give a feast or even conduct a funeral in a *peem inn*. Should such a contingency arise, the paterfamilias will have to take on the responsibilities.)
- b *Buuk, lo buuk*. Any building in the fields is called *lo buuk*, and never *inn*, no matter how large or grand the building.
- c *Inn nuai phel*. When a house is too old, or needs to be enlarged, it is dismantled and rebuilt using much of the same materials. This is called *inn nuai phel*.
- d *Haam pheeng*. When a house is dismantled, a temporary lean-to shed called a *haam pheeng* is put up in the *inntual* (courtyard) lawn.
- e *Inn tung khuh*. When the roofing materials are too old, the roof alone is dismantled and re-roofed. Since only the roof is rebuilt it is called *inn tung khuh*.
- f *Giah buuk*. Temporary shelters in hunting-camps are built with leaves and branches, like a *haam pheeng* lean-to. These, however, are not called *haam pheeng* but *giah buuk*.

Hierarchy in buildings

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN

Ukpi chiefs, headmen, elders and those who have given feasts (*a-go-a-lup-te*) may build big houses, but the plebeian poor and those who have not given

feasts of merits may not build big houses. Chiefs and headmen build houses of 10×5 *laam* (60×30 ft) which have four rooms: *inn sung* (living room); *sungpi* (inner sanctum); *tap lai* (centre hearth/extra room); and *inn liim* (front open parlour).

Chiefs may build a five-*laam* (30 ft) *innka* sun deck in two tiers, with the upper tier called *cial tungnung*, and the lower tier *cial nuainung*. They are allowed to have *tuangdung* 'teak deck' planks called *tuangdung sukpai*, *phei pai* and *to pai*. In pairs, *tuangdung* may be $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches thick. *Tuangdungphei pai* (*tuand dung* laid 'along the length of the house') may be all of 28 feet long, *tuangdung to*¹⁷ *pai* and *tuangdung sukpai* are about 21 and $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, respectively. *Innka* and *tuangdung* are teak wood which were cut in the plains, two or three days journey away. The *innka*, also called *dol cial* (literally 'teak tiers'), are highly prized possessions. (The *a-zawng-nautaang* or the plebeians are not allowed to use teak- or *hual*-wood *innka* even if they had the necessary resources.) On the upper tier, they plant a multi-branch post called *innka songh*. Hardwood timber poles called *songh* are planted (in odd numbers) in the centre of the *inntual* front lawn. The *tang suang*, and another type of *songh* called *bawng songh* are also planted in odd numbers between the *tuangdung topai* (from the lower to higher ground) and the *sial kong* cow-gate. They may also use black loam instead of red clay for their fireplace.

A-GO-A-LUP-TE ('THOSE WHO GIVE FEASTS BY SLAUGHTERING CATTLE AND SERVE ZU WINE'), THE ELITE

The allowed size of the building is 8×4 *laam* (48×24 ft) and the *innka* is 4 *laam* (24 ft), and in two tiers. They may have *tuangdung*, *innka song*, *songpi*, *tang suang* and *vok song* posts. They use curved rafters, which give the roof a streamlined appearance. Normal rafters are called *inn sun*, but curved rafters are called *sun kul*.¹⁸

The elite can use *khau kul* (creeper)¹⁹ fibres to bind their timber and bamboo joints and *hehnupa savang kan*. Thatch is placed on the roof in *sip* (five-inch diameter) bundles. Five, seven or even nine bundles are placed on the ridge. The same amounts of bundles are also placed on the back and front gables. The *innka* is of teak or *hual* timber and the joists are teak. The *innka songh* is of *ngaingaw* (Burmese, *nguh*); *songhpi* poles are *ngaingaw* or *cingh* (Burmese, *ingyin*). The *songh* and bamboo banners are erected according to the number of mithan cattle slaughtered. Chief Hau Cin Khup planted 50 *songh* and 50 bamboo banners. But Chief Pum Za Mang could only have 49 of each, because he could not exceed his father's deed. *Vok songh* are for *pusa* worship and do not represent the number of animals slaughtered. The *songh* and bamboo banner are tied with *vomkhau* creepers.

A ZAWNG NAUTANG TE INN, THE COMMON PEOPLE

The commoners may not build their houses bigger than 6×3 *laam* (36×18 ft). They may not use *khau kul* and *khau sing* (creepers); they may use only *veihnamkhau*. Nor may they use the *heh nupa savang* to tie up the *hehsuk* (longitudinal bamboo purlins) and *heh phei* (cross purlins). They are allowed

to use only one *thuah* (layer) of thatch for the ridging. The *innka* deck must not exceed three *laam* (18 ft) and they may not use *teak* or *hual* timber for the deck, which may not have more than three joists. They cannot have *tuangdung* planks. They may use only red clay for their fireplace.

MIN LAWHNA: PRAYER FOR THE OCCUPANTS

At the completion of roofing, the host sends up *zu ha* or *zu te* meal in a basket. One of the workers on the roof take a handful of the meal and calls upon the wind to be mild and for fire to be kind. Mentioning the names of the household one by one, he prays that they may occupy the house in ten years and a hundred years; then he prays that it might be the destination of a hundred baskets *miim* (sorghum) and a hundred baskets of *taang* (millet), and that its owners will kill their enemies' leaders and be successful in hunting choice big game. Finally, he calls for the mother of money and the father of money ... and gives out a loud cry. These prayers are the same for all, regardless of the status of the householder.

If the meal is *zu ha* they enjoy it up on the roof. If it is *zu te* (inferior meal, not eaten) they bring it down, charge a pot with it and all of them share the pot of *zu* after the family's *thusa* (recorder) opens proceedings by doing the *zu sia*;²⁰ the man who said the prayers on the roof has the first turn at the pot. If the host cannot afford this, he may instead offer a handful of *zu ha* for the prayer.

By tradition the basket with which the *zu ha* or *zu te* meal is sent to the roof is hung from the tip of a pole at the front of the house. The family may take it down in a day or two.

A characteristic home for the elite

THE SITE

The site measures 20 × 20 *laam* (120 × 120 ft). The building is 8 × 4 *laam* (48 × 24 ft).

EXCAVATION

A trench knee-deep (2 ft) and 20 *laam* (120 ft) long is dug to plant the barricade fencing, and the ground is levelled to a width of 4½ feet. The top of the *inntual* lawn is taken at *mit ciang* (eye-level, or 5 ft). The height of the ledge is also taken to be eye-level. (This is for the safety of spectators on the *phung tung* ledge when young men wrestle mithan on the lawn at *tong* feasts.)

From the *inntual* lawn level another eye-level excavation is made to get the *inn nuai* or basement level. This makes the *innka phung*, *innliim phung*, *gulh tawng phung* ledges all of five-foot high.

FENCING

The *huansak gawl* or uphill barricade fencing is 17 *laam* (102 ft) long and the *phaitam gawl* backyard fencing and the front fencing are each 19 *laam* (114 ft). *Huan khang gawl* or downhill fencing is the same as *huansak gawl*, 102 ft.

Building components

The teak wood *innka* sundeck with its *tuangdung* pieces are a measure of a person's wealth. However, other architectural items, like the two-foot high *sangkil* sill, the *bangsai* door jambs, the wall panels and the single-piece bedstead are the efforts of communal labour. These are reflected in important dates, which are often referred to as, for instance, 'the day so-and-so had the whole village hew the *sangkil* sill'.²¹

The posts

SUUTPI

There are six *suut* posts: *mai suut*, *sumtawng suut*, *meipaam lukhung suut*, *lupnapi lukhung suut*, *sungpi suut siang* and *phai suut*. The length of each of the *suut* posts is: below ground, two *tong* (3 ft); ground level to floor level, *mit ciang* (5 ft); floor to *liang zawl* beam, *laam leh tong* (7½ ft); length to top, *a gia*, three *tong* (4½ ft) – totalling *laam thum lehtng leh khaap* or 20 ft. The width of the posts is *khaap leh za peek* or one foot and the thickness is *za peek* or four feet.

The *lupna pi lukhung suut* (p. 16) is the most important architectural feature. If a person wanted to submit himself as slave of the owner of the house, they clung to this post and became his slave.

BAN KHANG (SIN BAN), DOWNHILL WALL POSTS

Length: underground, two *tong* (3 ft); ground level to floor level, *a khe mit ciang* (5 ft); floor to top, *a gia laam leh tongh* (7½ ft) – totalling *laam nih leh tong nih leh saikhaap* (15½ ft). The width is six inches and the thickness is *zapeek* (4 in.). The total number of *ban khang* is nine (each 15½ ft × 6 in. × 4 in.).

BAN SAK, UPHILL WALL POSTS

Length: underground, two *tong* (3 ft); *a khe, mit ciang* (5 ft); *a gia laam leh tongh* (7½ ft) – total length, two *laam*, two *tongh* and *saikhap* (15½ ft). A *siik* (side) *za peek kiimkot* is 4 in. The total number of *ban sak* is nine (each 15½ ft × 4 in. × 4 in.).

KHUAM BIL, STRUT/BRACE POSTS

All the post holes for the strut posts under the house and the *innka* deck are two *tong* (3 ft). The height of the floor from the ground is *mit ciang* (5 ft). The total length is 8 ft. The circumference of the post is *saikhap* ($\pi \times 5$ in. diameter). The total number of *khuam bil* is 85 (each 8 ft × 4 in. × 4 in.).

SUUT POSTS

Of the six *suut* posts, the *lukhung suut*, at the head of the master bedstead has a special significance. A person who wants protection from the household enters into the house and clings to the *lukhung suut*. Pledging allegiance, he thus secures protection.

The *suut* post at the *sungpi* inner sanctum is called *suut siang*, which means 'holy' though it has no particular significance is attached to it.

Sangkil, door sill

This architectural feature is one of the items that requires communal effort. Its thickness gives some protection against musket balls, and a householder behind the sill can defend his home and hearth against enemy attacks. Dimensions: 18 ft x 2 ft x 4 in.

Sun kul, curved rafters

The most intriguing aspect of Kamhau architecture is the use of curved rafters. They lend to the thatch roof the appearance of a brooding hen. The Saizang people call the tapered tail end of the roof '*mumei kui kaih*' ('*mumei*' means the tail of a hawk), demonstrating an appreciation of their aesthetics. The streamlined effect they give certainly imparts aerodynamic advantages in strong winds, and also strengthens the ceiling from which the corn harvest is hung by the husk. Whatever the reason for the use of curved rafters, the view of rows of hunkered down thatched roofs with wisps of smoke escaping from the gables on a winter morning seems to sum up for our people the meaning of home and hearth.

Taak do

A piece of timber about six inches thick and a foot wide. It serves as a seat opposite the *dawhdan* raised floor, which also serves as seat. The *taak do* also hold down the floor boards.

Tapdeek

A timber frame for the clay filling beneath the hearth. About six inches thick, the *tapdeek* raises the surface of the hearth above the *pialkhang* floor.

Suangphah

A flagstone walkway from the gate to the *innliim* parlor. The *suang phah paito* which borders the *sumtawng* grain-pounding area is where the *sakhu lot* divining is held, and is also where the *zu* pots are lined up for certain feasts.

Tuangdung

Since folk tales have suitors being asked to guess the root-end of a *tuangdung* plank by a prospective fathers-in-law, they must have been a measure of wealth and eminence early in the history of our people. *Tuangdung* are installed in pairs, and they are called *phei pai*, *sukpai* and *to pai* according to their direction in the building.²² Chief Khaw Cin's *tuang dung* planks were said to be a hand thick. *Tuangdung pheipai* can be as long as 30 ft and two-foot-wide teak.

Dol cial

The sundeck, called *dol cial*, is a measure of the family's wealth. The term includes the *tuangdung*, and teak is the preferred timber, although *hual* timber

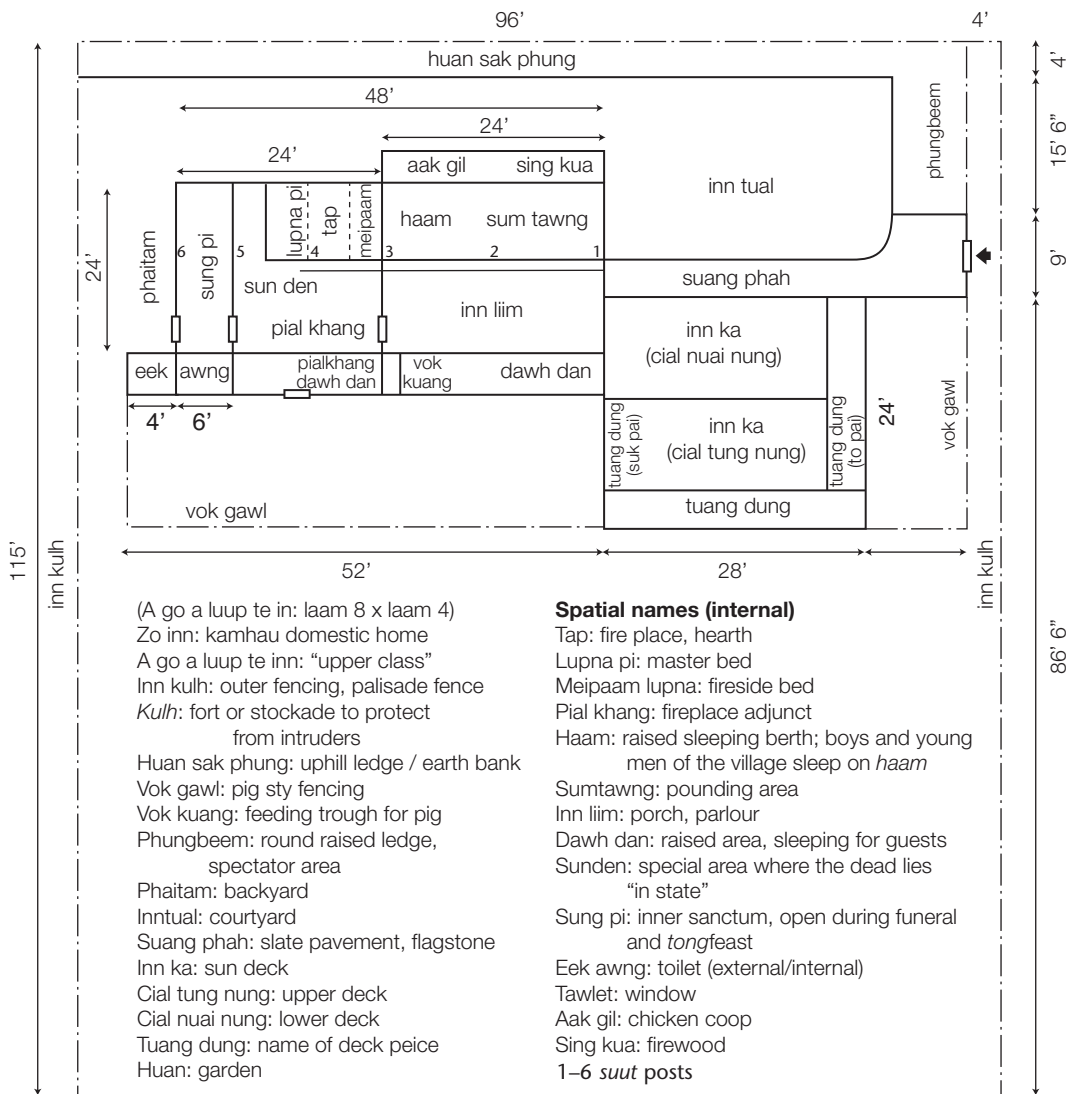
may be used by the elite. The planks for the deck are still two inches thick, and built in tiers called *cial*. Sundecks are the subject of countless songs composed by proud possessors. *Pah taang* is poetic diction for *innka* (teak planks), or *dolcial* (sets of planks forming a terrace).

NOTES

- 1 Barbara Tuchman, Pulitzer Prize winner, in Bataan Memorial pamphlet, Santa Fe Military Museum and Library, 2001.
- 2 *Han la* are songs which a hero sings at the top of his voice as a victory cry. There are *han la* for elephant, bison, boars, tigers or enemies killed, which are delivered at the spot of triumph and at the *khua mual* entrance to villages. By listening to the type of *han la*, villagers knew what has been killed and, in the case of elephants, even whether it was a tusker or cow elephant.
- 3 Among North American Indians a 'coup' was a deed of bravery, particularly the act of touching an enemy. Coups would be counted out to announce their deeds in war. Our forefathers would proceed similarly, by crying out how many elephants, tigers or *do khen* (enemies) they had killed. As unmitigated boasting these '*minsial*' fit Stevenson's 'arrogance in victory', but they are also the counterpart of women's funeral laments, because men do not cry. The *minsial* is usually counted at a funeral: one counts how many elephants, tigers, or bison the deceased man has killed, exhorting the dead to ride on the souls of the animals or for the tigers to lead the way to the village of the dead. At the end of the count he fires his gun. One must know and live our customs to really appreciate the cathartic effect of a *minsial*.
- 4 *Sau* is poetic for house, with the connotation of length of both space and time. *Nuam* means pleasant, while *mang* means noble or great. These terms evoke for this writer the verse, 'Mid pleasures of palaces though I may roam... There's no place like home.'
- 5 The common dance called *laamvui* is led by a drummer with others filing behind him. Each dancer puts their right palm on the shoulder of the person before them, and puts their left arm behind the person following them, and keeps step with the beat of the drum. *Zaam* (gongs), *sialki* (horns) and *phiit* (reed pipes) often make up the musical instruments on such occasions. The *khuai la* dance at the *khua do* feast is also danced from the *khua mual* village portal.
- 6 As a young man he fought against the British, at one time for three days and nights, 'till the very earth stuck in my gums'. Being made chief of Kamhaus it was unlikely that he would have mentioned any particular coup in the campaigns against the British, but he would certainly have given feasts to have his feat recognized.
- 7 Revd T.K. Thawng Khaw Nang, *Thuciam-tehna*, p. 2 (edited by S. Khup Chin Pau, Singapore 30 September 1999).
- 8 The traditional architecture of the northern Chins living in Sukte, Kamhau or Siyin tracts, which is known as Tiddim sub-district, is the same. However, in this book I use Kamhau terms for all the architectural and structural details. The Rev. T.K. Thawng Khaw Nang, who meticulously provided all the architectural details, is from Tonzang, hence the 'Kamhau' terms. There are Teizang, Dim and Zo customs, with different dialects and terms, even in Kamhau tract. Teizang (the dialect of the Sukte tract) and Siyin terms are more different again. The central and southern Chins have different types of houses, although there is similarity in some of the customs. One important difference of Lautu architecture is the absence of the *guluh tawng*, or basement excavation, which I believe must be a vestige of our Kamhau warring past.
- 9 The single-piece timber bedstead is an important heirloom. Kam Hau's son, chief Thang Khaw Pau, had a single-piece bedstead 7 ft 3 in. × 3 ft 10½ in. × 1½ ft that was hand-hewn by axe from a single log.
- 10 Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), US architect.

- 11 *Kulh tawng* have served well as the last stand in the defence of the home in many legends about our people.
- 12 There is the story of a Japanese official during the Second World War (locally called the Japanese War), who survived by taking shelter in the *kulh tawng* when Chin partisans riddled a house with rifle fire. I personally saw the bullet holes after the incident on 15 September 1944.
- 13 Za Pau kept a personal guard of as many as seventy shield-bearers. He was the youngest son and heir of Chief Khan Thuam, the founder of the Sukte and Kamhau tracts. Za Pau's oldest brother, Kam Hau founded the Kamhau dynasty, but was nominally 'junior' to Za Pau.
- 14 This feast is known as *khuang tsawi* in the central Chin Hills.
- 15 This typology is according to their usage and their construction.
- 16 I retain the Kamhau terms in translating Revd T.K. Thawng Khaw Nang's *Thuciamtehna* (pp. 2–5) for the benefit of those who are students of their own culture.
- 17 'To' in Kamhau indicates a direction which has nothing to do with the points of compass. It means higher in location. Therefore *Tuang dung paito* means the planks which are in the direction of the uphill side of the house (away from the main building). *Sak* also means higher ground, and *khang* means lower ground. From the Chin Hills one talks of going *down* to the plains, though in most cases this will be eastwards.
- 18 For more on curved rafters, see p. 13.
- 19 Please refer to Appendix X for timber, creepers and other botanical names.
- 20 To take a sip of *zu* and then spit it to the floor, before then getting others to drink.
- 21 '*Muallai innpi te sangkil sui cial ni*' (the day the Muallai *innpi* – mansion – requested the village to hew their *sang kil* – raised door sill) was remembered as the day Chief Kaih Mang ordered his slave to strangle Khan Thuam.
- 22 *Phei*, *suk* and *to* are directions indicating the same, lower and higher levels than the point of reference. They are entirely distinct from the points of the compass. *Tuang dung to pai* are the two long planks that are laid from the downhill side of the *innka* deck towards the uphill side.

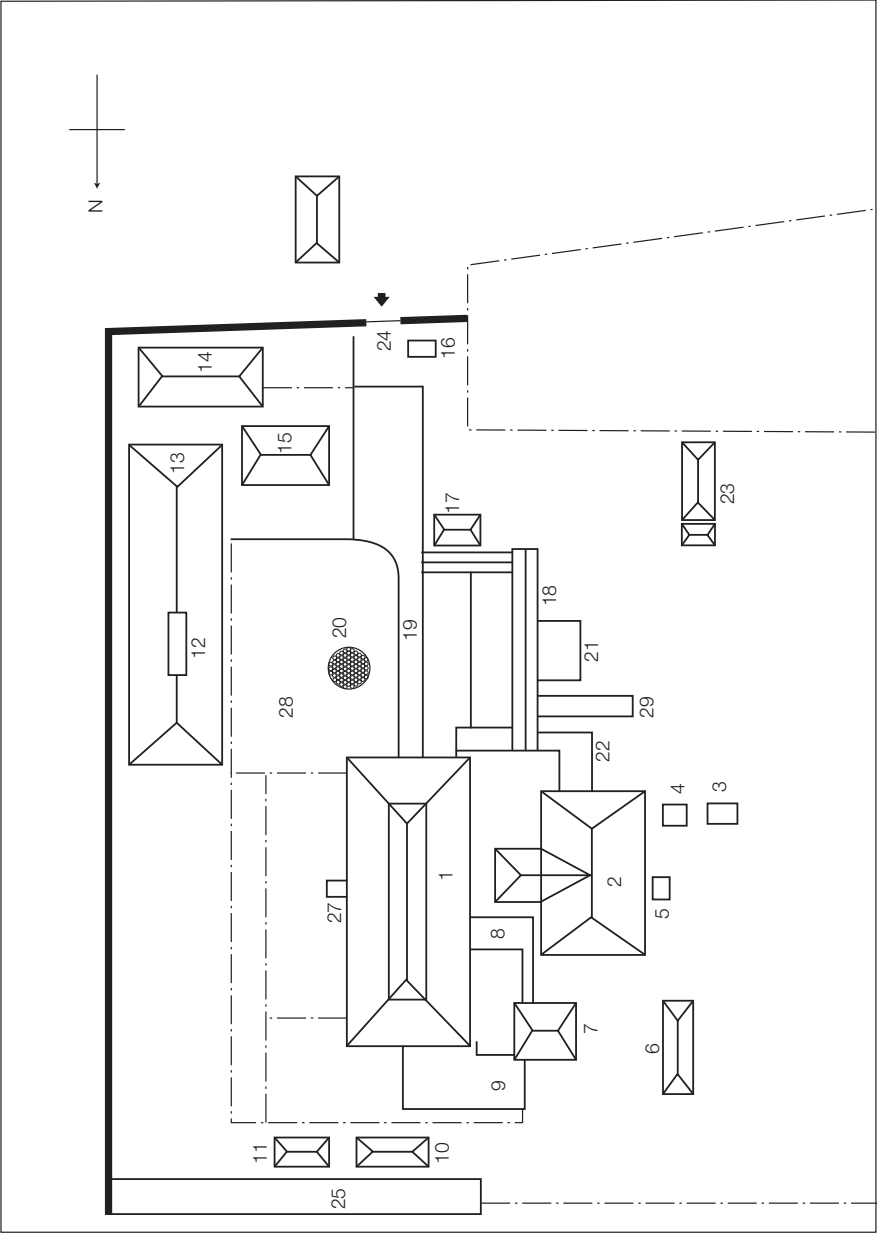
Architectural illustrations

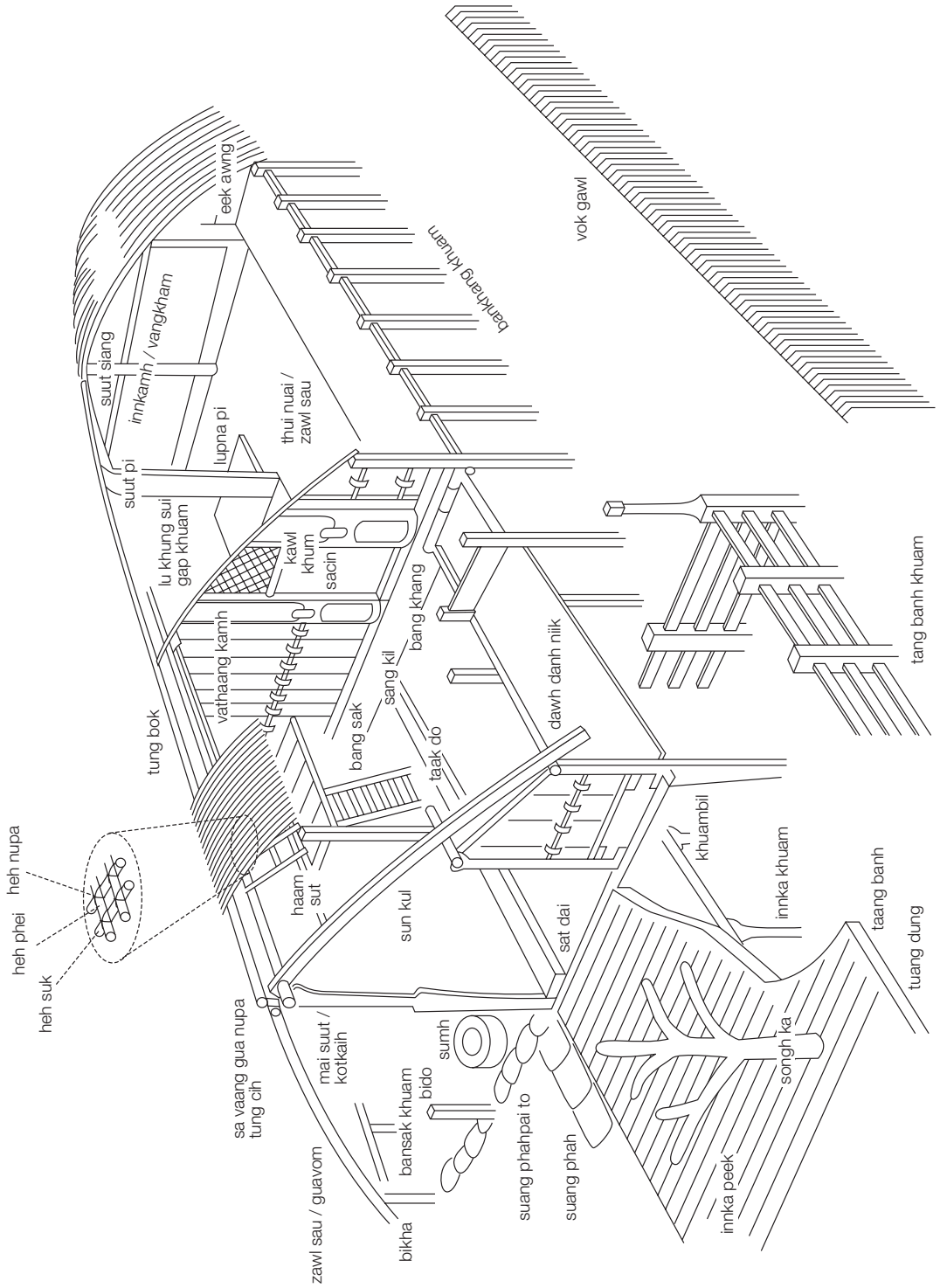


N.B. *Sungpi*, *inn sung*, *inn liim*, *inn ka* & *suangphah* are of the same level whereas *eek awng*, *dawhdan*, *innka cial tung nung* are raised one span or 8", and *inntual*, *sumtawng* and *haam nuai* are 8" below floor level.

Gulh tawng basement is below *sungpi*, *sunden* and master bed.

Structural and spatial names in a Kamhau chief's house





Zo, vernacular house glossary

bang sak ['BAANGH 'SAK] – carved door jamb, 'sak' means uphill side
 bang khang ['BAANG -Xang] ~ carved door jamb, 'khang' means downhill side

banhsak khuam [BANH ,SAK ,XUAM]~ stud post (uphill wall)

banhkhang khuam [BANH -XANG :XUAM] ~ stud post (downhill wall)

bido ['BI-DO] ~ eaves support

bikha ['BI :XA] ~ eaves

dawh dan niik [DAWH ,DANH 'NIIK] ~ skirt of the dawh danh raised floor

eeek awng ['EEK 'AWNG] ~ latrine

gap khuam [GAP:XUAMH] ~ see suutpi

ga nupa [-GUA .NU .PA] also heh nupa ~ in thatch roofing, split bamboo coupling

gua vom ['GUA -VOM] also zawl sau ~ purlin

ham suut [-HAAM'SUUT] see sumtawng suut

heh nupa [HEH ,NU ,PA] see gua nupa

heh phei [HEH -PHEI] horizontal bamboo

innka khuam ['INN-KA:XUAM]~ stud post under the *innka* deck

innka [-INN-KA] ~ deck, teak or other hardwood deck

inn kham ['INN :KAMH], also vangkhham ~tie beam

inn sunh ['INN :SUNH] ~ rafter. Curved rafter is called *sunh kul*

kawl khum [-KAWL-XUM]~ see vathang kham

khuam bil [XUAM 'BIL] ~ forked stud post

lukhumgh suut[-LU:XUNGH 'SUUT]also suutpi or gap khuam ~ the master *suut* post

lupna pi [LUP-NA'PI] ~master bed

mai suut ['MAI 'SUUT] also kot kah ~ front *suut* post, the first *suut* post

mei pam suut ['MEI-PAAM 'SUUT] ~ the third *suut* post

phai suut [-PHAI 'SUUT] ~the sixth and last *suut* post.

sa cin ['SA 'CIN] ~ see va thang kham

sang kil ['SANGH -KIL] ~ raised sill; 18'x2'x4' piece

sa vaang ['SA 'VAANGH] or gua nupa ~ split bamboo coupling

sat dai ['SAT:DAI] ~ eaves support

se sing ['SE 'SINGH] ~ oak wood

songh ka ['SONGH 'KA] ~ multiple-branch songh of the chieftain

suang phah ['SUANG ,PHAH] ~ flagstone

suang phah paito ['SUANG,PHAH-PAI:TO]~ flagstone uphill.

sumh ['SUMH] ~ mortar

sumtawng suut ['SUM:TAWNG SUUT~ second suut

sunh kul ['SUNH .KUL] ~ curve rafter. see inn sunh

suut ['SUUT] ~ central post see mai suut, ham suut, siuut pi. suut siang.

suutpi ['SUUT'PI] ~ main *suut* post, the fourth *suut* post, the most important of the *suut* posts

suut siang ['SUUT-SIANG]~ the fifth post, the holy inner sanctum sungpi post

tak do [-TAAK-DO] ~ 16' x 6' block bench

taang banh [-TAANG :BANH] ~ balustrade around the *innka* deck

taang banh khuam [TAANG :BANH ,XUAM] taang banh balusters

thul nuai zawl ['thul'nuai-zawl]~girder

tuang dung [-TUANG-DUNG] ~main *innka* plank, usually teak, skirting around the *innka* deck

tung bok ['TUNG BOK] also tung cinh ~ ridge pole 8' diameter

tung khum ['TUNG KHUM] ~ roof top

tung cinh ['TUNG .CINH] also tung bok

vathang kham ['VA 'THANGH :KAMH] ~ bamboo trellis fanlight

vang khamh ['VAANG :KHAMH] see inn kham

vok gawl [VOK ,GAWL] ~ pig-sty fencing

zawl sau [-ZAWL 'SAU]~ batten



This thatched house in Tonzang (1962) no longer exists. The *sumtawng* (pounding area) with mortar is behind the man. The post for the railings is chiselled through to take them. The inside of the house is not easily visible from outside by prying eyes – an advantage in those times when some men went on the rampage for sport.



Kongpi (gate of Lailo headman) (1962). The strong palisade wall is called *kulh*. Note the posts threaded with poles for easy dismantling in case of fire. The leaves and animal heads are offerings to the spirits. Also note the high stone sill.



Cing Vung of Tonzang in a typical Kamhau façade (1962). The high door sill is a good 4 in. thick – musket-ball proof. Both door jambs are also thick timber with carved edges to hold articles. An inch-wide strip on both edges of the jamb for aesthetics is effected by careful cutting of the centre with a *hei* (axe). The ‘fan-light’ over the door is *vathang* – literally ‘bird trap’, strictly this should be diamond-shaped trellis work. At the bottom left corner, where a wooden trencher is hung, is *vok kuang* – for the pigs’ feeding trough. Hunting trophies used to be greatly valued. This house boasts mountain goat, boar, sambhur and domestic *sial* skulls. Today almost no hunting trophies remain in Tiddim and Tonzang because of zealous ‘evangelists’ who equated Kam Hau and old customs with the worship of spirits.



The *kuang zawn* is a hollowed-out wooden trough. In the olden days, anyone who drank from it was considered *tual* (non-hostile). An enemy surrendered or pledged allegiance by drinking at one’s *kuang zawn* or by clinging to the *sut pi* posts of the master-bed.



One can imagine the amount of axe-work for the teak *innka* planks and single-piece bedsteads, *sang kil* door sills, *bangsai* door jams and *sut pi* posts.



Transporting building materials over precipitous terrain speaks volumes for the character of the people.

Chapter 2

The Sukte story

Foreword

Sukte, pronounced *sook-teh*, is the eponymic name of my clan, of which I am of the fourteenth generation. 'The Sukte story' is my own translation from the Kamhau-dialect 'Sukte Tangthu', a serial written by Dr J. Herbert Cope and published in *Lai Thu Thang Tsa and Tedim Thukizakna Lai* in 1937–8.¹ This, of several possible sources, was chosen to allay as much controversy as possible, and was itself translated from Chief Pum Za Mang's *Sukte amyō doh ih yazawin sa-ohgyi*, published in 1924 in Burmese.

Introduction

In the northwest mountains of Burma are three districts: Phalam (Falam), Khalkha (Haka) and Tedim. In the Sukte tract² of Tedim, there once was a place called Khol (Khul) and Chin (Ciim). In Khul and Ciim once lived a woman, who migrated from there to Mualbeem and bore a son.

A wandering woman and her son

When the son grew up to manhood, the woman and son led a life of peregrination,³ moving to Tuimang, Paakzang and Sianzang in succession, before finally settling down in Luika village. The son married a woman from Luika and settled there. The number of descendents of the woman and her son grew to up to thirty houses.

Since they had first settled in Luika, the inhabitants had propitiated a black serpent that lived in a cave overlooking the village. By the time the village grew to thirty houses, the serpent had become bolder and began to prey on dogs, pigs and even little children, coiling itself around the victims before swallowing them. Soon, the villagers anger got the better of their fear and they held a council at which they decided to kill the serpent.

The young men of the village went to the mouth of the cave and set a rope snare. When the serpent came out to forage as usual, it was caught in the snare, bringing the whole village to their hated enemy. They clobbered it with clubs and chopped it up with axes and hoes. After killing it, they cut it up, giving a portion of the meat to each household.

Though other families got better cuts, the widow and son only received the snake's head, which they cooked in an earthen pot before retiring for the night. Just before settling down into bed, the mother told the son to take a look at the pot. To his surprise, the eyes of the serpent were still blinking! The frightened mother and son changed the pot, stoked the fire and went to bed for a fitful, restless night.

That night, the woman dreamed of a man who told her, 'Get out of this village before dawn, because a landslide will bury it!' She woke up with a start and told her son – 'I've had a very bad dream. We must leave immediately.' As soon as they left there was a big rainstorm, and a huge landslide buried Luika, killing all the inhabitants. The woman and son fled and ended up in Balzang village.

Once again they left Balzang and returned to Mualbeem, where the son remarried and had a son he named Sukzo. The genealogy of Sukzo is:

Sukzo begat Mang Tun; Mang Tun begat Mang Cin; Mang Cin begat Mang Piang; Mang Piang begat Ngai Neek; Ngai Neek begat Zam Thuk (Zang Thuk); Zang Thuk begat Mang Kim.

When Mang Kim came of age he married a girl named Kap Cin (Kap Cing) and settled in Mualbeem. They had a son and named him Khan Thuam. Mang Kim died when Khan Thuam was still a child, and widow Kap Cing remained in Mualbeem after her husband died.

The Rise of Khan Thuam

When Khan Thuam was ten or more, he herded, along with other boys of his age, the *sial* (mithan cattle) of the village. It was the custom to choose the leader of the cowherds, *sialcing mang*, or chief herds-boy, by wrestling, and Khan Thuam soon wrestled his way to the top, presaging his future leadership. However, as he distinguished himself even at this early age, he also attracted the attention of a kinsman, Kaih Mang, who saw him as a potential rival. In the dog-eat-dog world of that time, Kaih Mang decided to send a man to kill Khan Thuam.

The man Kaih Mang sent went to Khan Thuam's house, but Khan Thuam wrestled him to the ground and, as the two men struggled for dear life, Khan Thuam's mother wrested the knife from the would-be assassin and stabbed the assailant dead. However, the incident resolved nothing for Khan Thuam. The more he proved himself brave and strong, the more he attracted enemies seeking to kill him, though they did not succeed.

Khan Thuam thought his life would be easier if he could marry Gawh Cing (Gawh Ciin), the daughter of his rival and clansman Kaih Mang. He soon manoeuvred his way to Gawh Ciin's heart, married her, and tried to settle in Mualbeem. They had a son and named him Kam Hau; another son soon followed and they named him Pau Kam.

Khan Thuam not only proved himself strong and clever, but also distinguished himself in war. Everyone listened to him and feared him, but with fame came the jealousy and enmity of nine powerful headmen.

Nine hausa (headmen) plot to kill Khan Thuam

As his fame spread, Saizang *hausa*,⁴ Pum Vial (Vung Vial); Vangteh *hausa*, Tun Kam; Lamzang *hausa*, Vuite Mang Song (Mang Sum); Sukte Kaih Mang of Mualbeem; Lophei *hausa*, Do Mang; Kalzang *hausa*, Cin Put (Ciang Phut); Thuklai *hausa*, Suan Thuk; Khuasak *hausa*, Go Mang; and Buanman *hausa*, Hang Kam (Han Kam) all plotted to kill him. They held a council one day, saying, 'Khan Thuam is more famous than all of us. As long as he lives no-one will ever hear of us, and everybody will follow him. If we can kill him, only then will our names be heard.'

When Khan Thuam heard of the conspiracy against him, he left Mualbeem with his wife and sought protection from Vuite Kam Lam of Tedim. Then he went to the Khuang-nung village headman, Lang Za of the Manlun clan, and, giving him a *khibah* necklace, he said: 'Lang Za, you know that there is a conspiracy to kill me. Be sure to know their plans and inform me.' He stayed in Tedim, and pretended to cultivate a taro field in Baalzang.

When the nine conspirators heard that Khan Thuam had left Mualbeem and now lived in Tedim they made further inquiries. They were told that Khan Thuam indeed was in Tedim and cultivated a taro field in Balzaang. Therefore they planned to meet in Tedim, but when some of them failed to make the trip, they postponed their plan and each departed to his village.

Before long the nine headmen got together again and sent a man to spy on Khan Thuam. When the spy saw a stone figure Khan Thuam made of himself sowing taro, he returned to his masters and reported that Khan Thuam was indeed working in his field, sowing taro. The conspirators decided that it was too late to kill Khan Thuam that day, and anticipated killing him the next day. However, Khan Thuam heard of the plan and concluded if he stayed on, he would be killed one day or another. So he collected his wife, children and a follower in the night and fled to Darlang (Rallang) in Zahau territory.

When the nine headmen went to Tedim to kill Khan Thuam they learned that he had fled. So they sent their followers to follow him and kill him whenever and wherever they caught up with him. These followers quickly made inquiries of Khan Thuam's movements and located him.

Flight to Rallang

Khan Thuam left Tedim via Lamzang, arriving at the Manipur rope-ferry⁵ at midnight. He ferried his wife and children one by one, and by daybreak he alone was at the near bank. Just as he was holding onto the rope to cross over, his enemies arrived at the ferry. As he was crossing, holding on to the rope, his enemies cut the rope and Khan Thuam was carried downstream by the current. But he tenaciously clung to the rope, 'like a bat', as one of his famous songs says,⁶ and washed up on the far bank.

Since his pursuers dared not swim the rapid river they returned and reported the matter to their masters, who concluded that Khan Thuam would flee to Darlang (Rallang)⁷ village in Zahau country. The conspirators lost no time and immediately sent some men to Sangkun ridge to head Khan Thuam off. They briefed their servants, telling them that they would know Khan

Thuam by the shield and spear he always carried. If they killed the one who carried the shield and spear it would be Khan Thuam.

The servants quickly made for Sangkun (Saukong) *mual* (hill) to ambush Khan Thuam's party. But just before Khan Thuam reached the ridge he felt the call of nature, and handing over his spear and shield to his servant he stayed back to relieve himself. When the servant reached Saukong ridge bearing his master's shield and spear, the enemies killed him.

When Khan Thuam caught up, he found to his grief that his follower was dead. He continued the journey with his wife and children and arrived at Rallang. He told Khawi Tel (Khuang Tseu), the headman of Rallang, all that had happened to him and asked for protection, and lived with him.

Kam Hau also rose to fame

Kam Hau, was the eldest son of Khan Thuam and Gawh Ciin. He came to Rallang with his father to seek protection from the nine headmen who plotted to kill Khan Thuam. Like other boys of age ten or above, he had to herd the cattle of the village.

CHOOSING THE BRAVEST

One day the cowherds dared each other to lift a brooding hen from the house of Do Khen. No-one could approach it because of his fierce dog. They all agreed that anyone brave enough to take the hen would get the breast meat⁸ of any bird they shot or trapped, one cup of *sailung tang* (bow pellets) and a cup of wild berries a day from all the others. After each one failed and Kam Hau's turn came, he simply walked over to the hatching nest and took the hen. From that day all the cowherds gave Kam Hau the breast meat of the birds they took and a cup of bow pellets and a cup of berries each day. This, it is said, was Kam Hau's first taste of recognition for valour.⁹

Popular adulation

As Kam Hau grew up to be a lad, he had another chance to prove himself. A gaur ox of the village had run amok and was goring all passers-by, so that no-one could venture out in the village or go to their fields. Headman Khuang Tseo therefore called a meeting of the young men of the village, and promised to honour whoever could kill the ox with '*zu cil leep ding a satan zuhai a lian penpen ngah ding*', that is the honour of first turn at the *zu* pot and receiving the biggest cut of meat¹⁰ and the biggest cup of *zu* at *zu nung* feasts. (These privileges are normally reserved for heroes in the field of war or big-game hunters.)

No-one dared to take up the challenge but Kam Hau, who had been known for his bravery since youth, and who now fearlessly shot the ox. Kam Hau thus began to be lauded for his bravery and became very popular.

Kam Hau fell in love with Ciin Ngul,¹¹ the daughter of Mang Kam (Mang Kim) of Muizang village, married her and lived in the house of Rallang headman Khuang Tseu.

The making of a dynasty

Wars of revenge

After Khan Thuam had been living in Rallang for some years, and after discussion with his son Kam Hau, he said to his lord Khuang Tseu and the villagers of Rallang: 'I can not rest until I have my revenge on the nine *hausa* who tried to kill me. I want to raid their villages. Can you help me take my revenge?' The whole village of Darlang were won over by Khan Thuam, and they readily promised to help.

The father and son team targeted Mualbeem first and sent emissaries there to warn the people of their impending raid.¹² Knowing Khan Thuam and Kam Hau's reputations, Mualbeem quickly acquiesced and sent a messenger asking them not to raid their village but to come be their headman instead. So they sent for the elders of Mualbeem, exacting from them the promise to ally themselves with them in any future wars. Mualbeem thus escaped destruction.

Khan Thuam then sought the support of Limkhai, Mualbeem and Rallang in raiding Vangteh, promising to share any captives equally amongst them. Khan Thuam drew up a battle plan for his own force to attack from the low grounds and for Lim Khai's men to strike from above the village. In the ensuing battle the villagers of Vangteh fled down towards Khan Thuam, and he collected 93 captives.

He made haste to return to Rallang with his captives, but Limkhai Zel Vum followed him and demanded that Khan Thuam shared the captives according to their prior agreement. Khan Thuam told him that instead of sharing the prisoners he would rather *to kai* (subjugate himself to Zel Vum) and give him the left shoulder of the animal he killed when he gave a *tong* feast.¹³ Having settled his promise to Limkhai, he took all his captives to Rallang.

Khan Thuam made short shrift of all the villages of his enemies between Tunlui and Leitawhtan *gun* (stream). He defeated Kalzang, Dimpì, Dimlo and Phaileng, making all of them his subjects, and demanded the following tributes from them:

Taang seu: each household must give a basket of millet once a year;

Inn sa liang:¹⁴ a shoulder of the animal killed in any *gal aih* victory celebration;

Gamsa liang: the shoulder of any wild animal killed in his land

Kam Hau returned to Mualbeem

With his wife and children, Khan Thuam lived in Khuang Tseo's house for many years. After he had avenged himself of his enemies with the aid of the people of Rallang, he longed to return to his birthplace, Mualbeem. He discussed the matter with his son Kam Hau and the two approached Khuang Tseo. However, when Khuang Tseo consulted his elders, all of them were of the same mind, they could not let them go: 'Khan Thuam and Kam Hau are

very brave and successful in war. We depend on them most. We cannot let them go.'

Failing to persuade them on their own, they finally decided ask Thang Cil (Thang Tir), headman of Lamthuk (Ramtho) to intercede for them, giving him a *khibah* necklace. Thang Tir told Khuang Tseo, 'We ought to let Khan Thuam and Kam Hau return to their birthplace Mualbeem.' However Khuang Tseo consented only to letting Kam Hau and his family go.

Kam Hau returned, building a house and settling in Mualbeem. After about five years, Kam Hau longed to see his parents again, and considered how he could bring them back to Mualbeem. He went to Rallang and once again requested that Thang Tir persuade Khuang Tseo to let Khan Thuam go. Finally, Khuang Tseo agreed, telling him: 'Always give me your usual tributes.' Khan Thuam promised this, and returned to Mualbeem with his wife and children.

Khan Thuam lived in the house his son Kam Hau built in Mualbeem. Then he arranged for Kam Hau to set up house for himself (*inn tuan*) one year after he returned. He had another daughter there, Gawh Niang, but the child died in infancy. His sons were Pau Kam, Gawh Pau and Za Khai.¹⁵ And he had another daughter, Mun Ciin. When Gawh Ciin, his wife, died a few years later, he gave her a grand funeral. Shortly after he asked for the hand of Kam Vung of Khuasak and remarried.

A few years after settling in Mualbeem, Khan Thuam conscripted men from the conquered villages and made plans to invade Zo villages *Leitawhtan sak lam*, that is, north of Leitawhtan. With his sons Kam Hau and Pau Kam, he conquered Vang-lai, Tungkua (Tungkhua), Tualzang, Thenmual, Thangkhal, Belpi, Tawtak, Khuadai and Lailui.

Grudge against the Vuite

Khan Thuam was still nursing a grudge against the Vuites (Guite), who had plotted to kill him. When he passed through Tedim, Lamzang and Losau on his war expeditions, he taunted them so mercilessly that they migrated to Manipurland. Only seven families, including Hatzaw clan Khawi Lam (Khoi Lam), Chin Kim (Cin Kim), Kim Ten (Kim Thuam), Tel Khat (Tel Khaat) and three other families, remained in Lamzang.

The Hatzaw remnant in Lamzang, fearing that Falam might raid them, began looking for someone who could protect them and decided to invite Kam Hau,¹⁶ son of Khan Thuam, to rule over them. After discussing the matter with his father, Kam Hau moved his family to Lamzang and set up home or *inn tuan*, according to Sukte tradition. Five years on, Kam Hau set his heart on settling in Tedim. He went to Mualbeem to confer with his father who approved the plan.

Because Kam Hau was a very wise man, he went to Thang Cil (Thang Tir) the head of Lamthuk (Ramtho) and told him that he wanted to settle in Tedim, formerly settled by Guite. He asked him to protect him. 'Since you are my master,' he said, 'protect me and I will give you a *sialpi* [full grown mithan] every three years.' Thang Tir agreed to this, and Kam Hau, with his father, made plans to resettle Tedim.

Not long after Kam Hau had established himself, his wife and children in Tedim, and while there were still only eight houses there, the Zo, whom he had defeated before, allied themselves with the Thahdo and attacked the village. Kam Hau could not hold out, and had to return to Lamzang. The Zo and Thahdo won, but they did not occupy Tedim, and instead returned to their villages.

Kam Hau said to his villagers, 'If we remain like this, our enemies will always attack and conquer us. Therefore we should call Mang Kim (Mang Gin) of the Hatzaw who is living in Ngalti.' They were agreed, and Tedim grew to 35 houses.

When the Zo heard that Kam Hau had settled in Tedim again, together with their Thahdo allies they asked help from the Burmese in Bunglung (Yazagyo), and again raided. Although Kam Hau fought back very hard, the Zo and their allies were too numerous. His people were afraid and fled into the jungle. Yet, once again, Kam Hau returned to Tedim, dug trenches all around the village, organised his forces under the able leadership of his elders, and once and for all established his authority against all invaders. If one goes to Tedim now, you can still see these trenches.

Kam Hau's wars

Kam Hau's campaign against the Zos

Kam Hau could not forget that the Zo had twice invaded Tedim and razed it. Therefore he went to his father Khan Thuam in Mualbeem and they held council. They agreed to ask for help from Khuang Tseu, their protector and headman of Rallang, and from Thang Tir, the headman of Lamthuk (Ramtho). They agreed, and Kam Hau marshalled a force comprising men from Rallang, Ramtho and Mualbeem, and raided the Zo villages of Vailai (Vanglai), Tungkua (Tungkhua), Tualzang, Theimual, Thangkhal, Belbi (Beelpi), Tawtak, Khuadai and Lailui, defeating each of them.

Kam Hau then spoke to these villages: 'I've defeated all of you before, but you invaded me these two times. Now I've defeated you once more, and you are all now under my rule. All your lands are now mine. Therefore, unless you're willing to give me the tributes I'll assess, you may no longer live in my land. Only those who pay tributes will be allowed to stay.'¹⁷

These were the tributes Kam Hau demanded from them:

Since you cultivate fields in my land, you shall give me a *seeng* (basket) of millet (*taang seu*).

For the privilege of building a village in my land, each village will give me a *sialpi* (mithan cow) every three years (*sial siah*).

Since your cattle eat the grass of my land, you shall give me a shoulder (*liang*) of the animal you slaughter for *gal aih* victory feast (*innsa liang*).

You shall give me a cut of meat (*baak khat*) of the animal you slaughter for a funeral (*daak sap*, was also meaning the hire of *daak* gongs).

You shall give me Re 1/-¹⁸ for any animal you sell outside of my domain (*sial liang man*).

You shall give me a shoulder of any wild animal shot in my land (*gamsa liang*).

Each household shall till my fields one day in the rainy season and one day in the summer (*tuuk tha* and *khal tha*).

Anyone who migrates may not sell his house. The house shall be mine.¹⁹

The defeated Zo agreed to Kam Hau's conditions and the land enjoyed peace.

Kam Hau then marshalled his villagers and raided Kahgen, taking the headman's wife captive. When they arrived back at Tedim, she implored Kam Hau not to kill her. If he let her go back, she would give him a necklace worth a village, and would persuade other Zo to submit to him. Kam Hau was very pleased with this proposal, to which he agreed. She fulfilled her side of the bargain, giving the necklace to Kam Hau as promised, and travelling to all villages between Luazang mual (Luahzang mual) and the Suangkang hills: Khuanal, Lomzang, Takzang, Salzang, Phuntong, Aina, Tualpi, Tonzang, Bunghu (Bawnghu), Phaitu, Thanglaw (Taanglian), Gelmual, Khuamun, Zanlang (Khanglam), Khamzang, Sialmawng and Vomsem. She told each of them: 'Kam Hau is planning to raid all Zo villages. If he does, no-one will be able to resist, and we will only be killed. Therefore it is better to submit to him, pay him taxes and let him rule over us. As a consequence of her mediation, envoys from the eighteen villages went to Kam Hau and asked him not to invade them, promising to give him taxes. Kam Hau agreed.

Kam Hau then prepared to invade the villages of his enemies Bungzang (Bum zang), Mongken (Mawngkeen), Tualmei (Tualmu) and Gamngai. When those villages heard of the impending raids they too were afraid and surrendered to him, saying, '*siah ong pia nung*' (we will you give tribute). Kam Hau accepted this, and from that time all Zo villages have come under Kam Hau's rule, paying tributes and living in peace.

Kam Hau and sons defeat Thahdo, Ngaman and Sitong

After Kam Hau succeeded in subduing the Zos he conferred with his sons Za Tual, Suan Han (Sawm Hau), Lian Thang and Thuan Lian (Thuam Lian) to invade the Thahdos living north of Siangkang (Suangkang) hills. With his trusted sons Kam Hau made war against the Thahdos, and Manvum, Vanghi, Vungthang and Vumson clans could not prevail against Kam Hau and came under his reign. Thus Kam Hau ruled all Thahdos living north of Suangkang mual and Tapei stream and received tributes.

After Kam Hau had defeated all the Thahdos, the Maharaja of Manipur wanted to extract some timber near the Tapei stream and asked Kam Hau's permission, but the latter refused, only to acquiesce after the Maharaja gave him a bolt of nine cubits of *saihadial* white linen cloth.

Kam Hau's next campaign took him to the east of Thangmual (Kennedy) range to subdue the Ngaman and Sitong tribes and collect taxes from them. He next raided the Vaite and Vungthan clans who lived between Tuimui and Meinal stream and taxed them.

At the end of his campaigns Kam Hau became a very powerful chief. He then toured the villages under him, giving each village a sow, a cock and a hen, commanding them to live in peace.

Extension to Manipur territory

After Kam Hau had conquered his rivals and enemies to the east of the Manipur, he turned his attention to Gungal territories, the land beyond the river. He conquered the Thados who lived in Gamthaw, Laikul, Sattak and Singgial villages. Wanting to make these conquered territories his own, he approached Rallang *hausapa* (headman) Cin Kham, saying: 'Although today there are no settlers beyond the river, soon enough there will be many. Give the territory to me and make it mine.' Cin Kham agreed, and ceded all Gungal territory to him. Soon enough, some jealous and discontented people brought that matter to the attention of the Phalam *innpipa* (chief),²⁰ Huai Luan (Hawi Luan), who immediately proclaimed that Kam Hau could not have the territory.

As he was wont to do, Kam Hau discussed the matter with his father Khan Thuam, and they apologised, bringing Huai Luan a present of one-hundred mithan heads. This made the Phalam *innpipa* receptive and he ceded all the territory between Nonglui and Civui rivers.

The territory known as *gungal*, or 'the land beyond the river', was then divided into four parts:

Khan Thuam received the land between Nonglui and Lawh (Lua) *lui* rivers.

Khan Thuam and his son Zawh Pau (Gawh Pau) Saizang *hausapan* received the tract between Lua *lui* and Thui *lui* (streams).

Losau *hausapa* Khan Lam received the tract between Thuilui and Tanglui.

Kam Hau received the tract between Tanglui and Civui salt mines.

Kam Hau feeds his people in famine

Innpipa Kam Hau settled in Tedim, which grew, year by year, till there were one-hundred households. At that time, trouble came to Tedim in the form of a three-year drought that resulted in the death of several people. Kam Hau slaughtered his livestock for the worst hit Lamzang and Gawng villagers, who cooked salt from Beltang salt spring and survived till rain came again.²¹

When better times came, Kam Hau consulted with his advisors, Kim Thuam, Khoi Lam, Cin Kim, Tel Khat and Pau Vom (Vum), and told Lamzang and Gawng people: 'I fed you during the famine. Now you shall pay me back by giving me the *phei* hind leg of a pig, or a large cut of a mithan meat, whichever you slaughter yearly for your *pusa* worship.' This tribute is called *Dainek*.

Manipur invades Kamhau

The Meitei *sawbwa*, the Maharaja of Manipur, became jealous of Kam Hau's increasing influence and decided to invade Kamhauland.²² Carried in a

palanquin, he set out for Tedim with three-thousand soldiers. Seeing the strength of the invasion force, some of the inhabitants of Kamhauland joined the invaders, acting as porters and guides. The *Leengmangpa*, the Maharaja himself, encamped at Muanghengzang and dug trenches all around the camp, which can still be seen today near the Tualmului rest-bungalow between Tedim and Tonzang.

When the Tedim *innpipa* heard the news of the invasion, he dug trenches all around Tedim, and sent to Mualbeem and Sehzang (Sihzang) asking for reinforcement. When the volunteers arrived, he slaughtered a *sial* and held a feast for the allied volunteers.²³

Having prepared his combined forces, he led them to engage the enemy at Suangkang hill. After seven days of fighting, Za Tual,²⁴ son of Kam Hau, shot and killed the enemy military commander.²⁵ The sudden loss of their commander caused a panic in the Manipur camp, and they were soon routed. They fled, throwing away their guns, swimming across the Manipur river, in which many of them lost their lives. Only one thousand of the original three thousand returned to their land.

Kam Hau captured 130 muskets, retrieved 90 from the river and picked up 67 along the riverbanks, bringing the windfall of arms to a total of 287, a considerable arsenal.

Kamhaus chased the Manipuris all the way to Tapei river, making the territory conquered land. In the aftermath those who too readily went over to the enemy were taught a gruesome lesson: each village which helped and guided the enemy was ordered to bring the heart (head)²⁶ of a Manipuri to the Tedim *innpipa* Kam Hau.

War with Thuklai

The Lunmun and Sonnian (Sumniang) clans who lived together in Thuklai quarrelled and ended up fighting each other. The Lunmun asked help from the Likhai (Limkhai) *hausapa* Tuan Khan, who in turn sought the help of his *zawl*, special friends, Mualbeem *hausapa* Za Pau and Za Khai. They took the matter to Tedim *innpipa* Kam Hau.

Even after this alliance, they still felt the need to ask for help from the people of Phalam (Falam), Khuangli, Zahau and Hualngos in fighting the Sumniangs in Thuklai. On the appointed day this considerable alliance finally managed to dislodge the Sumniangs, who fled to Khuasak. Kam Hau captured thirty prisoners, Za Pau forty and Phalam, their ally, twenty.

War between Tedim and Khuasak

The Sumniangs fled to Khuasak and asked for protection from the Khuasak headman, Go Mang. When Za Pau and Kam Hau instructed Go Mang not to shelter their enemies, he ignored them. During the standoff, a band of villagers from Mualbeem, Buanman and Tekzang (?) killed a man named Zong Lam from Khuasak. In retaliation, the furious men of Khuasak promptly raided Dal village, which was under Kam Hau's regime.

Honour-bound, Tedim *innpipa* Kam Hau and Mualbeem *ukpipa* Za Pau led a force against Khuasak. Thang Khaw Pau, son of Kam Hau, killed Kham

Am of Khuasak; Thuam Khaw Thang, son of Za Pau, killed Thang Khai and Lun Lam of Buanman. Khuasak people lost the fighting and returned home.

To attack Khuasak village, Kam Hau and Za Pau then sought the help of *kawlte*²⁷ (Burmese) of the plains, who sent a large contingent. The combined *Zo* and *kawl* laid siege on Khuasak for two days. However, it was too strongly fortified, and they had to give up.

The people of Khuasak held council and sent a delegation to Phalam *innpipa* to ask him to act as peace-broker. If he could successfully arrange peace between the warring clans, they would give him a *sial* mithan every three years. Phalam *innpipa* issued an edict that Tedim, Mualbeem, Buanman, and Theizang villages should live in peace.

Tedim and Lusei war

Lusei (Lushai) *hausa* Van Nuai Lian proclaimed that the tract of land between Tan *lui* (stream) and Civui was his, and freely hunted in the preserve. One day, Hau Pum, son of Kam Hau, and his band of one-hundred men went on a safari in *gun gal*, the territory west of the river, and ran across Van Nuai Lian. Hau Pum told Van Nuai Lian: 'This territory does not belong to you Lusei people. It is my father's land. Therefore you may not hunt here any more. If you do, you will regret it.' And he escorted him from the area.

As he was alone, Vai Nuai Lian could not protest, but when he recounted what had passed to his villagers, and his sons, Do Thian and Lal Tun, heard of his experience, they responded with a message which said, 'Although Falam *innpipa* and Zahau *innpipa* granted you this land, we have never done so. If you should insist in your claim, it will mean war!' 'War, it shall be!', exclaimed Kam Hau, and he and his subjects began their preparations, making gunpowder and casting lead shot.

During this time of preparation for war, On Vial, Hang Tual and another villager from Lamzang, which was under *innpipa* Kam Hau, went to Lusei *gam* (territory) to buy food. As they slept in Sialte village, Van Nuai Lian's villagers killed On Vial, though the other two escaped.

When the news broke out, 'The Luseis killed On Vial!', it was immediately reported to *innpipa* Kam Hau. A mithan was slaughtered, and a war council was called. Mualbeem was to invade Khomleng and Tedim take on Lihli (Rih).

Za Pau conquered Khamlong, and took more than three-hundred prisoners alive. Tedim could not reach their objective on time because Kamhau's youngest son, Khaw Cin, took sick. When they did march on Lehli, the inhabitants had already fled. They took a trophy of a 10-*khap*²⁸ gong and captured two prisoners.

Tomphai (Champhai) campaign

When the Tomphai (Champhai) villagers of Lusei *gam* raped and killed an Indian woman and then impaled her body on a pole, the enraged Indians asked help from Mualbeem *ukpipa* and Tedim *innpipa* to invade Champhai, fixing a date for the joint action. However, Tedim and Mualbeem contingents made a mistake and arrived at Champhai six days early. When they assaulted

the enemy alone, Mualbeem lost seven men and Tedim and Mualbeem gave up and returned home.

Six days later, on the appointed date, the Indians completely defeated the Luseis, who fled to the land east and west of Tanlui river. After Kam Hau's conquests, his territory was 90 by 20 miles and included territories in Lushei and India.

Kam Hau chose seven advisors to help him rule the land he had conquered, and died not long afterwards. Of all his eight sons, Khaw Cin, the youngest, succeeded him, according to Kamhau custom.

Innpipa Khaw Cin

Khaw Cin inherited his father's land and all his possessions, ruling over the people. In time, he fell in love with Vung Khaw Lian, daughter of Am Thang, one of Kam Hau's trusted advisors. He wanted to divorce his wife and marry Vung Khaw Lian, but his elders and advisors objected. Nevertheless, he persisted and married Vung Khaw Lian.²⁹

Settlements west of the river

When a Sukte named Khan Hau was rejected by his wife Niang Cin (Niang Ciin), daughter of the Mualbeem *innpipa*, he was so ashamed that he no longer wanted to stay in Mualbeem. Therefore, he went to the Phalam *innpipa* and asked permission to settle in Ha Zang Ngai. This was granted, and he founded a village called Ha Zang Ngai on the west of the river Manipur.

When war broke out between his native Mualbeem and Khuangli village, the Khuangli *innpipa* asked Khan Hau to intercede. When Khan Hau approached Za Pau, chief of Mualbeem, he did not want to decide the matter himself, and sent one of his elders, Hau Khaw Thang, to the Phalam *innpipa* with a present of an elephant tusk. Hau Khaw Thang, however, pretended that the ivory was his own present to the *innpipa*, and asked permission to settle in Suangzang territory. The Phalam *innpipa* was very pleased with the elephant tusk, and readily gave Hau Khaw Thang the permission he requested.

Hau Khaw Thang prepared for consequences of his perfidious action by asking for protection from the anger of Za Pau, to whom Suangzang belonged. He was assured of protection and told to give tributes faithfully. After he returned to Mualbeem, Hau Khaw Thang founded Suangzang.

When Thuam Thawng, son of Gawh Pau Saizang *hausapa*, heard that one could settle in *gun gal gam* (land beyond the river) by paying tribute to the Phalam *innpipa*, he asked permission to settle in Kaptel territory. With the blessing of the *innpipa* he founded Kaptel village. Khan Lam, the Losau *hausapa*, settled in the Seiphei territory of *gun gal*. He named his village Seiphei.

Soon Dimpi *hausapa*, Pau Suang of Gualnam clan, asked and received permission from the Phalam *innpipa* to settle in Laitui territory. The village was named Laitui. The land belonged to the Tedim *innpipa* Khua Cin.

When Khua Cin heard that Pau Suang had settled in Laitui he sent word to him, saying, 'The land on which you've founded Laitui village is my

father, Kam Hau's. You must therefore give me the customary tributes.' But Pau Suang did not listen and did not pay tribute.

At this defiance, Khua Cin was very angry and arrested Laitui elder Phut On, tying him up. When Pau Suang heard about this, he sent his wife, Zuh Niang (Za Niang), with *zu leh sa* (zu and meat) to Khaw Cin, and requested the release of Phut On, promising to pay the tax. This satisfied Khaw Cin, who released Phut, and since that time Laitui villagers have paid tax to the Tedim *innpipa* Khaw Cin and his heirs.³⁰

(Dr Cope's *Sakte Tangthu* ends here. The rest of this section is translated from Chief Pum Za Mang's *Yazawin sa oh gyi*, which used the Burmese title *sabwa* for chief (*innpipa*).)

War between Tedim and Hualngos

One day Kam Hau's eldest son, Za Tual, and his son, Thuam Khaw Lian, returning from Khuazing forest, where they had been hunting elephants, met with two men of the Hualngos, who had never been at war with Tedim, and killed them. When the Hualngos heard of the killings they were very angry and prepared to invade Tedim territory. They surrounded Ainah village, killing twenty and taking twenty captives.

Ainah Zo people reported the matter to Sawbwa Khaw Cin. He marshalled 500 men from Tedim, Lamzang, Gawng and Tual-zang. Leading these men himself, with his elder brothers, Thuam Lian and Thang Khaw Pau, they advanced to the west of the Manipur river. They bivouacked in Bileizang, north of Ciingpikot village.

That night Thuam Lian dreamt. He woke his brothers early, saying, 'I had a very bad dream. All of us, and our soldiers, should return to our villages. Otherwise, one of us four brothers will die and one of our own trusted leaders will also die.' But Khaw Cin and Hau Pum argued that they could not go back as they would lose the trust of their people. 'If we die,' they said, 'we die for our tribute givers. We must be prepared to do that.' The younger brothers prevailed, and they continued their journey.

They advanced, and the enemies engaged them at Leisum. In that exchange, the enemy lost the headman of Danuk village, Hrang Cin Khuai, and his younger brother. But a single shot passed through Hau Pum, and drilled into Zong Lam of the Tawmbing clan, killing them both. Enraged, Khaw Cin rushed in with his men, and managed to put the enemies to flight. However, they could not continue the chase, because they had to return the bodies of his brother and Zong Lam to Tedim.³¹

Despite Khaw Cin's desire for revenge, that year there was drought in the land and he had to postpone his plans and turn his attention instead to saving the lives of his people.

Khaw Cin feeds his people in the famine

Khaw Cin took ten elephant tusks and offered them to the *sawbwa* of Kalaymyo, who gave him a large amount of paddy, which he took back and

rationed amongst his people so that it enabled them to survive more than a year of famine.

When it became clear that more food was needed, Khaw Cin sold fifty mithans' worth of his property and heirlooms, and through the headman of Mualbeem bought food from the Ngawn people. Khaw Cin rationed the food to his people as before, and managed to survive until the weather improved and the rains returned.

After the end of the famine Khaw Cin killed thirty mithan to celebrate what Tedim people called '*tong*', inviting many people, including, because of persistent clan pressure, his divorced his wife Vung Khaw Lian. After the *tong* he asked for the hand of Lian Dim, daughter of Mualbeem *innpipa* Za Pau, and married her.

After *sawbwa min* (chief) Khaw Cin divorced Vung Khaw Lian, Hatlang clansman Am Thang, Vung Khaw Lian's father, no longer wanted to live in Tedim and founded a new village on the west of the Nankate (Manipur) river. The village was called Muizawl.

Chins raided Burmese villages

When Khaw Cin could no longer administer his villages as well as he would have wished, because of an affliction in his leg, some villages took to raiding Burmese villages across the border, namely Tamu, Kyienkaya, Tinwin and Khampat. They looted them and took captives back to the Chin Hills. When Khaw Cin heard about this, he ordered them to stop, but nobody listened and the raids continued.

When the British, who ruled Burma, heard of the border trouble they orderered the Chin *sawbw*as to stop their raiding. Although the *sawbw*as tried to comply, some of the villages continued raiding nonetheless.

The British annexation of the Chin Hills

When, in 1884, the British could not stop the raids into bordering Burmese villages, they began their campaign in the Chin Hills. The Chins of Siyin, Sukte and Kamhau tracts combined forces and faced the British at No. 3 Stockade (Phazang) below Thangpi, later known as Fort White. Although they defeated the British there, they did not continue with the war, but returned to their villages.

When the British advanced again into Chin territories, they had already captured Khuasak village near Fort White before the Chins could marshal their forces. Although the Siyins fought back bravely, they could not prevail and the British razed the village. They then, successively, razed Thuklai, Vangteh, Saizang and Tedim.

Death of Sawbwa Khaw Cin

When the British surrounded Tedim, Sawbwa Khaw Cin escaped to Vang-lai village. After staying there, he went to Tualzang, and from Tualzang he settled in Ngennung village. After he arrived in Ngennung, his health failed and he died, leaving daughters Vung Za Ciin and Ngul Khaw Man, but no male heir.

Therefore, according to Chin custom, Hau Chin Khup succeeded him, in the stead of his father, Hau Pum, who would have succeeded had he lived.

The widow of Khaw Cin, Lian Dim, left her two daughters in the home of Hau Pum and returned to her own home in Mualbeem. Later she married Thawng Lian of Mualnuam village and lived there.

Kamhau nee sa³² Hau Chin Khup

Chin Hills Kamhau nee sa (receiver of tribute) Hau Chin Khup, the oldest child of Hau Pum, was born some fifteen years before the British annexation of the Chin Hills. When he succeeded Khaw Cin, he inherited his wealth, and lived in Tonzang village, from where he ruled his people according to customs of his forebears. When he came to the chieftainship, Hau Chin Khup was still very young, and some Tonzang villagers ignored his commands by raiding and destroying Pyinthawa village.

When the Burmese living in the border villages reported the matter to the British, they sent one-thousand soldiers up to the Chin Hills, surrounding Tonzang and demanding the surrender of Hau Chin Khup.³³ When the villagers refused, the British killed nine residents, and the elders took the auguries of *sa thal dawt*,³⁴ which presaged well. Therefore on 24 February 1891 Hau Chin Khup, last of the Chin chiefs, surrendered, and the British, after keeping him in Siyin-territory Fort White for a while, took him down to Yangon (Rangoon).

For a period of about five months, the British impressed upon Hau Chin Khup the might of their forces, taking him around several of their towns, and instructing him that henceforth he must assist them in all matters. They told him to teach his subjects to live in peace and prosperity, and sent him back to the Chin Hills. From that time Hau Chin Khup was loyal to the British and helped them in all matters, great or small. The British gave him the authority to rule his people according to customs of his forebears and collect the customary taxes.³⁵

When some Siyin and Sakte revolted and killed Maung Tun Win and twenty soldiers, Hau Chin Khup helped the British and, with R.S. Carey (political officer for the Chin Hills, 1893–1919), subdued Siyin and Sakte areas. He also succeeded in collecting more than 2,700 guns in his jurisdiction, and handed them on to the government.

In 1917 he helped the British to form a labour corps of more than one-thousand men (700 Kamhaus, 250 Sakte and 83 Siyins) for the French front, and he supplied coolies for the government during the Haka rebellion of 1918. Then, in 1919, when the Kukis rebelled in Manipur, he formed and lead a Chin unit that helped end the rebellion.

For his loyalty the British government awarded him the followings:

- for subduing two rebellions among the Chins without the help of the government, a silver *dah* sword and a certificate;
- for his constant assistance, the ^{KSM}, *kyet tha ye saung shwe sa lwai yah min* (Lord of the Golden Sash) by the Viceroy of India on 1 February 1917 in Delhi – the actual investiture was made in 1917 by the Governor of Burma at Government House in Rangoon;

- for organizing a labour corps of one-thousand men for the French front, a gun and a certificate of good service from The Lieutenant Governor (R.H. Craddock);
- for having formed and commanded a Chin unit during the Kuki rebellion, a revolver and certificate from the Governor of Burma on 3 June 1919.

Kamhauland

The land ruled by Kamhau *ne sa* (chief) Hau Chin Khup originally spanned 90 miles east to west and 120 miles north to south, but when R.S. Carey redrew the boundary lines some territory was ceded to Manipur and some to Falam. Now the dimensions of Kamhauland are 80 miles north–south and 75 miles east–west.

DESCENDENTS OF KAMHAU NE-SA HAU CHIN KHUP

By his first wife Cing Za Niang Hau, Chin Khup had a son, Pum Za Mang, and a daughter, Lian Za Cing. When his first wife died he married Vung Khaw Man, with whom he had Vai Hen Thang (son), Ciin Khaw Lun (daughter), Hau Chin Pau (son), Kam Chin Thang (son) and Lian Chin Thang (son). Vai Hen Thang died in 1906.

CLANS LIVING IN KAMHAU TRACT

Sukte: Sumkhai; Zahlang; Kawngte; Buansiing; Thawmte; Tawmbing; Hangluah; Gualnam.

Kamhau: Hatzaw; Hatlang; Naulak; Hautual; Suante; Suan Khup; Sahte; Tangpua; Ngaihte; Zawnggil; Vangaw; Zil-om; Phualte; Tunglut; Biantung; Phaipi; Muisum/Mitsum?; Lechi/Lethil?; Malneu; Khuptong; Vokmai; Haukip; Kipkai/Kiklai?; Zaman and Manlun.

Zo: Mantuang; Nukmu; Taithul; Samte; Tungdim; Hampa; Tawtak; Pape; Tungnung; Ngaman; Situi; Phiamphu; Liangpi and Neuzaw.

Thahdo: Mangvung; Vunglu; Vungsuan; Vungthang; Telsing; Telngawk and Baite.

Of those who lived in Kamhau tract, Kam Hau of the Sukte clan and his descendents and other clans, no-one had owned the land. Both those who lived in old and in new villages in Kamhauland now owned their fields. So long as they worked them, no-one could take legally them away or destroy their crops.

But if anyone leaves to live in another village, inside or outside Kamhauland, he cannot claim that he had been working the land since his forebears time, and will not be allowed to sell the homestead or land, or to give them in payment of debts. When new settlements were made, homesteaders cleared as much land as they could use. But when the population grew, it had been the practice that the heir of the family parcelled out his land to those who were starting their own families; it was also the tradition that the headman and elders made arrangements with those who held large tracts of lands to provide some for newcomers. There were more

than one-hundred villages in Kamhau land, each with a headman, and in order to avoid disputes, borders were marked between them.

When villages with many households did not have enough land, those who had were made to donate some of theirs, and boundaries were redrawn. All who lived in Kamhau land might cut trees or bamboo within the territory, but not in the *taungya* (hillside) fields of others.

Settlements east of the Manipur river

Lamzang village was settled during Kam Hau's time and was not destroyed during the British annexation, but still exists today.

Gawng was founded in the time of Sawbwa Kam Hau's son, Khaw Cin. It was destroyed during the annexation and was resettled in 1885 by the order of *taung sa* (chief) Hau Chin Khup.

Lailo village was founded from Sukte-*ne* (tract) Saizang in 1886 by the order of *taung-sa-gyi* (great chief) Hau Chin Khup after the British destroyed Tedim.

Tuilang village was founded from Sukte-*ne* Phaileng village in 1885 by the order of *taung sa gyi* Hau Chin Khup after the British rule.

Tualzang village was founded in 1900 by residents from Lailo by the order of the *taung sa gyi*.

Lailui was the place of refuge for the Kamhau people when the British burned Tedim. It was founded in 1884.

Sezang was founded by residents from Dimpi village in 1900 by the order of the *taung sa gyi*.

Teklui was founded in 1909 by residents from Sukte-*ne* Saizang by the order of the *taung sa gyi*.

Valvum was founded during Kam Hau's time, and was not destroyed during the annexation.

Ngennung village founded by the order of the *taung sa gyi* in 1890, after the British annexation. Headman Dim Kam's father, Thang Khaw Pau, was Kam Hau's middle son. He collected the tax due to Chin-min: *gamsa liang*, *inmsa liang*, *tang seu*, *daak saap*. But he could not become *mye paing*, owner of the land, because it was owned by Hau Chin Khup.

Haupi village was founded by Kam Hau's eldest son by the order of Sawbwagyi (chief) Kam Hau. The tributes of *tang seu*, *gamsa liang*, *inmsa liang* and *daak sap* assessed on the villagers were given to Za Tual by the *sawbwa*. When in 1884 the government attacked the Chin Hills, Za Tual, fearing for his life, fled to Mulam village in Manipur and died there. When *Kamhau ne taung sa* (district chief) Hau Chin Khup had come into Kamhau land, he himself went to Manipur and brought back Za Tual's sons, Hau Kam, Thang Kam and Thuam Khaw Lian, to their former village, Haupi, and settled them there in 1889. He let Za Tual's heir receive tribute from Haupi, Kahgen and Vongmual, which were tribute villages of the *taung sa*.

Kahgen village was settled during Khaw Cin's chieftainship. It was not destroyed by the British and is still in existence.

Zozang was settled during Sawbwa Khaw Chin's time.

Khuadai was settled in 1911, Thangzang in 1912 and Bumzang in 1913.

Tualmu was founded more than 200 years before Kam Hau came into Kamhau-*gam* or tract.

Mawngken *ywa thugyi* (village headman) Thuam Lian was Sawbwa Kam Hau's middle son, whom he sent to set up home in Tualzang and let him take tributes. When the British annexed the Chin Hills, Thuam Lian fled to Longkyin in Manipur. When Hau Chin Khup came into all of Kamhau land he let Thuam Lian settle in Mawngken and gave him all the tributes from Tualzang and Mawngken. In 1911, when Thuam Lian's heir Tual Khaw Thang went to court to make Mawngken territory his own, *taung sa* Hau Chin Khup withdrew the tributes from Tualzang and let him take only the tributes from Mawngken which were *tangseu*, *innsa liang*, *gamsa liang* and *daak sap*. Mawngken was founded in 1899.

Gamngai was founded more than 300 years before British annexation. When Kam Hau raided and defeated Gamngai he took tributes and ruled it. Khup Za Mang's grandfather was Lian Thang, Kam Hau's middle son, who founded a new village called Bumzang, and Kam Hau gave him the tributes from Bumzang. When Lian Thang died, his youngest son Pau Dai Lo was given the duties of headman, which he performed so well that the government awarded him with a double-barrel shotgun in 1916. The villagers of Bumzang, Lian Thang's seat, fled to Manipur when the British annexed the Chin Hills. When Lian Thang also fled to Gamngai, there was no-one in Bumzang to receive tributes from.

Bumzang and Thangzang were resettled by Hau Chin Khup in 1911 and 1922. *Tangseu*, *gamsaliang*, *innsaling*, *daksap*, *tuk tha* (day's labour for the rainy season), *khal tha* (a day labour for the summer) and *sial siah* were given to Pau Dai Lo's son Khup Za Mang as Kam Hau had granted. Headman Khup Za Mang received the *tuktha* and *khaltha* labour, the *gam saliang* feral meat due, and *sial siah* village tax from Gamngai. Hau Chin Khup received *tangseu* and *innsa liang*.

Lomzang, Salzang, Phaitu, Hangken and Anlun were in existence before Sawbwa Kam Hau came to power.

Takzang, Phuntong, Geelmual, Sialmawng, Khamzang and Balbil, were settled during Kam Hau's time.

Tonzang, Tuitum, Lungtak, Senam, Khuangkhan, Lennakot and Thauthe, were already in existence before Hau Chin Khup came to power, at the time of Chief Khaw Cin.

Geelzang was settled from Haimual in 1910, during Hau Chin Khup's time. Others villages founded during Hau Chin Khup's chieftainship were: Khiianglam, Khuamun, Mualpi, Talzang, Langphun, Sihpek, Tangshiat, Hiangzang, Hawlkom, Tuilam, Khumnua (founded from Aisih), Likhai, Phaidim in Lophu, Suangpek, Thangsih, Khiangkan, Bualkuan, Seksih, Mimbil, Sialthaw, Lamthang and Mawnglang.

NB These settlement times are as recorded by Chief PumZa Mang in *Zayazawin sa oh gyi*, printed by Adipan Tipitaka Press, Mandalay in 1924.

Settlements west of the Manipur

Laitui was founded in 1874 and Muizawl in 1876, before British annexation.

1886 Tuithang (HCK)

1888 Tuipi (HCK)

1890 Phaiza (HCK)

1893 Losau Guite

1894 Selbung (HCK), Haiciin (HCK), Khuavum, Aisih (HCK) and Tualkhiang (HCK)

1895 Buata (HCK), Lezang (HCK), Buangmual, Suangbeem (HCK)

1896 Tongsial (HCK), Anlang (HCK), Vanglai (HCK), Bizang, Ciingpikot (HCK), Tuicinlui (HCK) and Tuimang (HCK)

1897 Mualnuam (HCK), Mauvom (HCK), Vaivet (HCK) and Phaisat (HCK)

1898 Tongciin (HCK) and Thalmual (HCK)

1899 Tungzang (HCK), Buanli (HCK) and Luang El (HCK)

1901 Khuabeem (HCK), Khuadam (HCK), Tuimui (HCK) and Ngalbual (HCK)

1902 Kansau (HCK), Suangsang (HCK) and Tal-ek (HCK)

1906 Zampi (HCK) and Mualkawi (HCK)

1907 Haipi (HCK)

1912 Singgial (HCK)

1915 Gamlai (HCK)

1917 Keltal (HCK) and Seitual (HCK)

1919 Sial mei (HCK)

1920 Tuitang (HCK)

1922 Lalta (HCK)

1923 Gawsing (HCK) and Saipimual (HCK)

1925 Khuaimual (HCK) and Pangzang (HCK)

NB HCK denotes villages founded by the order of Hau Chin Khup. Altogether 52 villages are founded west of the Manipur river.

Chief Pum Za Mang ^{KSM}, ^{ATM}

Due to the foresight of his father, Chief Hau Chin Khup, Pum Za Mang was one of the earliest Chins to learn Burmese from a Karen teacher, Po Ku. He went to Sagaing to continue his education until 1924, when he succeeded to the chieftainship.

He was recognized by the British as one of their most trusted chiefs. He was given the ^{ATM} *Ahmu-htan kaung tazeik-yah-min* (outstanding service medal) in 1937. For his service in building the Tedim–Imphal road and the formation of the Chin Levies during the Japanese war, the British rewarded him the ^{KSM} *kyet-thaye-saung-shwe-salwe yah-min* (lord of the exalted golden sash).

After 1937, the customary dues he received were reduced from two baskets to one basket of grain per household, and of the meat dues he now received only the wild animal dues. The dues received by the headmen of Thangkhal, Gamngai, Mawngken and Ngennung were terminated and Chief Pum Za

Mang was given the same one basket of grain and wild animal dues. For the reduced tribute the British government compensated him Rs 2,000 per year.

He received the above till 1947, when the chiefs surrendered their power.

Priority to education

From Hau Chin Khup on, education was a priority with the Kamhau chiefs, who saw it as the way for the advancement of their people. When the American Baptist missionaries came to the Chin Hills in the wake of the British annexation, Chief Hau Chin Khup invited a Karen teacher Po Ku to teach Burmese. His heir, Chief Pum Za Mang, and children of the chief's elders were the earliest Kamhau Chins to be educated by Saya (teacher) Po Ku.

Unfortunately for the education of the people, after about ten years the chief and the Baptist mission fell out, because the chief (Hau Chin Khup) felt that the Christians undermined his authority when they went to court to contest the *inn sa liang* domestic meat and *khau liau* village dues. The school was discontinued and teacher Po Ku was sent back to Tedim. An even greater loss was came when the Baptists decided that the chiefs and Kamhau customs and manners were synonymous. Even the traditional songs that chronicled our history and customs were often condemned to perdition by very zealous *tapidaw* Christians. The extent of ill-feelings some Christians harboured against the ruling class were expressed by an educated Christian who wrote, as late as 1985, that the chiefs were 'suckers of the neck blood of the people' for taking a revenue of one basket of grain and wild animal leg from the people.

Comity among Protestant Christian missionaries prevented any other denominations coming to Tonzang, but Chief Pum Za Mang invited the Catholics to open a school and a hospital, which they did after the Second World War. The Baptists, who banned our staple *zu* drink, helped us to forsake expensive feasts and the universal use of *zu*-grain beer, but in so doing pulled away the underpinning of our *bangkua* network, leading to its eventual demise.

The Catholics and the European clergy have been more tolerant of the use of alcohol and more sensitive to our customs,³⁶ but our own Baptist Christian leadership have never been sensitive to our tradition and customs, thinking them to be *lawki*,³⁷ and our artefacts, heirlooms, hunting trophies, beads and even ancient old photographs have been destroyed by over-zealous 'evangelists'. However, when the Catholics acquired the house and premises of Chief Pum Za Mang, demolished it and built a Catholic church on its site, and the *zu* quintessence of our culture, along with the songs that document our culture, were adopted, our Kamhau culture was saved.

During the Japanese occupation

Chief Pum Za Mang's foresight and astuteness had prevented the rape of the land during the Japanese occupation. Even in those tumultuous times of Burmese nationalism, when Aung San and patriotic groups were planning to bring in the Japanese to drive out the British, Pum Za Mang was kept informed of events by his bother G. Lian Cin Thang, who was in Rangoon

University. With foresight, he prepared Chins in the Burma Rifles for the eventual occupation of all of Burma, and secretly got in touch with the Japanese before they entered the Chin Hills, so that our people would not suffer the fate of conquered lands like China, and so that many captured Chins were released. When the dread of Japanese occupation became a reality, the Japanese recognized him as chief of Kamhauland and even allowed him to take tributary dues.³⁸ As recognized chief, he was able to save many of those whom the Japanese marked for execution.

Burma gains independence

Chief Pum Za Mang was a realist who talked of the end of tributary taxes as early as during the Japanese occupation. He knew that the old Kamhau regime must give in to new forms of government and after the war he was ready with his political party, THVP (*Thu Hoih Vaihawm Pawlpi*, Justice Party) when the KSVP (*Khamtung Suahtak Vaihawm Pawlpi*, Freedom Party of the Chin Hills) agitated for the ending of customary taxes. A system called domain councils, with elected chairmen, was introduced by the British soon after the war to administer the people.

When General Aung San wooed the hill peoples to ask for independence from the British, Pu Pum Za Mang reasoned that the Chin Hills, without any natural resources, would have a better chance of development if they cast their lot with the Burmese. He urged the Haka and Falam chiefs to join Aung San, and with all the Chin chiefs in one accord, and the Kachins *duwas* being of like-mind, the Shans reluctantly supported Aung San, and the Panlong agreement was signed on the 12 February 1947. I believed his stance was critical in the Shans acquiescence, and therefore the successful signing of the Panlong agreement.

Feasts of merit

Almost every year, up to the Japanese War, the chief held feasts of merits and for elephants and other big game, which he was allowed to shoot without restriction, and his celebration for the KSM was remembered for its sumptuousness at the time. After the war ended in 1944, the chief ordered the re-opening of the school in Tedim, shelling out a thousand rupees from his own pocket and contributing to the maintenance of the Tedim–Tonzang road.

Chin chiefs asked for compensation, and surrendered all power by 1 January 1949. Chief Pum Za Mang suddenly took ill and died on the 10 November 1948, ending a dynasty of more than 200 years.

When beggars die, there are no comets seen,
The heavens themselves blaze forth
The death of princes.

Julius Caesar Act 2, sc 2, 1.30

It is said when Chief Hau Chin Khup died, there were signs and strange rumblings in the skies for days (called *ngul puk*) that were known as the

heavens crying. When Chief Pum Za Mang died, a comet appeared along the North Star on the morning of his death and was visible till the 15 November. Western astronomers named it Ashbrook-Jackson.

He was entombed in April 1948 with *Kawltei bung let* (Reverse arms!) the full honours of the Kamhau chiefs. Fourteen mithans, one buffalo, twenty-one cows and one horse were slaughtered at the funeral.

NOTES

- 1 'SUKTE TANG THU I' and 'KHAN THUAM THU II' were published by Dr Cope in his newspaper *Lai Thu Thang Ca* in January 1937; 'SUKTE TANG THU III Kamhau IV and IV Khan Thuam leh Kam Hau Pa Ta a Gal Dona' ('The Campaign of Khan Thuam and Kamhau Father and Son') in March 1937; 'SUKTE TANG THU V Khan Thuam leh Kamhau Darlang Khua Pan Mualbeem Khua ah Tung Kik uh Hi' ('Khan Thuam and Kamhau Returned to Mualbeem From Darlang') and 'Khan Thuamte Pata Thum in Zote Tenna KhuaVa Sim uh a a Zawnha' in July 1937. In the newspaper *Tedim Thu Kizakna*, October 1937: 'SUKTE TANG THU VII Kamhau Thu VIII Kamhau in Zote a Sim a Zo Hi' ('Kamhau raided the Zos and defeated them. '); January 1938: 'Suikte Tangthu IX Thahdo, Ngaman leh Sitong te Sim a Zo Hi' ('He defeated Thahdo, Ngaman and Sitong. ') and 'X Meitei Gam Ukna Thu' ('How Meitei land was Ruled. '), 'XI Daineek Kici Saliang Neekna Thu' ('How "daineek" meat tribute was taken. '); March 1938: 'SUKTE TANG THU XII Meitei Te Tawh Kido Na' ('War with Manipur. '); 'XIII War with Thukilai'; 'XIV Tedimte Leh Khuasak Te Gal Kido Na' ('War Between Tedim and Khuasak'); 'XVI Innpipa Kho Cin Thu' ('Chief Kho Cin.' [also spelled Khua Cin or Khaw Chin]).
- 2 The word translated here as 'tract' is *gam*, which has meanings like country, territory or wild, and is opposed to *inn*, the 'domestic'.
- 3 Newcomers to a Kamhau villages are called *peem* if they have not settled down and built a proper house. A life of wandering would be made particularly hard because of the second-class *peem* status it would involve.
- 4 The Kamhau dialect *hausu*, headman of a village, could in those times be powerful enough to receive tributes from others. As with other words which need to be understood in proper perspective, *hausu* is annotated in Appendix I.
- 5 The word in Kamhau is '*pek khau*', which is different from a '*kawn*' on which people and loads are transported. A *pek khau* may be a rope one holds onto while swimming across the river. This means Khan Thuam had to swim across the Manipur river with each of his party, a Herculean task indeed.
- 6 An accomplished poet, Khan Thuam chronicled many of his adventures in songs which are still sung as *la pi*, clan songs. In the following song, he captured his harrowing experience of clinging topsy-turvy on to the rope like a bat (*baak bang*), with the raging current of the Manipur river trying to swamp him:

*Pham aw, pham aw na ci zong a pham na lo e,
 Len a tum thang heek sang lah kei zang zaw'ng
 A sing lel ah zawng bang tuan siam lei veng e,
 Tang khau lel ah baak bang kai siam lei ing.*

(Die! you cried, die!
 No, nary would I die.
 Not by your hempen cords.
 I match the baboon's arboreal flight,
 Topsy, turvy, I clung to the severed rope,
 And survived the swelling flood.)

The first part of the song is about the time when his enemies set a rope-trap on his path, but the added weight of the muntjac-deer carcass he was carrying helped him disentangle

himself from the *tumthang heek* rope – the snare (laid for Khanthuam) of twined *tum* fibre. *Tum* is a plant called *hka yee* in Burmese.

- 7 Dr Cope's source for the Sakte story must be from Tedim, because Rallang was transcribed as pronounced there, as Darlang, or Dallang. The chief of Rallang was Khuang Tseu (variant spelling Khuang Ceo) which was written as Khawi Tel in Tedim. I retain archaic words like *haus* and *gam* in the text in order to capture the tenor of the times when Cope researched the story. When there is a spelling mistake in the original, I give the correct version in brackets and use that spelling throughout the rest of the narrative, e.g. Khoi Tel (Khuang Tseu).
- 8 '*Sukte amyo doh ih yazawin*', the breast meat.
- 9 Thang Tuan, a clan historian, explained Kamhau's success by saying that Kam Hau took advantage of the dog's feed time. Worldly-wise Kamhau must have found and/or arranged a way to get around the dog. He could be the one who suggested the contest!
- 10 Such a cut of meat is symbolic recognition. It was likely to be cut raw and hence would not be consumed right there at the feast.
- 11 Ciin Ngul is remembered for her song about the Manipur warriors who, when the Maha Raja invaded with 3,000 men in 1875, prematurely quarrelled with one another about who would be the first to rape her after they conquered Kamhauland. In the song, Pi Ciin Ngul appealed to the sensitivities of the people and the *ziin* spirits by painting a picture of enemies ravishing her and distributing her body as if portions of an animal. The historic song:

*Zangvuisai leh lia ka sak duang do ta'n a bang hawm khawm aw.
Na awi na'm aw Ziin aw e, gual aw e, a lawm na'm.*

(They vowed to part my ivory among them
And lusted after my femininity
O Ziin spirit, is it meet?
O my friends, is it proper?)

- 12 Khan Thuam did not descend on Mualbeem unannounced. Though Cope does not mention it, clan historians have it that Kaih Mang sent an emissary with a gong, and that Khan Thuam exacted from him the promise to help him in his war of revenge. Khan Thuam was to embark on his series of conquests which took him to the borders of the Manipur in the north and to Falam in the south.
- 13 Cope had Khan Thuam answer Zel Vum, 'Kong hawm sang in na sila in hong kai ning' or 'I would rather be your *sila* than share my captives', prompting one U. Vum Khaw Hau to identify Chief Hau Chin Khup, the grandson of Khan Thuam, as a *sila* of Limkhai Lian Suak in his book *Profile of a Burma Frontier Man*. This could amount to a malign machination, because those who do not understand our complex system of subjugation would be led to believe that Chief Hau Chin Khup, great-grandson of Khan Thuam, was a vassal of Lian Suak. This is not the case. Firstly, neither Zel Vum himself nor Han Kam or any other descendants were ever known to have collected a *saliang* (leg) when Kam Hau gave a *tong* feast. Nor was Lian Suak, contemporary of Hau Chin Khup, ever known to have received any tributary meat from Hau Chin Khup, or from any descendants of Khan Thuam in Saizang or Mualbeem. Secondly, clan historian Thang Tuan of Mualpi had Khan Thuam call out to Zel Vum, waving his left arm, 'Pau Hau saliang tawh na ciah in' or 'go home with Pau Hau's *saliang*', which sounds more idiomatically and logically credible. Would a victorious Khan Thuam subjugate himself to a person other than his master Khuang Tseo, and voluntarily put himself in *sila* status just because he did not want to share the captives? Here, Khan Thuam offering 'Pau Hau *saliang*' would mean that the *saliang* tribute that was coming to Khan Thuam from Pau Hau, whom he had just defeated in the raid, would be transferred to Zel Vum; this would indeed be giving Zel Vum a share from the raid. Even if that was considered to *kai* (subjugation), to say that Hau Chin Khup was a *sila* of Lian Suak without any context can only be seen as a machination to disparage the chief.
- 14 *Liang* is the shoulder of an animal, including the butcher's chuck, brisket, shank and the lower parts of the leg including the hooves.

- 15 Khan Thuam had five sons: Kam Hau, Pau Kam, Gawh Pau, Za Khai and Za Pau. Za Pau, the youngest, was heir according to Sukte tradition.
- 16 *Sukte amyō do ih yazawin* (*History of the Sukte Clan* by Chief Pum Za Mang) mentioned that they chose Kam Hau because he had been renowned for his courage and wisdom since childhood.
- 17 These taxes were collected by Chief Pum Za Mang.
- 18 Re is the Indian rupee, of which there were 15 to a gold coin. It is the equivalent of a whole shoulder of a *sial* cattle.
- 19 After the government paid compensation of Rs 750 to Chief Pum Za Mang in 1937, villagers were free to sell their houses (Khup Za Mung, Sian Lian Pau, Thang Do Pau and Khup Lam Thang, 2002, *Kamhaugam Ukpi te Tangthu*, Tonzang, p. 64).
- 20 *Impipa* literally means 'man of the big house', and therefore a tribal chief, but it may also mean headman of a village, usually called *hausa*. The writer retains the original dialect to show how the terms are often freely interchanged.
- 21 See Vung Za Kham, *Pu Vung Thuciamtehna Laibu*, p. 120, Kam Hau sold some elephant tusks, beads and heirlooms to feed his subjects.
- 22 *Meitei sawbwa*, or *Leengmangpa*, means the Maharaja of Manipur. According to the mss of Pu Khup LamThang and clan historian Thang Tuan of Mualpi village, Maharaja Sanaputi led a 1,500-strong expedition in January 1857. Kam Hau's stock of ivory was a particular interest to the young stalwarts, who were also reputed to fight over who should first ravish the beautiful Ciin Ngul, Kam Hau's wife.
- 23 The slaughtering of an animal, most often a *sial*, has different names depending on the occasion. Here it was to honour the allies, for which the correct term for the slaughter is *gawh*, 'to kill for'. When a mithan is killed to mark a treaty, for instance between the Kamhau chief, Sukte chiefs, Sihzang chiefs and Captain Rose at Fort White on 23 June 1891, it is called a *sial ban*. The signatories dip the tail of the *sial* in the blood and sprinkle one another with it, calling out a curse on anyone who breaks the treaty, that they will fall like the hair of a moulting *sial* (see Khup Za Mung, Sian Lian Pau, Thasng Do Pau and Khup Lam Thang, 2002, *Sukte Beh leh Tedingam Tangthu*, Tonzang, p. 118).
- 24 Za Tual, the oldest of Kam Hau's seven sons, was renown for his deeds in hunting and war, even when compared with his other illustrious brothers, Hau Pum, Khaw Cin and Thang Khaw Pau.
- 25 He made the mistake of climbing the Suangsuang rock promontory on his horse, presenting master-stalker Za Tual with a perfect silhouette. Legend has it that he dropped him with a single shot from Sahei hill.
- 26 Instead of 'heart', it was more likely the head, as *Sukte Beh*, p. 103, mentions.
- 27 *Kawl* means Burmese, *Kawlpi* means Kalemmyo town. It is important to note here that there are Shans living in Kabaw valley, whose influence on our Chin culture may be more important than we suppose. The word *kham* for gold, *kho mun*, (*hkauh moon*) for bread and our Tedim word *nam gim* (*namh* for water) are Shan in origin.
- 28 *Khap* is a measurement, equating to the length between the thumb and the middle finger when stretched apart. Circular items like gongs or cauldrons are measured on the circumference. A 10-khap gong will have a diameter of about 25 inches.
- 29 Chief Pum Za Mang's *Yazawin sa oh kyī* (1924, *History of the Sukte Clan* (in Burmese), Anadipan Pitaka Press, Mandalay) does not mention any former marriage or divorce.
- 30 According to other sources, Khaw Cin married Vung Khaw Lian and lived in Tonzang, but he was forced to divorce her by his clansmen. He married Lian Dim, daughter of Za Pau later.
- 31 Both Hau Pum and Zong Lam were renowned for their valour. Hau Pum, mortally wounded, embraced a tree and died standing, probably as *rigor mortis* set in, and thus escaped the indignity of beheading by his enemies.

- 32 I used the Burmese term for one receiving tribute from a district (*nee sa*) here and elsewhere when translating from sources written in Burmese.
- 33 The narrative of the demands for Hau Chin Khup's surrender, are included here as told by U Kam Khen Kham.
- 34 According to Kam Khen Kham elders Lian Suan, Kam Vial and Vai Kham the *sa thal dawt*, also called *sa lam en*, was performed. After incantations, a spike was thrust into the heart of a pig and the gushing out, or absence of, blood was interpreted. It augured well indeed for Hau Chin Khup, who was made Chief of all Kamhauland by the British.
- 35 Hau Chin Khup was the last of Chin chiefs to surrender to the British. He was taken to Rangoon and was shown the firing powers of British troops and the wonders of science, and came back with the clear conviction that it was useless to fight against the British Empire. He signed a *sial ban* peace treaty with the British at Fort White, smearing one another with the blood of a mithan and vowing eternal friendship and mutual help. He helped the British when his own clans joined others in rebellion and also helped subdue rebellion in Haka and among the Kuki. He invited a Karen teacher to teach his people and ruled his people so well that during his lifetime there was not even a single case of murder.
- 36 Catholic Andre Bareigts' *Les Lautu* (1981, SELAF: Paris) is the only book on the culture of the Chins by a missionary.
- 37 *Lawki* in Burmese is worldly, but in our usage it has the connotation of heathen or even of eternal damnation.
- 38 Tiddim Vuandokpa Zum Thu [Office of the Tiddim Subdivision]: G.D. no 267/V: Nimit 19/5/44: 'Kamhaugam Ukipa aw, kum 1943 a "SHIAH" na lak ngei uh mah bangin na la thei ding uh hi.' Signed Tual Kam., Vuandokpa Tiddim. (This permission to take the tribute as in 1943 is a recognition of Chief Pum Za Mang as Chief of Kamhau by the Japanese Co-operation Commission government.)

Memorials at *khua mual* village portals

Prestige-orientated Kamhau society perpetuates the memory of the dead by erecting wood and stone memorials at the gateway to the village. The *khua mual* is planted with banyan trees and stone slabs are laid at the foot of the memorials so the people can rest before they enter the village. War heroes or hunting parties are met at the *khua mual* by the villages with bottles of *zu khaih* or *zu steep* and are accompanied into the village with music and dancing. After the returning heroes are duly wine, and the heroes have sung *han la* (victory songs) and guns have been fired in salute, they form a *lam vui* (dance file) with the drummer, *sial ki* (horn), *phit* (pipe), *daak* (gong) and *zaam* (gong) players in line, followed by others who put their right palms on the shoulder of the one in front and left hands around the waist of the one behind. The procession will dance their way home to the tune of the *phit* (pipes) or singing. They enter the gate and dance around the *songh* poles downward to the *innka* (sundeck) and stop on the *innka* to have more drinks and continue the celebration. In olden days displaying the heads of enemies at the *khua mual* was a mark of victory. To suffer the shame done to a relative or fellow-villager is to hit the nadir of one's honour.



Above: memorials to Kamhau chiefs in Tonzang. Opposite (all Tonzang except where noted): (top left) memorial in Lailui village believed to have been erected to the illustrious Pau Vum, the Sukte man who helped to draft the Sukte Customary Laws; (top right) 'Memory of Tel Ciin the martyr' is visible; (bottom left) memorial to one of Kamhau's greatest warrior sons, Thang Khaw Pau; (bottom right) memorial to Chief Pum Za Mang erected in 1949 and inscribed in both English and the Kamhau dialect, it has the full genealogy of the Sukte clan and the history of the Kamhau dynasty.





Memorials to Kamhau chiefs in Tonzang: Above left: this memorial pre-dates Chin writing, but there is no doubt about the deeds attributed to the dead. Above right: Memorial to the matriarch Tel Ciin.



Chapter 3

Sukte and Kamhau

Kanhow, however, had already founded a village called Tiddim in the midst of his father's conquests and although by right of custom he was subordinated to his younger brother, he nevertheless ruled his villages so absolutely that the Sokte tribe became known as two separate communities; those villages directly under Yapow adhering to the tribal name Sokte, whilst those ruled by Kanhow took the name of Kanhowte or Kanhow's people, who are known to this day as the Kanhow clan of the Sokte tribe.

(Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:119)

***Kamhau-te* (Kam Hau's people)**

Their designation as '*Kamhau-te*', or Kam Hau's people, does not mean Kam Hau and his descendents ever considered themselves as a separate clan, with Kam Hau as head. Nor is it correct to say that *Kamhau-te* are an 'offshoot'¹ of the Sukte clan. Kamhau chiefs had always known themselves to be of the Sukte clan. *Kamhau-te* simply means the people who lived in the territory ruled by Kam Hau. Among the people were Zo, Thahdo, Guite, Thawmte, Dim, Saizang, Vangteh and other tribes who spoke their own dialects, had their own manners of worship and their own orders of *zu* and meat.

***Kamhaugam* (Kamhau tract)**

The villages which Kam Hau ruled 'so absolutely' numbered 135, and the area averaged 120 miles north-south and 90 miles east-west, and bordered India. Before Sukte Khan Thuam and his son Kam Hau conquered what was to be known under the British as Tiddim sub-district, other tribes like Zo, Thahdo and Vuite settled in the area, and some clans were known to have collected tributes from lesser clans. However, Tedim, Tiddim as the British called it, was never very successfully settled by any tribe on account of internecine wars.

Kam Hau first went to Lamzang, near Tedim, at the invitation of the Hatzaw clan, who needed protection. From Lamzang he tried to settle in Tedim, but failed twice because of invaders. Then, with the strong backing of his father, Khan Thuam, in Mualbeem, and having made a judicious choice of men of proven renown, like Sukte Pau Vum, Hatzaw Khoi Lam and Hatlang Mang Gin, he did succeed. Eventually, Tedim grew to more than a hundred houses and has remained permanently settled till today.

Kamhau dialect

Before Kam Hau and his court ruled the land that was to be known as Kamhaugam or Kamhau tract, there was no predominant language or dialect. When Revd J. Herbert Cope, Honorary Inspector of Schools, needed a standard language for schools in the Tedim subdivision, he chose the dialect used in *Kamhaugamukpi pa zum*, the court of the Kamhau chief, and called it 'Kamhau dialect'.

This does not mean that this Kamhau dialect is the mother-tongue of Chief Kam Hau. In fact, Sukte and Kamhau chiefs spoke the Teizang dialect of Mualbeem until Chief Pum Za Mang, who spoke what Cope called Kamhau dialect and which is now known as *Tedim kam* or Tedim dialect.²

The Kamhau dialect in which the Kamhau customary law was given is still spoken by descendents of Hatzaw Khoi Lam in Tonzang and Tungtuang villages, by descendents of Mang Gin in Muizawl village, and by descendents of Sukte Pau Vum, Lian Thang, Thang Khaw Pau and Khaw Cin in Lailui, Bumzang, Thangzang, Ngennung and Tedim. (Sukte Pau Vum himself very likely spoke Teizang).

Suktegam (Sukte tract)

In Mualbeem, Khan Thuam is said to have arranged that in matters of tribute, Kam Hau would be the *tuizawn* water duct and Za Pau, the heir, would be the *tui-kuang* reservoir. But in practice, Za Pau in Mualbeem had his hands full trying to hold onto his own territory while having neighbouring Falam, Sihzang, the Ngawns and even the Manipuris in the north to contend with. Although he had stalwart allies like Zom Eng of Dakdung, his own sons Thuam Khaw Thang and Vai Kham probably did not quite compare to Kam Hau's Pau Vum, Khoi Lam and Mang Gin.

Moreover, Za Pau's close associates, like Hau Khaw Thang, had their own interests and left Mualbeem. Brother Thang Khaw Pau and Thuam Thawng also sowed discord within the family with their marriage problems.

Before his death, Khan Thuam was said to have made the Leitawhtan saddle, south of Tedim, the boundary between Kamhaugam and Suktegam. It proved to be more than a physical boundary between Kam Hau in Tedim and Za Pau in Mualbeem, as both sides vied with each other. It was only a matter of time before Kam Hau assigned to his sons their own tributary villages.

Kam Hau's court: model of collective leadership

Less is known about Kam Hau than about Khan Thuam, who chronicled all his campaigns and triumphs in songs, and bared his soul for the deaths of his kinsmen. There are a few songs attributed to Kam Hau, but the few that exist mostly confirm his reputation as a consummate ruler.

Kam Hau, an astute chief, surrounded himself with capable and powerful men, but he reserved for himself the key post of the chief who collects the customary dues, as was chronicled in a Vaiphei song:

*Sinthu soi ding Tual Awn pa aw,
Do cih tu lut, Am Thang pa aw*

*Do cih tu lut Am Thang pa aw
Vannuai lutsial a tun na Za Tual pa aw*

Affairs of state, Tual Awn's father
Affairs of war, Am Thang's father
Affairs of war, Am Thang's father,
But the Lord of all tributes, Za Tual's father³

One of Kam Hau's rare songs is revealing:

*Mi pau in Thuam' von tawi neem aw ci,
Siing a pau teng sang sing bang khia zeel ing.
Khua kiim a pau teng tong dam in ka neem sak e,
Khangvai mang'siallum sawm sial in ka neem hi.*

They say son of Thuam be gentle
I tone down the voice of those who speak
I appease worthy neighbours by the power of words
I offer mithan *sial* to power in the south

The song confirms the fact that he ruled his villages absolutely, and that he made short shrift of potential rivals, though he judiciously made use of the talent and influence of men like Khoi Lam (Tual Awn's father) and Mang Gin (Am Thang's father). With his own clansman Pau Vum as advisor, his own father Khan Thuam and their lord and master, Khuang Ceu, to call on in emergency, Kam Hau was able to carve out his own dynasty of 135 villages in a land area of 120 by 90 miles.

As a young boy in Rallang he played chief and took tributes of berry and bird meat; growing up he had hands-on experience in war and government. This prepared him to be known as ruler of Kamhaugam or Kamhauland.

Kam Hau's wars

Kam Hau did not go to war simply for the sake of revenge. When he was ready to raid the village of his birth, Mualbeem, he gave them prior warning and was invited to rule over them without destroying it. When he embarked on the plan to conquer the Zo villages in the Tedim area, and captured the wife of the headman of Kahgen, she wisely asked him to spare her life so that she could persuade all the Zo villages to give him tributes. He readily listened to her.

Marriage alliance in Kamhau society

The success of Kam Hau's government was due to the triumvirate leadership mentioned in the Vaiphei song above. However, when it came to marriage alliances, though the elders of the Sukte clan were ready wife-givers, they were selective in taking wives from other clans, even from Khoi Lam's Hatzaw and Mang Gin's Hatlang clans. When Sukte Hau Pum courted Hatzaw Tel Ciin, she warned him that marrying her would jeopardize the *ning hai* or formal *zu* wine order of his clan. Her song to him, trying to dissuade him from seeing her, because marrying her would disrupt the *Zuhai-sabak* order

of the Suktes, and Hau Pum's gallant response that he would wade through a phalanx of swords to see her, may be the best loved among the clan songs.⁴

In the words of Professor F.K. Lehman, 'the obligations in the relationship between (wife) taker and (wife) giver are those between an inferior and a superior, respectively'. The esteemed position wife-giving families have in relation to wife-takers entitles them to be addressed by the respectful honorific *pu*. In Hau Pum's family network the Hatlang clan must be acknowledged as the *pu* clan and offered *zu* and portions of meat. In general, the Sukte chiefs were ready enough to give their sisters and daughters to other clans, but were less enthusiastic in marrying into another clan because of the 'asymmetrical' social relations between wife-givers and wife-takers.⁵

Sukte clansmen tried to prevent Khaw Cin from marrying Vung Khaw Lian of Hatlang clan, and eventually forced him to divorce her, although Hatlang Mang Gin and Hatzaw Khoi Lam, along with Sukte Pau Vum, were Kam Hau's most trusted men.

These problematic relationships between the two clans certainly soured relations, causing ill-feelings that were to last generations.

Sukte Hau Khaw Thang's seduction of Am Thang's wife could not have endeared his relatives to Am Thang (Hatlang clan), although he was later given Zang Ciin, Chief Gawh Pau's daughter (both Sukte).

On the Sukte side, Chief Za Pau took back his younger daughter from clansman Khan Hau so that Chief Thang Khaw Pau of Ngennung could marry her, causing the discredited Khan Hau to leave Mualbeem for Gungal, the settlement beyond the river.

The Sukte and Kamhau chiefs were monogamists and *love* seemed to have priority over whether the girl was married or had been a widow, as with Hau Pum's marriage to the widow Tel Ciin despite his clansmen's protestations. In Sukteland, Za Pau, Khan Thuam's heir, seemed not to mind even parturition when he marched seven days with seventy shield-bearers all the way to Teikhang in Indian territory in order to usurp Niing Vum, the daughter-in-law of Teikhang's headman.

The tragic forced divorce of Vung Khaw Lian, daughter of Am Thang, by Khaw Cin had damaged the unity of Kamhau's court, and with Am Thang leaving Tedim, the Hatlangs were further alienated. When the British gave their authority to Chief Hau Chin Khup, who then contested Hatlang Pau Khen's claim to tributes in Gungalland (*Nwengal*), the Hatlang naturally became the political opposition to the Kamhau authority that Mang Gin's prowess as a warrior had helped to establish.

Mang Gin's contribution to Kam Hau's reign must be understood in order to assess what the loss of Hatlang participation meant. Mang Gin's wealth and industry in agriculture were legendary. Lawibual, now part of Tedim, used to be known as '*Mang Gin lawi bual*', or the pond for Mang Gin's herd of buffaloes; and he was known to have cultivated fields even on the west of the Manipur. His slaves were said to have caused foot-traffic-jams in the morning, so that other villagers exhorted one another to leave in the morning for their *taungya* fields before Mang Gin did.

Hatlang alliance

When Hau Pum refused to acquiesce to the demands of his clansmen, and married, the Hatlang descendents of Khoi Lam continued in their strong alliance with the Kamhau chiefs, and dowager Tel Ciin's female descendents became the *haitawi* cup-bearers for Chief Hau Chin Khup's lineage. Of Khoi Lam's descendents, Khup Za Mung was to be the last Hatzaw elder to serve in the chief's court till the country became independent in 1948.

Kam Hau's sons and their tributary villages

Kam Hau consolidated his grip on his subjects by delegating power to his sons. Za Tual (Yetwol in British records), the eldest, was designated to live in Haupi and took tributes from Maulawn.

Lian Thang was made chief in Bumzang, and received tributes from Vomsem. The next son, Thuam Lian, was sent to Tualzang and received tributes from Mawngkeen. Thang Khaw Pau settled in Ngennung and 'ate' tribute from Saino.

Hau Pum, according to Khan Thuam's plan for his sons, was to live in Lamzang and receive tribute from Nuamkhua.

Khaw Cin, the youngest son, according to Suke custom, would be the heir, but unfortunately his two sons died and the chieftainship was to go to Hau Pum. However Hau Pum himself was killed in battle when he led his men from Tedim to the rescue of Ainah village, which had been invaded by Hualngos. Hau Pum's only son, Hau Chin Khup, was then in line for the chieftainship.

As already noted, when the British annexed the Chin Hills, they made the young Hau Chin Khup heir to all of Kamhauland and due to receive all tributes. He, with Sukte and Sihzang chiefs, made a *sial ban* treaty in ox blood at Fort White on 23 June 1891 in which the signatories promised mutual assistance in war and peace.

Dissipation of authority

Kam Hau did not share tributes with Mang Gin and Khoi Lam, who together had helped him tame Tedim, but instead made his sons rulers under him, with their own tribute lands. Za Tual, the eldest son, despite his achievements in war and hunting (forty elephants to his credit) was not another Tual Awn'pa (Khoi Lam) or Am Thang'pa (Mang Gin). He was said to have provoked a war with the Hualngos in which Hau Pum was killed, and due to his haughty refusal to meet *Leengmangpa*, the Manipur Rajah at Tapei Lui, for a border treaty, the land between the present border at Zangdung Lui and Tapei Lui was ceded to Manipur when the British confirmed Zangdung Lui, to which Za Tual summoned the Maharajah, as the border.

Other sons Lian Thang, Thuam Lian, Thang Khaw Pau, Hau Pum and Khaw Cin all had proven themselves in war, but it certainly took more than laurels and feathers to administer over a land with so many clans and over 10,000 square miles of rugged territory. Bad feelings persisted over the Sukte clansmen's attempt to prevent Hau Pum's marrying Hatzaw Tel Ciin and Khaw Cin's forced divorce from Hatlang Vung Khaw Lian. In addition, Sukte claims

on all of Kamhau's land, including that west of the Manipur river, made for the Hatlang clan's dissatisfaction and the dissipation of Kamhau authority.

Customary laws of Kamhau

Introduction

At the height of Kam Hau's rule, those who composed the laws discussed below were:

- Pu Kam Hau – *ukpi pa* (chief)
- Sukte Pau Vum – *upa lian* (chief elder)
- Hatlang MangGin – *gal leh sa vaihawm* (affairs of war)
- Hatzaw Khoi Lam – *thu leh la vaihawm* (affairs of state)
- Zilommi KimThuam – *upa vaihawm* (elder)
- Hatzaw Tel Khaat – *upa vaihawm* (elder)
- Samte Pau Am – *upa vaihawm* (elder)
- Samte Cin Kim – *upa vaihawm* (elder)

The law was in force from 1848. In 1924 it was translated into Burmese by Chief Pum Za Mang, Gamngai elder, Pau Cin Lian, and Saya Sein, headmaster in Tonzang, as *Kamhau ne htone zan tsa ok 1924*, and promulgated. There are 26 sections with 160 articles.

In 1925, a British administrator officer published the law in Chin, with spelling quite different from what Revd J. H. Cope termed 'Kamhau dialect'. It has 27 Sections and 144 articles.

Pu Vung Za Kham's version in Kamhau dialect, with its 26 sections and 143 articles, is appended in Appendix III.

Below is an article on Kamhau laws by the late L. Gin Za Cin BGM, WKH, whom the author requested to contribute. He was a Higher Grade Pleader and a retired Subdivisional Officer who was also a clan historian. He gives a background that only a man of his legal experience and knowledge of the customs of the people can give. (It is presented as he contributed it, with only a few changes to spelling and grammar.)

I

Political background

The customary law of Kamhau is the custom of Chins living in Tedim Subdivision, now known as Tedim and Tonzang townships, and of the Tedim Chins living in India, the population of which is as large as in Myanmar.

Uniting of clans and villages for administrative purpose was started first at Cim Nuai village by Pu Ni Gui of Tak Sat, the father of Samte and Guite. His sons and grandsons were the chiefs of Cim Nuai, Hai Ciin, Lam Zang and Tedim for about five generations.

The second administrative centre was started at Sai Zang village. The people who settled at Sai Zang were:

- 1 Phunom, Takkhawl, Suan Zo and Mai vom
- 2 Dial Teng (Si zang) and Zo
- 3 Thawm Te, Sektak, Gual Zong and Gal Thang
- 4 Tawmbing, Songput and Tangpua
- 5 Gualnam and, lastly, Sukte

Mang Sum of Thawmte clan was the first chief. He reigned only one generation, and was followed by Tawmbing Luisuk Kaih Mang, Tawmbing Hau En and Tawmbing Hang Kam. Tawmbing clans reigned three generations. Tawmbing clan was followed by Gualnam clan for three generations: San Vung, Pau Phung and Hen Mang. During the reign of Hen Mang, Sai Zang was destroyed by tribal war and was restored by Sukte Gawh Pau, the younger brother of Kam Hau. During the reign of Thuam Thawng, the only son of Chief Gawh Pau, the British government annexed the Chin Hills.

The third administrative center was started at Mualbeem village. The first settlers were Pu Kawi Hang and Pu Vum Long, the grandfathers of Zah Lang clans; secondly, Phualte; and thirdly, Bawmkhai and Sukte, who came from Sih Tui and Dimlo Sahsih. The name Sukte means the people who came from north to south, or from higher to lower ground. Therefore it was the name given to the Teilot clan, who came down from Dimlo Sasih to Mualbeem village. Though a minority in the first instance, they became the majority by combining force with the Sukte from Dimlo Sasih, and Kaih Mang from Sih Tui was the first chief. The custom of Sukte is that the youngest son is heir to the family estate. The early death of the younger brother of Kaih Mang brought a family feud between Kaih Mang and Khan Thuam, who was a young boy of about three years at the death of his father. Khan Thuam ran to Tedim and under the protection of Lang Za, a Man Lun chief of the Zo clan, lived there for many years. Khan Thuam was wise in speech and a prolific composer. He had four sons, Kam Hau, Gawh Pau, Pau Kam and Za Pau. The Guite chiefs at Tedim and Lam Zang feared that some day he, Khan Thuam, may overthrow them. So they conspired to kill him. Upon the advice of his master, Khuang Nung (Tuilang) Chief Lang Za, he and his family ran to Dallang village and took refuge in the house of Za Hau Chief Khuang Ceu.

Za Hau Grand Chief Khuang Ceu, after some time, sent Khan Thuam back to Mualbeem. Khuang Ceu issued a proclamation. According to the custom of the Sukte family, Khan Thuam is the rightful chief of Mualbeem. If anyone should touch or hurt Khan Thuam, then he would call armed men from Lungzalh, Thantlang, Lamthloh and Thanhawn and destroy their village. Khan Thuam became Chief of Mualbeem overnight. Kam Hau came to Tedim to rule his old enemies, the Guite chiefs. Samte Pu Zui Hong and Tawmbing Pu Khum Dim called Pu Gawh Pau, the second son of Pu Khan Thuam to reign as chief at Saizang and to restore administration.

II

The Customary Law

When Kam Hau, the oldest son of Pu Khan Thuam, sat at Tedim as the Chief Administrator and Chief Judge, he formed an Advisory Council consisting of seven members. They were Pau Vum from Sukte clan, Khoi Lam and Tel Khat from Hatzaw, Mang Gin from Hatlang, Kim Thuam from Zilom, Pau Am and Cin Kim from Samte.

Compensation and fines for any damage were in fixed degrees. The highest was eight buffaloes, and the lowest was a piglet.

THE GRADING TABLE FOR COMPENSATIONS AND FINES

- (a) *Lawi giat* – eight buffaloes
- (b) *Lawi li* – four buffaloes
- (c) *Sial pi* – a mother mithan
- (d) *Tau sagih* – seven bangles
- (e) *Tau thum* – three bangles
- (f) *Tuk thum lu thum* – three three-fisted pigs⁶
- (g) *Tuk thum* – pig
- (h) *Gual khat* – a piglet
- (i) *Zubel khat* – a pot of rice beer known as *zu*.

The cases in which eight buffaloes are payable are:

- (a) Accidentally causing the death of a person
- (b) Accidentally causing the burning of an inhabited house
- (c) Committing adultery with a married woman, from which divorce ensues
- (d) Committing house-breaking in order to commit an offence
- (e) Accusing a person of witchcraft
- (f) Falsely accusing a person of committing an eight-buffalo offence

The cases in which four buffaloes are payable are:

- (a) Eight buffalo-cases settled outside court
- (b) Intentionally touching of the breast of a married woman
- (c) Committing adultery with a married woman, where no divorce followed
- (d) Causing hurt that impairs a person's important limb, namely the loss of an eye, the loss of hearing or the breaking of a leg or an arm.

The cases in which a mother mithan is payable are:

- (a) Divorcing a wife who has a child without reasonable grounds
- (b) Any damage which has a value equal to that of a mother mithan

The cases in which seven bangles are payable are:

- (a) Making a woman pregnant and refusing to marry her

(b) Any damage or loss the estimated value of which is equal of seven bangles

The cases in which a bangle or a three-fisted pig are payable are:

- (a) Any damage or wrong, the estimated value of which is below the value of a buffalo
- (b) Simple assault on a man, or outraging the modesty of a woman by word, etc
- (c) In most simple litigations, the village court fined the culprit a three-fisted pig

NOTE

When the British Government annexed the Chin Hills, the official values for the various kinds of compensation were: one buffalo, Rs 30; a mother mithan, Rs 50; one bangle or one three-fisted pig, Rs 6; a pot of *zu* or a piglet, Rs 1.

Other precepts

CASES OF THEFT

The thief is to pay double the cost of the property to the owner, plus a fine for the judges of a three-fisted pig.

MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN

In divorce cases, if the father wants a child to live with the mother, then he has to pay a buffalo as maintenance. The period that the child is to stay with the mother is not considered.

COURT FEES

The plaintiff must bring a pot of *zu*, but only when the elders or judges ask the defendant to do so does he have to bring a pot of *zu*. This is known as '*zubel thuk*'. The loser in a case must contribute the value of a pot of *zu* in addition to the normal compensation.

JURISDICTION OF THE COURTS

The village court has the power to try minor cases, not four- or eight-buffalo cases. Tribal chiefs and independent headmen have to try four- or eight-buffalo cases.

CATTLE TRESPASS

The owner of the property or crops must report to the elders in reasonable time. The value of the damage is fixed according to the estimation of the elder who visited the spot.

PRESUMPTION OF EVIDENCE

If a woman commits adultery and bears a child, the last man in one night or within the space of one lunar month is presumed to be the father.

THE ACCIDENTAL KILLING OF AN ANIMAL THAT TRESPASSES ON CROPS

The killer, namely the crop owner, must pay half the value of the animal and is entitled to get half the flesh. No more compensation is payable for the crop damaged or for the animal.

PRE-EMPTION

Any person in possession of ancestral property is not allowed to sell it to a stranger. He must offer it to his close relatives, who should pay the price offered by the strangers. Only if no-one is willing to pay this amount, or if they want to pay less, is the owner free to sell to the strangers.

OATHS

The village and tribal courts have the power to administer oaths before examining a party or his witness. The usual oath runs, 'I will speak the truth and if I tell a lie may my body be rotted as the stone I bite.' Then they bite a small stone.⁷

TRIAL OF CASES BY DIVING IN A RIVER

When neither sides have a witness or the evidence is equal, the court can permit the parties to dive into the bed of a river to pick up a stone. The complainant first and the defendant next. If neither or both succeed, the case is declared a draw and the property and the court fee in question are divided equally. This is called '*tui tuah*'.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CURSE WATER (*TUI SIA*)

In an eight-buffalo case, when there is a tie in evidence and if the parties behaved in such manner that neither party would listen unless they are the winner, then curse water is administered as a last resort. A priest is called. He calls the *nat* spirits of the east, the west, the north and the south to witness it. Certain curses are pronounced and the water administered. Within three lunar months, if the taker or one of their family members die then they are declared the loser.

FAILURE OF OBLIGATIONS

According to the customs of the Tedim Chins, to any right there is attached obligations. Failure to perform such legal obligations results in the forfeiting of the right. A precedent during the lifetime of Chief Hau Chin Khup is the best explanation.

U Suan En of Buansing clan, living in Tonzang village, had no son but only two daughters. According to Tedim Chin custom no daughter is allowed to inherit the main estate of the family. When he died, the inheritance of his property was to go to his elder brother. Suan En suffered from a long illness, for which he wished to propitiate a *nat* spirit by sacrificing a dog. It was the proper procedure to ask his elder brother Vum Dam to do this. He did, but Vum Dam waited rather too long. Suan En therefore asked his son-in-law, Thual Gin of Bawm Khai clan, to perform the *nat* sacrifice. Thual Gin seemed only too glad to do this. He expected nothing for it, being happy to

do things for his dying father-in-law. Immediately he went to Lungtak village and bought a dog, paying only Rs 1, and performed the sacrifice. When the day fixed for the observation of the sacrifice ended, Suan En called his son-in-law, Thual Gin, and asked him to take possession of all his *inka* teak planks. Thual Gin accordingly did so. The value of the teak planks would not be less than Rs 500 at that time. After the death of Suan En, application was made to Chief Hau Chin Khup for the return of the teak planks. Chief Hau Chin Khup's answer was very deep and empathetic: 'I dare not touch any property which a dead man disposed of during his lifetime.' So, the gift of valuable property to a son-in-law of another clan remained perfectly legal.

AN ACT WHICH IS NOT REGARDED AS AN OFFENCE

The eating of fruits belonging to others by a hungry traveller or hunter, just enough for his fill, is not an offence. But if he takes any away, that amounts to theft.

Explanations of words used in the customary law of Kamhau

KAU, WITCH

According to the customary law of Kamhau there are five spiritual *kaus* (witches) and two personal *kaus*. The five spiritual *kaus* are: the spirits of persons killed by tigers, the spirits of persons who died of hunger, the spirits of persons who were drowned, the spirits of persons who hung themselves and the spirits of persons who met their death by falling over a cliff or river bank.

KAUPI, THE OLD MOTHER WITCH

One day a person living at Saizang went to a village on the western bank of Manipur river to buy a pot. As rain fell continually for many days, there was no ready-made pot for sale. The pot maker had a little earthen vessel called *Kau Bel*, and offered it him free, if he wanted. The man, belonging to Suan Guk clan, had no idea about *kau*. As it was a free gift, he felt it would be unwise not to accept it. So, tying its neck, he threw it over his shoulder and returned home with the vessel, wondering why the pot was called *Kau Bel*. When he crossed the river, the little *kau*-pot spoke, 'Don't drop me accidentally.' At once he knew the little vessel was the home of an evil *kau* spirit. He dropped it into the river and ran to the bank, but to his horror he saw the pot was waiting for him there. He broke branches off trees, heaping them over the pot, and telling it not to follow him ran to his village, Sai Zang. Here again the little *Kau Bel* was waiting for him at the doorstep of his house. This is how the *Kaupi* was inherited from Gang clan by the Suan Guk clan.

TUAL THAT KAU, THE SPIRIT OF A MURDERER OF OWN HIS PEOPLE

The belief is that a person who has killed his own people has witchcraft because the spirit of the murdered person will follow him and children born to him after the killing. It is the most feared *kau*. On the other hand, it could be said that this belief has made the Tedim Chin the most civilized and

peace-loving people, because during over 50 years of British rule only one murder case was reported.

The person who is the possessor of *kau* is believed to cause ill-luck to any object he is envious of. They can cause illness to a person they love dearly. But since the arrival of christianity the belief is fading.

The accidental causing of death is regarded a big case worth eight buffaloes because if no compensation is paid, the killer may be labeled as a witch (*kau nei pa*)



Songs: history in verse (*Thu in la hi*)

Songs are our oral history and cultural heritage. There are almost thirty kinds of songs: *ai lawng la, daak la, gal la, han la, kah la, la gual nuam, la tung, la phei, mualpi la, nau oih la, nawikai la, nop la, pasal la, phiit la, sai la, sanolh la, sawng la, sih la, ton la, khuado la, tual la, tuibuuk la, vaiphei la, zang ta la* and *zawl la*, as well as *minsial* which is a different genre and is unique as a form of expression.

Gal la/Pasal la (men's song): war songs

These are not epic songs in the classic sense, but are rather a genre that is sung at the funeral of those who have made their mark in war and/or the hunt. When sung for a particular hero they are called *si mai la*, in the sense of a prelude to the funeral.

SIH LA

These are frequently composed to commemorate a particular occasion. One can imagine the number and variety of songs, many of which go back at least four or five generations.

SA LA

Songs are about game such as bear and deer, but also about porcupines and flying foxes. Some can be played with *daak*.

SAWNGPI LA

According to Pu Vung Za Kham, *sawng pi la* and the unique *sawng siik* dance did not have their origin with the Sukte clan. But the dance has a lively step and the *sawng* hunt itself is of particular interest to the younger generation because it is a short cut to recognition; any game taken at a *sawng* hunt rates a *hanla* and *mual suah* gun salute.

ZU KHOLH LA

Zu kholh are first-fruits offerings to the paterfamilias and heads of the maternal clan, and are a joyous occasion. But some of the songs can be nostalgic, such as:

*Ka tun nu ciang a thei sen puvon,
Hual khau khih bang kho mah leng kei muang ing e.
Tung leng the zong a lii hawm bawm kai hi,
Tun vang zua vang in bawm kong kai lai ding hi.*

Now that mother's gone, oh my *theisen puvon**
Bind me with your cord of love, make me secure,
Let me cling to you, like the slough of a cicada
To your bough past songs, past substance.

* *Theisen puvon* means all of a mother's clan.

TON LA

The *tong* feast is the most important feast in Chin society. The Kamhau consider the *tong* a confirmation of marriage in which the soul of a man and wife are twined together for eternity.

Zawl la love songs

Purists often say that some of the best loved love songs are actually about war. For obvious reasons, they are the most popular of songs, but also there is no restriction on when they may be sung and they may be performed at the homes of those who have not given feasts of merit. Boys and girls often try to see who can go to the most hyperbolic heights with all time favorites, and even adapt and improvise on old ones to suit the occasion. A sample song:

*Ngaih ngii ngei aw na tatna munuam veng e,
Sim lei muan tual na tot aw luak nuam veng e.
Simlei muan tualna tot aw luak nuam veng e,
Tulsing lim sawl na belh aw, khiak nuam eng e.*

My darling, my love, oh for a glimpse of you!
Oh to scoop the very earth you have trod,
Oh to scoop the very earth you have trod
And treasure the leafy bough that shades you.

One may note that the second part of many songs repeat the latter part of the *bul* for synthetic effect.

The give and take of a true love story between Chief Hau Pum and widowed Tel Ciin of the Hatzaw family remains all time favorite for lovers.

Pi Tel Ciin:

- (a) *Na phung awi loh ngal liam aw ong leeng lo aw,
Na phung tawh hai zu na zawng mawh ding hi e.*
- (b) *Na phung tawh hai zu na zawng mawh ding hi e,
Phung tawh ning hai khen liang ding lia lawm la'ng e.*

* please note the alliterations which were no doubt made unconsciously

*Do not come a-courting my Lord
Lest you upset the family Cup*

*Lest the cherished chalice be upset
Who am I to cause such disaster?*

Pu Hau Pum:

*(a) Tem bang ka deih na sul ah lung ta sul ah,
Lai ah nam tem hiam kham aw, kham zo lo e.
Nam tem hiam ki kham hen aw, khua vai pheh ah,
Deih lam zon nan zing dai bang nawk nuam veng e.*

On the path of my beloved
Lay a phalanx of swords
A forest of spears to keep me away?
I will wade thro'it like the morning dew!

Pi Tel Ciin was rejected by Pu Hau Pum's family because '*Na phung tawh hai zu na hawm mawh ding hi*', meaning that it would upset the order of zu for him. Hau Pum's answer was as gallant as one may desire: In the trail of the one he loved, no-one could set a trap of swords; in pursuit of his loved one he would gladly brush them aside.

Both Pi Tel Ciin and Pu Hau Pum's songs are examples of the cadance of *la pheh* songs. Even one who does not speak Kamhau dialect can appreciate the lilt of Pi Tel Ciin's alliteration. She herself might not have consciously used it, but our mainly monosyllable dialect is particularly suitable for alliteration and rhyming.

Topical songs

Songs about the *tong* feast, *innka* teak deck, *mual suang* memorial stones and *tuibuuk* tobacco filtrate reflect on life and life after death, pride of ownership, perpetuation of names, and every aspect of Kamhau society. Songs celebrate the successful hunt of big game like elephants, bison, tigers and subjects like cultivation, livestock, hunting and war. (See Appendix II).

Instrumental music

There is instrumental music to be played by three-tone *daak* brass gongs, *phiit* reed panpipes, *liam lo* Jew's harp and *gawsem* gourd pipes.

Songs and poetic diction

La kam: poetic diction

Our *la kam* or poetic diction is unique in that it is a distinct vocabulary. Although some figures of speech like similes do use common vocabulary like *nau bang kap* for 'cry like a baby', and are easily understood by the average person, one must learn poetic diction in order to understand what songs mean. For instance, a bed is *lupna* in prose but *lai khun* in verse; sick is *ci na* normally and *om lai vei* in verse. Further examples of the poetic vocabulary: *ang kawi* ~ *zi* ~ wife; *banzal* ~ *khut* ~ hand; *buh al* ~ *ak* ~ chicken; *cian dal* ~ *daak* ~ brass gongs; *sau* ~ *inn* ~ house. See Appendix V.

Mechanics of poetry

True poetry is universal language. Westerners may not expect to discover affinity between their own and Kamhau verse, or that the mechanics of poetry will serve both Kamhau and Western poetry in such similar ways.

COUPLETS

The most popular songs are known as *latung* and *laphei*, and are similar in structure, only differing in the way they are sung. They display parallelism of thought in couplet form. The first line is called *a bul*, or the stem, and introduces a theme developed in the second part, called *a dawn*. Following a common poetic structure, the two parts are either synonymous, antithetic or synthetic, although almost always synthetic. The two parts, *a bul* and *a dawn*, are sung antiphonally.

FIGURES OF SPEECH

Monosyllabic Kamhau dialect is particularly suited to alliteration, rhyming, and repetition of sound. We have no reason to think that our ancestors had consciously developed the mechanics of poetry, but having a poetic language and expressing themselves in verse all the time, they came naturally. Pi Tel Ciin's eloquent alliteration in '*Na phung tawh ning hai khen liang ding lia ka lawm lo*' is an example.

Poetic genres

AILAWNG LA (SONG) AND AILAWNG LAAM (DANCE)

These are commonly used when one wants to make a statement. The song is sung in a very slow beat and the speaker dances with arms spread, like an eagle circling round and round. The song is recited, the *bul* (first part of the couplet) and then the *dawn*. The gathering will then join and sing as the speaker dances, until the drummer signals the end of the singing with staccato beating of the drum or of a club on the floor.

The story of an emissary sent by Chief Za Pau in Mualbeem to his brother Chief Kamhau is a notable example of the *Ailawng* diplomacy.⁸

One day, when some men from Tedim looted Dakdung village, Mualbeem, their traditional ally, went to their rescue and beat up the men from Tedim. This resulted in a strange confrontation between Chief Kamhau's men from Tedim and Chief Za Pau's men in Mualbeem, the former threatening war.

Za Pau sent an old man, Dong Thual of the Khupmu clan, as peace emissary. Kamhau youths soon ridiculed the old man's Teizang accent by saying: '*Pa pi ong laam da dalh di ve, na lam mu nuam da dalh ve hang*'. It is like saying, 'Old man, why don't you *try* to dance for us? We'd like to see you *try* dancing for us!'

The old man went to the centre of the gathering, saying mildly, 'If *Pu-te* (my lords) want me to dance, I will dance', and sang this song:

Ngam sazuk sial sihkhuk a tang lam ding aw
Hau sumtual ah ning zu ka zo sak lei hi

*Leido za tam hai zu zawng ding aw
Khua mual ah alva ka zosak lei hi.*

Who am I to dance where the stags lick
I've made them come to the feast of the great
One-hundred men who were to lift their cups
I've made them entertain the ravens.

So, this was the man, Dong Thual, who reputedly took ninety sambhur stags and fed a hundred heads of his enemies to the ravens! To face men of his mettle would be different from looting a village. Tempers cooled, reason prevailed and the brothers did not have to do more to convince their men against war.

HAN LA

A victor's cry at the scene of victory is the first step to claiming one's place in the social hierarchy. A hero has the privilege to sing *han la* at a feast or at *khua mual* village portal. I once heard and felt it rather appropriate that a dying hero asked to be taken at the *khua mual* and sang a *han la* before he died.

Han la is sung differently from other songs. The lyrics contain more prose than verse, and there are traces of Za Hau diction, which might mean that *han la* originated with them.

According to Pa Thang Do Pau of Tonzang,⁹ there are more than twenty-four different *han la* for different occasions. Here are the most well-known: 1) a lone warrior who has killed in battle, *do khen* (four kinds); 2) one who killed an elephant; 3) a *samulman* (best man)¹⁰ at an elephant kill; 3) one who did not kill but makes a feast for an elephant; 4) one who kills a *zangsial* bison; 5) for killing a *zangsial samulman*; 6) for killing a *humpi* Bengal tiger; 7) for killing a *kamkei* leopard; 8) for killing a *sahang* carnivore *mul man* (one who takes the hair, the first to arrive at the spot of the kill); 9) for killing a *vom pi* bear; 10) for killing a *ngal hapak* wild boar with tusks; 11) for killing a *ngal pi* wild sow; 12) for those who have killed bison, boars and sow etc.; 13) for killing a *saza* goral; 14) for killing a *muvalnai* eagle; 15) for killing any game taken during a funeral; 16) for killing any important game; 17) for *sai leh sa nam kim mi si phu tuah na* (game killed for a funeral).

MINSIAL

Similar to the Plains Indians' counting of coups. Dr Vum Kho Hau calls it a 'boast'.¹¹ It is the counterpart of a woman's lament, because men are not supposed to cry.

A man will say, '*Vompi ka mai tuahna, ngal tang ka mai tuah na...*' (referring to his gun) – 'I confront the bear...the boar... the tiger...', and fires his musket!

I saw one veteran who had his share of hunting and warring, once the undefeated wrestling champion among one-thousand Kamhau men of the French Labour Corps in the First World War, count his coups, fire his gun and then actually bawl when Chief Pum Za Mang died. That was the way a man should cry. That was an appropriate way for a warrior to say goodbye.

NOTES

- 1 Kamhau and Sukte tracts are separate entities, although Khan Thuam once said that in matters of tributes, Kam Hau was to be the *tuizawn* water duct leading to Za Pau, the Sukte chief and heir to Khan Thuam, who was to be the *tuikuang* or water reservoir.
- 2 Teizang dialect was said to be the royal dialect while Mualbeem was at its most powerful. Anyone speaking Teizang enjoyed the full protection of Mualbeem. Chief Hau Chin Khup himself was known to have gone to Malbeem to learn the Teizang dialect when he became chief of Kamhau. However, his son, Chief Pum Za Mang, and his descendents had been speaking what Dr Cope called the *Kamhau dialect*.
- 3 Vung Za Kham, *Pu Vungzakham Thuciamtehna*, p. 119 and Col. Khen Za Moong, *Tedim pan Zangkong*, p. 9. Translation into English by author. Tual Awn's father was Khoi Lam, Am Thang's father was Mang Gin and Za Tual's father was Kam Hau. It is a courtesy to address someone as so and so's father.
- 4 *Na phung awi loh ngalliam aw ong leeng lo aw, Na phung tawh hai zu na hawm mawh ding hi e. Na phung tawh haizu na hawm mawh ding hi, Phung tawh ning hai khen liang ding lia lawm la'ng e.*
Come not a-courting my Lord / Lest you upset the wine cup of the family/ Lest you upset the family chalice, my Lord. / And who am I to sow discord?

Tembang ka dei h na sul ah lung ta sul ah, Lai ah namtem hiam kham aw kham zo lo e. Namtem hiam kikkham hen aw khua vai pheh ah, Dei h lam zon na'n zing dai bang nawk nuam ve'ng e.

In the path to my heart's desire/ Lay a phalanx of swords/ A path of swords/ A forest of spears/ Let me wade thro' them like the morning's dew.
- 5 F. K. Lehman, *The Structure of Chin Society*, p. 123. In Kamhau society the wife-giving clan is respectfully called *pu te*, which, in our system of social subjugation between vassal and overlord, means lord or master. It is also used to refer to a maternal grandfather, uncle, male cousin or nephew (all men from the wife-giver's clan). The women of the wife-giving clan are addressed as 'nu' (aunt) and their husbands, if of other clans, are called 'gang' (uncle, husband of an aunt). The women of the wife-giver clan are 'nu' (mother/ maternal cousin), or 'pi' (grandmother/maternal aunt) according to their age.
- 6 *Tuk* is a measurement for a pig. See Appendix I.
- 7 *Suang pet*, literally biting a stone or pebble, is a method of swearing or taking an oath. For *tui sia neek*, see Appendix III.
- 8 This story is from a tape made for me by clan historian Pa Hau Nang of Mualbeem.
- 9 Pa Thang Do Pau, a childhood friend, is son of Pu Suan Za Am, who was a trusted and elder raconteur (*la suut*) for Kamhau chiefs. Thang Do Pau himself is a well known composer.
- 10 *Samulman* is the first person who arrives at the scene of the kill.
- 11 Dr Vum Khaw Hau, *Profile of a Burma Frontier Man*.

Four generations of Kamhau chiefs



Dowager Tel Ciin, Chief Hau Chin Khup, Chief Khup Khen Kham, Chief Pum Za Mang

In memory of Tel Ciin – God save her soul.

Tel Ciin, the heavenly born mother of Chief Hau Cin Khup KSM. After living for many years she expired on 19th January 1933. She was buried with 52 mithan, 10 buffalo, 11 cows, 2 ponies and 75 jungle animals on 1st June 1933.

Pi Vung Khaw Man

The second wife of Chief Hau Ci Khup and grandson Khup Lam Thang. Note her plaited hair tied at the back of the head, and the *vaneel* knot of the boy.





In memory of Hau Cin Khup, The Father
 God save the noble soul of father Hau Cin Khup the great chief of Kam Hau tract. Hau Cin Khup KSM renounced the world's pleasure on the morning of 10th September 1934 after having lived for over sixty years.

During his lifetime he was always of great assistance to government and rendered excellent service, in recognition of which he won the following presents and certificates of honour written below in Chin, and he was trustworthy capable chief. He was appointed to the third magistrateship of the Tiddim subdivision.

He was at all times most hospitable and generous, his name being known far and wide. On the expiry of our father many government officers and gentlemen from far and near sent their sympathies to us. Many thanks for them. Keep us, Father, in eternal good term.

Kam Hau gam ukpi Pu Hau Chin Khup kum 1934 September 10, zingsang nai 7 laitak in Topa Pasian in a kiang ah a om ding in a la hi. Kumpi mangkang te hong khan ma in Kam Hau uksung tengah vaihawm dingin a lian pen a koihi. Ka pa Hau Cin Khup in mangkang toten khamtung ong lak kum a kipan a sih dong kumpi ten a phatakpi a ah sep le kumpiten a nuai aa min phatna teng, minphatna lai tek tawh a hepihi.

1. 1889 kum in giatvey ging thau lawng khat ngah hi.

2. 1899 kum in thaukaa lawng khat ngah hi

3. 1901 kum in hgun nam khat ngah hi.

4. 1917 kumin khamkhi (KSM) khat ngah hi.

5. 1918 kum in saithau lawng khat ngah hi.

6. 1919 kum in puan nuai thau (revolver) guk vei ging khat le galkap mangpa piak medal khat ngah hi.

7. 1923 kum in galkap thau dang laite khat ngah hi.

A tung a teng sim loh zong sword a kici bu namte a ngah hi.

Keimah a tapa Pum Za Mangin ... 1935 ni in sial 74, lawi 11, bawng 18, sakol 2, a gawm 105. Tua teng tawh ngeina bang in ka vui aa ka pa min man mawh nagin hih suangah lai ka at hi. Ka pa in a hin lai in, sai hapaak 5, zaangsial 28, humpi 2, kamkei 2, le sa nautang 200 val man hi. Do khen zong 5 sim hi.



In memory of Chief Pum Za Mang KSM, ATM
 Sukte begat Sukzo, Sukzo begat Mang
 Chin, Mang Chin begat Mang Tun, Mang
 Tun begat Mang Piang, Mang Piang begat
 Ngai Neek, Ngai Neek begat Zang Thoh,
 Zang Thoh begat Mang Kim, Mang Kim
 begat Kham Thuam, Khan Thuam begat
 Kam Hau who was the eldest. Kam Hau
 begat Hau Pum, Hau Pum begat Hau Cin
 Khup, Hau Cin Khup begat Pum Za Mang,
 Pum Za Mang begat Khup Khen Kham and
 his brothers. From Sukzo to Khup Khen
 Kham is 14 generations.

When Khan Thuam achieved power and fame, nine chiefs plotted to murder him. The grace of God saved him from death and he took refuge with his families under the protection of the Rallang chief.

Allying with the Rallangs Khan Thuam and Kam Hau invaded the villages which had feud against him as well as other villages thus the following extent of lands were

conquered. Formerly the land conquered extended to the north as far as Tapei Lui and to the west as far as Ciau Lui. But after the annexation of the British the extent was up to the boundary with the Kawls, with Manipur state, with the Za Haus and Lushais and with Suktes and Siyins. Within this area *tangseu* (grain dues) *gamsaliang* (wild animal legs), *inn sa liang* (domestic animal legs), *sialsiah* (mithan tax), *khua liau* (village dues), *tuuk tha* (harvest labour), *khal tha* (summer labour), *sih gal man* (death condolence fee) and *tanu man* (marriage fees) were levied from villages for 200 years from the life of Khan Thuam to Khup Khen Kham. They were ruling over the people receiving in return the above mentioned tributes.

Chief Pum Za Mang was born in 1894 of Hau Cin Khup KSM, TDM, VD, chief of Kamhau and Ciin Za Niang. He had acquired knowledge of both Burmese and English. In 1924 Chief Hau Cin Khup handed over to him the chieftanship from which time he continued as chief of the Kamhau tract.

Pum Za Mang, chief of the Kamhau tract was a good worker and able ruler of his people. In 1936 the British government presented him with a silver medal and conferred upon him the title of ATM. Furthermore in 1943 he was awarded the coveted KSM. He excelled over others in big game of every kind that lived within the bounds of Burma, and in killing enemies, the manly sports of the Chins.

Born in 1894, Chief Pum Za Mang married Ciin Khaw Man, daughter of Guite chief Mang Chin Lian of Kang Kap village of Manipur state in 1920 and bore 9 children. Survived by his wife Ciin Khaw Man along with 5 sons and 3 daughters, he left the world for heavenly abode at 2pm on the 10th November 1948 at the age of 54.

The power of Chief Pum Za Mang was evidenced by a comet* – a small star sending out a white trail of light towards the earth from the roof if the sky. It resembled the rays of the spotlight from a torch seemingly as big as the roll of a mat, rising along with the morning star from the morning of the 9th to the 15th November 1948.

*Ashbrook-Jackson comet.

Chapter 4

Kamhau customs

Kamhau society

In about 1801, Hatzaw settlers invited Kam Hau to be headman of Lamzang, and some five years later he tried to settle in Tedim.¹ When his initial attempts failed, he allied himself with leaders of other strong clans and, supported by his father and brothers in Mualbeem, he succeeded after the third attempt. He made fortifications around Tedim and after he had consolidated his power, Kamhau territory extended 120 miles north to south, and 90 miles east to west: almost 11,000 square miles.

The *panmun* family network

Kamhau society is composed of family networks. Each household or *bangkua* appoints *panmun* posts from among relations by blood and by marriage, as well as linking families from other clans.² In joy or sorrow, no family is alone; nor can a family in the same village stand aside, but must join in celebrations or commiserations, bringing *zu* and meat as its *panmun*, or rank in the *bangkua* network, requires.

Panmun appointments

Each household (*bangkua*) formally appoints members to positions within the social establishment called *panmun* or *vakna*. While this is done along traditional lines between wife-taker and wife-giver families, the *panmun* set up frequently reaches much wider, so as to encompass those who are not related by blood or marriage. In fact, if a family does not have married daughters in the village or nearby, it can appoint the family of a married kinswoman as *tanu* daughters. In practice, this means that a family, however poor or lacking in relatives, need not be alone in sorrow or trouble.

BANGKUA: THE 'AGNATE' BRANCH

The *bangkua* is the most important branch of *panmun*, because it specifies the legal next-of-kin, the inheriting relative should the household not have a male heir. The *sabaal*³ is the most senior post, followed by *saphuuk* (second 'brother'), then *sanggam thumna* (third 'brother'), and *sanggam lina* (fourth) etc.

SUNGH/PU: THE 'DISTAFF' BRANCH

Often called the wife-givers, *sungh* in Kamhau means 'wife's kin' for the wife-taker, but for his children the mother's clan is called *pu*. The honorific '*pu*' means 'lord', 'grandfather', 'maternal uncle' or 'male maternal cousin', but it is used for all male relatives of the mother's clan, including babies. This shows the special love and respect a household's affines command.

THUSA: EXECUTIVE POSTS

The *thusa* acts as the household steward, keeping records of all the *zu* contributors at the feasts, and advising the *sasem* meat-cutter so that the correct portion of meat will be given to contributors. When as many as fifty mithans can be slaughtered in a single day, the *thusa* had to keep tabs on literally hundreds of pots of *zu* – quite a feat before writing came into use. Since it is necessary to have capable men as *thusa*, it is usual to have competent non-kin *thusa* along with kinsmen *thusa*. The household *thusa* often also acts as spokesman for the household in non-ceremonial and festive matters.

SASEM: MEAT-CUTTER

Since *zu* and meat are the symbols of inter-relation in Kamhau society, the meat-cutter must deliver the correct portion of meat to the right member of the *panmun*. An unintentional mistake in the cut could damage relations. Capable non-kin *sasem* are also appointed.

ZAWL: BOSOM FRIEND

This is not a common post, especially in later times. However, in ancient times *zawl* could be very important in liaising between two men and their clans.

INN TAMH SAGAWH: COMMISSIONING OF PANMUN POST-HOLDERS

The housewarming feast is the occasion when a new householder appoints his *panmun* post-holders. There is no special announcement, but the appointees know their posts when they receive the cuts of meat for their offices.

Life among the people

According to Pu Vung Za Kham men amongst our recent ancestors wore a blanket made of spun cotton and a tunic called *puan ak* that reached to the knees when they went to their *taungya* fields or travelled away from home. Except when they slept, they always carried a *temta* knife and a bottle of *tuibuuk* tobacco water in a shoulder bag called *za ip*.

They divided their time between hunting, warring and cultivation: *lo sing tuk*, *lo vat* (swidden works), *lokhawh* (swidden cultivation), *inn sing sui* (hewing timber), *bi lawh* (cutting thatch) and *innlam buuk lam* (building houses and huts).

A prestige-oriented society

Peer pressure for achievement in war and the hunt was as strong as the pressure to achieve status in any modern society. The privileges of those who had earned their laurels in the hunt, war and hundred-basket harvests included priority in feasts, and rights to particular styles of houses and, even, of burying their dead.

Perpetuation of one's name

To claim their rightful place in society, and to perpetuate their names, they sang *hanla* victory cries, made *minsial* boasts and recited songs of their deeds. They erected stone and wood monuments to chronicle their feats for posterity, and named their children as living memorials.

Spiritual beliefs

The belief in life after death accounts for all the animals slaughtered at funerals, all the acts of heroism in war and hunt, and even the giving of the costly *tong* celebrations, which are believed to 'twine the souls' of the man and wife giving the feast. The Almighty God of the Christians is known by the name *Pasian*, and is spoken of alongside *Lungzai*, as in '*Pasian na tai in; Lungzai na tai in*' or 'May *Pasian* enjoy the food; may *Lungzai* enjoy the food'. Bits of food may be thrown while one eats, which is called *Kau paih* ('Kau ciah ou!', Kau go home!'). It may said that only the everyday *dawi* place spirits, which cause sickness and death, get more attention.

Van mi let worship

Pu Khuang Ceu taught Khan Thuam *van mi let* worship when the latter was to return to his native Mualbeem, and Khan Thuam's descendents continued to perform it. Both Kamhau and subsequent chiefs practised it, but it is called *khuazing biakna*. *Khuazing/Khuavak* (light and darkness), *Khuhipi/Phahpi* (sky and earth), *Nipi/Khapi* (sun and moon), *Aikham* and collective *taangpi* spirits were served in a circular set up at which *Pasian* and *Lungzai* are equal participants, not the mightiest of the all.

Our ancestors made offerings to the *dawi* spirits to propitiate them when they were sick. They do invoke the names of some place spirits as witnesses, but it is more the spirits of their own dead that are turned to for favour in war and the hunt and hundred-basket harvests. The recent dead are often enjoined to help the living for *gal mang*, *samang*, *miin za-taang za* (choice game, success against enemies and good harvests). When I was a boy I heard that the skulls of ancestors were cleaned and smeared with oil for a feast, or when there is a drought or when the monsoon rain was delayed. The participants brought umbrellas and wide-brimmed bamboo hats (*naang lukhu*) and cried '*Guah zu ei!*' ('It is raining!') on their way back from the crypt.⁴

The women: equal partners

The women's day begins before their husband and children's. They are never seen without their ubiquitous *buuk* water pipe, while they cook, fetch water, pound grain, wash dishes and clothes, feed pigs, carry firewood, spin and

weave. However the role of women in this obviously prestige-oriented society is more as equal partners than might be imagined.

The need to give proper feasts for achievements in hunting and war relied on the production of grain, in which the women contributed as much as the men, if not more. Our ancestors practised soil-erosion control methods such as stone and log terraces (*tang*) and dug ditches to divert rainwater. They vied with one another to produce hundred-basket harvests (*taangza*) and the women contributed most of the work.

A girl never really leaves her mother's side, carrying younger siblings on her back, cooking, weaving and learning women's skills until she marries. At her marriage, her mother will demand a payment, *ang khen*, for 'separation from mother's bosom'.

Women enjoyed all the privileges and recognition that accrue from the feasts of merit they perform with their husbands. They are known to have contributed decisive ideas in society. Dowager Tel Cin, the wise mother of Chief Hau Chin Khup, outranked him in feasts, because even a chief can not precede his parents. Pu Kam Khen Kham told me a story of how she intervened when the chief bluntly refused to allow some villagers to settle on a certain land, chiding him gently but firmly.

Women did not sit in war councils or in those settling disputes. But with the well-timed recital of a song from the side, they could contribute their ideas. When Khuasak chief Khup Pau and his elders were having a hard time deciding whether to return Falam chief Lian Bawi's necklace and four captives, his wife recited '*Ka sawn lai hen dei lo puan bang ka paih sang, ka vang khua vai vut in leeng hen.*' ('Rather may my village go up in ashes and smoke than that I should hand over my grandson's slave.'), slapped the bottom of her skirt (associated with inferiority) smartly, and left the council with no alternative.

Pi Thang Ning was said to have challenged wavering followers of Thuam Thawng to put on her skirt and the *miau uk suam* (killing of the *myo-ok*, township officer) rebellion was launched. There is also the story of Pi Ciin Ngul, wife of Kam Hau, which did much to marshal the Kamhau, Sukte and Sihzang with her song about how Manipuri soldiers fought over who would be the first to rape her and who would get Kam Hau's stock of ivory:

*Zang vuisak leh lia ka sak duang,
Do tan sa bang hawm khawm e
Na awi na'm aw, ziin aw e,
Gual aw e, a lam na'm?*

For my ivory and for my virtue,
Fought the braves to rob and ravish
O Spirit can you forebear,
O my brethren can you allow?

Social values

The underpinning of Kamhau laws is our tradition of values embodied in adages such as '*thupi thuap kua pha*' ('truth is nine-layered'); '*ciimnuai a sa kibak geeltui a ki thuk*' ('loyalty and gratitude') and '*sakhi a pi san a no san*' ('like father like son'). Stevenson's 'the slow speech, the serious manner' (1943) describes well how Kamhau courts conducted business.

A council of elders is likely to hear a spokesman begin with '*Sakhi tuineek in pan leeng*' ('Starting with the muntjac's drink') and then recount a case from the very beginning, giving a detailed account before any of the litigants' arguments are heard. Then, applying the rule of 'truth is nine-layered' ('*thupi thuap kua pha*'), every point is meticulously examined as the spokesmen keep track of their points by '*gatang kai*', placing *gatam* beans on the floor. I was impressed to watch Tawmbing Pau Za Gin, a veteran of the French Labour Corps in the First World War, and holder of the Order of Burma from the Second World War, perform this traditional *gatang kai* presentation at a wedding. The initial offer of *tha man* ('wage', four *gual*), the main *man pi* bride-price and so on, were neatly presented so that both parties to the marriage could settle the contract smoothly.

Respect for the spoken word was the norm because it must always stand up to the challenge of *tui sia neek* (oath of the cursed water) which dispenses with the need for a witness and the veracity of a witness with it. No idle words, because our ancestors believed that even a casual oath was bound to come true.

Loyalty: Ciimnuai a sa ki bak Geeltuia kithuk

Loyalty and gratitude are the essence of the proverb which says that a meat sop offered in ancient Ciimnuai was reciprocated in modern Geeltu. In '*sa bah*' a person takes a piece of meat and hand-feeds it to the mouth of a friend as a mark of special friendship, like the biblical offer of a sop. Because meat is a symbol, the person thus honoured mentions it to his children. If the honour can not be returned in the recipients' life time, his children or their children generations later will find an occasion to return the favour. It is a beautiful antithesis to blood vengeance for which the Chin people are more well known to outsiders.

Esurience is a vice

It is a paradox that, in spite of the value and symbolism meat and *zu* drink have, what will be considered gourmet for us is *ui san*, 'red dog'. As children, we were used to being told not to watch other people eat or to join others eating, even if invited. *Kawl tawl*, meaning 'Burmese palate', is not a complimentary phrase, because desire for delicious food is considered indulgence to one's senses. In ancient times, eating meat offered by a person could make one his slave.

Monogamy and sexual morality

Our *panmun* family network has no allowance for polygamy because of the need to relate to the wife-giver families at every feast in joy or sorrow. In my own genealogy, which runs fourteen generations, there is no case of polygamy to help me discover how the order of meat and *zu* could be handled in such a case.

Sexual offences are among the most severely punished in Kamhau law (see Appendix III). Committing adultery with a married woman carries a fine

of eight buffaloes, the same as manslaughter. The intentional touching of the breast of a married woman carries a fine of four buffaloes.

The taboo against sexual indulgence in times of war might have much to do with morality in Kamhau, and the custom of courtship taking place in the presence of the family certainly circumscribed the freedom of young people for mischief or experiment. The idealization of love, and the absence of vulgarity and suggestive lyrics in the love songs often sung at social gatherings, may also have had a moral influence. It is seen as very important that girls keep their distance from known flirts lest they compromise their chances of marrying. Having children is also very important for a woman. The fate of a *tuak khial*, a childless woman who returned home to die, is considered the most unfortunate. At her funeral only *tuak khial* songs may be sung, and the funeral bier cannot leave through the gate, so a breach is made in the fence.

*Tuak khial ma lo kuan nin e,
Sunni tungkhau khih a bang hi e.
Lungtuak ma lo a kuan nin e
Tung sun ni zawl tholh a bang e.*

The day 'Miss Misfit' works afield
The sun he takes his time to set.
The day 'Miss Favoured' works afield
The sun he hurries home to set.

Worth of a bride

Health and the ability and willingness to work are the norm in agrarian Kamhau society. In their lives, Sukte and Kamhau chiefs seemed to rate love high in choosing their partners. Chief Hau Pum fell hard for a widow. Even parturition and two children did not deter Chief Za Pau from marching seven days with seventy shield-bearers to take away the wife of the Teikhang headman's son. Chief Thang Khaw Pau of Ngennung usurped the wife of a clansman when Za Pau her father obliged by withdrawing her from her husband.

The strictly monogamous love life of Sukte and Kamhau chiefs is the subject of many songs. To celebrate the *tong* feast with their wife was the aim of their lives. Even when his clansmen succeeded in separating Khaw Cin from Hatlang Vung Khaw Lian, he seemed to have exacted the *tong* feast from them.

Life after death

More than any other customs or beliefs, the belief in life after death defines Kamhau society. Our ancestors believed they would spend their afterlife with their spouses, and that in the village of the dead they would have the same cattle and slaves as in life.

Chief Hau Chin Khup consoled himself with the thought that his departed wife Pi Ciin Za Niang would ride to the gates of the land of death on a tusker elephant with stout-hearted leopards leading her entourage of slaves and livestock.

*Sang lian tung ah na tuang in la
Ziin khua mual ah za ta sin laai*

Ride on my love, mount the mighty
Peerless tusker, cow the portals

<i>Liap sak aw.</i>	Of heaven!
<i>Kam kei lunglian ma ciang suan aw,</i>	Braveheart leopards be your pilots,
<i>Kul nuh* dang na hong sak aw</i>	Let them open heaven's gates.

**Kul nuh* is poetic diction for the village of the dead.

Gal leh tual: *who is the enemy?*

Loving one's enemy (*gal*) and dying for a friend are both encompassed by the tradition that says that even an enemy who drinks from your *kuangzawn* water trough is *tual* (see below) and that you must protect one who clings to your *sutpi* bed-chamber post with your life, if needs be. *Tual* are one's own people, relatives and friends, and even the enemy who surrenders to you. Killing *tual* is considered the most heinous of crimes, and the soul of a *tual*-killer becomes a *kau nei*, one who practises witchcraft. The concept of the enemy and of the act of war as vengeance is stated in the following song:

<i>Ka lal in lal aw ci e</i>	My enemy calls me enemy
<i>Lal hi lo bat phu la hing</i>	No enemy am I who seek vengeance
<i>Namtem tawi in sul zui ing e</i>	With sword in hand I tracked my foe
<i>Ciau ii gal ah</i>	Beyond the river
<i>Pasal lian lu khai ing</i>	Lifted the head of a great man

A prestige-oriented society

Khua mual – *the village portal*

A visitor to a village is sure to notice the memorial stones at the entrance *khua mual* park.

Many were erected before writing was known to our ancestors, and have pictures of elephants, bison, tigers, guns, beads, musical instruments and all they wanted to be remembered by. A song by matriarch Pi Ngul Zam:

<i>Pian na zua mang pham thei e</i>	Mortal man, my father may be
<i>Kan killumsuang mang mawh e</i>	This stone it shall endure
<i>Kan kil lum suang pian dang aw e</i>	O lovely stone, the awe of all
<i>Nam cih lel in lawm sang e</i>	You're the talk of all the world.

The house, innka and songh

A visitor to a chief's house in Sukte, Sihzang or Kamhau village a hundred years ago, before all material considered *lawki* had been destroyed, would be greeted by what is known in Tedim vernacula as *zo inn*. They would notice the timber barricade around the house, the symmetrical layout of the *innka* deck and the courtyard of the hunkered-down thatched roofed building. A nutant bamboo *ton mung* banner and a new *songh* poles in the centre of the courtyard tells him that a *tong* feast was celebrated to twine the souls of man and wife together for eternity.

<i>Laukha hual na simsing phung cing</i>	Majestic tree that twines our souls
<i>Tang bang dam nan lawm sang e</i>	A sight to heal my troubled soul

Lang nuai sawm sial za tam aw e
Sau mang tawh et lawm sang

A hundred cattle beneath my floor
 Adorn my dwelling home

The teak decks are generally a foot wide and two inches thick, but there are six extra-wide pieces a cubit wide and ten cubits long called *tuang dung*. The multi-pronged pole in the centre of the *inn* tells the viewer that this is the house of an important chief. Of this important feature, one Pi Ngul Zam sings:

Tulta duang hoih pahtang zilzal,
Nam cih a tuan na hi
Ningzu aisa tang bang zeekna
Pahtang muisi tawkbang

Choicest timber *innka* teak plaza
 Where people come and play
 Opulence of meat and wine
 Timbers dripping with oil

Opening the two-piece timber gate they will step onto a flagstone court with a path that ends in front of a squared timber post called *mai suut*. Before proceeding, they notice a cow gate, and know that domestic animals are corralled underneath the house, though not in the manner of long houses.

Entering the *inn liim* verandah they see various trophies of sambhur deer, gaur bison, bear, boar and mountain goat decorating the façade of the house. Kamhau chiefs lined up their elephant skulls along the *sum tawng* corn-pounding area. The floor on the downhill side of the verandah is raised six inches. Called *dawh dan*, it serves as a sleeping berth for guests and wayfarers. Next to the *sumtawng* area adjacent to the front wall, a raised platform called *haam* sleeps single men and boys of the village, who in times of war serve as vigilantes.

A chief's house has an extra chamber called *tap lai*, where house slaves sleep and cook. The *inn sung* main chamber also has a fireplace, and the members of the family sleep there. The inner-most room, called *inn sung pi*, is the inner sanctum and has a fireplace used for special occasions such as *tong* and spirit worship. This room is always locked except for certain feasts or for funerals. It is when a feast is given and the doors are opened that the house shows its capacity to accommodate the whole village and all the guests who come to participate, and the pennants show the achievement of the host, as Pu Za Tual's song suggests:

Ciin teng ban zal sang ka sim na
Kaih dial kaw! va laam bang
Zua mang lang lam sawmsial sim na
Sun ni na siing zo nam aw?

Fluttering banners, each its glory
 Flight of a thousand birds
 Stacks of oaken trees, each a mithan
 O sun, can you outshine?

Perpetuation of one's name

It is not just houses, *innka* decks and *songh* poles that enhance one's standing in society. Children are named after grandparents or uncles and aunt, so that others may know their achievements or even their joy and sorrow. Songs are composed and *han la* are sung and coups counted to establish one's place in society.

Tuibuuk culture

Our ancestors had a very unique custom called *tuibuuk muam*. A filtrate of tobacco was carried in bottles and sipped, giving a burning tangy sensation, much like chewing tobacco. Before Western influence came into the Chin Hills, no-one smoked in today's sense – in which satisfaction is gained by inhaling the smoke into one's lungs and blowing it out. The women smoked water-pipes called *buuk* but did not inhale the smoke into their lungs. The purpose was to pass the smoke through the water in the gourd container in order to impart the taste to the water.

After about three bowls of tobacco leaves were smoked, the filtrate from the burnt tobacco ashes is collected in the *za vu lawn* container. The tobacco filtrate, called *tuibuuk*, was carried in a little bottle called an *umta* (men) or a *thei* (women). Just as one chews tobacco for the tangy sensation of the tobacco; so one sucks a little of the *tuibuuk* from the bottle, keeping it in the mouth until it turns vapid. The ten- to fifteen-minute interval it takes for this to happen is a measurement of time called *tuibuuk muam tam*.

Tuibuuk: a social gambit

Tuibuuk forms the social gambit of the people. Strangers meeting on the road will offer each others *tuibuuk* and enquire of each other's destination. In times of grief, women commiserate with each other by offering a sip (*muam*). Even court litigants were known to exchange *tuibuuk*, and to compliment each other on its strength.

Tuibuuk guan: a daily provision

When a boy is courting a girl, she fills his *tuibuuk* bottle as a courtesy. After engagement, this becomes a routine that continues for life. There are nuances in *tuibuuk* culture: when a girl fills a boy's bottle full, it could mean 'Don't hurry back Romeo!' As to be expected, there are many love songs about *tuibuuk*. When smoking tobacco was introduced the culture of *tuibuuk* changed such that very few people still keep the habit.

A tuibuuk story

Perhaps the most nostalgic song on *tuibuuk* was composed by Pi Vung Khaw Lian for Chief Khaw Cin. When his Sukte clan peers forced Khaw Cin to divorce Hatlang Vung Khaw Lian, she smoked a special bottle of *tuibuuk* for him for the last time. As a last farewell she filled his *umta* bottle with the special *tuibuuk* as she had done since the days of their first love, and composed the following song.

*Tul kuan buuktui ci kei aw, lung sit ken,
Nahsing nuai sang sing na khal pih sa hi
Zal na lai khun tung ah, na kawi ang ah,
Leen lai tuak khial lung mawl aw hong ci aw.*

Don't say just a stale *buuktui* of a dying love,
Your companion of a thousand campaigns.

If from the bosom of your new love, you think of me
Call me the foolish misfit of our youthful days.

To paraphrase (as the author feels unequal to conveying its pathos): she pleads with him not to fret or be too hesitant in accepting this last gift of love, *tuibuuk*; after all they had given the *tong* feast together. In the second part of the couplet, she says, when he thinks of her from the bosom of his new love, to remember her as just a naïve misfit of their youthful days.

Len lai tuak khial lung mawl aw ong ci kei ning, tuiluang zo zam
Lianno aw ong ci ning e.
Tuiluang zo zam lianno aw ong ci ning e,
Sumtual tang sial ka sut pih sa hong ci ning e.

Never a misfit of youthful love shall I call you.
Always my Lianno, my Zozam* flower of eternal spring,
With whose soul mine is entwined for eternity.
One I offered the vow of oxen blood in *sumtual** fair

* Zozam is the flower called 'love-lies-bleeding'

* *Sumtual* is poetic for *inntual* courtyard.

Khaw Cin protests 'not a naïve misfit of our youthful days will I call you. You will always be the ever blooming *zozam*⁵ by a stream. You will be the one to whom I have entwined my soul in the *tong* feast.'

After the introduction of smoking tobacco and the use of *tuibuuk* became less popular, boys adopted the habit of carrying pouches and tins of makings and of offering them to girls, who roll two cigarettes, light them, snip off the wet end of one and then offer it back. Sometimes the boy will make a show of protesting the snipping of the end. Smoking tobacco has also developed a culture of its own and its share of songs, and even *za aisan*, the divining one's future life-partners by the keeping rolled makings under the pillow.

Boys' coming of age in Kamhau society

There is no special rite for the coming of age for a boy in Kamhau society. From the time he is old enough to sit by the fire, he is privy to all that transpires in the adult world. He may listen in on any discussion, even watch a sibling being born or a family member dying on the master bed, or the *tanus* (married daughters and their families) preparing the dead... nothing is purposely hidden from a child.

The sawm boys' club

When a boy is of *sialcing muan*, or cowherd, age, he leaves the pampered comfort of home to sleep in the house of the chief, headman or elder. A sleeping platform in the front veranda called *haam* sleeps ten to fifteen boys. Every evening the boys come to the *sawm*, which is not only a club for the *sawm* boys, but is also the basis of a larger club for the boys' families called *lawm*, which celebrate the *khuado* and *lawm an neek* community feasts.

The boys play *sing lam* or tops, *sik*⁶ and other games. More importantly, they have a chance to listen to the chiefs, headmen and elders holding

courts, or regaling them with tales of valour in hunt and war. They are the chief or headman's vigilantes in emergencies and run errands in peacetime.

Sial cing: training in leadership and team work

A boy had to herd *sial*/mithan cattle with other boys of the village. If the family did not have *sial* or other cattle, he was responsible for *lo hong*, or scaring the birds from the fields in harvest time, but he is still freer than his sisters. He can go out in the fields to trap birds, rodents and other game.

Sakhilunggam tan: the first kill

Killing a barking-deer⁷ brings the first step to recognition for a young man in prestige-oriented Kamhau society, where *sakhi that lo ngal tang tum*, 'hunting for the wild boar before killing a barking deer' was a common taunt driving young men to deeds of valour in the hunt and war. But a young man cannot count coups for a barking-deer, and he must aspire to shooting bears, boars and tigers to earn recognition in society.

A-go-a-lup-te

This refers to those who have slaughtered animals and served *zu* in feasts of merit. A man may have killed many elephants, tigers and enemies, but if he has not given the appropriate feasts, he is not recognized in society, and cannot claim any subsequent rights. The pinnacle of achievement in war is to have killed enemies in combat, and such a person is entitled to have the following Kawltei Bunglet song sung when he dies.

*Kawltei bunglet na dei h leh,
Ngal pa lian sial bang sun aw
Khaimu veng tot na dei h leh,
Do lai al bang va that aw.*

If you covet Reverse Arms!
Spear the boar in his lair
If you covet the Eagle's plume,
Kill your foe in combat fair.
(Sian Za Kham 1998:57)

Legend has it our ancestors chose the bravest man from those who would stalk up to the nest of a wild boar and spear it. Either he killed the boar or it killed him. In the old days there must have been some kind of a dance with reversed arms like the modern practice of 'Reverse Arms!' to honour heroes. As for Kamhau chiefs, *Kawltei Bunglet* is now the song that is sung as the bier is carried and rocked (*lamh*) from the house to the cemetery.

Courtship

Boys court girls simply by visiting their houses. Visitors are never asked the purpose of a visit. They are always welcome to the fireside with the words like '*Mei ong awi ou!*' ('Come and warm yourself by the fire!') or '*An ong ne ou!*' ('Come and eat!') A shy young man may have friends or younger boys from his *sawm* accompany him. They will be welcomed by the head of the house from his seat by the fireside, and will be lucky to get a word or two to the girls as they flit by to stoke the fire or watch the pot. In this chaperoned atmosphere any verbal exchange may be about what they did that day or

some gossip. Before writing was known to our people, a boy would usually confide in a friend, called a *bawm ta*, to sound out the girl he liked.

The *bawm ta* or go-between would start by teasing the girl, saying that so-and-so says he cannot eat or sleep for the love of her.⁸ The girl will tell the go-between that he shouldn't tease her like that, because no-one will take a second look at someone like her, least of all so-and-so. If all goes well, the *bawm ta* informs the boy, who eventually asks his parents to give *zu thawl*, that is formally ask for the girl's hand.

Courting and love songs

The lovers are now free to sit together out on the *innka* sundeck and exchange love songs, which are often enjoyed for their hyperbolic love-you-more-than-I-can-say excesses. A sophisticated rebuttal to such a song sings:

*Ngai ing ci a tumtaai bang vul ing non cih,
Vul loh damtui na hong leh luan na hi e.
Vul loh dam tui in luang aw, tuang lam lai ah,
Heisa'n paal aw ken hong lo ma sa vang e.*

You say you wilt like *tumtaai* for love of me,
Wiltless water, uphill bound, that's you, my love.
Wiltless water, may you flow by the roadside,
Be a Heisa, I'll be first, to have and hold.

In Kamhau love songs, the emphasis is often on outrageous lyrics. In this example, the image of water, even the water of 'wiltlessness', flowing uphill in defiance of the law of hydraulics, makes us pause with its daring. *Tumtaai* and *Heisa* are wild flowers said to be the essence of fragrance and delicate beauty.

One advantage of Kamhau poetry is that most of the words are monosyllabic and rhyme easily, ending with verb compounds that conclude in 'e', 'na'm', and 'diam' etc. almost automatically.

Love songs remain the most popular, not just for the obvious reasons, but because of the diminished appropriateness of other songs, like the *pasal* or war songs or the *tong* songs which have elements of worship and traditional custom. Love songs are not only the most prolific amongst our traditional songs, they also are the most imaginative. They have a way of recalling Biblical imagery. A lover yearns to scoop up the very earth his beloved steps on, much like Naaman the Syrian general who took two mule-loads of earth from Samaria home (cf. 2 Kings 5:17). Another love song wants landslides to flatten the mountains, so that he can get a glimpse of his beloved (cf. Isaiah 40:4)!

Zuthawl piak: engagement

The word *zuthawl* refers to a bottle of *zu* grain beer brought to the house of a girl to formally ask for her hand in marriage. But the practice from Kamhau's time till now is to bring a pot of *zu* to the girl's parents and their *thusa* (recorder/steward) for a formal proposal.

The *thusa* acts as the *zubawl* (supervisor) of the *zu* as well as being family spokesman. The *zubawlpa*, the man who brings the pot and is supervising the distribution of the *zu*, immediately steeps the pot with water and invites either the host or hostess to *leep*, or have the priority in drinking it.

The host or hostess who receives the priority invites the *zubawlpa* (or *zubawlpu* if a woman) to sip the drink until the water level goes down from the brim of the pot to the marker stick planted in the banana leaves.⁹ This is called *kang khat*. The water-level will be filled up to the rim once again for the host to drink.

A measure called *hai teh*, or measuring cup, is filled with water for the host to refill the pot with. When the level is brought to the brim and there is no more water, the equivalent of the *hai teh* cup has been drunk. The next person will start with the pot filled with water to the rim, and the *hai teh* cup is also filled with water for the next person.

What is the purpose of this visit?

It was our custom that the parents of the girl ask what was the purpose for bringing the *zu* drink, although they know very well what it is about. The *zubawl* who acts as spokesman for the boy's family will say:

Oh, there is nothing amiss. We have been thinking day and night about how we could bring our children together. As the saying goes: '*at wit's end the hawk swoops down on a cow dung*', we bring this pot of *zu* which really is nothing. Now we are hanging on every word of yours.¹⁰

Or they will use similar convoluted words peculiar to courting and engagement.

Only the gesture counts

The words used in *zuthawl piak* are stilted, and are more of a play of words than anything else. In a similar vein, the host may protest, 'We are nobodies! Who would want to marry people like us?' There may be quite an exchange of humble words, because no-one uses any haughty language in engagement and marriage negotiations. One wrong word could be the end of the whole matter.

When the host is quite satisfied with the talk, he will say, 'If Pasion (God) will bless this union, we will be very happy.' However, even if the answer may seem positively hopeful, the mission is a failure if the host broaches a reciprocal pot of *zu*.

If the host offers a reciprocal pot of *zu*, should the girl accept another proposal, it will not be considered *lawm sut*, or breach of promise. If a reciprocal *zu* is not offered, the engagement is accepted. If the offer is reciprocated it means 'no' although the host may say how much they are honoured. If the girl marries another without a proper turning down of the proposal, the case is considered *zuthawl tham na*, or state of engagement, and the husband is guilty of *lawm sut*. The fine is a *sial zabo*, a *sial* mithan with horns a span long.

After *zuthawl* is accepted, the boy visits every day. Unlike before the engagement, the courting is no longer within the eye-sight and ear-shot of the parents, particularly of the father, who is in his seat by the fireplace. The boy will sit down opposite the host till the girl finishes her chores. After a decent interval he will take leave of his hosts and leave, followed by his betrothed. No dark corners or isolated tryst for them, because promiscuity brings shame not only to the individual but also to the parents. The lovers sit on the *innka* deck or *dawh dan* and exchange love songs and endearments and wait for the wedding day.

Mopi na: marriage

Mopi is a solemn contract, because by marriage the two families will be joined in a family network called *bangkua*, within which the clan of the bride will become the important wife-givers (*pu te*).

Wedding day mothugen (negotiation)

The prospective groom’s family brew *zu* in preparation and fix the date for marriage. On that day the wife-taker’s party will consist of the family *thusa*/ recorder, and all important members of the household.

Order of zu

The *zu* for the marriage having being carefully brewed, a big *zu* pot is brought and steeped and made ready before any talk begins. The *thusa* acts as *zubawl*, that is supervizing the distribution of the *zu*. He initiates the drink by taking a sip and, without swallowing it, he spits it on the floor and makes an incantation. Then he fills up the pot again to the brim and leads the host or the family’s *bangkuapa* to the pot.

The host then makes *ang khaak* to the *zubawl*, that is he invites him to sip the *zu* in front of him (without relinquishing his seat) and to drink a measure. By this *zu ang khak*, anyone may be invited to drink from the pot regardless of prerogatives and social ranks, and even the most humble present does not have to wait for his or her turn at the pot. While the drinking is thus started, the speaker from the groom side details the customs and practice of the host.

First, the groom’s side offers 4 Rupees as *thaman* (wages). Four one-rupee silver coins (or later currency notes) are placed down on the floor in the center of the group. Then they ask the host how much the *man pi* (bride-price) and other costs will be. All present will see the following payments:

payment	amount
<i>thaman</i> (wages)	<i>peek li</i> (Rs 4) or <i>gual li</i> . NB. <i>Gual</i> is Kamhau currency, the price of a weaned piglet pegged at 1 rupee (Rs)
<i>man pi</i> (bride-price)	<i>sialpi nih leh zabo</i> (two mithan cows and a heifer with 7-inch horns)
<i>pu man</i> (cost for grandfather)	<i>gual nih</i> (Rs 2)
<i>ang khien</i> (for separation from mother)	<i>gual li</i> (Rs 4)
<i>zaang dawh</i> (to priest)	<i>gual khat</i> (Rs 1)

<i>tampi</i> (to <i>bangkua</i>)	<i>gual guk</i> (Rs 6)
<i>tam dawl</i> (to <i>bangkua zom</i> or second to <i>bangkua</i>)	<i>gual li</i> (Rs 4)
<i>min man</i> (to the grandmother or person after whom the girl is named/godmother)	(to be negotiated)
<i>kan man</i> (to anyone unmarried in the family older than the bride, for being 'overtaken')	<i>sial zabo</i> (Rs 30)
<i>sawm khak zu</i> (to family's <i>sawm</i> boys)	<i>zubeelpi khat</i> or Rs 5

After the above matters have been settled, the host kills a pig and the meat is apportioned as below.

Order of meat

Two shoulders (*liang*, forelegs), one hind leg (*phei*), one side meat (*a pang lang khat*), bacon (*a huai*), two loops of sausages (*a ngoi kawn nih*) and the jaw (*a kha nuai*) are given to the groom's family. (The liver, sausages and bacon are tied with a strip of bamboo and placed at the bottom of a basket called *sa seng*.)

If the bride's family has celebrated the *tong* feast, the groom's family must kill a three-*tuuk* pig or bigger, give half of the meat to the bride's family and distribute their half of the meat to their *tanu*, *sasem*, *thusa* and members of their family network.

The host prepares a big pot of *zu*, and when the bridesmaid (*moliah*) and meat carrier (*saseeng pua*), who is the *hatawi* or cup-bearer, are all ready, the *thusa* carries the *zu* pot and accompanies the bride and the bridal party to the groom's house. When they enter the gate of the house, one of them intones, '*Tanu tawh ong tung ung, tapa tawh ong tung ung; miim za tawh ong tung ung, taangza tawh ong tung ung.*' ('We arrive with daughters and sons, a hundred baskets of sorghum and hundred baskets of millet!')

When they enter into the house they unload the *saseng* basket at the *lukhung*, a spot near the head of the master bedstead. The *haitawinu* cup-bearer receives all the meat, plus the *phuukka* (strip of stomach meat) and shares the *huai* (stomach) meat with other *tanu* daughters present.

The meat of the animal slaughtered by the bride's family

<i>Sa kha</i> (the jaw meat)	the <i>bawnta</i> go-between
<i>Phei tongh</i> (lower part of the hind leg)	the groom's <i>bangkua</i>
<i>Phei tongh</i> (lower part of the hind leg)	the groom's <i>sanggam</i>
<i>Liang tongh</i> (lower part of the shoulder)	<i>sanggam bul zom</i>
<i>Tek</i> meat (see meat chart)	divided between the <i>tanus</i>
<i>Naak bul</i> (the ribcage)	<i>thusa</i> and <i>tanu</i>
All other meat	<i>pu</i> , <i>zawl</i> , <i>nu phal</i> and <i>sanggam</i>

NB If there is no *bawmta* go-between, the *thusa* who carries the *zu* pot gets the jaw meat.

MOLIAH BRIDESMAID AND SASEENGPUA (MEAT-CARRIER)

The bridesmaid and carrier of the meat-basket are entitled to *gual khat* (Rs 1) each, but depending on the generosity of the groom's family they may get more. In olden days, the fees of both were *gual lang* (8 annas), which was to be returned if the couple separated. In recent years, *moliah*s and *saseng puas* usually declare that they are not willing to help if the fees are returnable, and that aspect of the practice is waived.

THE BRIDE AND BRIDESMAID

The bride and bridesmaid sleep in the house of the groom for the day (he is still in the *sawm* house), and get up early the next morning. Then the bride's family cook steamed millet and meat for the bride and bridesmaid to bring to the groom's family when someone comes to escort them back home.

The groom's family will invite close relatives and friend to share the meat.

NU PA GAWM (UNITING THE COUPLE)

If the groom's family has a *sawm*, that is boys who sleep on the *haam* berth of the house, the *sawm* boys will broach a big pot of *zu* after about ten days or a month and will escort their erstwhile *sawm*-mate home. They will drink with the groom and, with much kidding and joking, they will escort the couple to the bridal bed and leave.

Sial khup sa go: paying the bride-price

When the bride is with child, or after she has given birth to a child, the bride's family informs the wife-taker family that they are going to kill the *sial khup sa*, that is to say to pay up the bride-price. The wife-taker family informs their *tanu*, *thusa*, *sasem* and families of their *panmun* network to be ready with *zu*.

On the appointed day, the wife-takers came to the wife-givers' house with the bride-price, bringing *zu*, and the wife-givers kill a four-fist pig or one bigger. There is no drinking before the business of settling the bride-price, which may be in *sial* (cattle), *khii* (necklaces), *zam* (gongs) or *taubeel* (pots).

ORDER OF MEAT

Two *phei* (hind legs), two *liang* (shoulders), one *a pang* (side), half the neck meat, half the liver, half of *a ngoi* (sausage), *a khanuai* (the jaw), one *huai*, *saphuk ka* and *a tek* are given to the wife-takers' family.

Of the above, the liver, *u-tok* (part of the liver), *a tek* (end of the rib), about five fingers of sausage, the *phukka*, and *sahuai* from the wife-givers' share are tied together with *naang* bamboo strips and placed at the bottom of the *seeng* basket (part of the bride's dowry). Then a *tu* (hoe) and a *hei* (axe) are put on top of the meat, and then the rest of the meat for the wife-taker are put on top of these and are covered with a *puandum* or some other kind of blanket. The blanket is called *saseeng siin*, literally 'cover of the meat basket'. Other articles of dowry, like *puan bu* (blankets), *khii* (necklaces), *beel* (brass cauldrons) or *zaam* (gongs) are also given at that time. With the *saseng*

prepared and all business taken care of, they are now ready to drink their *zu* and enjoy themselves.

In the evening, the wife-takers' party will be sent off with another big pot of *zu*, which their *thusa* will carry as the joyous company heads home. Once home, the relatives, *tanu*, *sasem* and others will bring *zu* and feast the whole night.

When they entered into the house, the husband's *haitawi* (cup-bearer) received the *saseeng* basket and set it at *lupna pi lukhung*, near the master-bed. The *haitawi nu* puts the meat in a wooden trencher and with the hoe and the axe leaves it at the *lukhung* for a while.

The *haitawi nu* takes the *sasin*, *utok*, *a ngoi*, *a tek* and *phukka*, which are tied together, but lets the other *tanus* divide the *a huai*.

The husband's *haitawi nu* (cup-bearer) gets the *saseeng sin puan* (blanket). The next senior *tanu* gets the *hei* (axe), and the second senior and third senior *tanus* gets the hoe and the *saseeng* basket respectively.

Among the dowry article are the *sathau biing* (hair oil gourd) and the hoe and axe she had been using at home.

Ceremonial wait for the meat

The *haitawi nu*'s share of the *phuk ka* meat is called *lukhung sa*, and she covers it with a trencher and leaves it at the *lukhung* for about half an hour. With this, the father and mother of the bride have acknowledged the fact that their daughter now belongs to another clan.

ORDER OF MEAT

If the *sial khup sa* (meat killed when the bride-price is paid) is not a pig, but a cow, mithan or buffalo, the *lawm tuah bawmta* (go-between) gets a cut of meat instead of the jaw meat. If there is no go-between, the jaw meat on the day of marriage goes to the groom's *thusa* and the jaw meat on the *mo lei ni* (the day the bride-price is paid) goes to another *thusa*. If there is a *bawmta* (go-between), the meat is given to the *bawmta* and the meat on the *molei ni* goes to a *thusa*.

Of the two *sial khup sa liang* (shoulders), one is set aside raw for the host, and the rest of the meat is distributed as follows:

one <i>khe tongh</i> (lower part of the leg)	the <i>sabaal</i> brethren
one <i>liang tongh</i> (lower part of the shoulder)	father or the heir
<i>naak bul</i> (upper rib)	<i>anggam bul</i> , <i>nuphal bul</i> , <i>thusa</i> and <i>sasem</i>
<i>a iik</i> (breast, including one nipple, decorated with liver and sausage)	<i>haitawi</i>

NB The rest of the meat is distributed among *pu*, *sungh* and guests who contribute *zu* as token payment.

THUSA, SASEM AND TANU

The *sasem* and *thusa* see to the proper distribution of the meat in the feast and *thusa* also act as supervisors (*zuhawm*). The *tanus* have to steep the *zu* pots and fetch water for them, so long as there are guests at the pots. The *tanus* and *thusa* can take part in the celebration only after the *zubeels* (wine pots) are accounted for and the meat is duly distributed.

The birth of a baby and the composition of names*Birth of a baby*

Kamhau mothers were known to have given birth to babies even while working in a *taungya* (hillside) fields. Assisting birth is called *nau dom*, and both men and women with experience assist in birth. If there is any complication, a *dawisa* or shaman is called who makes *phuisam* incantations and delivers the baby.

As soon as the *nung zui* (placenta) follows, the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp knife or a sharp bamboo sliver, and the placenta is buried under the house. If the baby is a boy, a *saili* (pellet bow and arrow) is made with bamboo and hung on the wall at the foot (*khekhuantaw*) of the master bed.

Holy water for the composition of names

On the day of naming, the family *haitawinu* or a family member goes to the mother's family to perform *tui la* or fetching water. She brings back a *beeltung* pot of *zu* and a chicken and they summon a *dawisa pa* (priest) to compose a name.

What's in a name?

The composition of a name reflects the Kamhau custom of perpetuating them. Each word in a name has a meaning. The word *Kap* means 'mighty hunter'; *Khen*, 'mighty warrior'; *Thang*, 'reknown'; etc. The name given is an epitome of the godfather after whom the baby is named.

The oldest boy will be named after the paternal grandfather, the next boy after the maternal grandfather; the first baby girl will be named after the paternal grandmother, the next girl will be after the maternal grandmother. But the priest makes a divination by pouring the steeping water into the *zu* pot to see if the water whirls clockwise (*ziat pai*) around the *peeng* pipe or anti-clockwise (*veipai*). If it whirls clockwise it is called *tui pai* and the name can be confirmed. If the sign is not favourable, the child will be frail or die (and they choose another name, likely less presumptuous).

It would seem to be quite a simple matter to experiment with the pouring of the steeping water to make it go clockwise, and an experienced person like a priest certainly could. However, as a boy I saw that an aunt and a priest try everything, even changing the position of the pot and pouring the water in the opposite direction, all without success. The baby was given the name chosen, although the omen was not good. It died a few days later. Coincidence, or seeing is believing?

My own name was changed when I became sickly as a baby. As the first male child, I was named after my paternal grandfather Hau Khaw Zam. As a

folk hero who counted nine 'coups' against the British at Leisan Fort, he was qualified to name any godson 'Khen', which is expressly the name for those who killed enemies in battle. The first name was taken from the last part of my grandfathers' name, 'Zam'. Because of his renown for exploits against the British, the next two words of my name were 'Khen' and 'Thang', making it Zam Khen Thang.

However, when I became sickly, my parents changed my name to the present 'Khup Chin Pau', this time after my maternal grandfather. 'Khup' is the last word of my grandfather's name; 'Chin'/'Cin' means '*mi cin mi tang*' or 'the people' and Pau is literally 'speak', all come to mean the chief, he who has the authority to speak to the people.

Mit et divination

Mit et, 'to look with the eyes' is the equivalent of a medical check-up. After a baby's name is decided, the *dawisa pa* (priest) performs *mit et* rites to ensure the health of the baby and the mother. The chicken that is brought as *tui laak* from the house of the baby's grandparents is sacrificed for the mother and another chicken is sacrificed for the baby.

AKMUL KAN NA HACKLE FEATHER NECKLACE

The priest makes two hackle-feather necklaces from the chickens. The hackle-feathers of a chicken are tied together with thread, seven feathers on one side and eight on the other, to make what looks like a bow-tie of feathers. The thread around the feathers is wound an odd number of turns, with enough string left on both sides that the feathers may be worn around the necks of both mother and baby.

INVOCATION

The priest sip a little of a mixture of *zu hol* meal and water and spray-blows (*phih*) the chicken and then holding the chicken with one hand he intones:

Tua nu/tua pa' kha ka khoh na hi. Ka pi kang ta kapi vom ta in kha kho ing. Ka akmul zah in kho ning. Ka miim zang zah in kho ning. Sing nuai a kha ka khohna, suang nuai a kha ka khohna. Thangvan a kai ding kha ka khohna, leengvan a kai ding kha ka khoh na. Kha zuang ka khohna, kha leeng ka khoh na. Ih inn lum ong zuan in, ih lo lum ong zuan in. Thangvan a kha hong in, lengvan a kha hong in. Sih khum a kha hong in, sih thang a kha hong in. Singnuai a kha hong in, suang nuai a kha hong in. Mi'n zu hong pia ding hi; zukha hong pia ding hi. Mi'n sa hong pia ding hi, sa kha hong pia ding hi. Mi zu sang ei zu khum zaw, misa sang ei sa thau zaw. Tanu tawi in siam in, tapa tawi in siam in. Miim za kho in ong siam in; taangza kho in ong siam in. Sum nu lam in siam in, sumpa lam in siam in. Tung ciin in nuai ciin in siam in. Momno zah in meeng sak in, aino zah in meeng sak in Khut mul in siam in, khe mul in siam in. (Pasal ahil leh:) Sa mangkap in siam in, Galmang kap in siam in.

I detain so and so's soul. I detain it by my white hen's son. I detain it by my black hen's son. I will detain it as many times as the feathers. I detain it by as many as my thread. I detain the soul under the trees and the soul under the stones. I detain the soul that is about to go to the heavens and I detain *kha zuang* and *kha leeng* [the lonely spirit that flies]. Come back to our warm

house. Come the soul in heaven, come the soul in *sih khum* and *sih thang* [water where the soul is lingering]. Come the soul from under the trees and under the rocks. Strangers will offer you *zu*: they will offer you bitter *zu*. They will offer you meat, they will offer *zu*, bitter meat. Our *zu* is sweeter than theirs. Our meat is fatter than theirs. Bless him/her with sons and daughters. Bless him with *miimza* harvest [100 baskets sorghum], bless him with *taangza* harvest [100 baskets millet]. Bless him with *sum nu* money and *sumpa* money [poetic: male and female of money]. May *tungciin* and *nuai ciin* [spirits] bless him/her. May his/her children multiply like young of crabs and spiders. May the hands and the legs be smooth-haired. [If a boy:] May he kill the leader of his foes and game animals.

After this, the priest ties the feathers around the necks of the baby and mother and performs the following divination called *ak khe san*.

Ak khe sa divination

The priest sets the chicken on the floor in front of him, stepping on its tail and holding its wings with one hand, and with the other hand strangles it by the neck, intoning:

Nang ka pi vom ta, ka pi kang ta, ka miimpi a ka vak ka tangpi a ka vaak, khua zing ong thei teh, khua vak ong thei teh. Ka thoih ka bawl in dam na kan na a na neihding leh ka khe suan ong ciam in. Na ziat in ong khen in la ong ziat meh in. Dam na kan' na a a neih ding leh na vei in ong khen in la ong vei meh in.

Son of my black hen, son of my white hen, you are the one I fed with my sorghum, with my millet. Know the time of twilight, know the time of dawn. If the one I am trying to heal will get well show it by the movement of your feet: show it with your right foot and show it with your left foot.

By reading the movement of the chicken's feet, the priest foretells the health of a person as well as if there is to be any emergency in the community or whether there will be rain. This method of divining is also used when there is a hunt or war campaign. The chicken is revived by blowing into its mouth, and it revives after *tuibuuk muam tam*, the interval a draft of *tuibuuk* tobacco filtrate takes to turn vapid in the mouth, that is, about ten to twelve minutes.

Luai piakna thu (gift of a cradle)

It is the custom for the *pu te* family of the mother to give a present of a cradle made of *guapi* (bamboo).

Ear-piercing

About four days after birth, the ear lobe of the baby is pierced. There is no particular rite connected with this, and anyone can perform it. A piece of yam is threaded with a porcupine quill to determine how far the quill will penetrate. A piece of string or small piece of lead is inserted into the hole.

Hair-cutting

About a month after birth, the baby's hair is shaved and pork grease is applied to the shaved head. A *mit et* divination is done with a chicken. The family need not share the meat with others.

Inn tuan: setting up a household

Until a married man leaves home to set up a household of his own, his father, or the heir of the family, takes care of all his needs, even paying the *mo man* bride-price for his wife. He, on his part, brings home all his earnings, even hunting trophies, and such glory as he might have earned in battle will be accredited to his father or the heir.

Inn tuan sa gawh: house-warming feast

The animal slaughtered at the house-warming is the first official meat distribution for the new husehold. There is no official announcement as to who is to be *haitawi* (cup-bearer), *sabaal* (brethren), *sungh* (wife-giving clan) or *pu* (mother's family). Only the *sasem* (meat-cutter) and the *thusa* (recorder/steward) need to be given their charges, so that these two distribute meat-cuts to the *panmun* members, who then knows what their roles are from the meat portions they receive.

Social and communal drinking

Social and formal drinking are half of the *zuhai-sabak*, wine and meat, culture that is the underpinning of Kamhau society. The banning of our staple *zu* wine without any viable alternative was the death knell of the Kamhau *panmun* family network that binds the wife-taking and wife-giving families to other *panmun* families. The missionaries and their early converts did not realize the essential role *zu* played in Kamhau *panmun* structure and only interpreted the plethora of grief at funerals and the abandoned revelry of celebrations as indicating a general state of dissipation that charactrized the Chins. Even in 1999, it is published that: 'A Chin would rather have the reputation of being the heaviest drinker than any other reputation on earth. He knows no greater joy than to be drunk, day and night.' (Hup 1999:6).

Without arguing the obvious advantages of the ban of alcohol, and without even offering an alternative to the communal role *zu* and meat play in Kamhau society, we would do well to understand that inebriation through the drinking of *zu* was not the utmost aim of our ancestors: the use of the more potent *zu hang* distilled alcohol was available for maximising intoxication without any pretense of socially redeeming value.

To understand our ancestors, we should know what *zu* is, and the rather sophisticated role *zu* and meat played Kamhau society.

How zu is brewed

Millet, maize or sorghum is steam-cooked and then cooled on a mat, leavened and packed into a large *zubeel* pot to ferment, a process which takes two or three days in hot weather and about a week in winter. The fermented meal is then stored in big gourd containers called *zu ha biing*. *Zu* made from

millet grains alone is called *zu ha* and can be eaten, and unless aged weeks or months was so weak that our ancestors masticated it and fed it to babies.

The average *zubeel* pot contributed to feasts held about four gallon measures of *zu* meal, worth more than a day's wage. While our ancestors often did try to drown their grief in *zu*, often succumbing to 'on the house' drinks, the average person could ill afford to be drunk 'day and night'.

How zu is served

The fermented *zu* meal is charged into an appropriated *zubeel* pot, such as a *sai beel* ('elephant pot') for important occasions like feasts of merit, commiseration offerings for death, loss of property or mishap (*siat vat beel*), or common offerings (*khawm beel*), as the occasion requires. The meal is packed down either to the neck of the pot (called *te laam*), or lower down and then stuffed with banana, *thei dam* (Burmese: *maya gyi*) or other leaves (called *nah puah*) for common contributions (called *zu laak*).

ZUBAWL (THE SUPERVISOR)

A pot of *zu* contributed on an occasion is assigned a *zubawl*, whose duty is to see to the proper order of distribution. He or she may carry the pot from the contributor's house to the feast, and sets it at the right spot at the *zubeel gual* line up.

ZU LEIH

Water is poured (*tui leih*) into the pot till the level reaches the brim. One sips the *zu* with a bamboo *peeng* pipe and then takes a socially appropriate time to drink until the water level touches the top of the *bel* marker. It is social drinking in its truest sense: no matters how outsiders see us, a raised voice or quarrel would be out of place, especially at times of commiseration.

ZU KHAH OR ZU TAAK

After the pot is charged with the *zu* meal, water is poured into it to steep. The liquid siphoned from the steep is called either *zu khaih* or *zu taak*. *Zu taak* is served in individual cups. There is only a minimum of protocol for such occasions. But *zu taak* is also used at *zu kholh* first-fruit offerings, when a special brew is made from the first grain harvested and brought to one's *pian na pa te*, paterfamilias, and maternal clan, *pu zu kholh*.

The *zubawl* takes the first cup to the host (male or female), who pronounces blessings and gives it to the most senior guest, who offers a reciprocal *suah*, by the same cup, to the host. Called *ki tuah* – guests and host make reciprocal offers; even babies are proffered their portion, which mothers give to someone in the name of their baby (*hawh*), though this is not reciprocated. The host may broach a pot of *zu* in return but this is likely to be drunk *zu tung* (sipped through a pipe).

ZU SIA

The very first person who sips from the pot swirls the sip in his mouth like a wine-taster, and then spits it out on the floor and prays or makes a wish. The

guest of honour or the most senior person gets to *zu leep* (take the first turn at the pot to drink).

ZU TANH

Each person gets a cup of *zu*, or a turn at the pot as their *zu tanh*. In *zu kholh* first-fruit offering to one's *pu* or wife-giver family, even babes in arms get their *zu tanh*.

ZU TUNG NEEK

In formal feasts, like *zu nun*, *tong* or funerals, the pots are lined up in their designated place called *zubeel gual* in order of seniority, so that the *sasem* meat-cutter can hang the *sa tan* meat portion from the *peeng* pipe. In less formal occasions, such as *zu kholh* first-fruit offerings, *siat vat* commiseration visits, *zu lup* and *sa gawh* entertaining or honouring a guest, the *zubawl pa* or *zubawl nu* (lady) sets the pot in the *inn liim* verandah or *pial khang* by the fireplace, or wherever is deemed suitable for the number of guests, and steeps it with water to the brim of the pot. (Water for the pot is fetched by the *tanu*/daughters.) A stick marker called *bel* is planted on the *nah puah* banana-leaf stopper, unless the pot is charged with *zu meal* right up to the neck of the pot as in *te laam* (exposed meal).

The essence of social and communal drinking

The common and formal form of drinking is *tung neek*, which is taken while seated. There are several procedures for different occasions and for different clans. Each family brings a pot of *zu*, the size depending on its *panmun* position. There are several kinds of *zu laak* offering, even for feasts on different dates, and for feasts within feasts, for instance in funerals the agnatic wife-taking families feast (*vaak*) the wife-giving families with pots that may be named *pu te zu* and *nu phal zu* etc., which hardly anyone remembers these days.

NOT THE QUALITY OF THE BREW

Although our ancestors took pride in the quality of their brew, and how long the pot seep retained its strength, many times it may not have had time to age. No-one complains about this, only about mistakes by the *zubawl* when someone is left out.

A person takes his or her time at the pot, perhaps half an hour or even longer. Favourite songs may be recited for the company to sing. Certain feast business may be conducted, and the incumbent at the pot may even invite one or two persons to *zu teep*, or take take a sip. As a gesture of consideration for others to follow, he or she will make a move to refill the pot before they have drunk to the mark, but the *zu nung vil* (one who drinks last, in this case, the *zubawl*) prevents him from doing so. Will other guests get thirsty while the *zu tangh pa/nu* takes their time? There is a commendable practice by which they can *ang khak*, invite anyone to drink a measure.

ZU LEEP

The first person to be invited to the *zu* pot is called *zu leep*. In *zu nung*, *gal aih* or *sa aih* feasts of merit, the one who has given the biggest feast has the honour. Dowager Tel Ciin, mother of Chief Hau Chin Khup had the honour, because while she was alive her son could not slaughter more mithan cattle at a single *tong* feast than she.

After the *zu leep*, that is the first to drink, has been indulged in proper fashion, they refill the pot and call out to know who the next person will be. They do not suggest who will follow, rather the *zubawl* seeks out the person protocol suggests should be the next. The *zu leep/zu tangh* vacates their seat and the next person takes over.

The next guest sits down free to take their time drinking and talking to those around them, and even offering to others to take a sip. Depending on the size of the pot, after four to eight ounces of liquor is sipped the level touches the tip of the marker. By the fourth or fifth turn, the drink has become quite vapid, but the pot is never replaced as each pot is known as a particular family's *zu laak* (contribution) for the occasion and it must be drunk by all as dictated by the *panmun* protocol. Of course there may be other concurrent pots being served, including any that the host broaches in reciprocation. Priority is on social and family standing. There is no discrimination for sex, clan or tribe.

ZU ANG KHAK

Protocol determines who follows whom at which pot, and when there are many who have earned their privileges this could mean that the common man would be left out. Fortunately Kamhau mores have the *zu ang khak* tradition, whereby an incumbent at the pot can invite anyone to come and take a sip. The invited person may just sip a mouthful or drink one *kangh* measure, but he or she must refill the pot to the rim. Dowager Tel Ciin, the mother of Chief Hau Chin Khup, was well remembered for such considerations for the poor and forgotten.

ZU LAAK

The contribution of *zu* to a feast is *zu laak*. The size of the *zu* pot is dictated by the guest's position in the household set up. *Bangkua beel*, *sai beel* and *beel mai* are all different sizes of pot required by individuals at different points in the household hierarchy. Reciprocal gestures between the *panmun* members called *vaak* ensure participation of even the remotest member of the *panmun*.

ZUBEEL GUAL

At each feast or funeral, the *zubeel* pots are lined up according to the protocols for the day. On *handal* day, the day before funeral day, the *sanggam's zu* or pots brought by the *sanggam* are lined up against those of the *pu*.

ZUBEEL SIMNA

The lining up of the pots, *zubeel gual*, in the right place and right order is very important, because the meat portions due to the *panmun* position holders

are sent to the relevant *zu* pot. (The meat pieces are threaded with slivers of bamboo, or creepers, and are hung on the *peeng* pipes before the *zu* pots have been broached.) The *sasem* (meat-cutter) and the *thusa* (recorder) make sure that these 'receipts' for the *zu* contributions are made correctly. The meat is called *zubeel simna*.

The order of meat

Together with *zu*, meat is more important as a symbol than as a source of food. If our ancestors have pursued hunting with such devotion, it is more as manly sport than for food or for their skin. A man who takes a barking deer in a hunting party may, after sharing the meat with the hunting party, take home the head and a leg, which he will share with relatives and friends. Economically speaking, one who kills an elephant would slaughter more meat than his village can eat.

The thrill of the kill

I experienced the primordial thrill of a kill as a boy of six, when I dropped a house sparrow with my smooth-bore air-rifle. I remembered shaking like an aspen leaf as I smeared the blood onto the stock of my gun, as a younger brother poured a libation of water on it, quite effectively ruining my beautiful trophy. (One is supposed to utter '*na gual na phai zawl in*', meaning that the kill should bring along his friends and relatives and hence more success to the hunter.) Later I had taken all kinds of birds with guns and traps, but I was considered to have escaped the curse of Sahnu's worm only when I killed my first barking deer. (If a man dies without ever having killed a barking deer, Sahnu, the gatekeeper at the village of the dead, stuffs a red *sakhilunggam* worm in his mouth.)

Killing the barking deer is considered the first step to higher glory in hunting, and should a young man pipe up about hunting a boar or aspiring to some great deed, he will be laughed off by the company of men. '*Sakhi that lo ngal tang tum*' ('Hunting the wild boar before killing a deer') is the taunt to those who have not proven themselves in the field.

Meat as symbol

As symbols, inferior cuts of meat may have more significance than choice cuts. The respected *pu* side of the family *panmun* network get the neck meat, called *sangawng*, although cuts like rump or loin may be preferable as food. In fact there is no formal announcement of *panmun* positions: the appointees know to what posts they are appointed by the cut of meat they receive. Any appointment, upgrading or downgrading in the *panmun* family is done by giving the appropriate cuts of meat.

SAGAWH

Our forefathers seldom killed a *sial* cattle or even a pig or chicken just for food. They may be slaughtered to honour a relative or friend, in which case it is called *sagawh*. The individual or family honoured by *sagawh* may receive

four legs, and other meat, but after they in turn distribute their share to their *panmun* family, they may end up not having enough for a big meal!

SIAL BAN

The *sial ban* ceremony is perhaps the most important in the order of meat. *Sial ban* or *sial mei in ki vat* means a *sial* is killed at a treaty, and that the signatories whisked one another with the tail of the animal, dipped in its blood. A terrible oath calling for the death of any party that failed to keep the treaty, like the shedding of the hairs of a mithan that died of the plague, is administered.

My grandfather, Chief Hau Chin Khup, signed a *sial ban* treaty calling for peace between the British and the chief, and mutual help with the British at Fort While on 23 June 1891. According to the terms, he sent a thousand men to France in 1917 as a labour corps.

THE TONG

Mithan *Bos frontalis* cattle are killed for a feast of merit called *tong*. The feast, which is known as *khuang tsawi* by Falam Chins, is the highest of ceremonies, in which Northern Chins believed the souls of a man and his wife become entwined for eternity. Hardwood poles called *songh* are planted in the courtyard, a pole for each *sial* mithan slaughtered.

KUASAH

This is an animal that is slaughtered at a funeral. The family *haitawi nu* (cup-bearer) pours a libation on the animal saying, 'This is so-and-so's farewell present' ('*Tua te ong khak na hi*'). A family who has killed an animal (*sivuina*) at someone's funeral expects this to be reciprocated at their own funeral. The dead are believed to take the souls of *kua sah* animals to the village of the dead.

SIVUINA

The animal contributed by others is called *sivuina*. *Sivuina* is reciprocal. A family who has killed a mithan cattle at the funeral of another family expects the latter to do the same when there is a funeral in their family.

SATAHN: PORTION OF MEAT

The *satahn* meat portion a family receives is the symbol of its position in the *panmun* family network. *Zuhai-sabaak* (the wine and meat order) are the currency of *panmun* network and, by extension, the currency of the Kamhau community.

SAKHOLH A KHOLH

This is a present of meat to anyone, and it does not have the significance of *satanh*. Sometimes a family will share a piece of meat from their own *satahn* to let neighbours take part in the occasion for which the meat is distributed. Mainly symbolic, *sakholh* meat may not amount to a meal for the family. A piece of *kuasah* meat (see above) that a *panmun* family receives may be *kholh* shared with friends, to whom they serve as intimations of the death.

SABAH

This is an ancient custom of offering a meat 'sop' to a friend. A piece of meat is hand-fed to the mouth of a bosom friend, who must eat it at once without touching it, or demurring. A proverb says: '*Ciimnuai sa ki bak, Geeltui a ki thuk*', meaning a meat sop offered to a friend in Ciimnuai (the earliest known settlement in Tedim area), which was remembered for generations by the descendents of the honoured man, who returned the favour to the descendants of the one who offered the sop. Gratitude and loyalty are the hallmark of Kamhau and other Chin societies. It is the antithesis of the blood vengeance for which we are better known.

SAGIL TAT

This literally mean 'the intestines [of an animal] are broken'. Our ancestors killed a pig or a cow when there was an important transaction or agreement. This is the equivalent of a written contract.

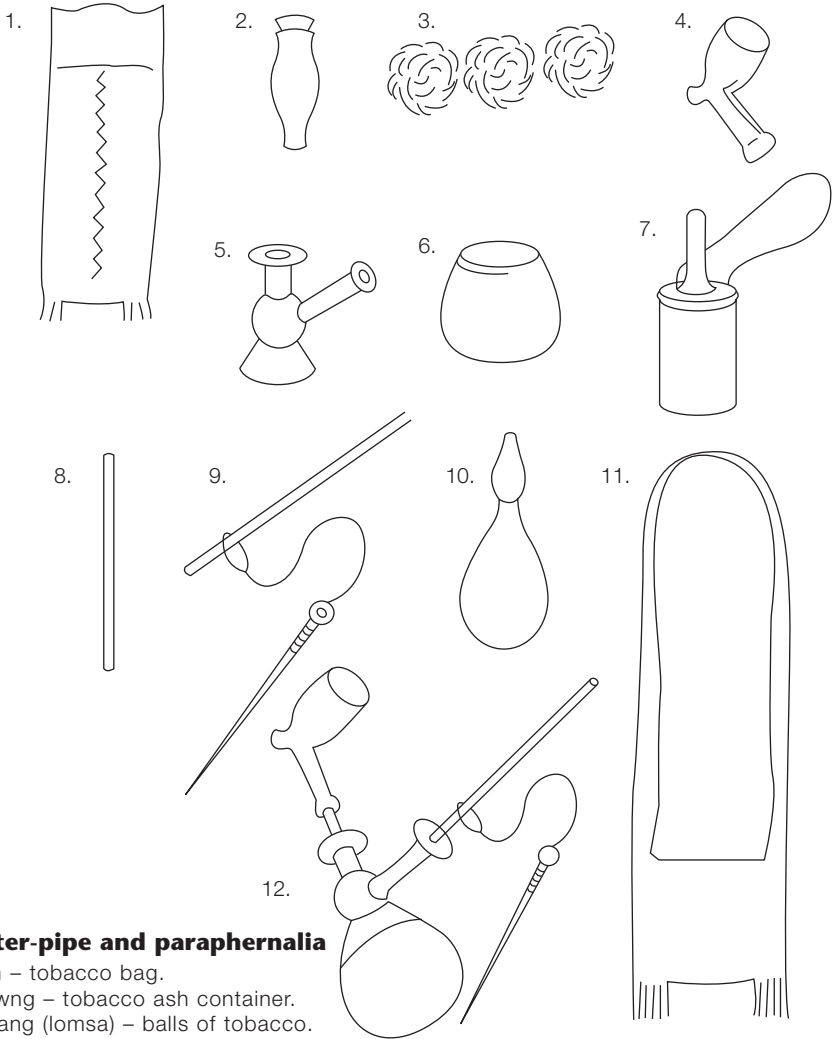
SAHAWM DAN

The methods of cutting and distributing meat are different from one clan to another, and a family does it differently for certain cases. For example, in a *sagawh*, slaughter to honour a person, the host may give all four legs or one hind leg to the guest, depending on how he wants the *sagawh* to be seen by others.

NOTES

- 1 Zam Cin Mang, S., 1996, *Sukte Beh leh Tedim Tangthu*, p. 44.
- 2 *Sasem*, meat-cutter, and *thusa*, recorder, are often recruited from other clans, and can make the *panmun* network reach distant villages and clans.
- 3 *Sabaal* is Teizang clan usage. In the Saizang clan they are known as *thalloh*.
- 4 In Mualbeem a crypt is called a *suang*. It may be a cave, or in Tonzang a small building, where the skull of the dead is kept after the *hankhiat* ceremony, when the rest of the bones are buried.
- 5 A flower of the love-lies-bleeding genus, which is symbolic of enduring freshness and beauty.
- 6 Clubs of about bowling pin size and shape are pooled in the centre of the front lawn, inside a circular line. Opposing sides try to hit the clubs off the circle with their own *sik* clubs.
- 7 *Sakhi*, the barking-deer, is mentioned in many proverbs.
- 8 The language used in courtship and *zu thawl piak* engagement talks sound convoluted and probing, as if the speaker were ready to claim, 'Oh, I am joking!' if things go badly. Please compare the careful presentation at a *mo pi* wedding talk, which is as business-like as any contractual language, as it really is.
- 9 This method of managing the distribution of the drink is called *ang khak*. Although the host gets to be the first to drink from the pot, the *zubawl* gets to drink the best steep. The *zubawl* is thus shown appreciation for his time and effort in the mission.
- 10 The words used in such talks are stilted (e.g. '*Musi in a cih mawh man in sial ek tawi*'). They express that the speaker is so concerned with how they will be received that they bring this offering.

Buuk and peeng



Buuk water-pipe and paraphernalia

1. Za phim – tobacco bag.
2. Zavu lawng – tobacco ash container.
3. Zannah tang (lomsa) – balls of tobacco.
4. Zabeel – pipe bowl and shank.
5. Buuk lu (guabul tawh ki bawl) – bamboo pipe head.
6. Buuk taw (um tawh ki bawl) – water container made of gourd.
7. Thei awh (gua tawh kibawl) – tuibuuk dispenser, made of bamboo.
8. Dawnto / tun to (gua tawh ki bawl, zabeel bulhna) – bamboo pipe.
9. Za peeng (sumngo tawhkibawl) – pipe stem with bit.
10. Umta (pasal te tuibuuk puakna) – tuibuuk dispenser (for men).
11. Za ip (pasal te tuibuuk puakna, khauvom khausan tawh kizeem) – shoulder bag for carrying tuibuuk dispenser (for men).
12. Siik phim (za eek siakna leh zabeel sut na) – pipe cleaner.



The *buuk* and paraphernalia

The *buuk* water-pipe itself consists of the *zabeel* clay bowl; the bamboo *dawn to* pipe reaches to the bottom of the *buuk taw* bowl; the *buuk liang* branch that is fixed to the *buuk taw* gourd which contains the water; and the *za peeng* pipe by which the smoke is sucked through the water to impregnate it with the tobacco smoke. The *zavu lawng* gourd (inside the basket) is the receptacle for the tobacco ash; it has a hole at the bottom so that the smoke impregnated water in the *buuk taw* may be filtered through this *zavu lawng* containing the ash. A long pin called *zap him* is the pipe cleaner for the *dawn to*.



Making *tuibuuk*

The bowl is filled with dried tobacco leaves which are lit by sucking in a flame from a match or a piece of pine silver so that the tobacco is burned from the bottom upwards. The bowl is fixed to the *dawn to* pipe after the tobacco is properly lit. The water level in the *buuk taw* bowl is kept low enough to prevent the water from entering the mouth.

After about three bowls of tobacco leaves are burnt, the water in the *buuk taw* is filtered through the *zavu lawng* containing the tobacco ash. The filtrate is known as *tuibuuk*.

Tuibuuk Culture

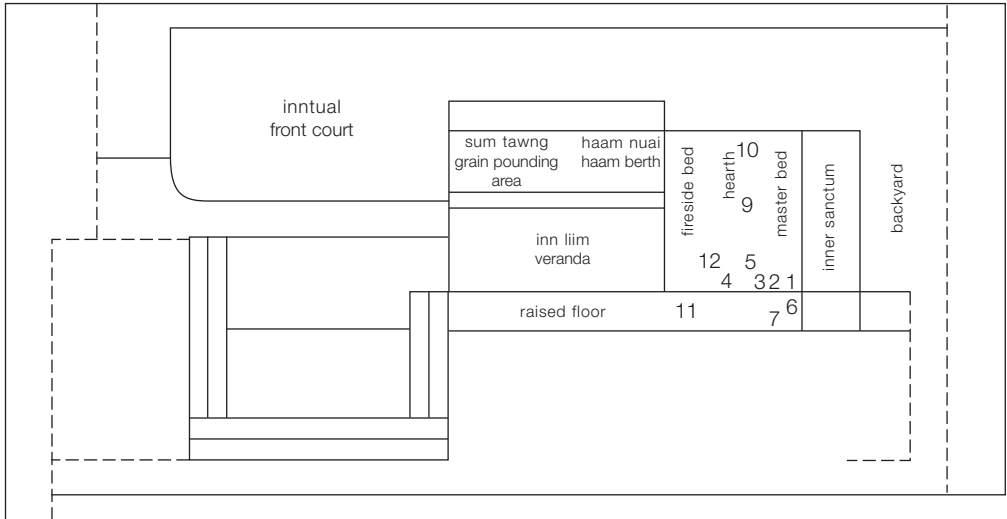
The habit of drawing a sip of *tuibuuk* in the mouth and keeping it until the liquid turns vapid, much like chewing tobacco, is called *tuibuuk muam*. The ten to twelve minutes *tuibuuk* takes to be vapid, is a measure of time called *tuibuuk muam tam*.

In our ancestors' days, both men and women used *tuibuuk*, and it was a common social gambit. Strangers meeting on the road would offer each other *tuibuuk* as a way of introduction. Even court litigants offered each other their *tuibuuk* before arguing their cases. A woman would commiserate with another by offering a bottle of the liquid.

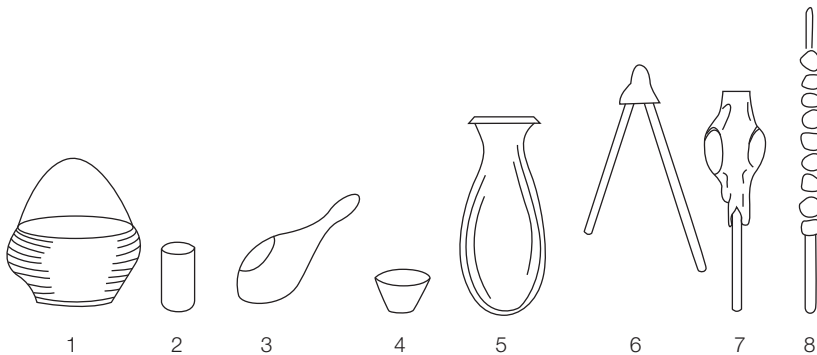
Tuibuuk used to play a big role in courtship, the girl keeping her boyfriend in *tuibuuk* – filling his *umta* (bottle) with *tuibuuk* at every visit. Kamhau love songs couple *tuibuuk* with pleasant conversation: *zaang leng buuk tui leh na tong dam*. It can be used as a subtle way of rebuffing a boy: if the girl fills the boy's *umta* to the brim, allowing no excuse to visit, it means 'Don't hurry back, Romeo!'

A classic *tuibuuk* song of Pi Vung Khaw Lian when she filled for the last time Pu Khaw Cin's *umta* when they were forced to divorce by clan pressure: '*Tul kuan buuktui ci kei aw, lung siit ken, Nahsing nuai san sing na khol pih sa hi*' has no equivalent in a Western love story. The nostalgia of having to offer *tuibuuk* for the last time when both were already past their prime (*tul kuan*) and after they had already given the *tong* feast (*nahsing nuai sangsing*) may be understood if Western marriage had a celebration like the *tong* which is believed to entwine the souls of the couple for eternity. They will part here on earth but their souls were already joined together for eternity.



Kawm lak dawi peeng rite

1. Dawisa pa tut na (The priest squats here).
2. Vokno lupna (The pig is laid here).
3. A thoih te tutna (The sacrificer sits here).
4. Bawn: um hai leh sisi kuango koihna (Basket with gourd cup and dish for blood).
5. Zuhai khawn leh na (The *zu* cup is set here).
6. Zubeel tun' na (The *zu* pot is set here).
7. Sa leep leh an piak na (The *sa leep* appetizer meat and meal are served here).
8. Bawn khaina (The basket is hung here).
9. Sagil bawl na (The pig is eviscerated here).
10. Sa em na leh sa huanna (The pig is singed and cooked here).
11. An hang leh sadawi tang (The steamed meal and ban meat are served here).
12. Sa tui beel tun na (The soup pot is set here).



1. Haai, um tawng sasi luina te koihna (A basket for the gourd cup and the dish for blood).
2. Um tawng (A bamboo container for the *zu tui* beer seep).
3. Zu tui hawm na, khawn leh ciang a kizang (Gourd cup for khawn leh common chalice rite).
4. Sa si luina singkuang no (A wooden bowl for blood).
5. Zubeel tung khat (Beel tung-size *zu* pot).
6. Dawnkai zu khaihna (A dawnkai siphon).
7. Vok dawt na tuul, vok lutang tawh ki thuahsa (The skull of the pig is mounted on the tuul spike with which the pig is killed).
8. Sa leep piak na guapi tuul, sa baak kua khilsa a om (Nine pieces of *sa leep* appetizer meat on a *gua pi* bamboo skewer).

Chapter 5

Communal feasts

Feasts can be categorized as communal feasts and feasts of merits. Of the communal feasts, *lawm an neek* and *khuado* have to do with planting and harvesting. First-fruit offerings called *zu kholh* are basically family affairs, though they may also involve the whole village.

Lawm an neek community feast

Lawm an means communal feast. Some five to ten families eat the *lawm an* feast after they have sown their fields together, each field by turn, some time in the month of March or April, when the *peeng-pe-lep* bird¹ calls the farmer to sow his seeds. The families working together are said to belong to the same *lawm* club, based at the home of the headman, or an elder. After all the fields in the village have been sown, the headman and elders choose a day to eat the *lawm an neek*, and the word goes out for everybody to cut *meilah* pitch-pine brands for lighting during the feast.

Tual biak

The *tual* is the village altar at which *tual* sacrifices are made. The *tual* in Tonzang was under a big banyan (*mawng*) tree. Huge stone slabs covered the ground where a hole was dug and into which the muzzle of a sacrificial *sial* was shoved, while the back of the exposed head was chopped with an axe. The area was fenced with a timber railing so that neither man nor beast could get unauthorized access to the *tual*. (The sacrifice was already discontinued in 1962 when most of my photographs were taken.)

The day before *lawm an neek*, village elders kill a pig as a sacrifice at the *tual* village altar. This is to give a feast to Pasian/Lungzai, Nipi/Khapi, Khuhpi/Phahpi, Khuazing/Khuavak² and the spirits who bless the village and the land. Then, after having served the more important spirits with meat and drink, the elders themselves eat the feast.

They bring back the four legs, the front ribcage (*naak bul*), a piece of the liver and a loop of *sangoi* sausage to the headman's house. The headman provides *an hang* millet meal, but every household contributes a small measure of *zu* meal called *siam zu* (the priest's *zu*), from which they set aside the *zu* to be served at the *tual* and later at the headman's house.

Of the four legs, the headman gets one, the two senior elders (*tuukli liau*)³ each get one leg and the other (*tuuk thum liau*) elders get the last leg by turns. One of the elders gets the leg of the *tui ngak* pig, while the *dawisa* (priest) gets a leg of another pig. The two men who are designated to hang the *sawl* leaves at the entrance to the village to warn travellers not to enter, each get cuts from the *naak bul* ribcage.

At *tual biak* (worship), the whole village must refrain from breaking or plucking any green branches or from scooping up any earth. Anyone who is not a Kamhau or Sukte subject may not enter the village (Tonzang), but must bypass it.

Every year in June a *tual ui at* (dog) sacrifice is made to ensure good harvest, and the same prohibition not to pluck green branches or scoop earth is observed. Every three years a *sial* mithan is sacrificed instead of a *tual ui*. The *sial* must be completely black, and of the size called *mim sim pha* (with horns a hand long). This sacrifice should be made in May, following the *tual vok gawh* pig sacrifice. The meat may not be taken away from the *tual* altar, though anyone from the village can eat it there. Any leftovers are taken to the headman's house for the elders to eat the next day. The same restrictions apply as in other *tual* sacrifices.

The day after the *tual vok* is slaughtered, each *lawm* bring the pigs they have been raising, one for every three families, to their *lawm* (club) house, that is, the headman or elder's house. After they have killed the pigs, while some of them are cooking the meat some will siphon the *zu*. Each of the families who have raised the pigs bring two pots of *zu*, one to be siphoned and the other to be sipped from the pot. Each family which does not raise pigs brings a jar of *zu khaih* (siphoned *zu*).

Meat distribution

Those present cook the offal and other parts which are not designated to anyone. They divide the rest so that there is a part for each of those who have taken part in the sowing. So if there were ten participants in one family and only two in another, the former would get ten shares for the latter's two.

The tug-of-war

After the meal, each *lawm* holds a tug-of-war contest between the men and women. If the women beat the men, the rains will arrive in time and will bring a good harvest this year. As there are no rules as to how many will be on one side, and the womenfolk turn up in force to cook and serve, and since victory for the women augurs well, the men usually take such a defeat amicably.

Lawm an neek is a time for the boys and girls to enjoy. The older folks enjoy their *zu tung* drink inside the house, singing *tual la* all night till dawn; but they may not beat the gong, which is believed to make birds more aggressive and liable to eat up the ears of corn and millet.

The next morning each family brings another big pot of *zu*. They pluck *paak-ngiam* buds from the forest and cook them with the *salu paang* and *sa naangkhlil* (the jowl, sausage and viscera) they set aside the previous day.

Sawng beng

That evening, the town crier announces that there will be a *sawng* hunt the next day, urging everyone to gather outside the headman's gate. Of course, everyone already knows about this important event, but the lusty call of the town crier makes it official and adds to the excitement. On the morning of the hunt, the headman's household brings out a big gourd of *zu ha* meal, and gives a handful to each of the participants to eat, wishing them a good hunt and praying for their safety.

In our achievement-oriented society, the *sawng* hunt is an ideal opportunity for many, because even *sa nautang* – lesser game like the barking deer, porcupine or flying-fox – rate the *haan la* (victory cries) and *khua mual suah* (gunfire salutes at the *khua mual* portal) that are normally accorded only to big game like elephants, tigers and gaur bison. One who bags game in a *sawng* hunt is honored with a volley of gunfire from every gun at the *khua mual* village portal, and is to be counted amongst the elite in hunting and warfare. When he dies, the family can serve *sawng pi zu* and *sawng la* songs may be sung at the funeral

Tual la songs sung at *lawm an neek* are particular to Teizang people who live in Mualbeem, Suangphei, Heilei and Suangzang villages, as some of the idiomatic words show. The lyrics are often humorous, which sets them apart from most of the 'classical' traditional songs.

*A mi in keel a gu a, Hau Thang pa keel a gu a, soi na leeng ka ci.
A soi nuam in soi ve vua, Soi Niiang ii pa khua kuam ah,
Zong Ciin ii pa nuam lo ka ci.*

The man stole a goat, stole Hau Thang's father's goat and I'm gonna tell.
Tell, tell, anyone who wants to tell, in all Soi Niang's father's village,
But it wouldn't please Zong Ciin's father.

This light-hearted nonsense verse speaks of somebody stealing a goat that belongs to Hau Thang's father, and threatens to tell on the thief. There is a play on the Teizang word *soi* ('to tell') in the girl Soi Niiang's name, with an implication of a gossiping girl. Zong Ciin is another girl's name, Zong meaning 'to look for' and implying that someone still looking for the stolen goat. Why Zong Ciin's father is not happy leaves us with a mystery!

Lawm an neek is a time for merriment, and the *tual la* sung in the house reflects that mood. The Teizang people celebrate *lawm an neek* in a way different from other villages. They clean up the *tual* a whole month before the *lawm an neek* and gather there around a camp-fire every evening in order to sing their beloved *tual la* songs.

Khuado: harvest festival

Khuado is the harvest festival the people of Tedim celebrate, like the *fang er* of Falam or the *thlaithar* of Haka Chins. Although it is commonly known as a harvest festival, it is celebrated in different ways by different people, even in the same village.

In Tonzang, the seat of the Kamhau chiefs, it used to be celebrated in the month of September, on the date the headman and elders choose. This is after the harvest has been gathered and everyone has done his gleanings.

The whole village holds the feast on the same day, but not in one place or household. Families and friends have their own *lawm* in the homes of their headmen or elders, where boys of *sial cing* (cowherd) age and the elderly sleep together in a tradition that harks back to the time of internecine wars.

Preparation for khuado

The *sawm* boys prepare for the *khuado* by raising funds to buy piglets which they entrust to some families to raise, helping them in their fields to compensate for their trouble. About thirty boys in a *sawm* will raise ten pigs. Their parents, who belong to the same *lawm*, also raise one pig to every two families. The boys and girls in the *lawm* also collect a basket of millet each to brew *zu* beer for the three days of feasting.

KHUI ZONG: COLLECTING BEEHIVES

From the month of June the *sawm* members look for beehives in the jungle. One day they let the village know they will bring home the beehive to their *sawm*. One of the more intrepid among them climbs up the tree after dark, wraps the hive with a blanket and ties it up so that the bees cannot come out. He cuts the branch and lets down the beehive with a rope. Beehives are mounted on poles around the *sawm* house. On *khuado* day the hives are taken to the *khua mual* for a torch parade called *khui laak*, or 'bringing the beehive home'.

The day before khuado

The day before *khuado*, as many as possible gather at their *lawm* house and divide into groups to repair roads in the village, water sources and wooden conduits, and clean up the village *khua mual* portal. Another group cuts *mei lah* pitch-pine brands for torches.

Khuado day

On the morning of *khuado*, all the *sawm* pigs and also those raised by their families are slaughtered and cut up at their *lawm* house, where the host family serves a big pot of *zu* under the *bikhalap* front eaves for all those who prepare the meat and for guests of the feast. The *zubawl*, the person in charge of the distribution of the drinks, makes sure that everyone gets their turn at the *zu* pot. Everyone is allotted their proper share, even babies. Babies' shares, of course, are given to others as their mothers see fit.

After the meat has been cut, *sawm tanus* (married daughters of the host and their families) cook for the *sawm* boys while the *lawm* families cook their own shares. While they are cooking they siphon those *zu* pots which both the *sawm* and the *lawm* families set aside for the day.

Each family who raised the pigs gets a whole shoulder (*liang bit*).

Eating the khuado meal

Unlike the *lawm an neek* meat, which is divided according to the number of people, *khuado* meat is divided according to the number of families: if there are twenty families and ten pigs, the meat is divided into twenty portions. Each family brings *taaksih* (steamed millet with black beans). The *sawm* members eat in the *inn sung* room, while the *lawm* families eat in the *inn liim* porch and on the *innka* sun deck.

The *sawms* give the *sawm tanus* a *liangpaak* (front shoulder minus the hock) each and other cuts to their own families and friends, and save the rest for the next day. The *lawms* save the *salu paang* (head/jowl) and *naangkhil* (loop of sausage, heart, lungs, liver and stomach).

Feeding the spirits

The *sawm tanus* (daughters of the *sawm*) fry the fat from the innards to extract oil. With the aroma of fried fat wafting all over the house, making everyone salivate, the host becomes mindful of the denizens of the spirit world, and prepares a small *beeltung* pot of *zu*, stuffing it with *thei theek* (*Ficus glomerate*) leaves, fixes a *peeng* pipe, steeps the pot with water and sets it down near the main gate, with a little fried pork fat and chilli on a piece of banana leaf. This offering is called *sikha te an piak*, or feeding the spirits, and is practised also in other feasts like *lawm an neek*, *gal aih*, *ton*, and *taang aih* feasts. The incantation invites the spirits to enjoy what is being offered at the gate and not to covet what is being served inside!

Taangkha sam: invoking the harvest spirit

After the meal, a group is sent to the *khua mual* to clean the memorial stones, stone decks and benches, and to prepare for the evening *khui laak* ('bringing in the beehive'). At their return, the host broaches a pot of *zu* to invoke the spirit of the harvests. During this time the *zukhaih*, or siphoned *zu*, is distributed while everyone waits for darkness to fall.

Khui laak torch parade

Before dusk, the *sawm* boys will take the beehives, wrapped in blankets, to the village *khua mual* – the gateway to the village where hunting or war heroes are met and welcomed. There the *sawm* girls from their *lawm* and a music group will meet the *khui la* party with gourd bottles of *zu*, *phiit* flutes, *daaktal* gongs, *sial ki* horns and faggots of *meilah* (pitch-pine brands) for a torch parade.

The girls will ply the boys with *zu taak* grain wine and the older generations, mellowed by the specially brewed wine, seek each other out to relive moments from their own past. After the well-aged *zu* is taken bottom-up, everybody is in a mood to celebrate. Good wine, a merry occasion and good company prompts even the aunts and grandmas to recite their favourite *khua do* songs for all to sing.

The *phiit* pipers strive both to get attention and to harmonize, and the drummer, *sial ki* horn-beater and *daktal* (gong) player line up to form a dance file called *lamvui*. Everybody joins in, boys and girls alternating in the line.

Eventually the *phiit* reed flutes orchestrate their music with the mellifluous gong, the measured beat of the drum and the percussive sound of the mithan horn beaten with a stick.

Pheeeet – phoooot – pheeeet – phoooot – pheet-phoot-heet – phoot, the gong going *doo-who-who... doo-who-who...* and the *daktal* gong: *mong-mong-mong-mong!* with the drum and the *sialki* keeping time *ping/bik, ping/bik...* The dance is ready to bring the beehive home to the *sawm*.

The torch-bearers hold on to a long rope called *khuai khau* to maintain their correct intervals of about a yard. After the *laam vui* dance file is ready, they will dance once around the *khua mual*, fire guns, and then wind their way home. Then all the boys and girls, excepting those who play the instruments or carry the beehive, each light a pine torch which they raise and lower in time with the musical beat, presenting a will-o'-the-wisp⁴ of a sight for those who watch them from the village.

From the *khua mual* they dance their way home to their *sawm* house. On arrival at the *sawm* they enter through the gate, dance past the *songh* totem poles from the uphill side, down the *bikha lap* eave, round the *innka* deck, once round and then rest to enjoy the *zu* held in readiness for their enjoyment. They will sing and dance long into the night, singing such *khuado* songs as:

*Ngaltun aw, ngalthen aw, sim ning ci cia lau na cia,
Na huai san sak a huai e, siang ah ong peem aw khuai aw e.*

Ngaltun, Ngalthen, you said you'll fight, don't fear,
With your ruddy charges come and make your abode with me.

Ngaltun and *ngalthen* are types of bees. The song simply tells them not to be afraid and to make their home with the singers. Other songs about how the *ngaltun* and *ngalthen* know the seasons are also sung. When the beehives are opened for the honey and the larvae the priest (*siampi*) chants: 'May the baby bees at the center be rotten if there will be death in the families of the chiefs and elders. May the bees be rotten at the edges if the commoners will die.' (If all the combs are full of larvae, there will be a good harvest.)

The members of the older generation drink from the *vok zu* brought by those who raised the pigs. This *zu* is served *zu tung neek*, that is instead of having them siphoned and drunk from cups, they are sipped with *peeng* pipes. This way the drink lasts the whole night; they keep on sipping as long as there is water to fill the pot. The guests may sing '*Inn teek nu zu ong tawi aw!*' ('Hostess broach a pot of *zu* for us'), and the hostess (*inn teek nu*) does so.

Driving away the evil spirits

Earlier in the evening, when the *khuai la* party came back, some of the men cut banana trunks and tied them to the *innka* handrails. At dawn, the boys and girls enter into the inner *innsung* and join the older folks already there. Everyone who is not playing instruments lights up a pine torch and starts beating the walls of the house with sticks to frighten the evil spirits. Then all of them come out dancing on to the *innka* deck and fix their torches on

the banana trunks on the railings and continue singing and dancing round and round. If a downpour douses the torches, there will be plenty of rain and a good harvest the next year. They dance till dawn and continue with the merry-making the next two days, eating and drinking what they have left over from the previous day.

Old year's memories, New Year's hope

Khuado for many also brings nostalgic memories of happy *khuados* of the past:

*Daidam a zaal, lawh nun nuam no
Kum khen len khuang tawi na za nam aw?
Kumkhen len khuang tawi na zak a leh
Ngaihno kei tong suah na za nam aw?*

O my beloved, out in the cold,
D'you hear the sound of the New Year?
If you do hear, the New Year's song,
Do you hear me calling your name?

Towards the end of the festival we sing about the last clouds that bid farewell to the *tuuk* rainy season and presage the coming of summer, the return of the mournful call of the koel bird⁵ and a respite before a return to the hard life of eking out subsistence living.

Selling the lard

The lard from the slaughtered pigs are sold to buy more piglets for the next year's *khuado*. As before, the *sawm* boys and girls help cultivate the fields of those who raise the pigs for them. In the course of time a *sawm* boy who marries and starts his own family is named elder of the *sawm*, and his children *sawm* children, and the family becomes part of the *lawm*.

Sausage eaters

There's never a dearth of ideas for raising funds in the *sawm* club. One way is to elect two or three couples from among the boys and girls for the honour of eating sausages made in the *khuado*. This honour, however, does not come cheap, because each one so honoured is required to procure a big pot of *zu* to be served at the *sawm*. This is called *sangoi zu ne*.

Another practice is to demand five or ten rupees (about the cost of two big pots of *zu*) from a newly married member of the *sawm* to redeem the bride from being pelted with stones or subjected to horseplay on her way to the groom's house. After a *sawm* girl is married, she and her family will be *sawm tanu* or 'sawm daughters' for their *lawm*.

The essence of khuado

The *khuado* festival is essentially communal, and is something of a complement to another communal feast called *lawm an neek*. We may see it as complementary because the seeds sown before the *lawm an neek* have

yielded the harvest that we celebrate at *khuado*. Our ancestors knew the benefits of communal efforts in certain kinds of work that can be done by both young and old without much need for skill or strength. Sowing is one such work.

The necessary organization for this is the *lawm* in the chief or headman's home, where the young men and boys of the village sleep and which, to all intents and purposes, is a boys' club for their upbringing. Our modern society does not have any parallel organization. Nor do our *khuado* celebrations today have any other significance than to make it a day of eating or drinking. Given its importance in promoting the spirit of brotherhood in society, we Christians could adapt *khuado* as a feast of thanksgiving, as former missionaries in Tedim once did with much enjoyment.

Tuukzu kholh: firstfruits offering

Not prestige-motivated like the *tong*, *gal aih* or *sa-aihl* feast, nor purely social and communal like the *lawm anneek* or *khuado*, *zu kholh* is an homage to the paterfamilias, to the heir's family by married brothers who have their own households, or to the *pu*, distaff or wife-giving, side of the family. In the olden days, vassals also brought homage to their lords. *Zu kholh* strengthens the bond between brothers and the heir of the clan, and even more so that between a family and the maternal clan

Pianna pa te: agnatic head of the family

After the harvest, all married sons and their families pay homage to their parents or, if they are no longer living, to the heir. They brew their best *zu* beer from the produce of their fields, and each family requests one of his *tanus* or *sanggam*s to be their *zubawl* to supervise the drink. The *zubawl* may be a man or woman who siphons the *zu* and sets aside the first seep, called a *lawi*, for libation. If there are four families, their *zubawls* set aside the *zulawi* from each of the four pots, enough for all members of the families.

They also set a cup of *zu* from every pot at the head of master bed. Called *lukhung zu*, this is for the dead, who are not forgotten. After the *zulawi* and *lukhung zu* have been set aside, the latter seep is mixed in a pot.

When all is ready, one of the *zubawls* gives a cup of the *zulawi* to the host for a libation. The host sips a little from the cup, holds it in the mouth, but does not swallow, and instead spits it on to the ground and invokes:

Pasian, Lungzai, Nipi, Khapi, Khuazing, Khuavak ... May this be the beginning of my enjoying the fruits of my children's labour. Bless [calling the names of the family offering the libation drink] to enjoy the best of health. Bless them to cultivate hundred-basket harvests. May they be blessed with sons and daughters. May they enjoy the male and female of silver. May their sons and daughters multiply like the prolific spiders and crabs of the field.

The host then hands over the cup to the *zubawl*, who drinks it to the dregs, to the satisfaction of the host. Then he draws from the same reserved *zulawi* and gives it to the host, saying, 'Please drink it the way I've drunk.'

This is to make sure that the host does not offer it to somebody or not drink all of it. The *zubawl* has the duty to see to the proper distribution of the drink: our forefathers might not have coined the words 'social drinking', but they certainly practised it. Even babies are entitled to their cup, though their mothers offer their shares to others in their names.

Other *zubawls* take their turns to take their drink to the host, who offers prayers for each family that brings the *zu*. After the libation ritual is finished, the *zubawls* cup-feed, or *tulh*, everyone. In *tulh* or cup-feeding, the cup is held to the lips of a person who must drink it to the dregs (bottoms up!); he/she must not offer that drink to anyone else, even though it is usually an honoured and appreciated practice to *hawh* or offer one's share of *zu* to someone else.

The *zu* cups are then alternated between the host and guests, and also between guests. This kind of one-on-one distribution is called *ki tuak*. Of all the kinds of serving *zu*, this *zu ki tuak* is the best way to make sure everybody is getting the best of the drinks. This should make one quite inebriated in a hurry, but from experience, I believe that our grain beer *zu* is simply too mild, and that one does not get drunk easily on *zu*. One wishes our ancestors could afford the resources that would allow them to fit their proverbial image of being drunk 'day and night', but the problem of alcoholism among our people came after they learn to distil *zu hang* grain alcohol.

When everyone has been wined, they start singing their favourite songs. Someone will half recite, half sing, a song, and then another will join in a chorus. This is called, *la suut*. Anyone with a repertoire of songs becomes the life of the party. The host will *zo*, that is broach a pot of *zu* in return, and if he can afford it, he may even slaughter a pig or a cow. The *zu kholh* is often a reunion for brothers who have already had their own families at their father's house.

If the host slaughters an animal, it is called *sa gawh*, and the meat has to be distributed to the visiting families, who will in turn share their meat with their own *panmun* holders: *tanu*, *thusa* or *sasem*. The gathering will cook the *sasungkua* organ meat and *saphawhlawh*, which are pieces of meat and fat from the innards and non-*panmun* pieces.

The families divide the meat among themselves and give cuts for the *zubawls* and *peeng siim*, the invited guests. The hosts get the *sa naang khil*, which are a coil of sausage, part of the liver, the heart, kidney and the stomach. The *tanu* 'daughters' cook the *sa naang khil* for the host the next day.

Some hosts do not slaughter animals, but give gifts of salt, chicken or clothes. After the formalities are over, they will sit down to sing old favourites *zu kholh* songs. They may not beat drums or gongs; beating time on the wooden floor with a *sing tawng* club suffices. Generally the beating of drums and playing of musical instruments is not allowed unless the host have given feasts of merit.

La sut pa: raconteur

Properly mellowed by the sweet wine, ready to let their hair down, brothers sit side by side with their families and their patriarch and matriarch, or, if they are no more, the eldest or heir. They will sing one song after another, as someone recalls old songs or even composes their own. *Lasut pa* or *lasut nu* play a key role in this family get-together.

In this intimate circle, brother sits beside brother, their wives and children sitting with one another on the *dawhdan* and *taakdo* in the *innliim* porch. They sing, rocking side to side with the beat of club on the floor, just as their fathers did before them. Our people believed this scene so beautiful that no oracle would ever predict against it.

<i>Ei teng khawl khawm, gi bang khen ding</i>	As we gather altogether
<i>Dawh ai san leng, pha ken te maw.</i>	Will any oracle bid us to part
<i>Dawh aisan leng, pha ken teh maw</i>	No medium, no cock's claws, ⁶
<i>Bu al ziat in khen ken teh maw</i>	Will our good company part.
<i>Ei teng aw liai liai aw e</i>	What harmony, what unity!
<i>Gual ii en loh ding aw.</i>	For nobody, to envy
<i>Kua ma'n ong eng ta kei leh</i>	Let no-one care, let no-one envy
<i>Ei mau nun in nuam peuh leng aw</i>	S' long as we've our good time

Unique judgmental phrases

Certain Kamhau words are ready-made for verse. The repetitive *liai liai* of the line '*Ei teng aw liai liai aw e*', paints a picture of togetherness, but also expresses the approving attitude of the speaker on the subject. Should the speaker change the words to *luai luai*, the phrase will still express being or acting together, but conveying the speaker's supercilious attitude. The words *liai liai* captures the whole picture of a group of people in harmony with effortless economy.

Pu zu kholh: to the distaff head of the family

After the homage to the patriarchal household, each family will once again brew *zu* to do the same homage to the distaff, wife-giving, side of the family. Since it is rare for brothers to marry sisters of the same family, *pu zu kholh* involves not families of brothers, but families of sisters. Not only are married daughters called *tanu*, 'daughter', but their husbands and every member of their family are collectively known as *tanus* and are expected to carry out the duties of *tanus*. The *tanu* are 'daughters' not only to the household of their father, but also to the father's whole clan, whom they respectfully call *pu*.

The honorific *pu* applies to all male members of the distaff clan, even to a newborn male child, male maternal cousin, maternal uncles, grandfathers and maternal patriarchs. *Pu* is used by slaves or vassals to address their lords. The honorific *pu* used to be extended to Sukte males and *ni* to the females by the people in what used to be called Kamhau and Sukte tracts. On our part, we the Khan Thuam branch of the Sukte clan, still call the descendents

of Khuang Ceu *pu* to this day, in gratitude for the protection given to Khan Thuam.

It seems ironic that in male-dominated Kamhau society the distaff side of one's household should receive more attention and special affection than the agnates. One may hazard the theory that in the old times of internecine wars liaison through marriage helped to strengthen one's position, or at least reduce potential enemies, so it was necessary to win over the wife's clan. The agnatic male side, after all, is one's own flesh and blood, who could be presumed not to expect any overt attention.

Motherhood, to Americans, is something special and particular like apple pie, but to Kamhaus their mothers' folks are people even more special, who love you like no-one else, and pray for your good health and bountiful harvests, as the yearly *pu zukholh* offering demonstrate.

*Ka puvon aw cik lo bang na meeng ve aw',
Na vang liim tut sing bang pua nuam veng e.
Na vang liim tut sing bang pua nuam veeng e,
Puvon vang in mualsing bang sang nuam veng.*

My Puvon⁷ may you bloom forever green,
O that I may bear your name and your honour.
Let me shelter in your shade and your love,
Let me stand tall like a tree for your name's sake.

When a mother is from a different clan or from a distant village, death of this mother can mean the breaking of the last cord that binds one with one's mother's family. In the following song an orphan sings to his mother's folks that only being bound with the strong cord of love can make him secure, and though mother's gone he'll still cling to mother's folks like the slough of a cicada to a dead branch.

*Ka tun nua ciang sanggah, Theisen Puvon
Hual khau khiih bang kho mah leng kei muang veng e
Tung lengthe zong a lihawm bawmkaai hi e
Tun vang zua vang in bawm kong kai lai ding hi.*

Theisen Puvon,⁸ my lord and my liege,
Your cord of love makes me secure
This orphan, empty slough of a cicada,
Will cling to you – past song, past substance.

To this the grandparents will reply:

*Ka tusuan bang siing ii tusuan om lo e
Keel sawn gia bang tuklu a tuan nuam ing.
Keel sawn gia bang tuklu a tuan nuam ing
Namtem hiam bang maciang ah suannuam ing*

There's none like my own tusuan,⁹
O that he be a feather in my cap

Be he the crimson plume in my *tuklu*
Or sword for me to carry in battle.

A boy's debut

Pu zukholh is an opportunity for a boy to make his debut into the household's social life. At *pu zu kholh* he is taking part as a member of the family, and it is very likely that he will be asked to dance solo in the middle of the family circle. The song that is sung may be one that says he is bringing the *zu* beer brewed from the grains his father produced in the field, and he dances in the mansion of his beloved *puvon*. The grandparents will present him with a handsome cockerel; the song continues that he can never tire of dancing with his prize!

*Ka zua khawh thang tun ning sak ma ciang suan ing,
Puvon sau nuam ah nga bang laam ing
Puvon sau nuai ah nga bang laam veng e,
Bu al paak sil bang ka tawi lungcim lang e.*

Bringing forth the fruit of my father's labour
I imitate the dance of a shoal of fish
Dancing like a shoal of silvery fish
I can't gaze enough at my cockerel!

To zu kholh: to the lord, by a vassal

This is homage to one's lord, which could be from a slave to his master in ancient times. However, there are many kinds of slave-master relations. An enemy captured and enslaved is one kind. However, it could also be a case of a simple bully, as when our progenitor Khan Thuam had to pay homage to one Zel Vum of Liim Khai who brazenly accused an ancestor of mine, then a mere boy, of throwing a stone at him and simply enslaved him.

A different kind of lord-vassal relation was that taken by our forebear Khan Thuam¹⁰ to Chief Khuang Ceu of Rallang of Zahau clan in Falam district when nine *hausa* chiefs tried to kill him. By pledging allegiance, Khan Thuam became Khuang Ceu's slave, along with his sons. Khan Thuam and his sons fought Khuang Ceu's war and paid him tributes. Khuang Ceu in turn helped them revenge their enemies, and eventually set Khan Thuam as chief over all the lands they conquered.

To zu kholh then is different from paying tributes. It is an act of thanksgiving for protection in times of danger, or even famine. However, in modern times people dislike the stigma of being the descendant of someone's slave, and *to zu kholh* had become quite rare even in my own childhood years. During my own boyhood I did not remember any *to zu kholh*, but I certainly remember that my father's generation of the Sukte clan had always addressed the Zahau chiefs as '*pu*' in gratitude for the protection Pu Khuang Ceu had given to our forebear Khuang Thuam.

NOTES

- 1 *Peeng-pe-lep* is a bird of the hawk family that is named after its onomatopoeic call.
- 2 Pasian and Lungzai, Nipi and Khapi, Khuhpi, and Phahpi, Khuazing and Khuavak, are always mentioned together.
- 3 The *tuukli liau* is the senior elder who donates a four-fist pig when a pig of that size is needed to entertain guest of the village. *Tuuk thum* and *tuuk nga* are three-fist and five-fist pigs. A pig is measured around the chest with a creeper of *naang khau* bamboo strip; the strip is then folded and measured with the fist closing on it. A fraction of a *tuuk* fist is a *zung* finger breadth (five 'fingers' make a *tuuk*).
- 4 The Chin will-o'-the-wisp is called *khuasia mei de* (spirits holding light), a strange phenomena of pine-torch-like lights which travel from one place to another. Numbering about six to eight, the lights turn on or off in turns. My mother, who once as a girl encountered some, said they are small 'people' who carry the lights in their hands, opening their hands to show the light and closing them to turn them off. Sceptical foreigners were known to try to ambush them, but have had no known success. They are real; I have seen the lights many times, but never close enough to see what the 'elves' look like. Whatever they are, they are not simply 'lights flitting over marshes'. I have seen them traversing hundreds of yards of non-marsh land on the outskirts of Tedim, my home town. They travel on dry land.
- 5 The koel bird, *Eudynamis scolopacea*, is the symbol of sadness and mourning. It is called *taw lawk* after its onomatopoeic call, and is called *lawk ta* in poetic diction. The *hui va* (*vahui*, green pigeon) also has a mournful call that is taken to be a simile of the deep-throated sound of a musket fired at funeral, as in *Kawl ciang hui va mau bang* ('The sound of guns are like green pigeons mourning.').
- 6 *Ak khe san* is to divine from the legs of a cock that a priest holds down with his feet, letting it struggle. If the right claw rubs down on its left leg it is considered a good omen.
- 7 *Puvon* here means grandfather, maternal uncle or head of the mother's family.
- 8 *Theisen puvon* literally means 'my childhood *puvon*'.
- 9 *Tusuan* is grandchild, and *tuklu* is the occipital hair knot our forefathers wore, in which they stuck their feathers and crimson hair tassels.
- 10 Khan Thuam is the ninth generation from Sukte, from whom our clan name Sukte is taken. I am the fourteenth.

Music and feasting





Opposite page, above: Chief Pum Za Mang's *daak lam taai*.

Opposite page, below: Lailo *khua mual* in 1962. A *khua mual* is the gateway to a village, where homecoming heroes of war and hunts or *khuai la* groups are welcomed by the whole village.

This page: Tedim Civil Hospital staff celebrating with a *khuai la* dance.





Two methods of serving zu

Left: *zu tung neek* – after the pot of *zu* meal is steeped with water, it is sipped with a pipe called *peeng*;

Below: *zu khaih* – after the meal is steeped, the steep is drawn out by a siphon called *dawn kaai*. The very first steep is called *zu lawi*.



Left: *zu* meal is kept in big gourds and is packed into *zubeel*, jars to be served *zu tung* or *zu khaih*.



Above: the *sial* or mithan, *Bos frontalis*, is the most important animal in feasts like *tong* and war treaties, and as medium of exchange, as in bride-price.

Below: the three *songh* poles represent three *sials*.



Chapter 6

Feasts of merit

Vok khat a pusathoih: a one-pig pusa oblation

According to the tradition of the Sukte tribe, one must perform the following sacrifices (*tang hawm*, *daak ging* and five-pig *pusa* worship) before one can give the prestigious *tong* feast.

Once a Sukte clansman has moved out of his ancestral family home and set up a family of his own, he must perform the act of *pusa*, sacrificing a pig. On this occasion it is called *mung hing*. This rite is only the beginning of a sequence that includes other similar sacrifices such as *tang hawm*, *daak ging* and *voknga tawh pusa biakna*. The importance of *tang hawm* is that if it has not been performed, and someone should die in his family, then they may not siphon *zu* in the house, nor use the *hai phe*i gourd cup to drink the siphoned *zukaih*/steep. They may not even comb the dead person's hair; nor may they play drums, *sialki*/horns or gongs. To perform these obligations, the parents of such a man will have to take the body to their own home.

Duties of the tanus and the thusas

When the *tong* feast is to be given, the family's cup-bearer (*haitawi*), or another *tanu*, is sent to request the priest (*tulpipa*), and to carry his two gourd cups. The *thusa* (steward)'s duty is to procure two *vok songh/nuhdo songh* poles each six feet long and to dig the holes to plant them. The *vok songh* of *sesing* or *cingh* timber, with three rows of decorative bands cut halfway up, is to be planted at the corner of the *inn*tual (lawn). The *nuhdo songh* with two rows of bands cut in the middle is for the *sialkong* (cow-gate). Two leafy *se* and *nah-hi* trees are tied to each *songh* using only *vom khau* creepers: three clockwise turns on each cut at the *sialkong*; the other *songh* is tied in the same manner three clockwise turns on three cuts, together with a nutant-bamboo banner pole (*gua mung*).

The sacrificial pig

The pig is caught from the sty below the house by the *tanus* and handed over to the *thusas* who receive the pig onto the *innka* deck. The *tanus* come up to the deck, take the pig from the *thusas*, tie its legs and thrust a *nah hi* pole

between them, carry it inside the house and lay it at the *sunden* area on its left side.

Haihon basket

A basket made of *guapi* bamboo (*haihon lawh*) is filled almost to the brim with millet grain to hold the two gourd cups of the priest. The *zu* beer for the cups is siphoned from a pot at the inside of the *kong sak* (uphill-side of the *sung pi* door). Great care is taken to siphon this *zu*: the *beeltung* pot must not have any cracks on the rim, and the *zu* meal inside is stuffed with *theitheek* leaves. The household's cup-bearer, or if they do not have one, the hostess, does the siphoning.

The hostess brings the *haihon* basket with the two cups with *zu* inside to the *sunden* (near the master bed) and places it beside the priest. The priest utters an incantation and pours the *zu* on the pig and then thrusts the pig in the heart with a *guapi tul* (stake). The slaughtering itself may be done by anyone.

Libation of the sakhulotna suang phah paito flagstone

The priest comes out to the *sakhulot* spot, under the eaves near the *sumtawng* area (where the corn is pounded), and pours a libation of *zu*. He re-enters the house and squats by the *lupnapi* (master-bed) *pialkhang* (downslope) facing toward the front of the house and spits out a little *zu* on the floor, and utters his incantation three more times, before throwing a little *anhang* meal toward the front of the house and then pouring out the *zu* in the cup.

Sagil bawl

Eviscerating an animal and making sausage from the intestines and preparing the innards is called *sagil bawl*, and is usually performed by the *tanus*. After they have singed the hair and cleaned the pig at the temporary fireplace on the *innka* sundeck, they cut out two-finger breadth strips of meat from both sides of the pig, and slice them into seven four-sided pieces. What is left after the *sakhulot* pieces are cut is set aside for *sa tung*. The *tanus* must *immediately* cook the *sakhulot*.

Sakhulot throw

As soon as the meat is done, the *tanus* bring it over to the priest. The *haitawnu* (cup-bearer) carries the *haihon lawh* and sets it by the *sutpi* post near the *suangphah* flagstone. The priest throws the meat pieces onto the *sakhulot* flagstone to divine, from the way they fall, if the household will be in good health. If all the pieces fall with the skin side to the ground, they augur well for whatever question is being asked, such as to health, luck in hunting or trade.

First the *sakhu* is thrown for the members of the household, and then for the *sabaal*, the *sanggam*/bretheren-2, *sanggam*-3 and *sanggam*-4. Then they are thrown for the *haitawi* cup-bearer and the other *tanus* of the *tanu*-4. Only after these divinations have been completed may they be thrown for anyone else.

The flesh and blood of the sacrificial animal

Neither a drop of blood nor a piece of the flesh of the sacrificial animal is allowed out of the house before the *sakhus* are thrown. If those *tanus* or *sasem* who handle the meat and blood want to go outside of the house, they must first wash off any trace of meat or blood. If anyone breaks these rules they must pay for another animal.

Zu in the haitong gourd

Before the animal is killed at the *sunden*, the host sets a pot of *zu*, already steeped with water, at the *baangkhang* bed. After the priest went out of the room, re-entered and threw the *anhang* meal, he washed himself. Then he sucks a mouthful of the *zu* and spits it into the *haitong* gourd, and places it on the wall frame at the corner of the room.

Zu phih libation

At the beginning of an incantation, the priest or shaman sucks a little *zu* from the pot or sips it from a cup, but then spits it on the floor instead of swallowing. Then he utters any incantation, invocation for souls or prayer he wants. After he puts the *haitong* on the wall frame, he sucks from the pot at the *bang khang* and start invoking the souls of the hosts, starting from the man of the house, the hostess and down to the youngest member.

'So and so *kha hong in*' means 'Come, so and so's soul'. The word *hong* is neither a poetic diction nor current in everyday language. It is a completely different word used by the priesthood. The other words are in common usage, that is they are not *la kam* or poetic diction: '*Thangvan a kai ding kha hong in...*' ('Come back the soul which is going to heaven...') '*Leengvan a kaai ding kha hong in... sing nuai a kha hong in...*' ('Come back the soul which is under the trees. Come, the soul under the trees...')

The incantation also warns dangers of accepting drinks from strangers: '*Min zu ong pia ding a, zukha ong pia ding hi...*' ('Strangers will give you *zu*, but they will give you bitter *zu*...') '*Mi zu sang ei zu khum zaw...*' ('Then offer sweeter *zu*...') '*Th inn lum ih lo lum ong zuan in.*' ('Come back to our warm house.')

Meat-cutting

After the meat is done, *tanus* put it on a trencher and set it at the *sunden*. The *sasem*/meat-cutters cut it up.

Sian sa, cleansing the meat

The *sasem* (meat-cutters) set aside one leg (*a tek*), one loop of sausage (*a ngoi kual khat*), a third of the liver, and *phawhlawh*. This is for the host, relatives and the senior *tanus*, as *siansa*, purification meat. This meat is eaten with *taksih* (steamed millet meal) in the *innsungpi* (inner sanctum). Those who do not want to eat their share there may take it home.

Order of meat

- 1 the *sabaal* (most senior of agnate *sanggam* brothers) receives the *pheitong* (leg) with a piece of liver and sausage;
- 2 the paternal parents receive a *phai* (hind leg with hooves) plus a piece of liver and sausage;
- 3 the *sanggam*-3 gets *liang tongh* (lower part of front leg) with a piece of liver and sausage;
- 4 *sanggam*-4 gets *liang tongh* with a piece of liver and sausage;
- 5 *sasem* and *thusa* get *naakbul*;
- 6 *sanggam*, *nuphal* and *zubeel sa* divide the rest;
- 7 *tanus* get *pheilukhu* (loin meat at tail end);
- 8 *thusa* get the *phukka* (loin meat) with liver as '*mungtuk sa*';
- 9 the *tulpi* (priest) gets the *kawng* (loin meat) which is not cooked: it has to be hung over the *sunden* under the *mai khin* shelf for one day, when it is 'clean', the fat is extracted by frying; the lard is given to the priest, but the fried meat is shared between the priest and hosts.

The order of zu

The *sanggam zu*, and that for others, is served during the distribution of the meat. The neck meat (*sangawng*) is cooked separately under the *haam* berth, unmixed with anything. The broth is fed to the pig. The meat cannot be brought back into the house, but is hung in the parlor for the evening, when, together with the liver and a *huai*, it is divided between all the *pu te* (members of wife-giving family) visitors. They may hang them around the *innka* posts, *bangkhang* or *inn lim* posts, but they must never allow them to re-enter the house.

The rest of the meat and a *huai* are divided as *zubeel sa*, that is, each pot of *zu* brought by the guests is acknowledged by a cut. The rest are set aside for *sanggam* and *tanu* who cannot come. The next day the *sasem* have cuts sent to them.

At *pusa* worship all the *sanggam*, *tanus*, *pu te* and *nu phal* bring as big a pot of *zu* as they can afford. At the one-pig *pusa* worship all *sanggam*, *pu* and *nuphal* contribute *zu* on the day and the *tanus* bring theirs the next day. The *teek theih* 'hosts' first' is drunk, then a *zu leep*, the next person to drink is chosen. Then the *thusas* call on all the others according to their standing in the family and in society.

Protocol say that the hosts drink first, but they are expected to invite those who are *zubawls* (in charge of the *zu* pot) to sip it standing ('*aang khak*'), letting them 'pass by the bosom!' Once these formalities are over, the hosts may surrender their turn to whomever they want.

Salu suanna, mounting the skull

After all the meat has been eaten, the skull of the animal is mounted on the wall above the *sunden*. It is tied with *naang khau* bamboo strips in clockwise

direction. Nine bamboo sticks are stuck between the skull and the bamboo wall. Three pieces of meat from the *sakhulot* throw are skewered with three of the sticks; two pieces with another three sticks and one piece each with the remaining three sticks, making a total of eighteen pieces of meat.

'Blowing' on the skull with tuul

After the skull is duly mounted, the priest pours a *zu* libation on it, and breathes an incantation (*muut*) over a male or female member of the family with the *vok tuul* stick with which the pig was pierced through the heart. The *tuul* (spike that killed the pig) is tucked onto the bamboo wall. The two persons clean the next day. No-one is allowed to enter the compound, and only old guests may talk to them. Fresh vegetables are also forbidden to them.

Purification

The next day they cook millet meal, roast seven *bepi* beans on a coal fire and snip into little pieces the *sadawitang* (taboo meat of liver and tail), *utok* (top of liver) and tail. They mix these with a little ginger and local *zo ci* salt, and cover it with the *haihonlawh* basket. The priest take all these to the two *vok songhs*, pour *zu* on them, and afterwards makes an incantation to purify clean.

Fees for the priest

At *mung hing*, or its follow-up, when a pig is slaughtered, the priest get *maat khat* or a quarter of a rupee silver coin. At *vok thum taang hawm*, *vok thum daak gin* and *vok nga daak ging taang aih* feasts the priest gets *gual khat* or a silver rupee coin. When a *tong* feast is given with a *sial*, the fee is two *gual*. When there is a marriage, the bridegroom has to give him one *gual*, called '*zaang dawh*'.

The three-pig taang hawm (first feast)

The *taang hawm* is a very important feast. If a household has not given a *taang hawm* feast and there is a death in the family, they may not siphon *zu* or use the *hai pheï* (gourd cup), they cannot comb the hair of the dead, and cannot play musical instruments like the drum, gong or *sialki* (horn). Should any of a man's family members, or the man himself, die before he has given the *taang hawm* feast, the body must be taken to the father's home (which has given the feast) for proper burial with music and honours.

Since *taanghawm* is an essential feast for a household, father, brothers and relatives of the householder gather in his home to plan for the event, fixing the date. The *thusa* (steward) of the household informs the senior *sanggam* (bretheren) who will brew the *intual zu khaih*, the *zupi* and *ziing zu*.¹ All the *sanggam*, *pu*, *nuphal*, and everyone in the village, is informed so they too can brew *zu*.

Keekta, the ideal couple

The hosts must start looking for an ideal husband and wife that have never had any hint of a bad reputation, and who are also physically perfect, to act

as *keekta*, the couple of the feast. They formally go to them, with their *thusa* carrying a big pot of *zu*, to formally request the couple to act as their *keekta*. If their choice refuses, they look for another couple from the village. The husband is called *keekta pa*, and the wife *keekta nu*.

They are invited to stay in the host's house from the day before the big day (*pansik* day), to help until *zunun veng*, the end of the feast. They sleep on a mat in the *insungpi*/inner sanctum which is not open on other days. All *zu guan* – packing of *zu* pots – and other work that the hostess would normally do are theirs to perform.

Preparations

The *haitawi* and a *tanu*, or two, are sent to the clan priest at least one month ahead to see if he is available.

The *thusa* procures the two *nuhdo songhs*, *guamung* (bamboo banner posts), two *sesawl* and *nahhi sawl* branches, and *vomkhau* creepers to bind them. They plant one of the *nuhdo*, one *nahisawl* and one *sesawl* at the corner of the *inntual*, another near the *sial kong* (cow-gate) in the *se sawl* manner but not tied with the creeper string.

The *tanus* make a *tap* fireplace on the outer edge of the *innka* (sun deck), putting a layer of banana trunks on the teak planking.

A libation of zu for the tuulpi's cups

On the day of the feast, the *keekta nu* cooks the *anhaang* meal and then charges a *beeltung* pot that is neither defective nor cracked at the rim with *zu* and stuffs (*puah*) it with *thei theek* (*ye-tha-hpan*, *Myrobalan terminalia*) leaves. She siphons the steeping near the *innsungpi suutpi* and fills up the *tuulpi's* (priest's) two cups and places the cups inside the *haihon lawh* basket. (The basket is filled almost to the brim with clean millet grains, so that the gourd 'cups' will not topple over and spill the *zu* inside.) This *zu* will not be changed during the feast.

Zu pot at siakkhang

Siakkhang is the spot outside the *dawhdan* raised floor where the *tanus* construct a small shelf for an offering to past clans. The *keekta* line up three *beeltung* pots and three baskets, each with three big-toe-sized *taaksih* (steamed millet) meals. The pots are properly charged and stuffed with *theitheek* leaves, but instead of *peeng* pipes, *gamsaai* wormwood sticks are fixed to the pots.

The *keektapa* makes the following incantation. If he is unable to do it unassisted, someone says the words for him to repeat. The clan names of those who have given the feasts (*tong*) in the past are invoked, and the names of the current feast-giving family are listed together as the feast donors.

Sinte ta, Pante ta, Khupmu ta, Sukte ta, Phualte ta, Zahlang ta, Bawmkhai ta... etc. have offered you their first *zu*, their first meal. May you enjoy the feast. They are praying for good health, sons and daughters and hundred basket-harvests of millet and sorghum. They ask for victory in war and success in the hunt. The ask for longevity. Do not send them back with nausea... send them back in good health.

Delivering the sacrificial pigs to the priest

The *tanus* catch a sow and a boar from the pig-pen below the house, and hand them over to the *thusas* through a hole made by removing one of the *innka* planks under the eaves near the *inn liim*. The *tanus* then tie the legs of the pigs and attach the bound feet to *nahhi* poles and carry them to the temporary *tap* fireplace built on the *innka* deck, laying them on their left side and facing towards the house.

Invoking the genealogy of the performer

The priest pours the *zu* in the cups onto the *vokdawt*, a spot over the heart of the pig, the usual spot where the *tuul* skewer is thrust to the heart. While pouring the libation the priest intones the whole genealogy² of the performer, giving a prayer that his offering of pigs (*meitual muuk liip*)³ will be accepted and ending up the usual wishes for health, sons and daughters, the male and female of money, victory over great enemies and the slaying of game, mentioning all members of the family from the eldest to babies.

After the incantation the pig is stuck to the heart by a *guapi tuul* skewer. This need not be done by the *tuulpi* priest himself; anyone can do this. The whole incantation is repeated before the other pig is stuck.

Singeing and eviscerating the carcasses

After the pigs are killed, some *tanus* eviscerate them, and others singe the carcasses on the fireplace on the *innka* deck, scraping them clean and cutting out the spare rib area for the *sakhulot* divination. Then they cook the rest.

The tualtawh zu

A large *beeltung*-size pot of *zu* is provided by the *sabaal* (head brethren) and placed near the *suangphah* pavement. This is called *tualtawh zu* for *zu phih* libation.

Libation of the pavement

After the two pigs have been slaughtered the *haitawinu* cup-bearer brings the *haihonlawh* basket with the two cups to the *sakhulot* spot for a further libation, after which the priest re-enters the house.

Invocation of souls

The priest sits at the *sunden*, which is near the head of the bed close to the wall of the *sungpi* inner sanctum. He takes a piece of *an haang* millet meal, takes a sip of the *zu* from the cups, spits a *tuiphih* and calls the name of the family one by one.

A' kha hong in B' kha hongin C' kha hong in... Thangvan a kha hong in, leengvan a kha hong in. Singnuai a kha hong in, suangnuai ka kha hong in. Kha leeng hong in, khazuang hong in. Mi'n zu hong pia ding hi; zukha hong pia ding hi. Mi'n sa hong pia ding hi. Sa kha hong pia ding hi. Thahna in hong nei ding hi. Matna in hon g nei ding hi Mi zu ngai ken, misa ngai ken Mizu sang ei zu khum zaw hi. Misa sang ei sa thau zaw hi. Na inn lum hong zuan in, na lo lum

hong zuan in. Ka miim pi zu in khun ing Ka tangpi zu in khuning. Ka meitual ka muuklip in kho ing Belpi in kho in. Thau thumin kho ing.

Come, A's soul, come B's soul, come C's soul... Come the soul from heaven... come the soul under the tree; come the soul under the rock... Strangers will give you *zu*; they'll give you bitter *zu*. Strangers will give you meat; they'll give you bitter meat. It will be your death. It will be your capture. Do not covet strangers' *zu*, do not covet strangers' meat. Our *zu* is sweeter, our meat is fatter... come back to your warm home... I entice you with my millet *zu*; I entice you with my sorghum *zu*; I entice you with my *meitual muuk liip* pig... etc.

Zu phih libation

The *tualtawh zu* is already steeped with water and placed on the lawn beside the *sumtawng* pounding area. Immediately after the priest has invoked the souls, he takes a sip from the pot and, not swallowing it, spits it into the *haitong* cup. He takes another sip and blows a libation (*phih*).

Sakhulot divining

When the meat is cooked the *tanus* put it into a small woodern trencher. The *haitawinu* cup-bearer,⁴ carrying the *haihonlawh* basket, and the priest holding one of the cups, come out together from the *innsung* room and sit near the *suang phah* flagstone, where the *sakhulot* divination is to be performed.

The priest takes the three *sakhulot* pieces of meat, pours some *zu tui* on one and puts it on the stone. Then he takes three *sakhulot* pieces and pouring *zu tui* on them intones:

Ka miimpi zu a kong dot hi; ka tangpi zu a kong dot hi. Imntek te bangkua sung ah sih leh man tuakin teh na cih leh, na khup in ong tu in; na thal in ong tu in. Ongzawng taai in... Ka miimpi zu a kong dot hi; ka tangpi zu a kong dot hi teh. Imntek te sung tu kumsih leh man piang lo ding hi na cih leh, nang ka pu dot ngei sa ka pa dot ngei sa hi teh. Thu zuau hong pia ken; la zuau hong pia ken. Thusia la sia piang lo ding na cih leh ong tuk siam in. Ong ki suangthu puh in.

I am enquiring of you with my millet *zu* and my sorghum *zu*.⁵ If there'll be death in this family, may you fall wrong-side up... may you land helter-skelter! ... I am enquiring of you... if there will not be any death in the family... you are the one my forefathers consulted. Don't give me any falsehood. If there will not be any death or sorrow may you land like the *suangthuphuh* fireplace stones.

The priest then throws the three meat pieces onto the stone pavement. If all three land close together and skin-side up, all is well. If they fall helter-skelter, upside-down, it is bad omen.

Starting with the *sabaal* the lots are cast until the fourth *sanggam* (brethren), and then starting with the *haitawi* cup-bearer family, they are cast for the fourth of the *tanu*/daughter families. After that the lots may be cast for any *sanggam* or anyone who wants to consult them for a business venture or hunting expedition etc. (The *sakhulot* pieces are given to the *tanus*.)

Meat-cutting for the sow and the boar

After the *sasem* meat-cutter has taken the cuts for the *sakhulot* throws, the sow is cut up in the usual manner but pieces called *sapuanak* (jacket-shaped part) are taken from the boar.

Neck meat for pute (distaff) household

The meat-cutters take out the neck of the larger of the two pigs, thread a *naang* rope and put it aside for the *pute* household. The neck of the other pig is tied up with the *sapuanak* and sent to the *sunghpi* (father-in-law). All the neck meat and *sapuanak* are delivered to the *sunghpi*. The neck and *sapuanak* are brought over to the *pu* and *sunghpi* homes by the *tang hawm* family and their *sasem* (meat-cutter). Half of the meat is divided in two parts for the *sungh* and *pu* families. The rest is divided between other families. The liver and sausages are also delivered along with the neck meat.

Order of meat

- 1 The neck of the sow (raw) goes to the *pupi* (senior maternal uncle/grandfather) household;
- 2 *Sapuanak* and the boar's neck, tied together with a *naang* bamboo strip called *sabengbah*, goes to the *sunghpi* (father-in-law);
- 3 *Sapheitongh* (lower part of the hind leg), a full shoulder and parts of the liver and sausages, go to the *sabaal* (first brethren);
- 4 One whole shoulder goes to the family which brews millet *zuha* for the *taangsuak* dance;
- 5 *Liang tongh* (lower shoulder) of the sow goes to one senior *sanggam* brethren;
- 6 A whole hind leg of the sow goes to the father of the host;
- 7 *Liang tongh* (lower shoulder) goes to a senior *sanggam*;
- 8 Another *liang tongh* goes to the next *sanggam*;
- 9 One *khe tongh* (lower-hind leg) goes to another *sanggam*.

The four *saphei* (hind legs) are given to the *sanggams* in order of seniority, the *liang tongh* (lower shoulders) are given to the next. If the *sabaal* (senior *sanggam*) provides the *tangtang* millet *zu*, they get a full shoulder for it in addition to the *pheitongh* (lower hind leg) and *liang tongh* (lower shoulder). *Sabaal sathau* (the lard from the fat of the intestines) is given on a reciprocal basis between the brothers.⁶

- 10 The cup-bearer's portion of meat:
 - a *a iik a nawi thumna a tanh phel khat* (spare rib and bacon part);
 - b *a phei lukhu sabaak khat* (one piece from the upper part of the hind leg);
 - c *a bil paang lang khat* (one side of the jowl) 'decorated'⁷ with a piece of liver and portion of sausage.
- 11 The other side of the above 10a and 10c (one side of the jowl) is the portion for the priest, which the *keekta* keep for him.

- 12 A *kawng* corresponding to the loin end is for the family that brewed the *zu* for the *taangsua* dance. *Thusa* (recorders) of the *panmun* divide among themselves the *phuuk ka*, decorated with liver and sausage for *mungtuk sa* (meat for those who prepare the bamboo pennants). In addition, they each get three ribs decorated with liver and sausage. The rest, the *liang paak* top part of the shoulder and *naaksa* spare ribs and a *huai* (loin) are given to other *sanggams* and *zubeel sa* (reciprocation for *zu* contributed by guests).
- 13 The *phukka* meat, decorated with liver and sausage, is divided among the *thusa* as *mungtuk sa*. Each *thusa* gets a three-rib cut of the spare-rib meat decorated with liver and sausage. The *liangpaak*, the top part of shoulder meat, the side and the *huai* meat are for *sanggams* and *zubeel sim na* (reciprocation for *zu* brought by guests).
- 14 The belt of meat between the *sakawng* loin and *sapuanak*, including three ribs, is called *sa taiten*.⁸ The meat from which the *sa taiten* is taken is for the priest. The *sa taiten* is divided in two parts, one part going to the *haitawi nu* cup-bearer and the other to *keektanu*.
- 15 The cup-bearer's portion of meat
- a the *iik* meat with three nipples;
 - b one side of the jowl;
 - c a cut from the *phei lukhu*, the top part of the hind leg;
 - d half of the *taiten*;
 - e parts of liver and sausages.
- 16 The *keekta's* portion of meat:
- a half of the *iik* meat;
 - b half of the jowl;
 - c half of the *sataiten*;
 - d parts of liver and sausage.
- 17 All the *thusas* divide the *phuukka* meat decorated with liver, heart and sausage.
- 18 *Sadawitang* is the sacred 'meat of observance': the liver and *utok*, the tail and *kawng* loin end, the *iik* meat (the end part). It is set aside and under custody of the *haitawi* cup-bearer. If the liver and *utok* are lost another animal has to be slaughtered again.
- 19 *Sian sa* is cleansing meat which all members of the clan eat in the *innsungpi* inner sanctum room:
- a both feet;
 - b a *tek* meat;
 - c liver and sausage (after the shares for *sanggamsa* and *tanus* have been taken out);
 - d *phawh lawh* meat (the 'cleansing meat', the diaphragm and other non-joint meat).
- 20 *Tanu's* portion of meat:
- a the *phei tongh*, the four top portion of the hind legs;
 - b the *iik* meat with three nipples, one half;
 - c *huai* (loin) meat.
- 21 The meat portions for *pu te* (distaff household): the neck meat (raw), a *huai* meat and some sausage are sent to the *pu te*. The boar's neck and *sapuan-ak* (*sa beng bah*) are sent to the *sunghpi* household. On *khek leh* day,

the day after the feast, the *sasems* go to the houses of *pu te* and *sung te* to help cut the meat for distribution to all the *pu te* clan.

Inntual sagawh

The host slaughters a *voktuukpai* (four-fist and three-finger pig) for a special feast for those who have performed *sa ai*, *gal ai*, *taang aih* and *tong* feasts. The *tanus* roast the *phawhlawh* meat, the blood and the liver. This meat is called *sial zu meh*.

Sung sagawh

Another pig of the same size as the *inntual sagawh* is also killed and cooked in the same manner for the elders to eat *inside* the house.

Inntual zu

All the *zu* pots broached by the hosts, and by those who have undertaken to brew them for the hosts, are siphoned all day by the elders. They set aside the *zulawi*, the first steep of each pot, into big pots, which are covered with banana leaves. About six pots of *zulawi* will be taken from some forty pots. The lesser steep is put in a large nine-*khap taubeelsan*⁹ cauldron for general consumption. If that should not be enough for the guests, the host must supply the shortfall.

Innsung zukhah

As with *inntual zu* above, this meant to be served with the special meat for the elite. Other pots of *zu* are also siphoned inside the house to be served with the *sung sa*. The *zulawi* is set aside and all the *a lai* or average steep is mixed and kept in a large pot.

Teektheih zu for the hosts

The *inn teek*, or hosts, are served one cup each from all the *zu* brought by the guests, whether it was served as *zu tung* to be sipped in pipes or *zu khaih* (siphoned). The hosts may drink as much as they want or give away their share. An admirable practice in Kamhau 'social drinking' is surrendering one's turn at the *zu* pot or giving one's share to another as an act of courtesy. The word *hawh* is used when one's share is given to another. One can say, *masak*, to give priority, in which case the offer must be reciprocated. In *zu nun* the hosts cannot possibly drink all the *zu* due to them, but when everyone is waiting for his turn at a single pot, the offer of *hawh* or *masak* is a lovely gesture.

Sapha, acknowledgement meat

It is important for the host to acknowledge all the *zu* that guests bring to a feast, because it all must be reciprocated. The *thusas* carefully note who brings which pot, so that he may inform the meat-cutter what portion of meat to cut for the owner of the *zu* pot. The *sa pha* is to make sure that each and every pot of *zu* is acknowledged, when there may be over a hundred pots brought by guests. When there are many *zu* pots from the *pu* distaff side, for instance,

the senior *pus* will have claimed the portions designated to the *pu* families, and it will not do to give the lower ranked *pus* the common *zubeel simna sa* meat for non-*panmun* families.

When Pu Vung Za Kham, the source of Kamhau customs for this writer, performed the *taang hawm* feast, he killed a sow and a boar; for the *pusa* rite, he killed a male buffalo; for *inntual sa*, a *vok tuukpai* (bigger than four-fist, three-finger) for *innsung sa*, and an ox for the *sapha* meat. The various *zus* he had to acknowledge by meat tokens were: *inntual zu* – 57, *ziing zu* – 23, *lungpi zu* – 6 for *zupi day* and *khekleh day*, *pu vaak zu* – 42, *nuphal zu* – 20, *pu zu* – 35, *tangval zu* – 3 and *tanu zu* – 25.

The feast for the upa elders

Upa means elder, but in *taanghawm* and other festivities it means one who had performed all the *galmat*, *ton*, *han*, *sa aih*, *gal aih* and *taang aih* feasts.¹⁰ However, most village elders tend to be able to give feasts of merit, and they usually make the list of *zu masa sa masa ne*, ‘those who are privileged to drink the wine and eat the meat first’.

For the special meat and drink, the elders gather in the *inntual* front courtyard lawn in the afternoon of the feast day. Since they are the select of society, everyone knows who they are, and although they don’t wear any feathers or scarlet plumes on such days they make an impressive circle in the center of the lawn as they partake of the choicest morsel of meat with steamed *taksih* millet meal and the sweetest *zu* beer.

Since each elder has given not one but several of the feasts the meal is as exclusive as any one could imagine, but an admirable practice called *zu leh* dictates that each elder will insist that the *zubawl* steward drink first (*leh*), although the *zubawl* himself may not qualify to drink the *zulawi* on his own merit. Thus the *zubawl* drinks first but then immediately he will *suah*, or bring back the same *zu* in the same cup. This *zu leh*, *zu hawh* and *zu suah* practice among the elders and the *zubawl* and *sabawl*, the meat and *zu* stewards, ensures that most persons present get to drink at least the *zu* of this exclusive feast.

Elders of the village court who have not given the feasts may not be invited, although the headman may be. In Kamhau society, which makes so much of fraternity, in practice the rules tend to be relaxed as the wine flows free and the heart grows mellow.

The *sasem* meat-cutters who prepare the meals eaten outside and inside the house are given a pot of the *zulawi* to enjoy as they perform their duties. The wives of those who have the *inntual sa* collect their portion of meat with the share of *zu* at the same time.

The *zulawi* pot is also assigned to the steward who has given more feasts than anyone else, and has the respect of everyone: no-one may receive the *zulawi* except through him.

Saliang pai

This is a whole shoulder that is given to the last person who gave the same feast. In the same manner, the present host will get the *inntual sakhe* when

the next person gives that feast. Part of this practice is that no-one can slaughter an animal smaller than his predecessor. If the host is one or two legs short in his meat distribution, he may kill a smaller a three-fist pig. This is called *tuam*. All the *zu* pots guests contribute are on reciprocal basis.

The order of zu on pansik and kheelah days (immediately prior and after main feast)

The *sial zu* row begins under the downslope eaves on to the *innka* deck and is followed by *tangval zu*. The *nuphal zu* row is headed by *nuphal bul*, and starts from the *dawhdan bangkhang* post and runs inwards to the *sangkil* sill. On *zupi* day two *nuphal zu* are served near the *lupna pi* bed. *Pu te zu* is lined up on the *suangphah* flagstone towards the gate.

The order of zu on pansik day

- 1 *Inntee* *zu* at *baangkhang*;
- 2 *Tualtawh zubeel tung*: *suangphah paito*, near *inntual* lawn;
- 3 *Sabaal zu* at *lukhung* (head of the master bed);
- 4 *Pianna pa te* (paterfamilias) at *lukhung* next to *sabaal* pot;
- 5 *Nuphal zu* at spot where two pots are placed;
- 6 *Tanu zu* is lined up next to the *inntee* host pot towards to inside of the house.

Feasting the pute clan

On *zupi* or *kheelah* (the main day or the day after) all the *zu* from the agnate side, *inntee*, *sabaal* and *sanggam* (brethren) are feasted to the *pu*/distaff clan.

Incantation

The priest prays for the village, mentioning it as 'so-and-so's village', from the oldest to the youngest member of the host family:

Bless the village. Bless A's village; bless B's village; bless C's village... Bless my *mualbeem* village, bless my *tual mual*, bless my *sawmpi*, bless my *ngilhkawn*, bless my *sihvom*, bless my *guazang*, bless my *saizang*, bless my *valvum*, bless my *ngennung*, bless my *thangkhal*, bless my *thangzang*, bless my *mawngkeen*, bless my *thenzang*, bless my *tonzang*, bless my *tuipei*, bless my *vansangdim*, bless my grandfather's village, bless my father's village, bless the village I took shelter in etc.

After the incantation, the *siampi*-priest group play the *daak* instrument, dance and reverse the dance (*nolh*) three times, and then stop for the priest to make the following invocation for each member of the family.

Come *saphei* (hind leg), come *sangawng* (neck meat) [and calls the names of the family one by one]. A is praying for health, B is praying for health etc. They are praying for hundred-basket harvest. They are praying for daughters, sons, the lord of the enemies and lord of the beasts.

Invocation of the souls of each member of the family ('Come, A's soul. Come B's soul' etc.) is followed again by the *daak* instrument playing the *laampi daak* tune, which is ended after three *nolhs* (reverse).

The priest

The *siampi an piak* meal for the priest consists of steamed millet, *taaksih*, and meat. After the priest's group has eaten the meal, they sing the following *sungtum* (re-entry) song and dance.

*Mun inn pha leh gamlo pha thuamtaang phuigua tawh thuam tang e,
Bemtaang tawh hai thei a lun lai bang e.
Mi siing khua ah ziing va zin tang, laimi ka hen sang
Ka min zang lawi bang thang zaw e.*

The meaning of the song is: I have added the *phuigua* bamboo pennant (of the *tong* feast) to my stately house and have granaries full of grain. When I have traveled to other places I found out that it was more for this than my success in battle than I am famous.

The dance file enters the house dancing, and inside the *inn sung* room they prance and jump in what is called *ton siik*. After they have danced three times towards the *inn sung*, the priest group play the *daak* instrument and stop by the fireplace.

Taangval te laam, dance of the lads

The young unmarried men then start to dance, singing the followings songs.

*Lo khawh a ka kipat in, hi ci mah leng ka ci e.
Thai tawh tu kawh ka tawi in miim leh sawm tang sung dip e
Neih tong inn sung ka va et leh miim leh sawm tang sung dip e.
A thak koi ah koih diam aw, tuan lui ah gua om nah e.*

When I first started cultivation I always wanted to be able to do this
[celebrate the *tong* feast]

When I peep into *neih tong*'s house, it's choke full with millet and sorghum.
Where is the new harvest? There are many bamboos in *tuan lui* stream. [For more feasts like this.]

NB. *Neih tong* is one who gives the *tong* feast.

*Neih tong in zu bei ci e, khuaimu zu zong zu hi e.
Khuaimu zu zong zu hi e, sangak sa zong sa hi e.*

Neih tong say's there's no more *zu*.

Why the honey [*zu*] of the bumblebee is also *zu*.

They sing these songs one by one, dancing three rounds and then stopping, without a reverse (Kamhau practice, in contrast to Teizang, is to dance anti-clockwise a few rounds, then the drummer signals by three or four rapid beats called *khuang lop*, and the dance file reverses to the clockwise direction). After the three rounds, the drummer starts a new song and they

dance another three rounds. Then yet another three rounds for the last song, dancing altogether nine rounds.

Meiphual siikna, stomping on the fireplace

After they have sung the above songs and danced the nine laps, they sing the following song:

*Phul e, phul e, neih tong phul e.
Pal e. paal e, neih tong paal e.*

They dance three laps around the fireplace, then stomp on the fire and put it out, not leaving a single ember, they then enter the house singing the song. Inside the house they dance in clockwise direction,¹¹ through the fireplace around the bed three laps and then the drummer signals to stop at the *pialkhang* by beating the *khuang lop* rapid beats.

They start afresh, again dancing in clockwise direction. This time they sing:

*Neih tong na inn pha lei lua lai keu e.
Phualva na mei pha lei lua lai am e.*

Neih tong your house is too beautiful too dry in the middle.
Hornbill your tail feather is too beautiful to burn in the middle.

They pull down the *khin* shelf over the fire and the upslope wall, but do not touch the *sunden* wall (of the inner sanctum) and the *pial khang* downslope wall. They dance past the master bed, upslope and round at the foot of the master bed, downslope on the fireplace, doing three laps and then stopping.

Then they sing the following song, dance three laps and at the signal of the drum they stop again.

*Buhtang aw la ci e, beelpi kawm a
Buhtang aw la ci e.
Belpi kawm a buhtang aw la ci e,
Khut dimsui seu ong pia aw, la ciing e*

Rice/take the rice/take the rice from between the pots.
Take the rice from the pots and give me a handful.

Zuha hawmna, distributing zuha meal

For the distribution of the *zuha* meal the main door is closed: no-one inside may go out and none outside may come in. When the music and dancing stop, the dancers keep their place and sit down where they are.

The wife of the *keekta*, the *keektanu*, brings a *guapi lawh* basket of *zu ha*, and after sprinkling *dimci* local salt on the *zuha*, gives out three measures to the *khuangpipa* drummer, two to *khuangpi zompa*, the next man, and to the *meipei* or last man, one measure.

While the *zuha* is distributed no-one may come between the *keekta* couple, or touch the baskets. When all the dancers have received their *zuha* everyone in the room is also given the *zuha*.

Libation to start the zu drinks

The drinking may start after the priest has performed the *zu phih* libation. The *siampi* group sing *la pi* clan songs on the fireplace, accompanied by *daak* instruments. Those who want, dance a *tawn laam* solo dance in the *pialkhang* area.

Zupi ni, the day of the feast

Before dawn on the *zupi ni*, the *keekta* couple go to the house of those who are designated to brew *zuha* for the *taang suah* parade. They prime a pot with the *zuha* and cover it with banana leaves, and the *keektapa* lifts up the pot on to the back of his wife, the *keektanu*. They return to the house of the host and the *keektapa* helps his wife to take down the pot at the *sunden*. No-one may touch the pot except the *keekta* couple.

The *keekta* couple then steep the pot with water and siphon the *zu*. After they have collected the steeping, the *keektapa* dips a cup and gets someone to distribute the *zu* steeping. They do not give out all the steeping but set some aside.

Taangsuak parade

The dance is called *taangsuak*, which has the *lamvui* file (dancers following one another, hand on the shoulder of the person in front). Both men and women join in this *taangsuak* dance. The dancers are dressed in *puandum* shawls and white clothes, each with the tail feather of a *vaphual* hornbill (Indian pied hornbill, *Anthracoceros arbirostris*) in the hair. They sing:

*Ka lo aw dam diu deu e, hawi a hawi a e,
Mawng lo aw dam diu deu e.
Thai tawh tukawl ka tawi na hawi a hawi a e,
Mawng lo aw dam diu deu e.*

The path to my field is smooth and level, hoy a hoy!
The path to my *mawng* field is so smooth
Where with my man I heave my hoe, so smooth is my path
The path to my *mawng* field is so smooth.

NB *Mawng* is a peepul or banyan tree.

The music group

The same person who plays the drum on the *pansik* day must play the drum throughout the *zu nun* feast. At the *taangsuah* parade the gong must be carried by a man from Suante clan and a man from Thawmte.

The seven cups

There are seven *umhaai* (gourd) cups. The priest carries the cup with which he poured the libation *zu tui* on the pigs. The cup-bearer *haitawinu* carries another in the *haihonlawh* basket with the millet inside, and the other five are carried by five of the lads. All those who carry the cups wear *vaphual mul* feathers, and lift their cups in dance. After they arrive at the fireplace on the *innka* deck, they dance three rounds and stop without reversing. .

The keekta couple

They carry the *zu te* meal from which they took the steeping in a pail and dance in front of the drummer. When they reach the fireplace on the *inkaa* deck they put down their pail at the fireplace and dance together. The cup-bearers spill their *zu tui* as they dance and the *keekta* couple keep replenishing the cups with the *zu te* water.

Then they start again, dancing another three rounds and singing this song:

*Teekpi nu zupi ei sa a khumhi ta e,
Taangza sawmsial in ai e.
A lai ah sial tong ka cih, khuakiim ih lut sa ah
Hau mit mei sum na e.*

The hostess's *zu* and meat are fine.
She celebrates the hundred-basket millet harvest.
When i try to boast in the midst.
The eyes of the rich commands all.

Then they sing the following song, dancing three more rounds:

*Ka gual in tong tong a cih a kaai hi ta e,
A kaai in vaal nan nei e.
Mi lahliang in laam sul ah hawi ta na ung e'
Miim va ten bual nan nei e.*

My peers urge all to celebrate, but too late
the late is left out.
We the poor try to make a dance of it,
but the quail takes over.

NB The quail is associated with moaning because of the hmmh! hmmh!
sound it makes.

After three more rounds:

*A hau hau mah paw i thei e,
A pawipaw i mah hau thei e.
Ei mi lahliang lam sul ah hawi ta na ung e,
Litva tenbual nan nei e.*

The rich can decline,
The poor can prosper.

We the humble emulate the rich on the trail,
But the wild sparrows graze on the paths.

After they have danced three rounds to the tune of the last song, they re-enter the house, each one stepping over the *sangkil* high sill with their right feet going first to the *sunden* area.

In the sungpi inner sanctum

From the *sunden*, the *tuulpi* priest, the drummer, the man next to the drummer (one of the *daak* group) and the *keekta* go into the *sungpi* room and made three rounds of *ton siik* and make leaping jumps to end the ritual.

Beating of the gong

The gong is carried by two men using a *suk* pestle as the rod to carry it. Only men from the clans may beat the gong: 1) Bawmkhai; 2) Suante; 3) Thawm te and 4) Buansing. The Kangte clan may instead beat the *sialki* mithan-horn instrument.

Munghen, raising the bamboo pennant

On *munghen* day a small pig is killed as *ciim sa*. Before the meat is eaten, the lads dance again as on the *pansik* day. After they have made their three rounds inside the house the *keekta* give them *taaksih* steamed millet and *gatai* (powdered sulfur beans).

Rain of burning coals

As soon as the lads have finished the meal, they have to scamper away from the *inn sung* through the door. The *tanus* follow them to the door and throw live coals and burning firewood at them. After that the *tanus* eat the *ciim sa*.

The *tuulpi* priest then kills another male pig and mounts the skull as before.

The keektas say their farewell

The hosts broaches a special pot of *zu* for the *keekta*: *zu tawi* in Kamhau usage. After the *zu* steep is vapid, the *keekta* say: 'Innteekte (hosts), may you enjoy perfect health. Goodbye.' and go home. The *keektanu* packs the remaining *taaksih* meal and the jowl meat. They are given a cock and one *gual* (one rupee) for *ki ling do* ritual. *Ling do* is a sacrifice, the equivalent of a medical check-up for people after an event or adventure.

Follow-up for taanghawm

One pig is killed as a follow-up of the *taanghawm*. Only then may the feast of merits proceed to the next level: the three-pig *daakging*. The procedure for this follow-up is the same as for the *taanghawm* pig.

Inntual sa and innsung sa

The buffalo Vung Za Kham killed for *inntual sa* and the *tuukpai* pig he killed for *innsung sa* entitles him to all the *inntual sa* and *innsung sa* other *taanghawm*

families kill in future. It is possible to perform the *taanghawm* without killing these, but the performer will not be entitled to the full rights. The three pigs in *taanghawm* are the pig, the sow and the piglet killed as *ciim sa*.

Inn sa liang

In the time of the Sukte chiefs the shoulder meat of *taang aih*, *sa aih* and *gal aih* (feasts for millet, victory and hunting) were given as tribute, because the animals had fed on the grass in the chief's land.

Sa san na or zaang sa

The *zaang* (short loin) meat is given to the *topa*, or lord, by the vassal, or *sila*. A person becomes a *sila* if an enemy captured him, if someone pays his debts, if someone looks after him in times of famine, or if he asks the protection of a powerful man from those who seek his life.

Ban of musical instruments

The *tanus* set a meal of steamed millet *taaksih* on the *innka* deck while the boys and girls are dancing, trying not to catch their attention. But when they do find out, all of them stop their dancing and rush in to eat the meal. After this meal has been taken, a ban on all musical instruments comes into effect.

The sung leen ni

The next day is called *sung leen ni*, and is when the meat-cutters go the *sunghpi* (father-in-law's) house and cut the neck meat from which they prepare a cut that the *sunghpi* household will take to the house of the host along with *sawn tawi* (a scarlet goat-hair tassel) and a pot of *zu*. A *sawn* tassel is tied together with the pinion feather of an eagle or an owl on a small stick, and the tassels with the feathers are stuck in the meal of the *zu* pot. If they meet anyone on the road, they give the meat to him. If they meet no-one, they throw the meat away before they enter the gate of the host.

When they arrive at the *zunung* house, the pot is steeped with water and the *pu te*, head of the family, prays for the *zunung* household, and the feather brought by the *sunghpi* household is worn around the neck of the host and that brought by the *pute* is worn by the oldest son.

Order of zu

For the *sawn tawi* day which is called *tanu dawi tan ni* (observation day for the *tanu*/daughters). The *haitawi* cup-bearer (senior *tanu*), and all the *tanus* who can, bring *zu* to be enjoyed with *sanggam bul* (chief brethren), the *putebul* (chief distaff), *thusa* (recorder), *sasem* (meat-cutter) and *nuphal* (in-laws).

Feasting thusa, sasem and haitawi

The host provides *zu khaih* (siphoned *zu*) to feast the recorder, meat-cutter and cup-bearers as recognition for all the work they have done during the *taanghawm* feast. The *thusa* and *sasem* are feasted on the sixth day after the *zunung* day. On the seventh day, the *sanggam bul* brethren and the *tanu*

haitawi, up to the fourth *tanu*, bring what *zu* they can, and they are served with the host's *zu*. With this last the *zunun* is ended, or it is *veng*.

Nuhdo songh and guamung bamboo banners

The two *nuhdo songhs*, two bamboo banners, two *sesawl* branches and two *nahhi sawl* branches are made ready for the arrival of the priest. At the *voksong*, one bamboo, one *sesawl* and one *nahhi sawl* are tied together with three turns of *vom khau* creepers. The same *sesawl* and *nahhi sawl* branches and bamboo are also tied with the *voksong* near the *sialkong* cow-gate.

One sow and one boar are handed over to the *thusa* under the *bikhalap* eave. The legs are tied and a *nahhi* pole is threaded through the bound feet of each pig. They are then laid on the *innka* deck on their left sides facing towards the interior of the house.

The *tuulpi pa* priest chants incantations on each pig and thrust a *tuul* spike through the heart of each one. *Zu* for the *tuulpi pa*'s cups are prepared as before. The pigs are cleaned and the bristles are singed and *sakhulot* pieces are taken from the sow.

The libation of the *sakhulot* stone pavement and the invocation upon the souls is the same as before. The *sangawng* neck meat is set aside, raw, and when it is cooked it is cooked separately in a pot. The broth is thrown away into the pig trough. The neck meat, the *huai* meat and a coil of sausage are cut and prepared by the *sasem* meat-cutters and distributed in the evening. The distaff household and *sunghpi* in-laws are given larger shares.

Mungtuk sa

Thusa recorders divide the *phuuk ka* (bacon meat) 'decorated' with liver and sausages as *mungtuk* meat for their part in procuring the *mung* bamboo and *nuhdo songhs*. The *haitawi* cup-bearer gets the *iik* meat (including three nipples), half of the jowl with liver and sausage. The *tuulpi* priest gets: 1) the *iik* meat (three nipples); 2) half the jowl; 3) the *kawng* loin meat decorated with liver and sausage.

Sadawi tang and ciim sa

The *sadawitang* ('meat of observance') is not taken when three boars are killed for the *daak ging* rite. The *ciim sa*, the tail, the liver and *utok* are the *sian sa* or cleansing meat.

Sahawmna, the order of meat

When the meat is done, the *tanu* fork out the meat and lay it out at the *sunden*, set aside the *siansa* cleansing meat and distribute the meat as follows:

- 1 *sabaal*: the *phei tongh*, the lower half of the hind leg;
- 2 the *innpi* paterfamilias: another *pheitongh*;
- 3 the second and third brethren: the two *liang tonghs* (lower part of the shoulders): if the boar is big enough the hind legs are given to the *sabaal* and three *sanggams*, and the shoulders to the next *sanggams*;

- 4 the *sasem* and *thusa* get the the *naak bul* (three ribs) ribcage, and the rest are divide among the brethrens;
- 5 the *pheilukhu* (top part of the hind leg) and the *huaisa* bacon meat are divided among the *tanu*.

Siampi

Siampi refers to the drummer and the three *daak* gong players. If the pig is small, the *siampi* group get the whole pig. If it is big, the *sasem* and *innteek* host allot to them the meat as they see appropriate. The *siampi* group is served on the fireplace inside the house. A pot of *zu* is broached for them at the *tap deek*, the back of the fireplace.

Blessings for villages

The drummer stands up, but the *daak* players sit down, as the priest intones:

Khua na siam in. Ka Mualbeem khua na siam in. Ka Tualmual na siam in. Ka Songpi na siam in. Ka Ngilkawn na siam in. Ka Sihvom na siam in. Ka Guazang na siam in. Ka Saizang na siam in. Ka Tedim khua na siam in. Ka Valvum khua na siam in. Ka Ngennung khua na siam in. Ka Thangkhal khua na siam in. Ka Thangzang khua na siam in. Ka Mawng-keen khua na siam in. Ka Gam Ngai khua na siam in. Ka Thenzang khua na siam in. Ka Tonzang khua na siam in. Ka Tuipi khua na siam in. Ka Vansangdim na siam in. Ka Pu khua na siam in. Ka Pa Khuana siam in. Ka Peemna khuana siam in. Ka Vaihna khua na siam in.

Mualbeem, Saizang, Tedim, Valvum, Ngennung, Thangkhal, Thangzang, Mawng-keen, Gam Ngai, Thenzang, Tonzang, Tuipi are names of villages. Ngilkawn, Sihvom, Vansangdim etc. are believed to be abodes of certain spirits. The Priest is calling upon these places for blessings.

At the end of the incantation, the *siampi* group play the instruments and dance three rounds, reverse (*nolh*) and then the drummer signals (*khuang lop*) the end.

There is then an invocation: a prayer for meat, health, longevity, children, good harvest, success in war and hunt, and meat and *zu*:

Saphei hong aw, sa ngawng hong aw. A in B in C in etc., ci dam ong nget na hi. Lu dam ong nget na hi. Teek kuul hong nget na hi, vuai kuul hong ngetna hi e. Tanu hong nget na hi e, tapa hong ngetna hi e. Miimza hong ngetna hi e, tang za hong ngetna hi e. Galmaang hong ngetna hi, samang hong ngetna hi. Tung ciin hong nget na hi, nuai ciin hong ngetna hi e. A gawh hong lul aw a luup hong lul aw.

Come *saphei* [hind leg of meat], come *sangawng* [neck of meat]. This is A, B, C's offering for health [*ci dam/lu dam*]. For longevity [*vuai kuul*], for a daughter [*tanu*] for *tapa*, for hundred-basket harvest of sorghum [*miim za*], for hundred-basket harvest of millet [*taang za*], asking for victory over the chief of the enemy, [*gal mang*], to slay the biggest of game [*sa mang*], asking for blessings from above [*tung ciin*] blessings from below [*nuai ciin*], may all the animals slaughtered be replenished; may all the *zu* wine served be replenished.

The priest then signals the end by *khuang lop* beats. The invocation of the spirits and the three rounds of dance and reverse are the same as before.

Tang kha sap na

Taang kha means the spirit of millet, but the invocation here is also for *sum kha*, money, *sial kha*, mithan etc. The spirit of the millet is exhorted to come and fill up the *pial sak* and *pial khang* (twin words for area downslope from fireplace); it is intoned that they had been harvested by the forefathers and that this (house) is where the spirit used to come in the past, that they come like the bees making their nest.

Tang kha hong aw, miimkha hong aw, sumkha hong aw, tuilu khawh kha hong aw, tuita khawh kha hong aw, namtom siat lah nam sau siat lah kha hong aw. Kapu khawh sa ka pa khawh sa hi cia. Na pu tun ngeina hi, na pa tun ngei na hi. ka pial sak ka pialkhang hong dim aw. Lii bang hong cing aw, khuai bang hong bawm aw.

The priest exhorts the *tang* spirit to come and fill up the *pial sak* back of the fireplace and *pial khang* like your grandfather (predecessor) and your father. *Lii bang ong cing aw, khuai bang* etc. May the grain fill up the *pialk-hang* like a whirlpool, may it rest like a hive of bees.

Zuneekna, the drink signal

Before the priest's incantation, no drink may be served, nor may any more pots be primed. The exception is the host's pot served at the *bang khang* (downslope from the door), over which the priest had performed a libation. The host's pot for the invocation of the souls may also be served after the priest has performed the libation.

Ciim sa

After all the meat has been distributed according to the custom, and all the *zu* has been served and consumed, a small pig is killed as *ciim sa*. Pieces of meat for *sakhulot* divination are taken from the carcass. A sprig from the *sesawl* and *nahhi sawl* of the *voksong* are taken into the *innsung* room for the *ling nang* ritual and returned to their respective places in the *songhs*. The *ciim sa* may be eaten only after the *sakhulot* divination.

Sadawitang thu, the sacred meat

One hind leg (with the tail) and *utok* (top part of liver) meat, is taken as the *sadawi tang* sacred meat and entrusted to the *haitawi* for safe keeping. In this case there are three legs (three male pigs slaughtered for the rite), with the *ciim sa*.

Salu suan na, mounting of the skull

The bamboo strip binding the skull is wound clockwise and three sticks with three pieces of meat are mounted with the *ciim sa* skull. The next skull with the *tuul* skewer is mounted with three sticks with two pieces of meat, making

altogether six pieces. The next skull is mounted with three sticks with a piece of meat each. The sticks are fixed between the skulls and the bamboo strips binding the skull. The mounting of the skull is done by the *tanus*. Only *guapi* bamboo is used for the bamboo strips. This ritual is different from the previous ones in that the *sadawitang* meat is not taken from the sow and boar and no *tual tawh zu* is broached.

Kimutna, the breathing-on ritual

A male and a female member of the household are chosen for the breathing-on ritual.¹² During the rite, they may not talk to anyone who had travelled outside the village (strangers, *khualzin sa*), and may not eat green vegetables. If the *sadawitang* or sacred meat is lost, another animal has to be killed and the ritual must be repeated.

Sian hon na, end of the ban

The next day, one lump of *taksih* steamed millet, local salt (*dimci*), ginger, a piece of tail and *utok* meat and seven *bepi* bean seeds (baked) are minced into pieces and poured on the *nuhdo song* with *zu tui* water. That ends the ban for the chosen two.

The follow up

Another pig is killed as a follow up to the above three-pig *daak gin*. The ritual is the same as the previous one in all details: how the priest is invited, the pig is delivered to the priest, the evisceration and singeing of the carcass, the casting of the *sakhulot* divination, the libation with *zu* water, the re-entry and invocation at the *sunden*, sipping the *zu* and spitting it into the *haitong*, casting the *sakhulot* again, the distribution of the meat, eating the *siansa* cleansing meat, setting aside the sacred *sadawitang* meat, the meat portion for the *sanggams*, the meat portion for the *tanus*, the meat portion for the *mungtuk*, the distribution of meat, the *muut* ritual with the *tuul* skewer and the mounting of the skull.

Vok nga tawh pusa biakna: a five-pig pusa-rite spell

The *daak ging* or sounding the gong rite is a three-pig affair. This three-pig rite is followed by a five-pig rite that is called 'to worship the *pusa* with five pigs, or to celebrate *taang aih* feast with five pigs' *vok nga tawh pusa bia* or *vok nga a taang aih*. As is done for the three-pig rite, the *thusa*, *sasem* and all the relatives meet to plan for the feast, set the date and send for the priest. The *tong* feast is the highest feast a man and wife can give, and entwines their souls for eternity. One pig, then three pigs and five pigs feasts are killed for *daak ging*, *taang hawm*, *pusa bia* or *taang aih*.

Pansik, the day before the feast

The *thusa* procure the *voksonghs*, the bamboo pennant, *sesawl* and *nahhi sawl* branches and plant them. They will tie them together on the *khek leh* day, the day after the feast, with three turns of *vomkhau* creeper string in right-handed

(clockwise) direction. This is called *mung heen*. Also on *pansik* day, the *tanu* daughters set up a fireplace on banana trunks on the *innka* deck.

The anhaang meal, and zu for the priest's cups

The *haitawi* cup-bearer cooks the *anhaang* meal in the fireplace and then charges a pot, which must be free from any chips on its rim, with *zu* meal, and siphons the steeping at the *innsung pi* downslope side from the *suutpi* post. Then she fills up the cups (gourds) and set them inside the *haihonlawh* basket, which is filled with millet grain to stabilize the round-bottomed gourd cups.

Killing of four of the pigs

Four *tanu* catch four of the pigs from the *inn nuai* pen, and hand them over to the *thusa* through the gap in the deck by removing a plank. Then they receive them again from the *thusa*, tie the legs and thread a *nah hi* pole through the legs for carrying. They set the pigs on their left sides facing the inside of the house, with the biggest pig most inside the house.

The *haitawinu* brings the *haihonlawh* with the cups from inside the house and sets it beside the biggest pig. The priest intones an incantation and then sticks the first pig through the heart with a *tuul* spike. He repeats the incantation and kills the remaining three pigs.

Libation of the sakhulot divination place

After he has killed the pigs, the priest goes to the *sakhulot* place under the eave, followed by the *haitawinu* with the *haihonlawh* and cups. The priest pours the libation of *zu* on the place and then re-enters the house and squats in the *sunden* area facing to the front of the house. The *haitawinu* sets the *haihonlawh* basket near the *tulpi* priest and fetches a lump of the *anhaang* meal she cooked elsewhere on the lid of the *haihonlawh* basket.

Prayer

The priest calls the names of the family one by one, saying they are praying for health, wisdom, daughters, sons, and the male and female of silver, for killing leaders of enemies and for big game in hunting.

Invocation of the souls with tualtawh zu

The *tualtawh zu* is provided by the *sabaal* head brethren and the pot is set under the *bikhalap* front eave. The priest takes a sip from the pot which is already steeped, and spits the *zu* inside the *haitong* cup. He sips again and blows a *zu phih* libation. He also does the *zu phih* with the hosts *zu* pot set at the downslope side of the door.

Singeing the carcass

Some of the *tanus* eviscerate the pig and clean up the entails; others singe the carcass on the fireplace on the deck.

Pieces for the sakhulot divination

A slice of meat two-fingers wide is taken from both sides of the biggest pig, cooked quickly, and the *sakhulot* is cast. Not a drop of the blood or a piece of the meat may be taken out of the compound.

Cutting the meat

The *sasem* meat-cutters cut up the carcass for distribution.

The *sa puanak* ('jacket') is taken from the biggest pig and, together with the neck meat of the next pig, is given to the host's *sunghpi* (in-law). The neck of the biggest pig is sent uncooked to the *pupi* (distaff) household.

The *sasem* meat-cutter for the household then goes to the houses of the *pute* and *sunghpi* and cuts the *sangawng* neck meat for both. He also prepares a piece of meat for each household for the *sung leen* day, which they will bring to the *zunung* household and give it to the first person they meet on the way. They will throw it away if they meet nobody.

Sawn tawi na, scarlet hair plumes

The *sawn tawi* ritual is the same as in the three-pig *daak ging*.

Invocation

The prayer for the villages, '*Khua na siam aw, A, tatna khua na siam aw, B, tatna khua na siam aw* etc.', with the names of the families and the names of the villages, is the same as before. The drummer stands and the *daak* instrument players sit down. The music is *laampi daak*, and the drummer stops after three rounds.

Saphei, sangawng sapna, invocation for leg and neck meat

The invocation goes, 'Come *saphei* (leg meat), come *sangawng* (neck meat)... A, B, C etc. are asking for good health, hundred-basket harvests of millet, sorghum, daughters, sons, killing leaders of the enemies, the best of hunts, etc.' The same three rounds of dance conclude the invocation.

Khasap na, invocation of souls

As in the three-pig *daak gin*, souls of the family are invoked, and warned of accepting others' offers of *zu* and meat. The *taangkha* spirit is invited as before.

The order of zu

1) *Siampi zu* for the drum- and *daak*-instrument group is set at the *tap deek*, at the back of the fireplace. The priest sips it, makes *zu phih* libation and drinks it. 2) The *zu* pots provided by the *intee* host and *sabaal* chief *sanggam* are set at the head of the *lupna* bed. They are for *puvakna*, or feasting the distaff household. The *haitawi* cup-bearer, *sanggam* brethrens, *thusa*, *sasem* and *nuphal* (in-laws) take turns at the pots. *Pute vaak* or feasting the *pute* distaff household means the emphasis is on them, and the *sungh* and *pu* are alternated in their turns at the pots.

Mungheen, raising the pennants

Counting from the *pansik* day, *zupi* and *kheek leh* day, on the third day the *siampi* drummer and the *daak*-instrument group get together and, as on *zupi* day, they make the invocation under the *bikhalaap* eaves and continue as follows.

The *siampi* priest stands with the drum under the *bikhalap* eaves and the *daak* players sit down. An incantation is made for the villages: '*Khua na siam aw, A' khua na siamaw, B' khuana siam aw... etc.*', and the *daak* player plays *laampi daak*, as before, reversing three times, they stop. Then he begins again, and calls, '*Saphei hong aw, sangawng hong aw... etc.*' These proceed as above, reverses three times and stops. Then invocation of the souls: '*A' kha hong aw, B' kha hong aw...*' Lastly, while the *daak* players are still playing, the *siampi* calls out, '*Taangkha hong aw, miimkha hong aw etc...*', as in three-pig *daak ging*.

After all these have been performed, the *tanus* or *thusa* raise the pennants, tying the bamboo pennants to the *songhs* with the *nahhi*, and *sesawl* branches with the *vomkhau* creepers. This is *mungheen*.

Siampi zu tawi

The host broaches a pot of *zu* for the *siampi* group, the drummer and *daak* players. *Tawi* means 'offer' in the order of *zu*.

Sawl bang

After all the above rituals have been completed, a fresh cut leafy branch is hung upside down on the gate of the house to keep out *zin sa*, guests from outside of the village. One male and one female of the family are chosen to be *tuul tawh ki muut*, subjected to the blowing across the *tuul* stake, as in the three-pig *daak ging*: they may not talk with *zin sa* and may not eat green vegetables.

Ciim sa

A small pig is killed at the *sunden*, and after the *tanus* have dressed it and cooked it, *sakhulot* pieces are taken and the divination pieces are cast. After that the meat may be eaten.

Sadawitang meat

The tail, liver and *utok* are taken out of the *ciim sa* for *sadawitang* or sacred meat.

Sian honna, a rite to end the ban/taboo

The liver and the tail are minced into little pieces with pieces of toenail, mixed with a little *dim ci* salt, and poured on the *nuhdo songhs* with *zu tui* water to end the ban.

A small branch is taken from each of the *nuhdo songhs* for the *ling nan* incantation in the *inn sung* room after the *sakhulot* divination, and then returned to their places.

Taaksih luina, setting the taaksih table

This is a light-hearted interlude in this solemn ritual, and gives the boys and girls a chance to frolic. The *haitawis* furtively set a basket of *taaksih nganhuan* steamed millet on the fireplace on the *innka* deck and rush back into the house, while the boys and girls are dancing. As soon as they discover the act, they grab a handful of *taaksih* or *zu* meal from the *innka* and stuff them into the mouths of *haitawi* and *tanus*. The boys and girls also stuff the meal in each other's mouths. This effectively ends the dancing and anyone, old or young, may eat the *taksih* meal. The basket may only be made from *guapi* bamboo: if any basket made from *guapi* bamboo is not available, a strip of *guapi* may be threaded into the basket to be acceptable. From that time on, there may not be any playing of instruments.

Sung leen ni

This is the third day after *zupi* day, and is when the distaff side of the household, the *pupi*, the *sungh pi* and other *pu* can bring *zu*.

Eagle feathers and scarlet hair plumes

The *pupi* and *sunghpi* stick an eagle feather and *keelsawn* goat's hair plumes in the meal of their pots, and bring a cut from the neck meat they received to the *zunung* host's house. If they meet anyone on the road they give the meat to him or her, but if they do not meet anyone they throw the meat away before they enter the compound of the *zunung* house.

The *pupi* and *sunghpi* *zu* pots are set at the *lukhung* head of the bed. After the pots have been steeped with water, the *pupi* sips from the pot, spits it out, and intones: '*Cidam ludam tanu tawi ding tapa tawi. Sumlam ding siallam ding, miim za taang za kho ding...*' ('To enjoy health, to have sons and daughters, to earn wealth, to have *sial* livestock, to have hundred-basket harvests in millet and sorghum... and whatever blessing he may want to bestow.') Then he hangs the feather and hair plumes around the *zu nungpa*, the performer of the feast.

In the same manner, the *sunghpi* prays for the family and hangs his feather and plumes around the neck of the eldest son. They wear the feathers and plumes for a day or two and then keep them in a *va kuang* box for safe keeping.

Tanu dawitan ni

This is the day after *sung leen* day, that is the fourth day from *zu pi* day. The distaff side of the household, the *haitawi* cup-bearer and *tanu* (daughter) families, bring their *zu* on the *sung leen* day.

The order of meat

- 1 *Thusas* divide the *phuukka* meat, decorated with liver and sausage.
- 2 *Tanus* receive half of the *iik* (including three nipples), half of the *lupaang* (jowl), and a *kawng bit* (the loin end) decorated with liver and sausage.

- 3 The *tuulpi* priest gets half of the *lupang* (jowl), half of the *iik* (including three nipples), and a *kawng bit* (the loin end) decorated with liver and sausage.
- 4 *Sabaal*, senior brethren, get *phei tong* (lower part of the leg), *liang bit* (the shoulder) of the pig from which the *sapuan ak* ('meat jacket') is taken, and *sabaal sathau* (lard from the fat of the intestines).
- 5 The *innpi*, paterfamilias, gets the *phei tong* (lower part of the leg) decorated with liver and sausage.
- 6 The *siampi* group, the drummer and three *daak*-instrument players, get the end of the meat from which the *satai ten* cut is taken plus whatever the host deems appropriate. If the pig is small, the whole is given to them.
- 7 *Thusa* recorders and *sasemte* meat-cutters get *naak bul* (ribcage, including three ribs).

Other cuts

- 1 *Phei lukhu*, the top parts of the hind legs (rump) decorated with liver and sausage, are divided by the *tanus*.
- 2 *Sapuan ak* and *bengbah* (neck meat) decorated with liver and sausage are sent to *sunghpi* (in-laws).
- 3 The neck of the biggest pig (raw) is delivered to the *pupi*. (The *sasem* meat-cutters go to the *pupi* household on *kheekleh* day and divides all the neck meat for all the *pus*.)

The five-pig *taang aih* is always followed by a one-pig feast. All the rituals, the order of *zu* and the order of meat in this follow up are the same as in five-pig *taang aih*. Pu Vung Za Kham said that according to the ancient customs of the Sukte tribe, a seven-pig *taang aih* and a one-pig follow up must be performed after the five-pig *taang aih* and the one-pig follow up before a mithan may be killed for the *tong* feast.

The *tong* feast

The *tong* feast is the most important of the feasts of merit for the Kamhaus. Like the *khuangtsawi* feast of the Zahaus described by Stevenson,¹³ the *tong* is preceded by a series of feasts: the one-pig *pusa* feast; three-pig *taang hawm*, three-pig *daak ging*, five-pig *pusa* feast. Pu Vung Za Kham, who recorded the feasts of merit as he himself performed them, wrote that Sukte elders told him that a seven-pig feast used to be given before the *tong* feast may be performed, although nowadays it is done after the five-pig feast and a follow-up of one-pig feast.

After a husband and wife have performed the *tong* feast, their souls are believed to be entwined for all eternity. Therefore the couple is not expected to divorce after they have given the *tong* feast. When his clansmen forced Kamhau Chief Khua Cin to divorce his great love Vung Khaw Lian they arranged a great *tong* feast, which he probably extracted from them so that she and he would be together in the next life.

An affair of the whole clan

When a family feels it has enough wealth in animals and grain to think of giving a *tong* feast, it first consults all relatives, because all in the family *panmun* establishment will have to contribute *zu* and the *tanus* (daughters) especially have to participate fully in the five-day feast. Relatives from out of the village will also contribute their shares of *zu*; the *tanu* will bring faggots of *meilah* (pitch pine), and youths of the village will haul logs for the bonfire.

Preparation

When the relatives agree, the *thusa* of the family *panmun* is sent out to designate who will brew which *zu* is to be served on which day of the feast.

The clan *tuulpi* has to be consulted first, in case there is anyone else in the clan who has plans for similar feasts. If the priest gives the word to go ahead, the delegates sent to consult him will say '*Thu ngah hang.*' ('We have permission.'), and the family will invite all the relatives, the *thusa*, the *sasem* and the *tanu* to siphon a big pot of *zu* and serve *zukhaih* (steep) for a joyful *ton nawk* gathering.

A hardwood pole called *songh* will be planted in the middle of the *inntual* (courtyard) for each mithan killed. If five mithans are killed, the family is entitled to plant five *songhs*. Able men from the village are requested to hew the *songhs*, and are promised one of the mithans, the fourth or fifth etc., for their special share.

On the day the volunteers set out to hew the *songhs*, they stop by the house of the family planning *zu nung*, as the feast is also called, and the host provides a big gourd of *zu khaih* siphoned *zu* and meat jerky, chilli and salt to be eaten with their lunch in the jungle.

The *songhs* may not be brought home directly, but are stacked in a convenient place in the village, from where they will be retouched and brought to the house on *pansik*, the day before the main *zupi* day.

The *thusa*/recorder for the family goes out to families who are assigned to brew the *zu* for the *pansik*, *zupi*, *kheek leh*, *sung leen* or *tanu daw* *tan* days.¹⁴ Those who are in the *panmun* set-up, for instance the *sanggam*/brethren households, are informed who will brew the *sial zu* or *tangval zu kai* pots on the *zupi* day

The *tong* is not only the affair of a family and its *panmun* (household establishment). Clan members from far away villages are also invited and informed of the date, so that they will arrive on *pansik* day, that is, the day before *zupi* day.

Resinous pine kindling (*meilah*) is collected by the *tanus* to be used for lighting during the feast. Dry logs are collected by boys to be used in the bonfire for people to warm themselves.

Pansik day

The day after the priest and those sent to escort him arrive is called *pansik* day. Relatives and guests from outside of the village arrive on this day.

Those who cut the *songh* poles make their finishing touches to them, and bring them to the *zunung* house. After they have enjoyed a *beelmai* pot of *zu*

that the host broached for them, they dig holes in the *inntual* courtyard and plant the *songh* poles.

A *songh* and a *gua mung* (bamboo pennant) is planted for each *sial* to be killed. The *songhs* are tied with a *vom khau* creeper rope, making three passes in the right (clockwise) direction. A piece of the *huai sa* meat ('side meat', loin) of the pig killed on that *pansik* day is tied onto the *guamung* bamboo pole: it is called *vaphual an tah*, food for the hornbill.

The *tanu* set up a temporary fireplace on the *innka* teak deck with a cushion of banana trunks. A similar fireplace is also built in the *innsungpi*. This inner sanctum, normally closed, is open only for *tong*, spirit propitiations and funerals.

Early on *pansik* day, the *thusa* procure two tall bamboo plants with leaves, two *sesawl* branches, two *nahhi sawl* branches and enough *vomkhau* creepers to tie them. One bamboo plant, one *sesawl* and one *nahhi sawl* each are planted with the two *nuhdo songhs*. But they are not as yet tied with the creepers, which must wait for the *kheekleh*, or *munghen* day.

Before the animals are killed, the *haitawinu* cooks millet meal and primes a *beel tung* pot (which is not cracked in the rim) with *zu* meal and stuffs (*puah*) it with *theitheek* leaves. The *beel tung* is set at *sutpi khang* (downslope side from the *suutpi* post). She steeps (*tui leih*) the pot with water, and siphons the steeping for the *tuulpi* priest's cups. Then she sets the cup in a *haihon* basket, which is made of *guapi* bamboo and filled with millet grain in which the round-bottomed cups are placed without spilling the *zu*.

The *tanus* catch the pigs from below the house, and hand them over to the *thusas* through a hole made by removing one of the *innka* planks below the eaves in the front *inn liim* parlor. At the parlor the *tanus* once again receive the pigs from the *thusas*, tie their legs and thread *nah hi* poles through the legs, and set them near the *innka* fireplace on their left side, facing towards the house. The *haitawinu* cup-bearer brings the *haihonlawh* with the cups and sets it near the animals.

The priest takes a cup, pours *zu* on the face of the lead sow, makes an incantation and then thrusts the *tuul* spike into the heart of the pig. Then he pours the *zu* on the boar again, and kills it too.

After he has killed the pigs the priest goes over to the *suangphah paito sakhulot* spot, pour *zu* on it, and goes into the house and chants an invocation for souls. Squatting in the *sunden* area, facing to the front of the house, he takes a little *zu* in his mouth and, spitting it out, intones the name of the feast-giver, his wife and children one by one.

*Kha hong aw, Vung Za Kham kha hong aw, Haat Mang kha hong aw, etc... lii bang hong cing aw, khuai bang hong bawm aw.*¹⁵

From the *sunden* area, the *sabaal* (senior brethren) comes out to the *bikhalap nuai* near the *sakhulot* spot and sips a mouthful from the *beelmai* pot of *zu* provided by the *sabaal*, and not spitting it on the floor (as when one prays), he spits it into a *hai tong* cup and then performs a *zu phih* libation

with the *zu*. Then he puts the *haitong* cup on the *baangkhang* (downslope of the door) beam.

Next, the priest performs a *zu phih* libation with the host's pot of *zu* set at the *baangkhang* (downhill side of the door). After that all *zu* may be served.

After eviscerating the carcasses, some *tanus* clean the intestines and some singe the carcasses and take a two-finger wide piece of meat from the side of the sow for *sakhulot* and quickly cook the meat.

The *haitawinu* brings the *haihonlawh* basket over to the *sakhulot* spot and both she and the priest sit down. The *sakhulot* divination is cast as soon as the meat is done. First it is cast for the family. Then it is cast for the *sanggam* agnate side of the household to the fourth *sanggam*; and then for the *tanu*, starting from the *haitawi* to the fourth on the *tanu* line. Others who want to have their fortunes told regarding hunting or trading may also consult the *sakhulot* divination.

THE ORDER OF MEAT

The *tanus* hand over the carcasses to the *sasem* meat-cutters for disjointing and cutting:

- 1 Meat for the *sunden* shelf: a *kawng* (loin end), a *lutang* (head) and a *phuuk nawithumna a at phel khat* (half of the stomach bacon with three nipples) are hung on the *sunden* shelf, uncooked.
- 2 For the *sabaal*: the lard from the small intestine, also called *sabaal*.
- 3 For *bangkua*, brethren: *phei tongh*, the lower part of the hind of the sow.
- 4 For *impi*, paterfamilias: the other *phei tongh*.
- 5 For *sanggam bul*, ranking brethren: *sakhe tongh* and *liang tongh*, lower parts of the shoulders, are given according to their ranking.
- 6 For the *haitawi*, cup-bearer, a *lupang phel lang khat* (half the jowl), a *iik nawithum at tan phel khat* (half of the chest with three nipples), a *pheisa baak khat* (a cut of the hind leg, decorated with liver and sausage).
- 7 For the *tuulpipa*, the priest: half the jowl, half of the chest with three nipples, and a *kawng* (loin end) decorated with liver and sausage.
- 8 For the *tanu*, daughters: a *iik tulpi* *leh haitawi te a val teng* (the other part of the chest meat given to the priest and the cup-bearer) and a *phei lukhu* (top parts of the hind legs).
- 9 *Mungtuksa*, the meat portion for those who procure the bamboo plants, the *nahhi* and *se sawl*, and the *vomkhau* creepers, consists of a *phukka* loin meat with liver and sausage.
- 10 The *tuulpi* (priest) receives the whole meat of the second pig (*vok tuul phuh na zom*) if the pig is small. If it is big, the host and *sasem* give him what they think is proper.

TUALTAWHZU, DEDICATION OF THE SONGH GROUND

When the *tong* is performed with *sial* cattle for the first time, the *sabaal* (brethren family) bring the *tualtawhzu* pot on the morning of the *pansik* day for the priest to perform *zu phih*, a libation at the spot where the *songhs* will

be planted. The priest prays for health, *sum kha, sial kha, tang kha miimkha tanu tapa* (spirits of money, *sial* cattle, millet and sorghum grain, sons and daughters). Then he returns the pot to the *suangphah paito* flagstone under the *bikhalap* eave.

After the pigs have been slaughtered and the libation is poured on the *sakhulot* divination spot and an invocation has been made in the *sunden* area, the priest takes a sip from the pot and spits the steeping into the *hai tong* cup. He then performs a *zu phih* libation on the pot, and the *zu* is served to all present. After the *zu* steep has become vapid (*peeng*) the pot is tied to the post at the end of the *suangphah paito*, and may not be moved for the rest of the feast.

SONGKIIMKOT, DANCING AROUND THE SONGHS

On the evening of *pansik* day the *siampi* priest and *daak* players start the *songkiimkot* dance from the fireplace on the *innka* deck. The priest wears the tail feather of a hornbill and carries a gourd bottle of *zu*, to which a *peeng* pipe is fixed, in a *sakhau* bag. Behind the priest come the *siampi daak* players. The priest drummer is preceded by a man beating the mithan-horn *sialki*, who in turn is preceded by a man carrying a shield and a spear. On *pansik* day, no-one except the priest carries a gourd of *zu*.

At the commencement of the dance, the priest sips *zu* from the bottle in his *sakhau*, spits the it out and according to the prayer for the villages shouts at the top of his voice: '*Khuana siam aw, ka mualbeem khua na siam aw, ka sawm pi na siam aw... etc.*' They dance towards the house and turn in the uphill direction as they reach the eaves (*bi khalap a phak uh ciangin inntuallam ma nawh in pai to*). Their dance passes the *inntual songh*, on the uphill side, and while they are dancing the priest intones: '*Haat Mang takte*¹⁶ *Hat Mang takte, sial tang sun a Hat Mang takte, Hat Mang tak te taang za ai a Hat Mang tak te, Haat Mang tak te, sial tang ii nu, sial tang ii nu, Sukzo ii nu.*' ('Hail Haat Mang, she who pricks *sial tang* [gives the tong feast], hail Haat Mang who gave the *taangza* [hundred-basket] feast, mother of *sial tang*, mother of *sial tang*, mother of *sukzo*, mother of *sukzo*...')¹⁷

They dance around the *innka* fireplace, to the eave, turn uphill and back to the uphill side of the *inntual songh*, when the priest intones: '*Vung Za Kham takte, Vung Za Kham takte, sial tang suna Vung Za Kham takete, Vung Za Kham takte, taangza ai a Vung Za Kham takte, Vung Za Kham takte, sial tang ii nu sial tang ii pa, taang za ii nu taang za ii pa, Sukzo tu, sukzo ta.*' (Vung Za Kham is the husband of Haat Mang, and these are the same hails as she received.)

They continue dancing on the the same route, and the third time they reach the point uphill from the *inntual songh* the priest continues, '*Miim kha hong aw, taang kha hong aw, tuilukha hong aw, tuilu khawh kha hong aw, tuitaw khawh kha hong aw, namtom siat lah kha hong aw, namsau siat lah kha hong aw, sim mang siat lah zo mang siat lah kha hong aw, Napu tun ngei sa hi, na pa tun ngei sa h ie. Kapu lam sa hi cia, ka pa lam sa hi cia. Ka pialsak hong dim aw, kapial khang hong dim aw, liibang hong cing aw, khuai bang hong bawm aw.*' (He invokes the spirits of the sorghum and millet and assures them that this is the place where their ancestors used to come. Come and fill my house, the

incantation says.) When they have completed the third round and reach the *innka* fireplace the priest gives the signal *khuang lop*, a series of three rapid beats of the drum, and the hailing stops so as to begin the invocation of *saphei, sangawng* (of the meat, the hind leg and the neck).

Saphei sangawng sapna, an invocation of leg meat and neck meat, is followed by prayer for the members of the family for health, hundred-basket harvests of millet and sorghum, defeat of chiefs of enemies, success in the hunt, sons, daughters, longevity etc. *Hong* means 'Come thou!' in priestly language. The priest takes a sip of the *zu* from his bottle in his *sakhau* bag, blows a *zu phih* libation and intones:

Saphei hong aw, sangawng hong aw. Vung Za Kham in, Haat Mang in, Kam Khen Kham in, Ciin Khan Cing in, Mang Lam Niang in [...] Cidam hong nget na hi e. Ludam hong ngetna hi e, miim za hong ngetna hi e, taangza hong ngetna hi e, galmang hong nget na hi e, sa mang hong ngetna hi e, tanu hong ngetna hi e, tapa hong ngetna hi e, tung ciin hong nget na hi e, cidam pia aw, lu dam pia aw, miim za pia aw, taang za pia aw, nuai ciin hong nget na hi e. Gal mang pia aw, sa mang pia aw, tanu pia aw, tapa pia aw, teek kut pia aw, vua kut pia aw, tung ciin pia aw, nuai ciin pia aw, a gawh hong lul aw, a luup hong lul aw.

Come, hind leg, come, neck meat ... This is the offering of Vung Za Kham [father], Haat Mang [mother], Kam Khen Kham [son], Ciin Khan Cing [wife of Kam Khen Kham], Mang Lam Niang [eldest daughter of Kam Khen Kham and Ciin Khan Cing]... This is their prayer for *ci dam* ... *Lu dam* (health) *miim za* ... *Taangza*... (hundred baskets of sorghum and millet) ... *tung ciin* (heavenly blessing), *nuaiciin* (earthly blessing) ...victory over the chiefs of enemies, the taking of the best of hunting, for sons and daughters, for longevity (*teek kut vua kuut*) and ability to slaughter animals and to give endless feasts of wine.

After three times around the *songh*, when the dance file reaches the spot uphill from the *innka* *songh*, the priest intones, '*Haat Mang takte, Haat Mang takte, sialtang sun a Haat Mang takte, Haat Mang takte, taangza ai a Haat Mang takte, Haat Mang takte, taang zaa ai a Haat Mang takte Hat Mang takte.*' ['Hail Haat Mang! Hil Haat Mang! One who gives the tong feast, one who gives the taangza feast...'] The dance file continues another round and when they reach the same place, the priest continues, '*Vung Za Kham takte, Vung Za Kham takte, sialtang suna a Vung Za Kham takte, etc.*', and goes another round till he reaches the same place once more, to invoke the spirits of millet and sorghum:

Taangkha hong aw, tuilu khawh kha hong aw, tuitaw khawh kha hong aw, namtom siat lah hong aw, namsau siat lah kha hong aw, sim mang siat lah kha hong aw, zo mang siat lah kha hong aw. Napu tunna sa hi e, na pa tun na sa hi e. Ka pu lam sa hi cia, pka pa lam sa hi cia. Ka pialsak hong dim aw, ka pialkhang hong dim aw, lii bang hong cing aw, khuai bang hong bawm aw.

Come spirit of millet, spirit from the north, spirit from the south! Come spirit that prevails over the lowly, spirit that prevails over the mighty! Come spirit that prevails over lord of the *simh* dry land. Come spirit that prevails

over the lord of the *zo* cold wet land! Your grandfather* made his home here. Your father made his home here. You belong to my grandfather. You belong to my father. Fill the back of my hearth. Fill the fore of my hearth! Fill my house like a whirlpool. Cling to my hearth like swarms of the honey bees.**

* Grandfather of the millet spirit. **These are meant to be signs of opulence.

After dancing around the *songhs* three times, the priest gives the *khuang lop* signal and stops.

KHASAPNA, INVOCATION OF THE SOULS

Once again the priest leads the three *daak* players around the *songhs*. As they are playing the *daak* instruments he summons the souls of the family, starting with the head of the family, his wife and children. He warns the souls not to accept any *zu* or meat from strangers; they will give bitter *zu* and bitter meat and they will ensnare them with the offer. Then he calls ('A, B, C... *takte'* – husband, wife etc.) followed by invocation to the spirit of millet and sorghum. This time the priest does not go around the fireplace, but steps on to the *suangphah* flagstone and stops beneath the eave.

SIAMPI ANPIAKNA, THE PRIEST'S TABLE

The *siampi te* (the priest and *daak* players) are then served *taaksih*, steamed millet meal and meat. After they have eaten, they sing *la pi* clan songs.

Mun innpha leh gam lo pha
Thuam tang pigua tawh thuam tang e,
Beemtang tawh haithei bang a lun lai bang e

Oh my home, oh my estate
 Nutant penants, waving banners,
 Like the fig tree in fruition, opulent.

Mi siingkhua ah zing va zin tang,
Laimi ka hen sang in ka min
Zang lawi bang a thang zaw e.

In all my wanderings and sojourn
 I was known for my granary
 Than all my victory in war.

Pi gua is poetic diction for a species of bamboo known as *guapi*, which has ceremonial importance. The *haihonlawh* basket of the *haitawinu* cup-bearer, or the *tuul* spike to stick the ceremonial pigs must be of *guapi* bamboo. In this song, the mention of the *guapi* bamboo tells of the composer's *tong* feast, after which he still has his *beemtang* granary still full. The second part of the song says that as he travels to others' lands, he is known more for this feast than his feats in battle.

The *daak* players play the instruments and sing this song, dancing round the *songhs* via the uphill side and entering the house, stepping over the

sangkil doorsill with the right foot first. They then go to the *sunden* area, reverse the dance, and then jump up over the high *sangkil* sill in what is known as *ton siik*. After this, the *siampi pa* priest blows a *zu phih* with a sip from the pot that the host set at the *tap deek* fireplace sill. Finally, the *zu* in the house is ready to be served.

The plural form of *haitawi*, *haitawite* – cup-bearers, refers both to the husband and the wife and also the members of their family. It is the wife, *haitawinu*, who actually carries the priest's gourd cups. Like the *keekta* 'ideal couple' of the *taang hawm* feast, they sleep on a mat in the *inn sungpi* inner sanctum room during the feast. They keep the *pial mei* fire burning throughout the feast.

THE ORDER OF ZU

- 1 The host and the *bangkua*, first ranked brethren, each set a pot of *zu* at the *lupnapi lukhung* downslope from the master bed to feast the *pu te* (head of the maternal next of kin) and *sungh te* (father-in-law).
- 2 The *nuphal* (brothers-in-law) set their pots inwards from those of the *pu te* and *sungh te*.
- 3 With the cup-bearer leading, the *tanus* line their pots inwards in the *baang khang* in the *inn sung pi*.
- 4 *Sagual go te*, those who contribute animals to the feast, each brings a *beel mai* pot of *zu*, which is lined up next to the host's and *bangkua*'s pots
- 5 The meat-cutters' two pots are set on the fireplace.

The *siampi* priest group gather and recite clan songs, playing the tunes on the *daak* instruments:

*Ton leh hauh aw ni bang sa vung vung,
Nuai a lah khim zing tah e,
Ka khawh ciandal in siang e.
Ka khawh ciandal in sia tang e,
Khua kiim a min laam bang eng nah e.*

The tong feast, hot as the noon day sun,
Yet down below, the gathering gloom,
The sound of *ciandal*,¹⁸ my harvest proclaim
My harvest the sound of *ciandal* proclaim
The envy of every village am I.

*Hong neek lo aw, hong neek lo aw
Sing gual aw hong neek lo aw.
Lah liang ka tu tawmhang in,
Ngal khuai sang lah hang zaw'ng e.*

Don't despise, don't despise me.
Strangers don't despise me.
Of humble and lowly birth I may be
I'm braver than the hornet bee.

There are eleven *ton la* songs (which are only for *tong*, and may be sung only by those who have given such feasts) of which two have been translated above. After they have been sung, anyone who can beat the drum takes over, and the revellers, with the *daak* players playing the tune, sing and dance till dawn.

At the first cock's crow, they siphon the *zu* for the *tang suak* procession.

Zupi ni, zupi day

THE TAANG SUAK PROCESSION

The day of the feast begins with a dance-file procession called *taang suak*. The *thusa*, *sasem* and *panmun* office holders, all men, women and even children, gather for it. They drink the *zu khaih* siphoned *zu* and each wears a hornbill tail feather in the hair.

When the mithan *sial* are being slaughtered, the priest carries a gourd of *zu haa* (*zu* meal) with a *puandum* sling.¹⁹ He dances in front of the drummer, leading the procession three times around the *innka* fireplace and chants the *tangkha sam*.

MINLAWHNA INVOCATION

While dancing, the priest chants:

Khua na siam aw, ka Mualbeemkhua na siam aw, ka sawmpina siam aw, ka tualmual na siam aw, ka ngilh kawn na siam aw, ka sihvom na siam aw, ka gawzang na siam aw, ka saizang khuana siam aw ka saizang, ka tedim khua na siam aw, ka valvum khua na siam aw, ka ngennung khua na siam aw, ka thangkhal khua na siam aw, ka thangzang khua na siam aw, ka mawng keenkhua na siam aw, ka gamngai khua na siam aw, ka thenzang khua na siam aw, ka tonzang khua na siam aw, ka tuipi na siam aw, ka vansangdimna siam aw, ka peemna na siam aw, ka vaih na na siam aw.

Bless the village. Bless my Mualbeem village. Bless Sawmpi, my Tual Mual, my Ngilh Kawn, my Sihvom, my Gawzang, my Saizang, my Tedim, my Valvum, my Ngenung, my Thangkhal, my Thangzang and my Mawngkeen, my Gamngai, bless my then Zang village, bless my Tonzang village, bless my Tuipi village, bless Vansangdim bless the village where I came to live [*peem* means to come to live in a village].

Then he mentions the name of the hostess:

*Haat Mang takte, Haat Mang takte, sial tang sun a Haat Mang takte, Haat Mang tak te, sial tang ii nu, sial tang ii nu, sukzo ii tu sukzo ii ta.*²⁰

He then mentions the name of the host, chanting, '*Vung Za Kham takte, Vung za Kham takte* etc.', following it with the '*taang kha*' invocation for a good harvest. He follows it with the call for meat, '*saphei hong aw, sangawng hong aw* etc.', and a prayer for health, harvest, defeat of the chief of enemies, taking the pride of hunt, sons and daughters, longevity and future feasts.

Again another call for the hostess and host, '*Haat Mang takte... Vung Za Kham takte...* etc.' Then another call for souls: '*Kha hong aw, Vung Za Kham*

kha hong aw, Haat Mang kha hong aw, Kam Khen Kham kha hong aw, Ciin Khan Cing kha hong aw, Mang Lam Niang kha hong aw etc.' mentioning every member of the family, and concluding with a call for the spirit of *taang kha* etc.

As the priest comes out of the *bikha* eave, he blows another *zu phih* libation. After going round the *innka* fireplace three times, he puts down the gourd and the *siampi* group eats the *zu ha* meal. The *daak* players follow the *taang suak* procession in the dance line. After this, anyone may dance.

SIALGAWHNA, BULLDOGGING THE MITHAN

Watching the young men play with feral mithan *sial* is the main excitement for the young as they watch from the *phungbeem* high ledge over the courtyard. Some young men merely hit them brutally on the top of the lower back (waist) with clubs, in order to slow them down for the traditional *sial kaan* (jumping over the mithan).

For this contest they lay a folded blanket on the back of the brute, and the more more intrepid of them jump over it. If successful, a thicker *puanbu* heavy blanket is laid on the animal's back. The blanket is folded over with every successful jump, so as to increase the challenge.

A strong man will get hold of an ear and one horn of the mithan and wrestle it the way a cowboy bulldogs a steer. One legendary man, named Tawk Thang of Tonzang, was said to have gouged out the eyes of mithans with his bare fore- and middle fingers at Chief Hau Chin Khup's *tong* feast.

To prepare for the ritual slaughter, the lead cow is tied and laid on its left side near the *bikhalap* eave, facing the house. Other *sial* are laid in the same manner behind the lead cow. The *haitawinu* brings the *haihonlawh* basket and sets it near the lead cow. After the priest makes an incantation, he stuffs a mixture of ginger and *dim ci* (local salt) in the mouth of the *sial* and pricks it with the clan spear. The *tanu* then hacks the back of the head of the animal with a *hei* axe and kills it. The ritual is repeated for every *sial*, and Kamhau chiefs were known to have killed fifty *sial* in a single day. The number is limited to fifty because one is not suppose to surpass one's parents.

SADAWITANG LEH SAKHULOTNA, SACRED AND DIVINATION MEAT

The lead cow is called *tuulphuhna*. The *tui pal* (the side meat) is taken for *sadawitang* sacred meat and the left-side *tui pal* is taken for the *sakhulot* divination throw. The meat is cooked and the *sakhulot* are cast at once. Before the *sakhulot*, not a drop of the blood, a piece of meat nor even strands of the mithan's hair may get out of the compound.

SIALVUNHAWKNA, SKINNING THE SIAL

The *sial* is skinned. Its head and *kawng* loin end are taken out and put at the *sunden*, inside the house, and are completely covered with the skin.

SANGAWNG THU, THE ORDER OF MEAT

All the neck meat are given to the *pupi* (distaff head). The *sunghpi* (father-in-law) gets the *bawng laang* (rib) meat and the *sakhuai lu* goes to the *haitawi* cup-

bearer. The tail of the *tuulphuhna* lead cow, the liver and *utok* (top of liver), the *tui pal* (side meat) and the spleen are marked as sacred meat (*sadawitang*).

Those families who contribute animals to the feast are called *sagualgo*. They give the following cuts to the host: the head, the heart and the spleen. The rest they split, each family getting *a liang* (one shoulder); *a phe*i (one hind leg); *a pang*, (one side); and half of the liver, sausage, the neck, lungs, the side, the *iik* (thorax) and the viscera.

SIALZUMEH, MEAT FOR THE ELITE

On the morning of the *zupi* day, the *tanus* kill two four-fist and three-finger pigs²¹ for *inntual* (courtyard) and *innsung* (inside) meat. These special meats are for the elite who have performed all the feasts of merit, and are to be enjoyed in the *inntual* courtyard inside the house.

The *tanus* quickly clean the carcasses, singe them, cook them and keep the *tui diit* meat (which is not to be distributed and/or is reserved for a special purpose). The *phawh lawh* meat, those bits which are not included in the main cuts, the liver and titbits are specially flavored and cooked and set aside.

INNQUAL ZUKHAIH, COURTYARD ZUKHAIH

After all the mithans have been killed and cut and portioned for distribution, those who were designated to brew the *inntual zu* start siphoning it. If the *inntee*k *zu makai*, the steeping of the lead pot, broached by the host, is of acceptable quality, it is set aside for the elite. Any of the *zu* brought which meets the standard is also set aside as *zu lawi* (the first/best steep).

The average steeping is called *zu lai*, and it is set aside in a big vat of a size determined by the elders. If the steeping from the pots is not sufficient to fill up the vat, the host must contribute until the vat is full. The steeping thus set aside is carefully watched till the special guests arrive.

TEEK THEIH

Those who provide *zukaih* steeping each offer a cup of the *zulawi* to each member of the host's family as *teek theih* or official portion. The hosts may drink it or offer the portion to whomever they would like to share. At a *tong* feast there can easily be some sixty pots of *zu*, and the hosts can really show some hospitality.

A refinement to the generosity of the host is known as *inn sung zukhaih* (indoor *zukaih*) if he also performs the *gal aih* (victory feast). About six pots of *zu* are siphoned for their *sung sa sial zu meh*, as they were for the *inntual* courtyard *sial zumeh*.

SONG VAKNA, FEASTING THE SONGH MAKERS

The constructors of the *songh* poles each bring a pot of *zu*, which they line up near the *inntual songh*. After the *tanus* steep them with water, the *zubawl* in charge of each pot seeks out each member of the host for their *teek theih* (official portion), making sure that none of them is forgotten. The hosts may drink their share, but since they cannot possibly drink all they are entitled

to, it is a chance for them to play the gracious host and generously share with others.

It would seem odd that those who volunteer their labour would bring *zu* rather than be feasted for their work in hewing the *songh*. In fact *zu* is brought reciprocally, because the host has contributed *zu* at their feasts previously. The contribution must be *saibeel* pots ('elephant' pots, the largest) primed *te-laam*, that is without any stuffing with leaves.

These pots of *zu* are meant to honour those who helped to hew the *songh* poles. The *zubawl* in charge of each pot see to the proper distribution of the *zu* among the volunteers, the *sabaal*, *innpi*, *sanggam bul*, *nuphal bul*, *thusa*, *sasem* and *pu bul*, that is the senior ranking members of the family *panmun* set-up. This *songh vaak*, or feasting of the *songh* hewers actually starts in the night of the *pansik* day. The guests sing *ailawng* songs²² through the night until morning, when the *sial* cattle are slaughtered.

The songs sung may range from those by our illustrious ancestor Khan Thuam to one about a solitary man or woman who trudges alone to work in the fields while others go together with their brothers and sisters. They may sing such old favorites like the one that tells a loved one that he would like to scoop the very dust she steps on:

*Ngaih ngii ngeii aw na tatna mu nuam veng e,
Sim lei muan tual na tuat aw luak nuam ing ee,
Sim lei mualpi kaih min in na luang in la,
Ngaih tong ka san na ding in dawh tam hen aw.*

My beloved, oh that I could trace your every move,
I will scoop the dust your feet have trod
O you mountains may you dissolve in giant slides
That I may steal a glance and hear her voice.

SIALZUMEH, AN EXCLUSIVE MEAL

On the morning of *zupi* day the *sasem* meat-cutter cuts the meat according to the *panmun* household establishment and the *zu* pots guests bring to the feast. After the meat is cut and the *zu* has been siphoned and the *zu lawi* carefully set aside, the elite of society, those who have performed the feasts of merit, gather together to eat the *sialzumeh*.

Taaksih nganhuan meal, which is steamed millet with beans, and the tastefully prepared meat are set out in the *inntual* courtyard. First the headman and those who have given feasts of merit are served, according to their rank in the social hierarchy. While they are eating, each is served with the best *zu lawi* that had been set aside for them. After the first batch of the elite have eaten, second-ranking elders are invited and after them the lesser dignitaries of society are served.

THE ORDER OF MEAT

The *sasem* meat-cutters are given a separate pot of *zu lawi* to enjoy as they prepare the portions of meat for distribution. After they have made ready

the shares, they escort (*kai*)²³ the designated recipients to their lots and serve each a cup of *zu lawi* as they come to collect their shares. Notwithstanding all the protestation against accepting drinks, each recipient notes carefully if he gets the correct cut of meat, because the cut of meat is the symbol of his rank in the host's household. Should the host promote a family in his *bangkua panmun* establishment, he simply directs his *sasem* meat-cutter to give the family the cut of meat designated for the post. On the other hand, a lesser (in significance) cut of meat is interpreted as demotion, or even an insult.

After the meat-cutters have concluded their important job of giving the right cuts of meat to the right families, they enter the *inn sung* chamber and lay out the *innsung sa* on a cane mat in the *pial khang* area (space adjoining fireplace on downhill side).

The *innsung sa* meat is distributed on the merits of previous performances. Those who have served *inntual sa* and *innsung sa* four times will get four shares. A shoulder of both the *inntual sa* and *innsung sa* are given to the last one to kill the *inntual* and *innsung sa*. The next one to kill *inntual* and *innsung sa* will render the shoulders to the present host.

SIAMPI TE SONGH KIIMKOT NA, THE PRIESTLY DANCE

Dancing around by the *siampi* group starts before sundown on *zupi* day. The hosts prepare nine *um thawl* gourd bottles of *zu* and sets them down along the *suang phah* flagstone. The *siampi* priest puts on the drum, and the *daak* gong players and nine *thawl* gourd bottle carriers line up behind him. The dance group start to dance from the temporary fireplace in the *innka* deck, and the priest intones: '*Khua na siam aw, ka mualbeemkhua na siam aw, etc.*' ('Bless the village. Bless my Mualbeem village...')

This blessing for the villages is followed by an invocation of the name of the feast giver, for example, '*Vung Za Kham takte, takte, sial tang sun a takte...*' ('*tang sun*' means to prick the *sial* mithan with spear, that is to start the *tong* feast). After the dancers have gone three times around the *songh* poles, the prayer for the spirit of harvest follows: '*Miim kha hong aw, taangkha hong aw...*' ('Spirit of sorghum, come thou! spirit of millet, come thou!') Then the priest continues with another *zu phih* libation and intones '*Saphei hong aw*' (inviting meat, *saphei* is the hind leg), followed by prayers for the health of the sons and daughters. Then he prays for success in war and hunt ('*gal mang, sa mang*') and a bountiful harvest..

When the group reaches the fireplace, the priests intones the name of the hostess: '*Haat Mang takte, Hat Mang takte, sial tang sun a Haat Mang takte...*' The group circles the *innka* deck three times and this time invokes the name of the host, '*Vung Za Kham takte etc.*' When they reach the upslope side of the *songh* the priest begins again, '*Taang kha hong aw...*' ('Come spirit of millet...'); when they reach the *innka* fireplace he tattoos the drum (*khuang lop*) to signal the end of the dance.

Then, for the final time, the priest blows another *zu phih* libation, with '*Kha hong aw...*' ('Come spirits...') when the dance group reaches the upslope side of the *songh* he intones the name of the hostess, '*Hat Mang takte...*', they dance another circle and when they reach the same upslope side of the *songh*,

he calls again '*Taang kha hong aw...*', passes to the downslope side of the *songh* and stops at the *suang phah* flagstone. Then they drink the *zu* from the nine gourd bottles at the downslope side of the *songh* and at the *suangphah* flagstone.

Kheekleh day, the day after zupi ni

SIAMPI TE LAAMNA, THE PRIESTLY DANCE

In the evening of *kheekleh* day, the day after *zu pi* day, the priest group meet at the *innka* fireplace. The dancing and the incantations are the same as on *zupi* day, and in the following sequence:

- 1 The priest begins with '*Khua Siam aw...*' ('Bless the village...') as they reach the upslope side of the *songh*;
- 2 '*Haat Mang takte...*' (the hostess);
- 3 '*Vung Za Kham takte...*' (the host);
- 4 '*Tangkha hong aw...*' (*zu phih* libation);
- 5 '*Saphei hong aw...*' (prayer for *saphei*, hind leg, *sangawng*, neck meat etc.);
- 6 '*Haat Mang takte...*' at the upslope side of the *songh*;
- 7 '*Vung Za Kham takte...*' at the upslope side of the *songh*;
- 8 '*Taangkha hong aw...*' (*zu phih* libation), the dance stops.

The priest blows a *zu phih* libation and intones:

- 9 '*Khahong aw, Vung Za Kham, Haat Mang, Kam Khen Kham...*'²⁴, another roll-call of the names of the children;
- 10 '*Haat Mang takte...*';
- 11 '*Taangkha hong aw...*', at this point the priest does not continue to the *innka* deck but instead turns towards the house and stops under the *bikha* (eave).

Then repeating the *taang kha* chant:

- 12 '*Taangkha hong aw...*' till at *songh sak* uphill side of the *songh*, he goes back to;
- 13 '*Haat Mang takte...*' circling the *innka* fireplace.

When they reach the upslope side of *songh* the priest changes to:

- 14 '*Vung Za Kham takte*', and finally;
- 15 '*Taangkha hong aw*' ('come spirit of millet!'), and they stop at the fireplace on the *innka* and drink from the nine gourd bottles they carried as they dance.

SIAMPI ZU, THE THUSA PROVIDES ZU FOR THE PRIEST

The *thusa* recorders provide the *zu* for the *siampi* group, the priest beating the drum and three men playing the three-tone *daak* gongs. That the *thusa*, who may not be a clan member or an immediate relative of the family, should provide the *zu* is an ingenious way to bring about solidarity and fellowship

within the *bangkua panmun* (family network). Another example of making distant relatives participate is the Teizang practice of giving *khua leih zu* (on *lang khet*, the day before a funeral), which is provided by female cousins on the maternal side who are not officially named *nu phal* (in-law) in the family *panmun* network.

The *siampi* group recite the *la pi*, classic clan songs, and play them on the three-tone *daak* gongs.

NUHDO SONGH LEH GUA MUNG GAAK NA

This is binding the *gua mung* bamboo banner to the *nuh do songh* pole while the *siampi* group is playing the *daak* instruments. The *vomkhau* creeper rope used to tie the *nuh do song* is wound around three times in clockwise direction.

DAWI TAN NA, OBSERVATION OF THE BAN

No-one from outside the village may now enter into the premises of the *zu nung* household. A leafy branch about a cubit or longer is hung upside down at the main gate. This is called *sawl baang*. However, inside the premises, singing and dancing continue unabated.

CIIM SA AND SADAWI TANG

After dark, a small pig is killed inside the house for *ciim sa*. When the meat is done, pieces for *sakhulot* divination are taken out, and after the *sakhulot* has been cast the meat can be eaten. One hind leg with the tail and the *utok* liver are set aside as *sadawi tang* (sacred meat).

TAAKSIH LUINA, STEAMED MILLET

Taaksih lui or the serving steamed millet is an interlude of joviality in this solemn feast, much anticipated by boys and girls. The *haitawinu* cup-bearer and other *tanu* daughters bring seven *guapi lawh beu* (*guapi* bamboo baskets) of *taaksihngan huan* steamed millet meal to the *innka tap* fireplace on the *innka* deck. They try to be as inconspicuous as possible, because when the dancers find out they rush in to scoop handfuls of the meal and stuff them into the mouth of the cup-bearer and other *tanus*. For the girls, this is their 'St Valentine's day' as they overcome their shyness to stuff meal into the mouths of their favorite beaux, and the boys return the prank in good measure.

This bit of horseplay and merriment ends the dancing, and any sound from a musical instrument is now banned. However, it is the time for boys and girls to probe each other with outrageous love songs in the hope of finding their 'cradle mate'.²⁵

SALU KHEUHNA, PICKING THE SKULLS

The *tanu* daughters bring out the heads of the mithans to the *innka* deck, remove the skin and pick the flesh from the skulls, before mounting them on the *sunden* wall of the inner sanctum. They mount the head of the leading mithan cow first, and then the others according to the order in which they are slaughtered. (I cannot forget the awful stench of the raw skulls in the house when my uncle, the chief, gave one such feast.)

The *ciimna* (animal killed for *ciim sa*) skull is treated specially. Three bamboo skewers threaded with three pieces of *sa tung* (meat cut into small pieces for mounting with skull) are stuck in it, making nine pieces of meat altogether.

A single skewer with one piece of meat is stuck on the head of the leading cow, called *tuul phuhna*, the animal which the priest stuck with the ceremonial spear of the clan. Three skewers with two pieces of meat each are stuck in the skull of the sow killed on *pansik* day. Two skewers with a single piece of meat each are for the skull of the boar killed on *pansik* day. The skulls of the sow and boar slaughtered on *pansik* day are not mounted that day, but are mounted together with the mithan skulls and *ciim sa* slaughtered on *mung hen* day (day before *zu pi* big day).

TAAKSIH LUINA, SERVING TAAKSIH STEAMED MILLET

The *taaksih* meal the cup-bearer and *tanus* set on the *innka* fireplace to end the dancing on the *kheekleh* day has to conform to certain rules. The baskets for the meal must be woven with *guapi* bamboo. If *guapi* basket is not available a sliver of *guapi* bamboo is threaded into the basket to make it acceptable. The number of baskets of meal served are according to the type of feasts:

- 1 *Vok-thum taang hawm* (three-pig feast for distribution of millet): five baskets;
- 2 *Vok-thum daakging* (three-pig sounding of gongs): no meal;
- 3 *Vok nga taang aih* (five-pig millet feast): five baskets;
- 4 *Vok sagih pusa thoih* (seven-pig *pusa* worship): seven baskets;
- 5 *Sial a tong* (when a *sial* mithan is slaughtered): seven baskets.

THE ORDER OF ZU FOR THE TONG FEAST

time/people	line up of zu pots at	vaak (feasted)
Pansik day (evening)		
<i>sabaal</i> (most senior bretheren) and <i>in teek</i> (host)	<i>lu khung</i> (head of the master bed)	<i>pu teng</i> (distaff heads of household)
<i>nuphal</i> (brother-in-law)	<i>lupna pi paam</i> (near master bed)	
Zupi day		
<i>sanggam bul</i> (brethren)	<i>bikhalap nuai</i> (under the eaves)/ <i>dawhsuk lam</i> (downhill direction)	
<i>tangval zu</i> (bachelor's zu)	<i>bikhalap nuai</i>	
<i>pu teng</i> (distaff)	<i>konglam</i> (towards the gate)	
<i>nu phal</i> (brother-in-law)	<i>inn liim dawhdan</i> (parlor)	
	<i>inn sung lam manawh</i>	

time/people	line up of zu pots at	vaak (feasted)
Kheekleh day <i>sanggam</i> (bretheren)		<i>pu teng</i> (distaff)
Sung leen day <i>sanggam</i> (bretheren)		<i>pu teng</i> (distaff)
Tanu dawi tan day <i>pupi te</i> and <i>sunghpi</i> (distaff family) <i>sawn tawi zu</i> (feather and plumes)		

Sung leen, fourth day of feast

SIAN NA THU, THE END OF THE BAN

From the *sialpi tuul phuh*, the lead mithan cow, the priest takes a bit of meat from the upper lip, a little bit of meat from the lower lip and the *sadawi tang* liver *utok*. He also takes the tail, *utok* liver and *tui pal* (side meat) of the *ciim sa* pig. With these he mixes *taak sih* millet meal, seven seeds of *be pi* (lablab beans), crushed ginger and a pinch of *zo cii* salt, and puts the result on the bamboo banner *mung*.

Tong songs

The following are just a sample of the thirty-eight *tong* songs Pu Vung Za Kham recorded:

Kalam aw vuiviviat aw e, taang lam aw vui viviat e.
*Ning leh a gawh ka kaihna aw, a lam aw vui viviat e.*²⁶

Ka ton khuang aw thang zawm aw e, ka han khuang aw thang zawm aw.
Ton khuang leh han khuang thuah tang e, mual ii heem a thang nah e.

Hei lep e hei lep e, zang leen phual mul hei lep e.
Zang leengphual mul hei lep e, gawh tamka sim na hi e.

The first song says my path is well trodden for the bountiful millet harvests I have gathered; the path of the millet harvest is well traveled because of the meat and wine I provide. The second song asks which of his feasts is better known: the *tong* feasts or the victory feasts. I have given both feasts and my name is renowned beyond the land. The third song depicts the hornbill feather flipping in the wind; the *phual mul* hornbill feathers flipping in the wind, they count the many animals I have slaughtered for feasts.

New songs are composed at every *tong* feast, while traditional *tong* songs are sung all night. As the *tong* is a feast of promotion and privilege, the songs usually aggrandize the composer's deeds.

Sa aih feast for hunting

Our ancestors killed wild animals from elephants down to the barking deer, or even smaller game, but they were not hunters in the sense that they did not kill the animals for food. They hunted for the prestige, but this would not accrue unless the one who shot the game gave the appropriate feast. Giving a *sa aih* itself has to be cleared with one's clan, because all relatives must contribute *zu*. Even one's fellow villagers have to be informed to brew *zu* for the feast.

One may give a *sa aih* feast without actually having killed big game oneself by collecting hunting trophies such as the skulls of elephants, rhinoceros, bison etc.

Pansik day

The day before the *zu pi* day all the animals for the feast are killed and the meat is distributed.

ORDER OF MEAT

First, the *samul* man, who gets one *liang* (the whole shoulder). The *samul* is first person who gets to the scene of the kill. Next, another shoulder is given to the chief as *inn sa liang* (due).

SAIKHEN MEAT

A *tuukpai* or five-fist pig is killed as *saikhen*, and another pig of the same size is also killed as *sung sa*. The meat is distributed as in the *tong* feast.

ORDER OF ZU

The host broaches *inntual zu khaih* and *inn sung zu khaih*, which are distributed as in *tong* feast.

Sa aih ni, feast day

The distribution of meat and *zu* are similar to the *tong* feast. Since *sa aih* is a joyous celebration, *nungak tang val*, unmarried men and women make the most of all the drink and dance on *sa aih* and *kheekleh* days.

HUNTING SONGS

There are many songs that can be classified as *sa la*, hunting songs, but the following songs reflect the common reasons for performing *sa aih*.

BELIEF IN THE AFTERLIFE FOR MEN AND ANIMALS

In the following song Chief Hau Chin Khup bade his late wife to mount on the elephant tuskers he shot, with the brave-hearted *kamkei* leopards in the vanguard, as she enters into the *khua mual* portal of the abode of the dead and shakes the hearts of the denizens of the underworld. As the chief shot five tusker elephants, twenty-eight bison, two Bengal tigers, two leopards and two-hundred lesser game, and counted five *do khens* (enemies killed), no grander entry into the next world might be imagined by our ancestors.

*Sanglian tungah na tuang in la
 Ziin khua mual ah, za ta sinlai
 Liapsak aw.
 Kamkei lunglian ma ciang suan aw
 Kulnuh dang na hong sak aw.*

Ride on, my love, mount the mighty,
 Peerless tuskers, cow the portals
 Of heaven.
 Brave-heart leopards be your pilot
 Let them open heaven's gates.

GETTING EVEN WITH THE POWER OF DEATH

Death caused by *ziin* spirits or human enemies must be revenged; one must find a way to get even. When *ziin* take away your loved one, you take one of his own livestock, an elephant or a bison (wild animals are *ziin*'s livestock). This is called *sang in tuah* (you kill game for the funeral). If an enemy kills one of your own, you also kill one of his own for the funeral of your own dead, that is *lal in tuah*.

*Sang in tua'ng e, lal in tua'ng e,
 si laukha lah hei mawh e.
 Sih lau kha tawh ka ciang bang e,
 sum tual ah han mung phu'ng e.*

I killed a game
 I kill a foe
 But the soul of the dead cannot return
 To make a vow with the soul of the dead, I plant the *songh* pole on the
inntual courtyard

This song is about someone giving both *phutuah* ('blood revenge') feasts, though the dead shall never return. As if making a vow with the dead, the poet says, he raised the *han mung* bamboo pennants on his courtyard.

COPING WITH GRIEF

*Taang in guikhau ka mat luang in, sang tunnu nau bang kap e. Kawi ka oih bang
 sang tun nun, phung tawhna awi awi na'm aw.*

As I moaned my beloved wife, do you [mother of game] moan your dead
 with your kinsmen.

Instead of ending my own life for grief, the strange logic of the song explains, (I make) the mother of the *sang* (game) cry (for her own loss). Sweet revenge against a visible enemy was no problem with our ancestors. But one can only rave against an invisible adversary, and our ancestors did. They raved in the *minsial* cry, composed songs and counted their coups, and also sought relief in war and the hunt.

MINSIAL COUNT

The *minsial* count is not a song per se. It is also different from another chant called *han la*, which is sung at the top of the voice but with its own lyrics for the particular situation. Some writers, such as Vumko Hau, call the *minsial* a

'boast', which may go something like, '*Vompi ka mai tuah na, ngaltang ka mai tuahna...*' ('With *this* I have confronted the bear... the boar etc.', referring to his gun, which he fires at the end of the chant.) The *minsial* may also call on the dead to take along all the elephants, bison, tigers and so on that they have shot.

Kheekleh day

This is the day after *sa aih ni*, and is when the *salu kan* songs are sung as the *salu kan* dance is performed by solo male dancers wearing white turbans with red fringes. The trophies are arranged across the *inn liim* floor. The *salu kan* means jumping over a trophy. These songs are not like the *sa la* songs, above, which are composed for a certain occasion or in memory of someone.

Deih bel ing e, deih bel ing e, khisa no mah deih bel ing

I covet most, I covet most a little *khisa* [muntjac]

This song, 'I like the barking deer best', is sung in a very slow beat. The solo dancer holding a drawn sword with one of his outstretched arms circles around the head of a recent or ancient trophy, like an eagle soaring in the sky. Some dancers make a show of measuring the distance before making a very fast jump. He jumps over the trophies one by one, and as the songs are sung, the dancer sings an appropriate *han la*, depending on the kind of game the dancer has shot. After the *han la* is sung, the drummer signals the end by beating the drum rapidly (*lop*), and a gun is fired.

HAN LA, VICTOR'S SONGS

Han la are sung individually. They are not composed extemporaneously by individuals, but nor are most *han la* attributed to any known composer. Each *han la* is for a specific situation. A lone warrior making a kill, a man who shot an elephant, a bison, a boar each cries a particular song. Even the *han la* for tusker elephant is different from that for a cow elephant. The *samul* man, the one who arrives at the scene first, sings a *han la* different from that of the hero.

Sa khim, the vigil on the night of the sa aih feast

The feast for a tiger or leopard is infused with the legend of a test of wits between man and tiger. They made a pact not to molest each other or each other's property. Therefore when a tiger is shot it is blamed for breach of their agreement.

Legend has Galngam (man) and Hangsai (tiger) in a contest of wits that Galngam (man) wins because of his superior mental power. A contest to see who could bite a piece of stone is re-enacted: a piece of flint is put between the tiger's teeth for it to bite, while the man bites on a boiled egg with the shell removed, and cries, '*Ong zo ing e!*' ('I win!').

Bamboo plugs are driven into both ears of the animal, so that it cannot hear the call of other tigers.²⁷ The returning hunting party is met at the *khua mual* village portal with *phiit* flute music and *zu*. The carcass is covered with

a *niik*, a woman's wrap-around skirt, to give bad luck to the tiger, but it is also shrouded by a *puandum* shawl as an honour. From the village *khua mual* it is carried to the village *tual* altar, and then around it three times before it is taken into the compound of the man who killed it, and then carried in a merry-go-round dance on the lawn and *innka* deck, like in the dance of honour for the dead.

A *sial*, cow, buffalo, goat or pig is killed for *sa khim*, to lull the tiger so that it cannot hear or communicate with other tigers. A piece of *khimpi ai*, a type of tumeric, is used for libation with its water. They take the heart, liver and lungs of the tiger and bury them under a waterfall with the heads of the dog and cock. They put the dog's head on the right, the cock's head on the left and the tiger's organs in the center and pour the tumeric mix on top and cover them with earth. In this way the soul of the tiger cannot hear the calls of its mates for the noise of the waterfall, the dog's barking and the cock's crowing.²⁸ It is believed that if one who kills a tiger but cannot properly *khim* or lull the tiger, when he dies, then other tigers would carry away his corpse and eat it.

The incantation:

Tuitaw bin a hong piang teh. Nang sanzel nu sanzel pa, kamtawn nu kamtawn pa, miliam leh pu Ngamtawn kiciam, miliam maiah ki laak ken ci. Gan tual tung ah on pang ken ci. Meigong nu akbawm ong tuah teh, phuhsing sialtang ong ne teh. Nang ma mawhna nang ma khialhna hi. Ka aipi nu in ong nuai siah zo, ka ai pi pa in ong nuai siah zo, ka khimpi nu ka khim pi pa in ong nuai siah zo. Na mawhna na khialhna na luang na ban in sawng hi. Nang leh sakha nuai nung teh, kei leh vanpi tung nung ing.

You hailed from the south. You *sanzel nu* [female tiger]²⁹ *sanzel pa* [male tiger], you traitor.³⁰ Miliam [man] and Ngamtawn [tiger] made a pact: don't show your face in front of Miliam; don't molest my livestock. Don't carry away a widow's chicken-carrier basket. You've eaten the *sial* ox; it is all your fault [that you are killed] I have subdued you with my male *aipi* [charm], I have subdued you with my female *aipi*. You've got your just deserts. You and the lower jaw are inferior; I and the sky are superior.

Then the following songs on the pact are sung:

*Ih pu Ngamtawn tawh ih ciam, ciam peel a sial tual na delh,
Ciam peel a sial tual na delh nang ma luang in sun e.*

We've made a pact with *pu* Ngamtawn,
but you've killed the *sial* and now you've suffered for it.

*Ih pu Ngamtawn tawh ih ciam a, gunpi to luan a ih ciam;
Gunpi to luan a ih ciam, nang ma luang in delh e*

We've vowed to be faithful till the river flows upstream;
Now you've suffered for your perfidy.

The man who killed the tiger dances around the it three times while singing the above songs and follows it with the following *han la* victor's song:

*Sa kamkei pan sa cih sungneek in nei e,
Muvanlai pan vacih sungneek in nei e, eh, eh,
Tawithang lai a a loh e.*

The leopard has all kinds of animals for food,
the eagle has all kinds of birds for food,
and now he had paid for it.

After this he sits on the carcass (on the skull if it is *sa aih* when the skull of a tiger is used) and shouts, '*Ong zo ing ei!*' ('I win!').

MIN LAWHNA ANNOUNCEMENT

The announcement of the name of the host for the *sa aih* is different from that of the *gal aih* or victory feast. Here the announcement is, '*Dial a tal, dial a tal, sapi kap a Tun Za En takte.*' ('Hail Tun Za En, he has slain big game.') If the feast was *gal aih* victory for a slain enemy, it would be '*Dial a tal, dial a tal Dokhen kap a Tun Za En takte, Tun Za En takte, Nupi that a pasal that a Tun Za En takte, Tun Za En takte.*' ('Hail Tun Za En who shot a *dokhen*, he has slain a woman, he has slain a man, hail Tunza En...')

THE ORDER OF MEAT

The person who gets first to the kill, the *samul* man, is important because had there been any danger for the hero, he would be the first to be at the scene to help. Thus, he gets the lower part of the shoulder, called *liang tongh*, and the rest of the hunting or war party get the top part of the shoulder.

THE ORDER OF ZU

At the *sa aih* feast the host makes sure that there is enough *zu* for the bachelors. The *sai zu* elephant pot is set under the *bikhalap* eave. The *tangval* bachelor *zu* is next in the downslope direction. A *saibeel* pot is reserved for the elite who have celebrated elephant feasts.

SAI LA, ELEPHANT SONGS

Shooting elephants and celebrating the events must have been annual events in Kam Hau's time. Both Za Tual and Za Pau, Kam Hau's eldest son and youngest sons were believed to have shot scores in their life time.³¹ Chief Hau Chin Khup gave feasts for five elephants, and in Chief Pum Za Mang's time powerful elephant guns of 0.5 inch calibre made shooting elephants less dangerous and easier than in the old practice of hunting with flintlock guns charged with gunpowder made from night-soil concentrates and any available metal slugs.

The following song of Pi Ciin Ngul, wife of Chief Kam Hau, tells us shooting elephants was an annual event even in the early nineteenth century.

*Von kop tang bang khang aw e, kum cin vuisa thang aw e.
Kum cin vuisai thang aw e, vui sai tawh mual suak ing e.*

My two sons have grown up, annual feast of ivory
An annual feast of ivory, I bask in the glory

The two sons were probably Za Tual and Za Pau, both of whom were said to have shot more than forty elephants. Another song by Pi Ciin Ngul chronicled how the Manipur invaders targeted Kam Hau's store of ivory as booty, as well as herself, an intended victim for their lust.

*Zangvuisai leh lia ka sak duang do ta'n sa bang hawm khawm aw.³²
Na awi na'm aw ziin aw e gual aw e, a lawm na'm aw.*

Over the ivory over my womanhood, how the stalwarts covet
Is it meet, is it proper? Oh *ziin*! Oh friends!

**Ziin* are spirits.

Another elephant song:

*Sun ni liap sak zang ngosai aw, kha na kia mawh ding sang e.
Kha kiak lam meel ka thei lo a sun ni ngo meii in zel e.*

You that make the sun hide, can you really die?
How could I know you die, when you the sun hide?

This gives us some understanding of the awe our ancestors had for the monarchs of the jungle; they believed that when an elephant fell, the sky would cast over and it would rain, even if the sun had been shining moments before. Used as medium of exchange in treaties, tributes and presents, elephant tusks were the gold of the Kam Hau dynasty. The songs of yearly celebration of elephant feasts (by Pi Ciin Ngul) were not mere poetic licence or exaggeration. Even after Chief Khaw Cin sold his own stock to feed his subjects in a three-year famine, photographs taken in Chief Hau Chin Khup's time showed a considerable stock, which must have accumulated in the generations since Chief Khaw Cin.

***Gal aih* feast for victory in war**

Once, some missionaries mistakenly thought that we did not have a word for 'forgive', because their translator of the language himself mispronounced the word: 'the very idea of the word did not enter the mind and thinking of those warlike, *head hunting* people' (Nelson and Cox 2000:42).

However, Lt. Col. N. W. Kelly, a lone intrepid British administrator who knew the history and customs of the Chins, chose the *gal aih* feast as the rallying theme to raise a levy from my father's generation to fight the Japanese after Fortress Singapore fell, the British Empire was collapsing all around and the famed 33rd Japanese Division was poised to enter the Chin Hills.

War to our ancestors was different from the practice of some tribes, who hunted human being to collect heads for some rite or even more gruesome purposes. Our *gal la* songs help us to explore our forefather's psyche, to understand that there is much more than the destruction of an enemy's life in their conduct of war. A song runs, '*Ka lal in lal aw ci e, lal hi lo bat phu la hi.*' ('My foe calls me "foe"! No foe, am I. Just vengeance I seek.') This might

be seen as the other side of the coin to love, loyalty, duty and honour for one's own tribe.

Gal aih ritual

The *gal aih* feast has an element of ritual that is meant to ward off the *gal gau* curse that is believed to result from the taking of a human life. Our ancestors believed that proper *gal aih* feasts were necessary so that descendents would not become sickly and even die. In the case of the custom of *phutuah*, for the death of a loved one, they sought cathartic relief by giving expression by getting back at the visible enemy. 'Do a si lal in tuang e, ziin a si sang in tuang e' sums up the rationale for our forefathers going to great lengths to revenge deaths of their loved ones. If the death is by enemy hands, they take revenge from the enemies. If they died of sickness, that is the work of the *ziin* spirits, and the living killed big game for the funeral; a way of getting back at the invisible foes by killing the animals said to belong to them.

Souls of enemies killed become their slaves and when heroes die they mount on the elephants on their journey to the land of the dead. Cutting off the head of an enemy was a symbol of victory. To our ancestors, songs depicting the *alva* (poetic diction for the raven or midnight-black crow often associated with death) croaking over the head of a slain enemy mounted at the *khua mual* portal is the ultimate symbol of victory.

Welcoming war heroes

In the old days, when one village fought with another they considered those they killed as *gal* and any they captured were called *sal*. *Gal* or captured *sal* were celebrated in the *gal aih* feast. Successful war parties sent *thang ko* heralds to the village so that they may be welcomed at the village *khua mual* portal with *zu*, feathers and *tukpak* flowers (for the hair-knots called *tuk* which northern Chins wore at the occiput and which Falam Chins wore over the bregma). Dyed goat's hair and artificial flowers made from coloured cotton and wool are also presented to returning heroes. Drums, gongs, *sialki* mithan horn and *phiit* reed flutes make up the music group.

When the heroes arrive at the *khua mual* portal they sing the appropriate *han la* songs and fire the muskets. The firing of guns is called *mual suah*, and *gal* or *sal* is celebrated with a *mual suah* salute. If the hero is a lone warrior who killed his man in fair combat he chants:

Ka namtem a gil kial e, milai duang ah ka diah e,
Zingngo daitui duhlo maw, misin tui a duh e.
 (Dawngtawina):
Milai duang ah ka diah e,
Zing ngo dai tui duh lo maw,
Mi sin tui a duh e.

My sword is hungry.
 I dipped in the body of an enemy.
 (Chorus):
 It does not thirst for cool morning dew.
 It thirsts for the liver blood of a human being.

Han la are prosaic and lack the figures of speech, the metaphors and nuances, of other songs, perhaps just as such a victory chant should be.

Han la, victor's songs

The *han la* song is a class by itself. It is not actually sung, but is shouted at the top of one's voice so as to be heard from the village. The initiated in the village know at once whether the song is about a slain enemy, an elephant, bison, wild boar or other game.

In structure, *han la* are different from common northern Chin songs, which are basically couplets sung antiphonically by groups: one group singing the *bul* or theme, another the *dawn*, which elaborates on the *bul*. *Han la* differ in having longer measures, which are a chant in themselves, and are more graphic than most songs.

Other *gal han la* songs have words like '*sen a ka lungtup*' ('desire of my youth'), '*khen thang ka mai tuah e*' ('I had confronted the enemy') and '*kimpìh khua mual ah sua'ng e*' ('I have brought my equal to my *khua mual* portal'), which help us understand our ancestors' concept of the *gal aih* feast, the ambition for triumph in war, worthy foes and the accolade due to one's own deeds of valour.

Triumphant entry

Each village has a *khua mual* park from which one gets the view of the village. This is planted with leafy evergreens and banyan trees, under which memorial steles of stone and wood are planted. Skulls of mithan, buffloes and cows slaughtered at funerals are mounted here, and bamboo pennants, flags and feathers are also 'entombed' when there is a funeral.

Slabs of stone are laid out, at which the triumphant warriors are feted with gourds of *zu taak* wine as if the purpose was speedy inebriation rather than our people's normal 'social drinking' (where drinking too fast may appear unseemly). Abandoned, joyous drinking, at which even the work-shrivened aunt may try to introduce a favourite song, or a bona fide hero of another campaign may be waiting to '*pau*' or chant his own *han la*. Girls may overcome their shyness to ply their admired beaux with their *zu*, while young boys aspiring to emulate the heroes may drink in the scene. Perhaps this is the time the stereotype of 'drunken Chins' may actually fit.

The distribution of *gal paak*, the spoils of war, takes place at the *khua mual*, as does the presenting of feathers, *tukpaak*, the free flow of *zu* beer, the orchestration of the *phiit* reed flutes, the dance file, and the endless *han la* songs by any who has earned the right to sing. By the time the choice wine has been drunk, the movable feast at the *khua mual* is ready for the triumphant entry to the village and to the home of the hero that winds up the day of welcome.

The laamvui parade

The drummer, the *sial ki* (mithan-horn percussion) beater, the gong carriers and the *phiit* pan-pipers soon queue up to form a *laam vui* dance, dancing a few rounds around the *khua mual* portal, and everyone joins in the procession

to the home of the hero of the day. Since the *khua mual* may be a couple of miles away from the village, and the feasting is to take the whole of the next day, the triumphant party may spend the night outside the village so that the welcome maybe held quite early in the day.

Preparation for a gal aih feast

When the *gal aih* feast is performed without the actual exploits or war, informing relatives to brew *zu* and other preparations are the duties of the family *thusa*.

The day before the *zupi* day is called *phit lep ni*, literally 'orchestrating the reed flutes'. These three-tone reeds are played by three persons per set, and *phiit la* songs are played in time with a drum, gong, *sialki* horn (beaten as a percussive instrument) and a *daaktal* small gong. On *phit lep ni* a *sesawl* branch is planted by the *sialkong* cow-gate. At the fork of the plant a nest of leaves is made on which a *bel pei* wok is set, to hold pitch-pine torches. Later, the *hai* cups dancers carry at the dance will be stuck in the *sesawl* branches.

The *phiit lepzu* is the pot of *zu* provided by fifth *tanu* and the elders' cooks.

Zu pi day

At the break of dawn, the *siampi* priest makes the following invocation for the *gal* enemy spirit. It starts by announcing the name of the hero:

Khai Khaw Hau takte, Khai Khaw Hau takte, nupi that a Khai Khaw Hau takte, pasal that a Khai Khaw Hau takte, Tedim a mi, Tedim a mi, Sukzo tu Sukzo tu, gaal hong aw, ka gaal hong aw, tuilu ka do hong aw, tuitaw ka do hong aw, Luktai ta khaman ta, ka do hong aw, ka miim pi zu ka tang pi zu a kong neeksa, kasial tal a kong neek sa, sing khuah tum man lo in hong aw, taaiteh gam manlo in hong aw, siim khia ong bang in baak ta hong bang aw.

Hail Khai Khaw Hau, Hail Khai Khaw Hau, he killed a woman *takte*, he killed a man *takte*, Khai Khaw Hau *takte*. He hails from Tedim, he hails from Tedim, Sukzo descendant, Sukzo descendant. Hail the enemy, hail my enemy. Enemy from the north, enemy from the south. Son of Luktai, son of Khaman, hail. I've celebrated your defeat with my *sorghum zu*, with my millet *zu*, I've killed my mithan, hail before the fire dies, hail before the *taaiteh* meal dries, hail like a *siim*, hail like a bat.

If the *gal aih* is a *phu tuah* for the dead, the priest will make the following incantation instead of the one above:

Sih sia e, sih sia e, pul a si sa in tua'ng, sa si gal in tua'ng e, sual na bei e, sual na bei e.

A curse, a curse. I offer an animal for the person who died of plague. I offer an enemy for one killed by a wild animal. All curse is gone, all curse is gone.

As in the *tong* feast, one kills *gal khen sa* in the front lawn, and *innsung sa*, inside the house. A *tuuk pai* (four-fist, four-finger) pig is killed and the meat is divided between those who are entitled to *gal sung sa* and *sa sung sa*. The *zu*

is also arranged as for the *tong*. The unmarried boys and girls make the most of this happy occasion and dance *zupi* and *khekleh* day and night.

The order of zu

In what amounts to a formal investiture of hero status, the *pu te* (maternal next of kin) bring a pot of *zu*. On the pot is stuck a *tukpaak* (hair-knot flower) tied to an eagle feather, and the *siampi* makes incantation and blows a *zu phih*. The feather is fixed on the *tuk* hair-knot of the hero. The hero has first turn at the *lam sak zu* pot. The *thusa* supervises the distribution of the *lamsak zu*.

Khek leh day

The day after the *zu pi* is for the *nu ngak tang val*, the unmarried men and women who have been dancing all the night of the *zu pi* to enjoy.

Gal zan aih

If one cannot give a regular *gal pi aih* for killing a human being, or one has committed manslaughter, one must perform *gal zan aih*. A pot of *zu* is served and the *siampi* performs the token feast by killing a red cockerel. The priest and the man watch the whole night. No-one except the family must know.

Gal aih must be performed whether one kills an enemy or someone accidentally. Otherwise, it is believed that the killer will be under *gal gau* curse, which will make him sick and even die.

The taang aih feast for a millet harvest

Our forefathers could not have given all the feasts of merits they performed without their attention to agriculture. They recognized success by what is known as *taang aih*, a feast for a hundred-basket millet harvest. To produce a hundred baskets of pinhead sized millet grain in a steep hillside field indeed deserves as much recognition as killing wild game or even an enemy.

Cultivation of a new field that may give a hundred *seeng pi* baskets of harvest, so a *taang aih* feast can be performed, has many steps..

Clearing the shrubs, cutting down branches, splitting the wood and burning the field to clear the leaves and branches so that the ash will fertilize the soil is a back-breaking job. *Mang tom* is salvaging burnt branches for firewood. *Lo paw*i or sowing is communal work, when families called *lawms* take turn to sow their fields. *Taang haam bot* is the tedious work of weeding and culling the millet plants. The millet plant needs to be weeded at least once before it can grow strong. The hoeing in this *nuh thual* (weeding) is done with a two-inch blade hand-hoe called *tu* (*tu kaw*l in poetic diction). What is known as *tu kaw*l *taw*i in song is hoeing acres of hillside field with the two-inch blade hand-hoe at least two times before one may expect to reap a harvest.

Lo hong, scaring birds from the field of millet or maize, is mostly the job of boys and girls. A *lo hong* song says, '*Mauki lung lian ka hon na ding ka pa aw tau sang ong dawh sak aw.*' ('O my Pa Pa, build me a tower, the hungry birds for me to scare.') There is sweetcorn galore to roast; friends from neighbouring

fields sneak in to visit during a lull when the birds regroup for another run to steal the ears of millet. One may play a teasing lyric on the three-tone *kilong* wooden instrument for the benefit of a friend in another field. When the *khuado* harvest feast is in the offing, it is the happiest season for young and old.

Taang cil na, threshing the millet

When the millet and maize corn are ready for harvesting, the millet ears are brought into the *lo buuk* field hut. A *tung kuang* pit of about five or six feet square and two feet deep is dug and glazed with clay, to collect the grain. *Taang kat*, frame or split bamboo, is set over the *tung kuang*. The ears of millet are put into the *taang cil ciang*, a large sieve, and the grain is extracted by laborious threshing with the feet. The family take home the millet grain threshed for the day every evening. If they harvest about a hundred *seeng pi* carrying baskets, they are said to be *an hau* and thinking about giving a *taang aih* feast.

Taang la, *an la*, or gathering the harvest, is the happiest time but paradoxically the hardest time, because the bigger the harvest the more work it is for the family to haul the harvest home on their back. A hundred-basket harvest called *taang za aih* has perhaps the greatest merit of the feasts of merit.

Requirement for the taang aih feast

A hundred *seengpi* basket of millet is the requirement for the *taang aih* feast. One may give a *sa aih* or *gal aih* feast even though one may not actually have killed an elephant or an enemy. But one must actually produce a hundred baskets of *taang* millet to give the *taang aih* feast. It is said of Pu Pau Khaw Mang, regent for Sukte chief Thuam Za Mang, that he once proposed to buy a hundred baskets of millet to perform the *taang za aih*, but that the elders of Mualbeem refused to honour it. To his credit, Pu Pau Khaw Mang set to work on a swidden and gathered his *taang za* to give a bona fide *taang aih*.

Taang kha sam, invoking the taang spirit

The *taang aih* is basically a happy celebration, especially for the *nungak tang val* (unmarried) boys and girls:

Taangkha hong aw, miim kha hong aw, tuilu khawh kha hong aw, tuitaw khawh kha hong aw. Nam tom siat lah namsau siat lah kha hong aw, kapu khawhsa ka pa khawh sa hi cia, na pu tun na ngei hi, na pa tun na ngei hi e, ka pialsak ka pial khang ong dim aw, lii bang ong cing aw, khuai bang on bawm aw.

Come spirit of *taang* harvest. Come from the north, come from the south. Come spirit of *taang* that even more than the great and small can store. This is where your forefathers used to come. Fill my *pialsak* and *pialkhang* spaces. Be like the deep whirlpool, home in my house like the bees.

The order of meat

Sial, buffalo or cow may be slaughtered for the feast. A pig is killed for the *taang sa* meat. One *liang pai* shoulder is offered to the family which last gave the last *taang aih* feast. The host will receive the *liang pai* from the next one to give a *taang aih* feast.

The paan standard

The family which has gathered a hundred-basket millet harvest is said to cultivate *taangza*. Giving a *taangza ai* (hundred-basket) feast entitles them to fly the *paan* bamboo flag at funerals.

NOTES

- 1 *Zu* pots contributed to a feast have their own names, such as *intualzu*, *zupi* etc. Special *zu* also has its names, like *sai zu*, and there is campaign *zu* such as *kiauda zu* in Mualbeem. There is also *tanu zu*, *nuphal zu* etc. contributed by members of the family network.
- 2 Vung Za Kham, who records his own feasts, has his genealogy given thus: '[1] *Sukzo san kasan na sang in*, [2] *Sukte san ka san na sang in*, [3] *Mangcin san ka an na sang in*, [4] *Mang Tun san ka an na sang in*, [5] *Mang Piang san ka san na sang in*, [6] *Ngai Neek san ka san na sang in*, [7] *Zang Thuk san ka san na sang in*, [8] *Mang Kim san ka san na sang in*, [9] *Khan Thuam san ka san na sang in*, [10] *Kam Hau san ka san na sang in*, [11] *LianThang san ka san na sang in*, [12] *Khai Khaw Kam san ka san na sang in*.' Sukte, Sukzo, Mangtun etc. are names in the genealogy of Vung Za Kham, who gives the feast. *San* or *sang* mean to accept. The priest asks the spirit to accept Vung Za Kham's offer like his the offer of his ancestors, Sukte, Sukzo etc. Note, most Sukte put the Sukte before Sukzo in the Sukte genealogy.
- 3 The priest's idiom for a pig is *muuk liip* ('upturned snout') *meitual* ('long tail'); chicken is *pi san ta*, or *pikang ta* ('the young of the red mother, or the white mother'), which is different from the poetic diction which would be *lul vok* for pig and *bu al* for chicken. *Hong!* means 'Oh come!'
- 4 '*Haitawi*' or cup-bearer applies to the whole family. *Haitawinu* is the senior 'daughter', the key figure in the *haitawi* family. She is something of a priestess: pouring libations on animals slaughtered for funerals, supplying the shroud, embalming the dead, cooking the meals and carrying out the household work for the performer of the feasts. Members of her family are referred to as *haitawite*, the plural of *haitawi*.
- 5 *Zu* brewed with millet and sorghum is better than that from corn or the old *taiteh* meal from a previous brew. Perhaps the priest mentions this to emphasize the quality of *zu* offered.
- 6 *Sabaal* is also in Teizaang usage the post of the most senior brethren, with *saphuuk* next in seniority. Saizang usage calls the post *thalloh*.
- 7 'Decorated' is my translation of '*zeem*', which means that there is no specification as to size or parts, but by adding extra pieces the portion is made to look more attractive.
- 8 In the old days some northern Chins used to wear cane strips around their waist called *taiteen*. *Sa taiteen* is the meat around the waist. *Sa puan ak* also refers to the waistcoat area of the body, because *puan ak* means shirt.
- 9 A *taubeel* is a large top-shaped brass or copper cauldron, a prized possession of the Chin people, who use it for cooking, or storage of *zu* or water. The pot is measure by *khaap* (the length of the hand, between the tip of the thumb and the middle finger, about nine inches) around the circumference of the middle of the pot. A nine-*khaap* pot has a circumference of 81 inches, or a diameter of 27 inches.
- 10 *Gal aih* is victory feast, *ton* is similar to the *khuang tsawi* of the central Chins, and *taang aih* is a hundred-basket harvest celebration.

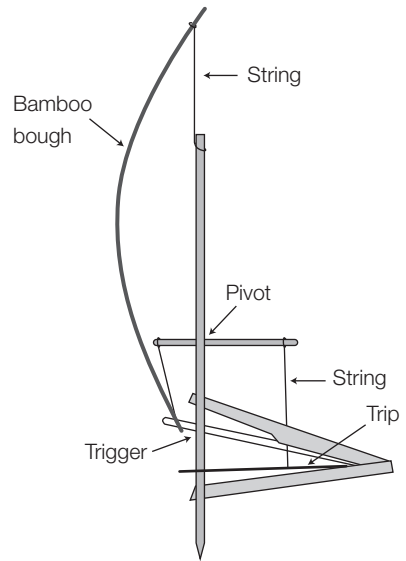
- 11 In this description Pu Vung Za Kham was describing his own feast carried out in his own house. For a house which is facing the opposite direction on the same slope as his house, the direction of the dance inside the house will be anti-clockwise because of the mirror image of the plans. The *pialkhang* area is always downslope from the fireplace.
- 12 The breathing-on ritual called *ki muut* is common practice. The priest may blow over a subject across the *tuul* skewer with which the sacrificial pig is killed, or he will masticate ginger or tumeric root and blow on an aching stomach to heal it. A mother will also blow over a child's skinned knee for instant relief. *Phih* is to spit out a fine spray of *zu* or masticated ginger or tumeric – blown on an aching stomach and followed up with a prayer. A pot of *zu* is first sipped and the steep is spat out while prayer for health is said. It was believed that some priests can staunch a bleeding wound by blowing over it.
- 13 Stevenson, *The Economics of The Central Chin Tribes*, p. 148.
- 14 *Zupi ni* is the main event day. *Pansik* is the day before *zupi*; *keekh leh* the day after; *sungleen*, the third day; and *tanu daw* is the fourth day after *zupi* day. *Inntual zu khaih*, *inn sung zu*, *khaih sial zu* and *tangval zu khaih* are the names of *zu* served on certain days during the five-day feast.
- 15 Vung Za Kham is the name of the performer of the feast, Haat Mang is the name of his wife. See previous *kha sapna* ('calling all souls') invocation for details of incantation.
- 16 Haat Mang is the wife of Pu Vung Za Kham, and as his wife is co-performer of the *tong*.
- 17 Pu Vung Za Kham recounts succeeding generations within his genealogy as Sukzo begot Sukte, while most of us have Sukte begot Sukzo.
- 18 *Ciandal* is poetic diction for *daak*, a three-piece brass gong highly prized by our people. Chief Kam Hau reputedly bought his set, named *Tonh Kai*, for one-hundred mithan.
- 19 The *puandum* is a ceremonial shawl for women while men use *puan lai san*.
- 20 The reader is reminded that Haat Mang is Pu Vung Za Kham's wife, and that this is Pu Vung Za Kham's record of his actual feast.
- 21 The size of the pigs is *tuukpai*, meaning they are four-fist three-fingers by 'tuuk lian' (those with big fists) or five-fists for those with small hands.
- 22 *Ailawng* is a different style of singing to *la pi* classic songs. *Ailawng laam* is also danced when a person wants to make a statement or present a case.
- 23 *Kai* means to lead someone by the hand to a *zu* pot or to a meal. It is not proper in our custom to seem too eager to eat or drink when invited; so you may have to pull someone by the hand to make him or her eat or drink. It may seem strange in a society where meat is such a symbol that esurience is considered a vice called '*ui san*' (red dog). The Teizang branch of my clan are particularly stoic regarding indulgence in food. A starving boy would insist that he has eaten to avoid seeming too eager.
- 24 Kam Khen Kham is the name of Vung Za Kham's son.
- 25 The spirits of a boy and a girl who are to marry are lulled in the same cradle by the spirits before they are born.
- 26 I heard a variant of this as a child: '*Hing leh a gaw kalak na aw, tanglam aw vuivivat e*' ('The trodden paths to my fields/ Worn and dusty by the feet/Of those who bring the sheaves/ And the golden shucks of corn.' This refers to the green and ripe harvest one has gathered; it can also refer to life (green) and death (ripe, hardened grain).
- 27 Pu Vung Za Kham did not mention that the whiskers are burnt also, but I remember asking Gawnmual villagers why the whiskers of a leopard they took in a gun trap were burnt: they told me the legend of an invalid who got cut by the whiskers of a dead tiger and died.
- 28 These details are what I was told as a boy; they are not in Pu Vung Za Kham's notes.

- 29 *Sanzel* is not poetic diction. Like the idiom used in propitiation, the priest uses this word, *sanzel*, which means tiger, *sahang* in Kamhau dialect, and *kamkei lung lian* ('brave-hearted leopard') or other phrases in poetic diction. *Sanzel* may mean a flash of red.
- 30 *Kam tawn*, which rhymes with the next name Ngamtawn, seems to mean traitor.
- 31 Chief Za Pau, heir to Khan Thuam, was reputed to have killed some forty elephants. I believe it possible.
- 32 *Zangvuisai* (elephants from the plains) is a synecdoche for ivory, and *lia ka sakduang* (my maiden body) for her womanhood.

Trapping

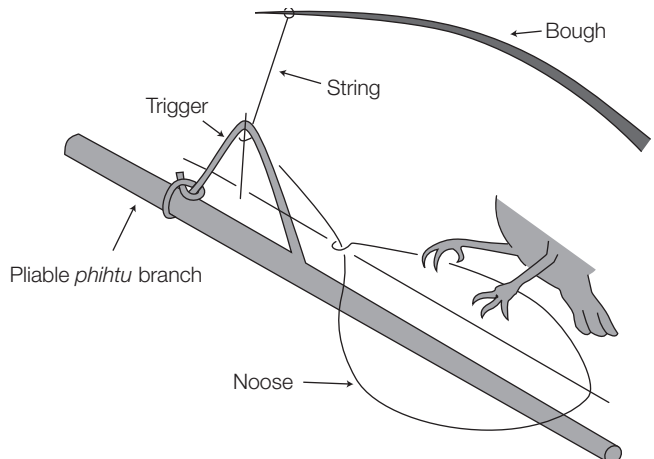
Trapping vermin in the fields and setting traps on nectar flowers and fig fruits was a pleasant pastime for boys, but our ancestors never made trapping a livelihood. Sometimes they trapped larger animals but taking game in hunting was considered more prestigious. A *thau thang* (gun trap) was often used to trap a leopard or tiger that had killed a domestic animal, but shooting them face-to-face would be considered more prestigious.

Bird traps sprung by bamboo or sapling boughs



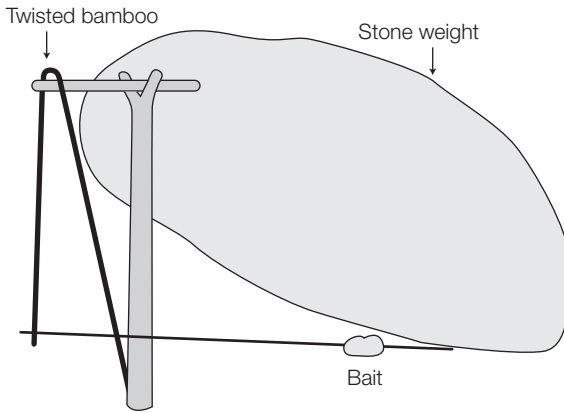
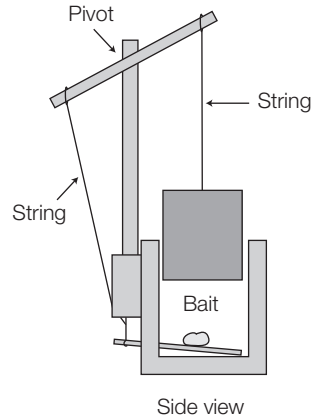
Above, left and right: *tehlop* bamboo traps, made of bamboo and baited with flying termites.

Left: traps of nectar flowers, like *phihtu* or *phuitong* cherry blooms.



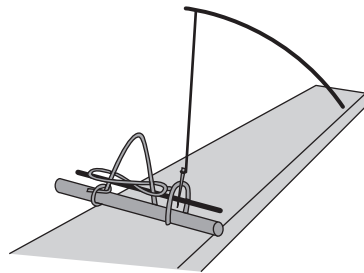
Weight-type traps

Known as *pial thang*, these include *suangpial* (sketches, left and below left) and *mankhawng*, and crush the prey – usually rodents. They are sprung when the bait is touched.



Lei thang 'bridge traps'

A variant of a noose trap, these are set on logs or branches that vermin use to cross streams or ravines to enter fields.



Pial deadfall traps for war

Logs, boulders and stones would have been stacked above paths in hilly areas. The retaining guy rope would have been cut as the enemy passed beneath, or it could have been adapted like other *pial*.

Chapter 7

Sickness and propitiation to spirits

According to the tradition of Suktes, when there is sickness or pregnancy in the family and it is believed that the person is under the influence of the *inn lo* spirits, then the pertinent propitiation rites are performed. Propitiation rites are also held after the birth of a baby or after the performance of *tong*, *haan khiat*, *sa aih* or *gal aih* feasts. Such is the range of matters they may be performed for, that they might best be regarded as a 'spiritual prophylactic' or 'antiseptic'.

There are four propitiation rites: *kawmlak dawipeeng*; *sumtawng*; *huan dawi*; and *pusa dawi*. The last of these, in which '*pusa*' refers to the spirit of an ancestor, is practised by the Sukte clan, but not all clans.

When the family sow has a litter of pigs, the most succulent female piglet is earmarked for the *kawmlak dawipeeng*. The next female piglet is for *sumtawng*, and the third female is for *huan dawi*. The piglets are called *gan kha khawh*, and they may not be sold or used for any other purposes. If there is sickness in the family, but the family does not have piglets, they are bought and a sacrifice is made for the sick person. For *huan* and *sumtawng* rites a cock or hen may be sacrificed, but only a piglet must be sacrificed for *kawmlak dawipeeng*.

Besides the *pusa*, *gamlian* and other spirits are worshipped for all kinds of suffering, such as *bumh* black magic and mental problems.

***Kawmlak dawipeeng*: propitiation for sickness**

It is the *tanu*/daughters who are sent to supplicate the *dawisapa*/priest to perform the *kawmlak dawipeeng* sacrifice. They choose the best of the *gankhakhawh* piglets and pen it separately. When the priest arrives, he sharpens a thick bamboo spike called *vok tuul* and a thinner skewer for the meat offering.

Kawmlak means niche or secluded area (see sketch p. 101). The sacrificial killing of the animal, the dressing, singeing of the carcass and cooking are all done indoors.

Zukhah thu: siphoning the zu

The priest himself charges the *zu* pot and puts it at the spot shown (6), where he siphons the *zu*. He takes just enough steep to fill the *um tawng* gourd cup (ii) and sets it aside with the *hai kot* gourd cup (iii), this latter cup is a 'common chalice' to be passed to all members of the family.

Killing the sacrificial animal

When the banana leaves on which to dress the pig, and the other materials for the sacrifice, are ready, the *tanu* hand the pig over to the priest, who sits at spot (1) facing towards the front of the house and the patient (3), facing him with the animal (2) in between. The priest then takes the cup and draws some of the *zu seep*, sipping it and *phih*/spitting it on the floor.¹

Incantation

All ye *mawngpi*'s sons and *leipi*'s sons accept my offer of meat. My *peemna/vaihna* accept my offer of meat...

Mawngpi means 'banyan tree'; *leipi* means 'big bridge'. Sons of *mawngpi* and *leipi* are the spirits that dwell in the *mawngpi* tree and *leipi* bridge. *Peemna/vaihna* mean the village where one 'peemed', that is had one's first temporary residence.

...Accept the meat ye guardians of the village. *Tualmual, Salep, Daainuai, Huppi singsan* and *Mualbeem tuan in*,² accept my offer of meat. *Livei tuan, Lisim tuan, taang ci tuan, taang del tuan, ngah toh tuan in, pumpeeng tuan in liang tet tuan in, guazelh tuan* accept the meat... *Khang neel tuan in, saitak tuan in* accept the meat. *Tuikawi tuanin, lungsan tuan in* accept the meat. *Ngatan tuan in, tawkpi tuan in* accept the meat. *Saizang tua in, Tedim tuan in* accept the meat. *Valvum tuan in, ngennung tuanin* accept the meat. *Liui tuan in, Haupi tuan in* accept the meat. *Thangzang tuanin, mawmg keen tuanin* accept the meat. *Tonzang tuan in sa ong sangin; Inn mun tuan in; Logam tuan in* accept the meat. [Then mentioning the name of the patient.] So and so is asking for health ... That which is at his/her chest, at his/her pubic area, at his/her liver, at his/her heart, at his/her right thigh, at this/her left thigh, at his/her right arm, at his/her left arm, at his/her eyes, at his/her teeth... I have redeemed with the son of my *meitua* (pig). Now may there be sudden relief like the taking out of mote from the eye, like taking out of a thorn from the flesh... May it be like the rising of the sun, the rising of the moon... May she/he beget sons, may he/she beget daughters... [All the members of the family are mentioned one by one]: A is asking for health, B is asking for health etc., asking for hundred baskets of sorghum, hundred baskets of millet, asking for the female of money, the male of money...

Then the priest continues with *kha kho* calls to detain/hold back souls from going away. '*Thangvan a kaai ding kha ka khoh na, leengvan a kaai ding kha ka khoh na*' etc. ('I am restraining the soul which is going to heaven, *ka leeng/ kha zuang* wandering souls with my *meitua* (pig) and *miimpi* (sorghum) and *taangpi* (millet) *zu beer*...') Then the priest thrusts the larger *tuul* spike into the heart of the pig. After the pig dies he withdraws the *tuul* spike, holds it on the patient, blows across it and intones, '*Ci dam hen, lu dam hen.*' ('Get well, be healed!')³

Offering the sa leep⁴

The priest then cuts a strip of the flesh, of about a finger's width, from the chest down to the thigh and cuts it into nine pieces. These are threaded on to a bamboo skewer, roasted on a fire and set on an upturned basket on the

dawhdan platform (7) for the spirits. This is called *sa leep pia*, or offering *sa leep*. The priest intones, 'partake of the *sa leep*'. When the priest offers the *sa leep* he pleads ignorance in protocol, saying 'It is not known who shall be first to partake the *sa leep* [priority portion]... woman, maid or lad. I was born only yesterday. If I make a mistake, you know what is should be ... who shall be first to drink and who shall be first to eat.'

Then those who are eligible to eat the meat spread banana leaves near the *suutpi* post at the *lupnapi* headboard, and dress the pig and cook or roast the meat as they wish. None of the meat or blood of the *kawmlak dawipeeng* may get out past the *sangkil* sill. No-one except from families who practise this worship may eat the *anhaang* meal or the meat. If they do their genitalia will swell up. When the meat is done, the pot is set out in the *pial khang* area and the family line up for the *hai kot* or common chalice.

Hai kot (common chalice)

The priest seats the family in a circle. He draws the *zu* from the *uum tawng* (container for the steep), and hands over the cup to the patient, who receives it with his/her right hand, takes a sip, and says 'I've had enough!' ('*Ken kham ing ei!*') and passes it to the next person. The cup is passed to everyone, including babies, the mother or minder of whom says that baby so and so has enough and passes the cup to the next person. When everyone had their turn, the priest draws more *zu* from the *uum tawng* and repeats the process for the second and third time.

Sian sa (meat of purification)

After the *hai kot* cup is passed around, the meat is cut and divided into the number of participants. After they have eaten the meat, they may leave the room only after they have rinsed their mouths and washed their hands.

Sadawi tang (sacred meat)

Before the meal, the *iik bup* and *kawng* (the spare ribs and lower loin) are kept in the *dawhdan* (11), weighted down with stones. All the utensils and instruments are kept in the same place and are not to be used or taken out. This meat is eaten by the family in the afternoon the next day, and the bones and left-over from meals are thrown down the latrine opening.

The priest takes the head of the animal and blows over it onto the patient, biting off the tip of the ears and setting it aside with the jaw, the neck and *utok* (liver) for himself. Then he takes the two lumps of *anhaang* millet-meal and the skull (minus the brain and meat) on the floor.

After meal the priest sticks the *tuul* skewer in the nose hole of the pig skull, fills up the skull with *anhaang* and mounts it on the ceiling, over the spot the basket for the paraphernalia is usually hung (8). Then he intones, 'let us not touch one another' (one gets sick if touched by the spirit), as he mounts the skull.

Siam zu for the priest

A pot of *zu* called *siam zu* is made ready. After the *tanu* prime (*leih*) the pot of *zu* meal with water, the priest fixes a *peeng*, takes a sip and (not swallowing

it) performs a *zu phih* libation and invokes the souls. Then each member of the family making the propitiation takes a sip from the pot and the *haitawi*/cup-bearer gets to be the *zu leep*,⁵ the first to drink at the *zu* pot. If the cup-bearer is not present the next senior *tanu* 'daughter' will have the first turn. The priest gets the next turn, followed by the rest of the participants, in turn.

Order of meat at the inn lo rite

- 1 The priest gets one leg from each of the *huan* and *sumtawng* rites.
- 2 The paterfamilias' most senior paternal next of kin or his heir gets the *liang tongh* and the *sanggam* brethren get the remaining three shoulders in order of seniority. The *phei lukhu*/top of the hind leg (rump, in beef) and *panghsa*/loins go to the *tanu*/daughters. The rest is portioned off to brethren and guests.

Sumtawng thoihna thu (sumtawng worship)

This propitiation is made when the family has a litter of pigs, when there is sickness in the family, after the fields have been sown and seeds have sprouted, or after a funeral or *tong* or *gal aih* victory feasts, or after the birth of a baby.⁶ It is performed together with *kawmlak dawipeeng* and *sumtawng* sacrifices. Of the pig litter, the next best is sacrificed for *sumtawng*, the best being for *kawmlak dawipeeng*.

Sending for the priest

The priest is supplicated by a *tanu* of the family, who escorts him to the house. They make a *tuulka* (forked skewer peg), a *guapi tuul* spike and an ordinary *tuul*, and put them under the *taakdo* bench.

The hostess mixes a little *zu hul* meal with water in a *keu phel* gourd cup and gives it to the priest. The *tanu* catch the sacrificial pig, tie its legs and deliver it to the priest. The patient sits on the *taakdo* facing the priest, with the sacrificial pig in between them, laid on its left side, facing toward the inside of the house, a *nah hi* carrying pole through its bound feet.

The invocation

Tangvai a piang. Miim vai a piang in sa ong sawm in. ('Oh one who turned into sorghum chaff and millet chaff, accept the offer of meat.')

⁷ *Ka mei tual* [if a pig is offered], *ka pi vom ka pikang ta* [if chicken] *ong sawm in.* ('Accept my pig/chicken.')

Neih siam in lam siam in sa hong sawm in. ('One who is bountiful, accept my offer of meat.')

Nei ciin in lam ciin insa hong sawm in. ('One who has in abundance, accept my offer of meat.')

Tonglol nu tonglol pa, hang lol nu hanglol pa sa hong sawmin. ('One who blesses with *tong* feasts, accept my offer of meat.')

Tai laiseeng pua, hamsan niik tengin sa ongh sawm in. ('One who carries *tai lai* basket, one who wears *hamsan* skirt, accept my offer of meat.')

Zu gil ngen in. ('Demand the best of wine.')

Tua tung a ka sa sin in a sin khek ning. ('With the liver of the sacrifice I exchange his/her liver. With the heart I exchange his/her heart.')

Sun tun na dai in, zan tun na dai in. ('Let daylight arrival be peaceful, night time arrival be peaceful.')

*Na kop pih na nial in, na panpih na nial in.*⁸ ('Deny your accomplice.')

Ling kheh bang hen, thal lawh bang hen. ('May the pain be relieved, as when a thorn in the flesh is removed.')

Ka vak ma in dam hen, ka ciah ma in dam hen. ('May the disease be healed before I leave.')

Then the priest starts *kha sam* convocation with the name of head of the family: A *in ci dam ong nget na hi*, B *in cidam hong nget na hi* etc. ('A is asking for health, B is asking for health, etc.') *Ta nu tawi, tapa tawi* ('children'), *miim za tang za* ('bountiful harvest'), *sum nu sim pa* ('monetary wealth'), *tung ciin, nuai ciin* and other prayers are offered. After these, the pig is stuck through the heart with the *tuul* spike.

The *nah hi* pole is later used for firewood to cook the meal to brew *zu*. After the pig is dead the priest takes a handful of millet and broadcasts it over the pig, the *sumtawng* floor, and at the ceiling: 'Hundred baskets of sorghum, hundred baskets of millet! Be as if I haven't slaughtered, as if I haven't given away. Multiply like *vakawl* birds... may my descendents be fecund like spiders and crabs...'

Withdrawing the *tuul* spike, the *dawisa* priest holds it in front of the patient and blows across it onto them, intoning: 'May my patient get well, may he/she be wise...' Some of the *tanu* dress the carcass at the end of the *innliim dawhdan*, and some build a fire under the *haam* berth and singe the carcass. After they have washed it, they cook it in the same *haam nuai* place. They may roast the intestines by the fire or cook it in the pot with the meat.

When the meat is done, the *tanu* fork it out into a trencher and put it at the place the pig was killed. The priest removes the head, liver, heart, neck and intestines, and put them onto a platter. He takes out a finger's width of the scalp from the forehead and cuts it into small pieces to skewer with the forked *tuul ka* and straight *tuul maam*.

Packing the offering

One packet of *an hang* steamed millet with pieces of sausage and meat and a pinch of *zo cii* salt, and another of plain *an hang*, are wrapped in two layers of banana leaves. The packets are tied with *khau tang* creeper bands, which are twisted in a right-handed direction at each end of the band. They are suspended on either side of the *tuul maam* straight skewer, which is fixed to the underside of the roof. The skull is mounted at the centre, with the *tuul ka* forked spike on the outside and the *tuul maam* on the inside.

After this has been done, the patient is again seated on the *taak do*, and instead of saying '*sa ong sawm in*' (asking the spirit to accept the meat), the priest starts again from the beginning:

Tangvai a puak miim vai a puak in ka meitua hong saang in. Neih siam in lam siam in hong saang in. Neih ciin in lam ciin in sa hong sam in. Tong lol nu tong lol pa in sa hong sam in. Hang lawl nu hang lawl pa in sa hong sam in. Tailan seeng pua, hamsan niik teng in ka sa hong sang in. Zu gil ngen in sa gil ngen in ka sa hong sawm in.... A sin ka sa sin in ong tan ing. Ka salung in a lung kheek ning. Sun tun na dai in zan tun na dai in. Na kop pih nial in, na panpih nial in. Ling khi bang hen Thal lawh bang hen. Ka vaakma in dam hen, ka ciah ma in dam hen.

You who have become chaff, who bless with wealth etc., accept my offer of a pig. Bless us with wealth. Father and mother of *tong* accept my meat. Father and mother of *hang* accept my meat. One who carries the *tailan* basket and who wears the *hamsan* skirt accept my meat. One who demands the best of *zu* and meat, accept my meat. I exchange his/her liver with the liver of my sacrifice. I exchange his/her heart with the heart of my sacrifice. May there

be peaceful home coming day or night. Deny your ally. May the pain be relieved, as when a thorn in the flesh is removed. May the patient get well before I leave.

The priest takes a finger-width scalp of the pig, cut it into small pieces and threads them on one of the *tuul* skewers. He then wraps some *taaksih* meal and pieces of the heart, liver, sausage and a little salt with banana leaves to be offered on the underside of the ceiling above the *sumtawng* pounding area.

Once again the priest invites the spirits to accept the sacrificial meat, offering to redeem the heart, liver and other organs of the patient with those of the animal and prays for the disappearance of the sickness and asks for health, good harvest etc.

Mounting the skulls of sacrifice

The meat skewer, the skull, the forked skewer, the meal pack and gourd cup are hung beneath the ceiling in an inward-out order. Then one *tanu* splashes soup on the skull and *tuuls*/pegs.

Reading the entrails

If there are one or more 'tongues' on the liver, that is if parts of the liver are shaped like tongues, there will be death in the family; but this could also mean babies will be born. 'Animal tongues' mean successful hunts: if no-one shoots any game it may also be premonition of death, the 'tongues' representing animals (called *kua sah*) to be slaughtered at the funeral.

If the spleen is not misshapen, it means health; but irregularities on the right side mean death in the family, and on the left side means death in other families.

Too full a bladder portends death, but a regular content means the patient will recover. If the animal is hardy and takes a long time to die, and wraps one leg over the other as it dies, it is good omen. If it urinates it is good. Any abnormalities in other organs apart from the liver augur for other villagers, whether good or bad. If the pig raises its head as it is being stuck there could be emergencies, like fire, sudden death or war etc.

Huan thoihna: garden worship

Escorting the priest

A *tanu* is delegated to escort the priest while another kneads clay for the priest to make clay figures. Only water must be used, not saliva, to make the clay soft.

Clay figures

There is no attempt to make the clay figures exactly like the effigies of animals and other material wealth to be offered to the spirits. I remember being told clay balls represented a string of beads, and finger-size lumps of clay were *sial* mithan cattle. In the world of the spirits, these became what was intended after the priest had blown/sprayed his *tui phih* libation on the offering.

For this offering the following clay representations are required: thirty *sial* figures; two elephant tusks; two hoes and two axes; two rows of cowry *nuang lam* shells; three *khimawlom* beads; one *zu* pot with *zu* meal inside; three

saltang slaves; one gong; a three-piece set of *daak* instruments; and thirty *khipi* beads to represent a necklace.

A *zu* pot is made and *zu* meal is stuffed in it, and a 'siphon' of bent thatch straw is stuck in it – another pot to collect the 'steeping' is also provided. The patient is seated in the *inn liim* veranda facing the front of the house. The priest sits opposite him/her with the clay offerings in between. The host put some *zu hul* in a water bottle, add water to it and fixing a *peeng* pipe, gives it to the priest.

The priest sips from the bottle, blows (*phih*) it on the patient and spits it towards the front gate. While he is blowing the *zu*, the priest holds the clay *sial* and other offerings and tells the patient to spit on them. Then he intones the incantation for the *huan thoih*.

After the priest has made his intonation on the clay offering, the *tanu* hands over the sacrificial pig to the priest, who holds it by the muzzle and lets the patient spit on the pig. He then sips the *zu* and touches the patient on the knees and the chest with the snout of the pig, and makes the incantation as above.

After all the incantation, one *tanu* carries the pig and all they will need at the garden site, another *tanu* carries the clay *sial* and other things. They go to the *huan thoih* site, which is on the downhill side from the latrine outside of the *vok gawl* pigsty fence.

They take out the stone slab on the *suang thu* trivet stones and build a fire. Then the priest sips the *zu* from the bottle and after he makes an incantation sticks the pig in the heart with a *tul* spike.

Meat offering

By the site of the trivet a shallow square pit was dug and bordered with stones for the offering. The *tanu* spread banana leaves in the pit and offer the blood of the pig. After they have dressed the pig and cooked the meat they fork out the meat onto a trencher

Then they cut off the tips of the toes, pieces of liver, the heart, lungs, tips of the snout and the tongue and put them near where the blood is offered. They bury the skull in the pit under the stones. Then they put back the stone slab on the trivet and set the pieces of meat on the slab. After they have eaten the meat themselves they put a *suang paak* quartz stone among the meat pieces and say, 'Let us not touch one another until this stone decomposes.' (Again, requesting the spirit to cause no sickness.)

When the meat is done, the *tanu* eat the jowl, liver, *naang khil* (viscera and sausage) and *iik* bacon, and distribute the legs and the side meat to guests.

Kha lak na, 'calling back the soul'

The priest makes a clay effigy and puts it at the foot of the *lukhung suut pi* post and ends the *huan thoih* garden rite with the invocation to call back the souls. If only the *huan thoih* is performed instead of all the *inn lo* rites, the ban is observed as for *sum tawng* and *kawm lak* rites. When the *inn lo dawi* rite is performed, a green leafy branch called *sawl* is hung upside down at both the front and back gates. This is called *sawl baang* and no-one may enter the premises, and if any enters by mistake he/she is made to make good the *an*

hang meal, piglet and *siam zu* priestly wine, and the whole rite is performed again.

Illness

When a person becomes ill, a *dawisa siampu* (priest/shaman) is called, and he feels the patient's pulse to discover which spirit has caused the sickness. This is called *khutdawh dom*. First the priest chews ginger, sprays it onto the body of the sick person, and intones incantations. If this *siingphih*, as we call it, does not help, the priest prepares to propitiate the spirits he thinks are the cause. If the patient is pronounced to be *gamvei* (suffering a disease caused by a *gam* spirit), the priest beats on a mithan-horn instrument and dances. If the patient does not now get well, then the prognosis is *gampi gamlian* (another spirit), and a proper ritual is arranged.

Gamlian thoih

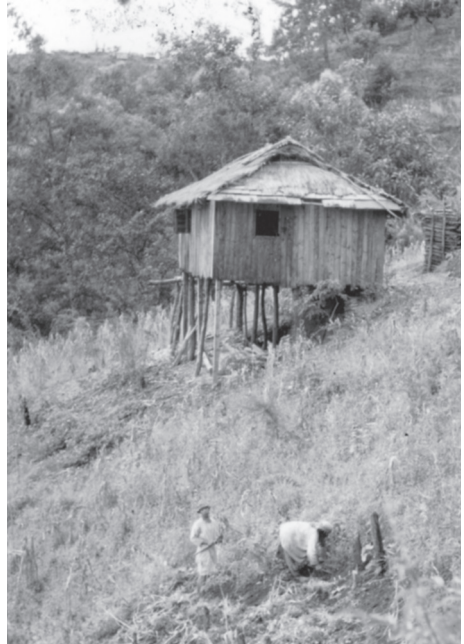
For this propitiation the family's biggest pig is taken to the jungle. A table called *mai tam* is erected and covered with a white cloth to serve a meal to the spirits. A little flag called *phelek* is also made with black and red strings.⁹

One after another of the denizens of the underworld are worshipped. If the propitiations are not effective, perhaps depleting the family of all their animals, and if all other efforts also fail, and the patient is dying, all the relatives come to the house to keep a death-watch (*giah pih*).

NOTES

- 1 *Zu phih* is a form of libation. Instead of pouring the drink on the ground or floor, the priest takes a sip, blows a fine spray on the floor and makes an incantation.
- 2 The word *tuan* is coupled with all the names of places within Tedim and Tonzang tracts. All the spirits which have stepped over those areas, that is which have passed through them are invoked.
- 3 Details of this and other incantations are in Pu Vugnzakham's *Thuciamtehna* (1962).
- 4 *Sa leep* is meat which is prepared for someone before anyone-else eats. *Leep* means 'ernest, or priority'.
- 5 *Zu leep* means to have first turn at the pot. Since the steep is the best for whoever first drinks it, *zu leep* is a prerogative or honour among those present. See *sa leep*.
- 6 One may see *sumtawng thoih* as the spiritual version of a medical check-up.
- 7 In the folklore behind the *sumtawng thoih*, two brothers Thangho and Liando were abandoned by their widowed mother, who remarried. A guardian spirit looked after them, keeping house for them and blessing their crops and livestock. One day after they became rich, the old woman took her leave and disappeared in the chaff of the *sumtawng* pounding area, originating the *sumtawng* worship.
- 8 Words like *kop pih* and *pan pih* (both meaning 'to support' or 'help'), *ka vak ma* ('before I go out') and *ka ciah ma* ('before I return') etc., are figures of speech one finds in incantation and Kamhau poetic expressions, where such phrases as *hen ban sap lai* and *thah ban sap lai* (*hen* – to bind; *thah* – to kill) describe a conquered enemy.
- 9 As a small boy I once saw a *phelek* made with two sticks of about one inch length tied into a cross, with string wound on to it and also suspended by a piece of sting. Today one must travel to the more remote areas of Tedim to see similar constructions.

Work and play



Clockwise from top: gathering firewood; most agricultural land is on sloping hillsides; *sapi um tuah* is similar to draughts – here the players use bean and corn seeds.





Top to bottom:
ling is a game played with *gon-nyien* seeds, and can be combined with minding younger siblings; harvesting corn needs both strong hands and back; a different type of gate to keep cattle away from fields – the planking prevents cattle from crossing (note the strap on the man's head).



Chapter 8

Death, funerals, memorials and crypts

The day of death (*laitah ni* – ‘the cord is broken’)

When a person dies, all the guns belonging to their clan are fired to announce the death. Others also bring their guns and fire them, and the whole village comes to mourn. This firing of guns is called *sih thau lot*, and the coming of the women to mourn the dead is *si delh* (‘to rush to the dead’). The *thusa* steward notes who came to fire the funeral volley, so they may be given a cut of meat in recognition of the honour done.

Bathing the body at the sunden

If the family has performed all the required feasts of merit, that is if they are *a-go-a-lup-te*, they may bathe the body. The *tanu* bathe it with warm water in the *sunden* area, which is the floor space between the *lupnapi* master-bed and the *pialkhang dawhdan* (raised floor at downhill end), adjacent to the *sungpi* of the inner sanctum room. As we have seen in almost all the feasts and propitiation rites, the *sunden* area plays an important part in the life of a family.

Here the body will lie ‘in state’ for the following obsequies until it is taken to the *han buuk* shed, where it will be laid in the clan’s dug-out tree-trunk coffin. After the flesh has decomposed, the skull will be kept in the clan crypt. The rest of the remains will be buried later at a *han khiat* ritual (see below). Should there be other deaths in the clan before the *han khiat*, the bodies will be put together in this same coffin, as making further coffins is taboo.

Laangphei bier

After the body is bathed and laid at the *sunden*, preparation is made to perform a dance called *laam*. In this, the body is carried on a bier (a *laang*) and rocked with a swaying motion, in step with the slow measured beat of the funeral music. The *laam* dance is to honour the dead, which is also done with animal trophies, such as the skulls of elephants and bison.

The bier for the *hing lap* dance, which is to be performed the next day, before decomposition sets in, is called *vailaang*, and is like a simple stretcher. Two bamboo poles are laid side by side and long *naangkhaui* bamboo bands are woven between the poles to make the bed for the body.

Dial mung and paan mung (flag poles)

In the meantime the *thusa*/recorders plant soaring bamboo poles on the courtyard to fly *dial* flags and *paan* plaited bamboo 'streamers'. White flags represent the number of elephants the deceased shot in life, while black flags are for rhinoceroses, red are for tigers, leopards and other carnivores. The bamboo *paan*, about a hand wide and a *laam* (six feet) long, are for each hundred-basket harvest feast (*taang aih*) the family has celebrated.

To decorate the bier a banana trunk of about an arm's length is placed at the head of the bier, and on it are fastened *luk tung*. These are eagle feathers tied with red goat-hair tassels, and each represents an enemy killed. Each of the mithan (*sial*) he killed in life is represented by the tail feather of a hornbill.

Since funerals involve not only relatives and friends from the village, but also those who live several days' journey away, the date is usually set soon after death. It is our custom not to hold funerals on an even number of days from the day of death. If death occurs before sundown, the day of death, *laitah ni*, is counted as one.

Hing lap day

The day after *laitah ni*, the dead is honoured with a *laam* dance in which the body is carried out to the *innka* deck and around the *songh* poles. The body of an important person may be honoured thus several times during the funerary rites, but the *hing lap* dance is done for the first time on the day after death, before decomposition sets in, hence the name, with *hing* means 'green, living, fresh'.

The order of meat

The family kill mithan *sial* or buffaloes as they can afford. The *haitawi nu* cup-bearer pours the libation on the animals saying: '*Tua ong khak na hi*' ('this is so-and so's parting gift').

The *tanu* eviscerate and singe the carcasses and hand them over to the *sasem* meat-cutters. The meat portions are:

- 1 *pu pi*, distaff head – *sangawng*, neck meat – delivered at home;
- 2 *sa leep*, 'early meat' for those feeding the guests – *a iik bup tuah*, front, lower ribs – cut and cooked there;
- 3 *thusa* and *sasem* – *a phei lukhu*, top part of the hind leg and upper thorax;
- 4 *khunsa* – the remainder from item 3;
- 5 *tanu sa* – *a phei khat leh a liang nih*, a hind leg and two shoulders – the *tanu* advise the meat-cutter on their distribution.

NB One hind leg and two shoulders of animals killed by the family go to the *tanu*.

Vuina

Animals contributed by others are called *vuina*, and may really be a reciprocation of an earlier gift, but anyone who wants to honour the dead may provide an animal and the meat will be distributed as follows:

- 1 family – the head, half of the neck, *iik bup* (lower thorax), *a panglang khat* (half of the side), *a sung-kua alang khat* (half of the viscera);
- 2 cup-bearer – *a phukka* (stomach part), *asin* (liver), *a ngoi tawh zeem* (sausage) – all the *tanu* divide the *phukka*;
- 3 *khun zu* – *sa baak khat*, a cut of meat for every pot of *zu* contributed;
- 4 *vaak te* (those feasted) – as in item 3 – meat from both 3 and 4 are hung on the *zu* pots.

The Khun zu order of zu

The *bangkua* (agnates) brethren set their pots under the *bikhalap* eave, and ranking *sanggam* file theirs along the *suangphah paito* upslope direction. Then the *pu te* and other ranking *sanggam* brethren file their pots, turning towards the front along the *inntual*. At the end of the *inntual* the line turns downslope direction to the *suangphah*. At *khun zu* the drinker sips the *zu* sitting down, *khung* is Teizang word for ‘sit’.

Sial zu

Another file of *zu* pots called *sial zu* is lined under the *bikhalap* eaves in the opposite direction, in downslope direction on to the *innka* deck.

Si pusuah

Si pusuah is bringing the body out of the house in order to honour the deceased by parading the bier around the *songh*. If they had performed all the feasts of merits in life, he or she is entitled nine rounds and also nine *zuthawl* bottles of *zu*.

When the sun is halfway down the horizon, and the *khun zu* and *sial zu* pots have been lined up, the men gather between the *tapdeek* hearth and *dawhdan* raised floor to begin the *si pu suah* dance, or alternatively they bring out the cortège to the outside *innka* deck and *inntual* lawn for the dance. First they sing three *tong* feast songs as *simai la*, or a prelude, in slow *la pheï* style; then they sing three *sai la* or elephant songs, followed by faster *la tung* songs. The *siampi*, or priest group, is led by the priest who plays the drum and three who play *daak* gongs with nine men carrying bottles of *zu*. Leadin them is a man carrying a shield and a spear.

After the songs have been sung the *tanu* (daughters) get hold of the *laang* bier and carry it outside, keeping step with the music. When the cortège step under the eaves the *siampi* priest invokes the dead to come and dance, to have all the wild animals shot by the family lead the way to heaven and to drop sheafs of millet and sorghum:

Hong laam in, na u na nau zakta ken, na gual na phai zak ta ken. Sialpi sial tal na gawh tawh hong laam in. Saipi zaangsial vompï ngaltang na kap tawh hong laam in. Thangvan kai pih in, leengvan kai pih in, tang tung ah hong pang ken, tang nuai ah hong pang ken. Miimvuipha hong khiat in. Taang vuipha hong khiat in.

Come and dance. Don't feel shy/timid/laid back. Dance with the *sial* cattle you have slaughtered. Dance with the elephants, bison, bears and boars you shot. Take them to heaven. Don't stop me on the high road. Don't stop me on the low road. Drop me choice ears of millet. Drop me choice ears of sorghum.

The cortège, with the mourners clinging onto the bier, goes to the *innka* deck, turns in the uphill direction on the *inntual* courtyard, passes the *songh* on the uphill side, going round it to the downhill direction. A *songh kiimkot* (round the *songh* dance) is three, six or nine rounds if it is *hinglap* dance.

After this, the *siampi* group stops on the downhill side of the *songh* and drinks the *zu* provided for them. The dance file continues with the dancing and singing of *ton la* songs. After three rounds the drummer signals by *khuang lop* rapid beats on the drum, and the dance file reverses, moving backwards. After another three rounds the drummer signals again, and the dancing stops. They start another song, dance three rounds and three reverses and stop again, after six rounds. Then they start another song again.

Bangkua zu phih libation of the bangkua zu

The *tanu* siphon the *bangkua zu* pot during the *songh kiim kot* dance and take out about half a cup of the steeping. After the dance, the *siampi* priest blows (*phih*) the libation and the *khun zu* pots are ready to be served. Each *zubawl* in charge of a *khun zu* pot seeks out the members of the bereaved family for a turn at his/her pot. Then come the *sanggam* and *nuphal* who provided the *khunzu* feasts, the *tanu* and *pu te*.

Sa leep and khunsa: order of meat

The *sasem* meat-cutters hang the *sa leep* (meat given to all) first and then the *khunsa* (meat for those who contributed *zu* pots) on the *peeng* pipes of the *khunzu* pots before the priest blows the libation on the *bangkua* pot.

Pheek buuk pavillion

That day, before the *sipusuah* (dead's honour dance), the *tanu* build a mat shelter on the *innka* deck. Only the *a-go-a-lup* elite can build *pheek buuk*. The bier is rocked (*laam*) under the *pheek buuk* after the *song kiim kot* dance around the *songh*, late into the night, before it is taken back into the house. It must be taken in before *aksia khuan*, an untimely cock's crow, around ten o'clock or later.

At about that time, the following *sung tum la* song is sung for the re-entry:

Sung tum ta ni ka von mang aw, ih sau dai in dam sang e.
Tun leh zua nau bang kap tah e, vonmang aw sung tum ni e.

Let us go in my son, our house is getting desolate.
 Mother and father are crying, son, let us go inside.

Thuum thuum ta cia miimva aw, mual heem ah thuum thuum ta cia.
Kei in na pasal that tang e, na ngaih man thuum thuum ta cia.

O mother quail you are moaning, over the dale you are moaning.
 'Cause I've killed your husband, you are moaning for your love.

No-one knows the origin of many of our clan songs, some of which have very obscure meanings. This song may be sung because of the onomatopoeic *va miim* quail whose mournful *mimmh-mimmh* call is part of a *daak* musical lyric.

Inside the house *tong* or *sai* songs are sung, as well as others composed for the occasion.

Order of zu

The *tanu* provide the *zu* for the night, setting their pots inward from the *bang khang* downhill side inside the door, with the *haitawi zu* in the lead. If the family is pleased with the enthusiasm of the *si laam* pallbearers and the dancers, they broach a pot of *zu* each for them.

Misi luang tung: waiting period

Families who want to give a grand funeral may postpone for months or even years. This period is called *misi luang tung*: *misi* meaning 'the dead', *luang* is 'body' and *tung* is 'the time'. During it a hunting expedition for elephants, bison or other big game will be planned. The animals killed are referred to as being taken during 'so and so's *luang tung*'.

Misi han na: mummification

What our forefathers considered a proper funeral involved the slaughter of many animals, the brewing of hundreds of pots of *zu*, the organizing a big game hunt and, in olden days, even a raid into enemy territories for extra feathers and hair plumes. To preserve the corpse while these tasks are undertaken, the body is mummified by the very messy method of desiccation.

Tanu have the duty to collect *mei lah* (pitch-pine kindling) and brands. These are lit around the body, which is put in sitting position on the *sunden* (the floor space adjoining the *inn sung pi* room, downhill from the master bed), facing to the front. The odorous fluid from the body is collected and buried at the *phaitam* backyard. When the corpse is dry, it is laid on its back on the *vailaang* bier made for the *hing lap* dance. It takes about a month or two to dry.

Innka musak

This literally means to take the dead out to the *innka* deck and other parts of the house. Since the dead are not as yet entombed, a feast like *gal aih* or *sai aih* is given, and the body is brought out to the *innka* deck, in the same manner as at *si pusuah*. The difference is if the feast is *gal aih* then the victory-feast *gal la* song is sung; and if it is *sai aih*, then *sai la* elephant songs are sung at the *si pusuah* dance.

SI PUSUAH DANCE

The drummer is preceded by four men with drawn swords, a man with a *lum* ceremonial shield and a man beating a *sialki* horn instrument. The priests intones: '*Dial a tal, dial a tal, saipi kap a*¹ [a] *takte [a] takte...*' ('hail so and so, slayer of elephant...').

As in the *hing lap* dance, the cortège is taken back into the house at about ten o'clock at night and dance the whole night in the *inn sung* room.

Mualbawlna: erecting memorial stelae

Before entombment, while the body is kept in the house, memorial stones are erected with the help and participation of the community. If the family can afford it, they kill cows or buffaloes to feast those who help in the erection of *mual*, or *mual bawl*.

SUANGKUA LIM: EFFIGIES OF SUANGKUA WOOD

A platform of timber is built at the *khua mual* portal. Figures of elephants, bison, rhinoceros, wild boars, bears, sambar deer, muntjac deer, porcupines, serows, mountain goats, hornbills, hawks, owls, flying foxes, monkeys and every game the family (and deceased) have taken in life are sculptured in the soft *suangkua* wood and set on the platform, with figures of all the enemies killed standing around the platform. If the deceased is a woman, her effigy is mounted on an elephant; if it is a man, he is not only mounted also on an elephant, but his effigy also carries a gun. A man carrying a gourd bottle of *zu* is also included among the wooden menagerie. (The last time such *suang kua* effigies were made was at the funeral at Chief Hau Chin Khup, and I myself must have seen them, though I was too young to remember.)

WOOD AND STONE STELAE

A wood pillar about a span wide, three-fingers thick and twelve-foot tall is also erected. On it also are carved pictures of all the game and enemies the family has killed in life. A stone tablet is also engraved with similar pictures and all the valuable beads, bangles and heirlooms the family has. A song commemorates the *suangkua* memorial stela:

*Tulta duangzun, tuanglam lai ah,
Ngaih teng meel muh na hi.
Kuahsuang sai tan ih khua mual ah,
Vuisa meel muh na hi.*

Fancy woodwork, by the highways,
Of our loved ones, us all remind
Kuahsuang woodcut amidst our portal
Of iv'ry and glory and mankind.

Misi vui na entombment

Relatives near and far are informed with ample time of the *langkhen*, the day on which guests are to arrive. On that day, when it is decided who will provide *gan pi* (*sial*, cows or buffaloes), they also decide on who the *si tuam*, (those who provide the shroud) will be. In olden days (and in principle still today) the *tuam pi*, who is the *haitawi* cup-bearer, provides a *puanbu* blanket or, if that can not be afforded, a *puan dum* shawl. After the Second World

War,² however, the *tuampi* paid Rs 10, the next Rs 8, Rs 6 and Rs 4; other ranking *tanu* may take their places. If there is no-one to take their place, the scale may be reduced to *gual nih* and *gual khat*, or Rs 2 and Re 1. The *si tuam* money goes to the family of the deceased. The *si tuam* shrouds (either *puanbu* or *puandum*) were given so that if the family of the deceased were too poor to afford a proper shroud, the dead could be buried in the *si tuam* blanket. Nowadays the shroud is less of a problem, and *si tuam* dues are given in cash.

Laang khet ni: the day before the funeral

Laang khet literally means to prepare the bier. The priest takes a piece of timber over a foot in width, about one *laam* or six feet long, and make holes with a chisel about one *khaap*, eight inches, from the end, two in each end. He fixes four bamboo poles (taller than a person sitting) in the holes and ties the tops together. On the *laang* bier are woven twined bamboo bands called *gun khau*.

Order of zu

On the *laang khet* day the *pu te* provides two pots and the *thusa* one pot of *zu*.

Si vui ni: funeral day

Preparing the body for burial is called *si bawl*. The body is securely lashed onto the *laang* bier in the sitting position and covered with a *puan dum* or *tangh ciing* shawls.

Sa sin tawi: the liver present

A piece of the liver and the sausage from the *kua sah* animal procured by the *pu te* (distaff) family is tied into the left palm of the dead, and he/she is told: 'Give this to whomever you meet first on the way. It is a present from your *pu te*.'³ In the same manner, liver and sausage from the deceased's own family is bound into their right palm, and he/she is told: 'This is for your forefathers.'

Si pu suah: funeral procession

After all the *zu* pots are in order, and the bier is ready, all the men, including those with the guns for the salute, enter into the *inn sung* room and sit on the *pialkhang dawh dan* and *tapdeek* (raised floor on the downslope side, and the thick frame of the hearth between master bed and fireside bed) and sing three *pasal la* and three *zangta la* songs.⁴ The *si pusuah* procession is led by a shield-bearer with four men with drawn swords, and a man with a *sialki* horn is in the vanguard before the drummer.

After the songs have been sung, the *tanu* and *sanggam* pallbearers carry the bier and step out of the room in step with the drum. When the bier gets underneath the *bi-khalap* eaves all the guns fire a salute, and the procession dances towards the front, turns to the upslope direction and then around the *songh*. The *siampi* group, with the priest beating the drum and three men playing the three-tone *daak* gongs, are led by a shield-bearer carrying a spear and also begin to circle the *songh*.

Minsial cry

A *minsial* has been described as a 'boast'. It is a harangue a man delivers at the top of his voice at a funeral or obituary occasion like *si pu suah*. The *minsial* cry is men's equivalent of women's *kah la* laments.

At *si pusuah*, when the bier reaches the *inn liim* verandah and is about to come out to the *innka* deck, clan elders cry *minsial*: '*Khasia na ciai! Na pu that na pa thah ma suan o!*' ('Do not fret! May the souls of those killed by your forebears precede you!'), counting the coups the forebears, clansman and the deceased had made in life. The *misial pa* or coup-counter calls out, '*Ka thah ka mat ma suan in!*' He may also mention the heroic deeds of the departed.

A coup-counter may also addresses his gun, saying that (with this gun) I have faced the *humpi* tiger, the leopard, bear or boar ('*Humpi ka mai tuahna, kamkei kamai tuahna, ngaltang kamai tuah na!*'). At the end of his harangue he fires his gun with cathartic release!

Songh kiimkot: Circling the songhs

The *laang* bier is surrounded by women mourners who cling to it as they wail and ululate *kah la* laments. All the while, the pallbearers *laam*, rocking the bier in an up-and-down motion which makes the feathers and plumes wave to the slow beat of the drum as the cortège circles the *songh*.

The dancers, led by the drummer, sing the following song:

*Ka tun in tun gual nei e, ka zua in zua gual nei e.
Lai that in sawm tang kho ing e, mi za lai ah zeek ing e.*

Mother has her generation; Father has his generation.
I till the land, carry my shield; share my harvest with one and all.

After circling the *songh* nine times, the dancing stops and the *khunzu* wine is served and the dancers crash in (*zu tuh*) on the *khun zu* lines. After the pallbearers and the dancers have all shared in the drink, the *sasem* meat-cutters hang the *sa leep* meat and then the *khun sa* meat on the *peeng* pipes of the *zu* pots that are contributed.

STATUS DETERMINES THE ROUNDS

Circling the *songh* nine times on funeral day is for those who have given *tong*, *sa aih*, *gal aih* and *taang aih* at least two or three times. The *a-go-a-lup* elites are entitled to nine times on the *hinglap*, nine times at *si pusuah* and another nine times on funeral day: altogether twenty-seven times. Those who have given the *tong* with a single *sial* mithan may be entitled to three-round processions, that is, *song kiim kot*, around the *songh* poles at the funeral and three at the *pusuah*: six in all. The next are entitled to seven *song kiimkot* on the *pusuah* day and nine on funeral day.

One should understand this custom in the light of the pallbearers duty to carry and rock the bier with the women mourners clinging to it; it calls for a lot of love and devotion to the deceased and the bereaved family for the bearers to carry out this arduous honour. The number of times the pallbearers

have to carry and rock the bier around the *songhs* depends on how many feasts the family have hosted.

Sasem leh thusa vaak, feasting the sasem and thusa

If there is sufficient *zu*, the *sasem* and *thusa* (meat-cutters and recorders) are feasted at this stage.

After the *songh kiimkot* dance, fourteen *pasal la* songs are sung, followed by thirty-five *zaangta la* songs. Then the *sa nolh la* chants are sung. These are different from other songs of couplets in form and are sung antiphonically as *a bul* and *a dawn*. *Sanolh la* is sung together by both *bul* and *dawn* sections.

The poetic diction of *sa nolh la* is different, for instance ‘elephant’ is *sai*, instead of ‘*vuissai*’, leopard is *gial* instead of ‘*sa kamkei*’ and so on. The following game are counted if the family shot them and celebrated the kill: 1) elephant; 2) rhinoceros; 3) bison; 4) tiger/leopard; 5) wild boar; 6) bears or porcupine; 7) serow. Those who have taken many game and celebrated their deeds simply count: ‘*tul e...*’, which means ‘thousand...’.⁵

More *gal la* war songs are then sung before the final (or ‘Reverse Arms!’) is sung, and the bier is turned around for the last journey to the cemetery.

*Kawltei bunglet na deihs leh,
Ngalpa lian sial bang sun aw.
Khaimu veng tot na deihs leh,
Dolai al bang va that aw*

If you covet Reversed Arms!
Spear the boar in his lair.
If you covet the eagle's plume
Kill your foe in combat fair!

Only families who have killed enemies and celebrated victory feasts at least three times are entitled to sing the *kawltei bunglet* song. It harks back to ancient times when our ancestors marked the bravest of the brave by those who dared to spear the feared tusked boar in his lair. The ultimate skill in stalking, and a fearless heart is required to spear a lightning-fast lone boar. Those who achieved prominence in war get the honour of being sent to their rest by *kawltei bunglet*!

It is not known how the *kawltei bunglet* was performed in ancient times, but today it is the singing of the above song as the cortège leaves the home for the place of entombment.

An exalted version of *si laam* dance is the *tut lap* in which the pallbearers hop while rocking the bier. This requires the bearers to be relieved frequently, calling for zeal as well as numbers. At the funeral of Kamhau chief Pum Za Mang the bier was carried by a *tut lap* dance from his house to the cemetery, half-a-mile away.

The dug-out coffin

At the cemetery, the body would be taken out of the bier and put into the clan coffin,⁶ which has a shed built over it. The shed is temporary and would be demolished at the *han khiat* feast. The old positions of the posts must be re-used, because it is taboo to enlarge or minimize the site. Families who can afford to do so will plan an elephant or bison hunt for the *han khiat* feast, when the skull would be put in a clan crypt and the rest of the bones buried.

The *sawm* lads keep nightly vigil at the cemetery and the heads of the animals killed at the funeral are given to them to cook and eat there. The *paan* flags are also taken to the cemetery and the *mual* portal on funeral day.

Order of zu at funeral

Before the funeral, the *sasem* meat-cutters siphon *zu* at the part of the *dawhdan* near the *pialkhang* space (downhill from the hearth) and serve each member of the family and their near relatives. When the mourners return from the cemetery, the *zu* provided by the *thusa* is served as *hasapna*, to call back all the souls of the living, so that they may not go astray or go to heaven (the village of the dead).

Sagual go: meat contributors

Those who contribute animals for slaughter give the deceased's family the head, half of the neck, an *iik bup tuah* (the front ribcage), a hind leg, a shoulder, half the liver, a portion of sausage, the heart and the lungs.

The lukhungsa portion for the dead

If the deceased is female, the family gets the *phuuk ka* (lower abdomen) with the liver decorated (*zeem*) with sausage; if male, a piece of neck meat, and liver decorated with sausage.

Handaal ni: the day after the funeral

The important custom of asking for souvenirs is to be carried out on this day. If the *pu te* distaff side of the *panmun* establishment have contributed a *ganpi* animal, a mithan *sial*, buffalo or cow, the meat is not distributed on the day of the funeral but on the *handaal* day. On this day, the *pu te* and the *sanggam* brethrens' *zu* pots are broached and the *zu* and meat portions are distributed.

Before sun-up, the priest prepares a cup of clear water for *hamsia nul* purification. With a branch of *hamsia* (curse) wood he sprinkles everyone present, and throws out the water outside the gate.

After the funeral, no drum, gong or other instrument may be played in the house until after the *han khiat* encrypting of the skull and the bones are buried.

Meel muh souvenirs

Our ancestors wanted to make sure that when a man dies, his relatives on the mother's side will not feel that relationship with the family becomes weaker. Therefore, they ask for a *meel muh* souvenir, which is something the deceased had used in life. The *sakhau* shoulder bag and *teipi* (spear) he had carried into battle, or even his *meisah bawm* tinderbox and skin covered *sakhau* net bag were often asked for if the family was too poor to offers more substantial mementos.

When my father died we gave a woollen blanket to the heir of his maternal grandfather. *Meel muh gen* or the souvenir presentation day is something of a more intimate, inner-circle time of commiseration, with the nostalgia knowing that with this death a link has been severed.

In 1912 Chief Hau Chin Khup and his elders standardized the *meel muh* as Rs 10 if the *pu te* killed a *ganpi* cattle, Rs 4 if they kill a pig at the funeral. This decision prevents abuse of the noble and worthy intent by some who demanded too much, or who were influenced by other clans like the Thahdos who demand a *sialpi*, a mithan cow which has calved.

Hansaak tanh: the second day after the funeral

Women are not allowed to visit the cemetery on *hansaak tanh* day. All the senior *sanggam*, *tanu* and the *pu* families bring *zu* to comfort the bereaved family.

Hanh khatna: encrypting of the skull

After four or five months of entombment, the skull of the dead is cleaned and rubbed with oil and put into the clan crypt; the rest of the bones are buried in the *han buuk* shed. This final deed for the dead calls for yet another *gal ai* or *sa ai* feast. At the last such *hanh khat*, performed in 1966 for the last Sakte chief of Saizang, an elephant was shot and the *sai ai* feast was performed by his son.

Miscellany

Our people believe that life after death is very much a continuation of the life before it. A man takes to the afterlife the souls of the animals he killed in life, and is served by the souls of the enemies he killed. He is believed to be able to help the living by sending *gal maang* and *sa maang* (chiefs of enemies and game) to those still on earth to kill, and also to help them harvest choice ears of corn, millet and sorghum.

The family sets a meal called *lu khung ansiah* at the head of the *lupna pi* bed for the dead for a whole month from the day of the funeral.

Akgia sawm

Travellers and visitors to the village will see a bouquet of feathers and crimson hair tassels called *akgia sawm* at the *khua mual* portal at the entrance of the village. By the flags and *akgia sawm* they will know how many elephants, tigers and enemies the family of the dead has killed in life.

The *akgia sawm* is made soon after death to decorate the bier. Solo dancers carry it in dances during obituary days. Fibre from a banana trunk is twisted into the form and size of a Christmas wreath, and is securely bound with fibre string to make a circular base on to which feathers and hair plumes are stuck.

- 1 *Akgia* (the tail) and *akneel* (hackle) feathers of a cock tied on a bamboo stem stand for each game killed.
- 2 *Vaphual mul* is the tail feather of a hornbill tied on a bamboo stem, and represents a *zangsial* bison, a mithan *sial*, or a hornbill bird itself.
- 3 A *sawn kaai*, tassel of crimson goat hair, represents a slain enemy; a *sawn lai kaang* white band on the crimson hair is for a pregnant enemy.
- 4 *Sawn tanh* or truncated crimson hair is for a wild boar.
- 5 A *vavu gia* tail feather of a golden pheasant counts an enemy house burnt.

An tawi

The custom of 'bringing food' is not part of any particular feast. It is a welcome contribution to the host who has to entertain not only relatives and fellow villagers, but also visitors from far away places. *Tanu bul* and *sanggam bul* (senior daughters and brethren families) and close friends bring chicken or other meat for members of the family when there is birth or death or when a house is renovated (*inn nuai phel inn lam*). This is done reciprocally, and considered a bit of indulgence by those who can afford it. It serves a valuable purpose, however, as even if ten or twenty cattle may be slaughtered in a funeral, for instance, there would be no 'surplus' meat after all the portions have been taken, and without *an tawi* the family may actually be without a proper meal except for common porridge or soup.

A baby's death

After a man has set up house, if a child dies, that child is not given a regular funeral but is buried at the *inn kun* backyard of the house. *Nau oih la* lullabies are sung:

U aw ih nau mi in man, kua mi kua sa a hiam aw. Kua mi kua sa a hiam aw, thau te lumai khat hi e. Bang ding a mi man hiam aw, tang pa ih laak man hi e. Taang pa hi zah ih la hiam? Bok thok khum dim la hang e. Bok thok khum ding lak hang a mi luang sal luang ki kai aw. A dim dim in teh ni e, a leet leet in teh ni e. Ka nu lo ka pa lo in thaute tawh teeng aw ci. Thaute tawh ka teen sang meitei dawn a tuang nuam zaw'ng. Meitei dawn a ka tuan sang khang dam zang tui tawi nuam zaw'ng.

This lullaby frightens a fretful child with a bogeyman to make it sleep. Though most lullabies are pleasant, perhaps telling the child to sleep and grow like luscious pumpkins and gourds, this one tells a big sister about a bald-headed *thau-te* (Sihzang) who stole their baby. The reason, it says, is because they took some millet. How much millet? One *bok-thok* basket. Measure it full and over-flowing. Without your mother and your father, get married to a Thaute. But I'd rather climb on a plum tree than get married to a Thaute. Then, I'd rather go and fetch water from the stream below than climb on a plum tree. After the lullabies they may sing any song they like.

The funeral is simple. The *pu pi* distaff people carry the body in their hands (rather than a bier) from the *sunden*, where it was laid, and hand it over to the *sabaal* head brethren across the threshold of the door, over the *sangkil* sill. From there, the *tanu* daughters carries it in the *phaitam* backyard, and the *haitawi* cup-bearer lays it in the ground. (It is taboo to hand a baby across the *sangkil* sill for this reason.)

Violent deaths

Deaths by enemy hands, drowning, falling off a cliff or from a tree, or in a storm, or killed by wild animals, by a snake bite, and so on, are termed *gam si*, death in the field. When the body is brought back it may not enter into the *inn sung* room, but a *mit et* rite must be performed in the *inn liim* porch

with a chicken, and the hackle feather is made in an *ak neel* 'bow tie' and put around the neck of the deceased. After the rite it may be taken inside at the *sunden* and bathed for the obsequies.

Tuak khial: *misfits*

A married woman may have born many children, but if none lives and her husband dies, she must return to her parents home and will simply be known as *tuak khial*. There is no more heart-rending fate than that of a *tuak khial* or 'misfit'. When she dies, her body may not be carried out of the parents' gate for burial, but an opening will be made below the gate through which the cortège will carry it out. Even the songs sung at her funeral, called *tuak khial la*, are particularly pitiful.

Tuak khial ma lo a kuan nin e
Sunni hual khau khih bang hi e
Lung tuak ma lo a kuan nin aw
Tung sun ni zawl tholh a bang hi e

The day Miss Misfit works in the field
 The sun takes it sweet time to set
 The day Miss Favoured works the field
 The sun makes sure to hurry home

The day *tuak khial* works in the field, the sun is as if tied down by a rope; the day *lung tuak* (lucky) works in the field, the sun hurries down like a log down a chute. Even nature seems to conspire against a *tuak khial*. When she goes to her parents all the properties she has accumulated with her husband go to her husband's heir and she returns home empty handed.

NOTES

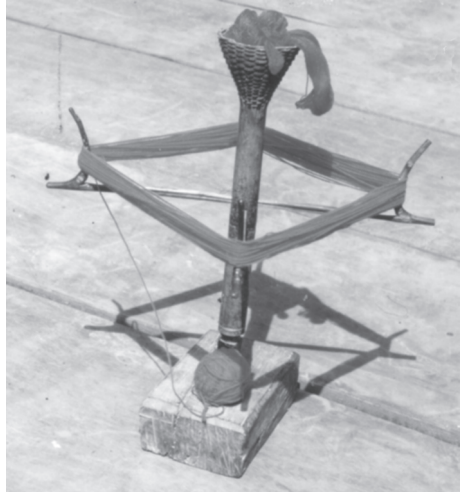
- 1 If it is a *sa ai* feast, the priest intones: '*Saipi kap a [a] takte...*'; and if it is a *gal ai*, '*Nupi that a [a] takte...*'.
- 2 When the currency was still in rupees. One rupee is also called a *gual*. A buffalo was valued at Rs 30. A mithan cow that has calved is called a *sial pi* and is valued at Rs 50.
- 3 Pu Vung Za Kham believed that this to be a parallel to the meat taken from the *pu te* household on *sunglen* day of the *tong* feast.
- 4 *Pasal la* is also called *gal la* or 'war song'. *Zaangta la* is also a war song, but like *nawi kaai la* etc. they are campaign songs, and *zaangta la* is mostly about campaigns in the plains.
- 5 The claim of a thousand game animals is not exorbitant for a family, because the exploits of all the clan are counted. However, individual exploits are also often very impressive. Kamhau chief Hau Cin Khup counted five tuskers, twenty-eight bison, two Bengal tigers, two leopards and more than two-hundred lesser game in his lifetime. Sukte chief Za Pau was reputed to have killed more than thirty elephants, and chief Za Tual was credited with similar kills.
- 6 The use of a single coffin for the clan had not been practised by Kamhau chiefs for many generations. Wooden coffins were used and the bodies were buried with the coffin at the *han khiat*.

Weaving and ceremonial blankets

In 1962 some Chin people still wove their own garments from cotton grown in their fields.

Right: *khau laam* is an instrument that turns as the skein of yarn is wound.

Below: a hand gin called *pat kol*, for taking out the seeds.





Spinning is done by *mui phe* (above) and *mui tung* (below). The latter can be used even while travelling.

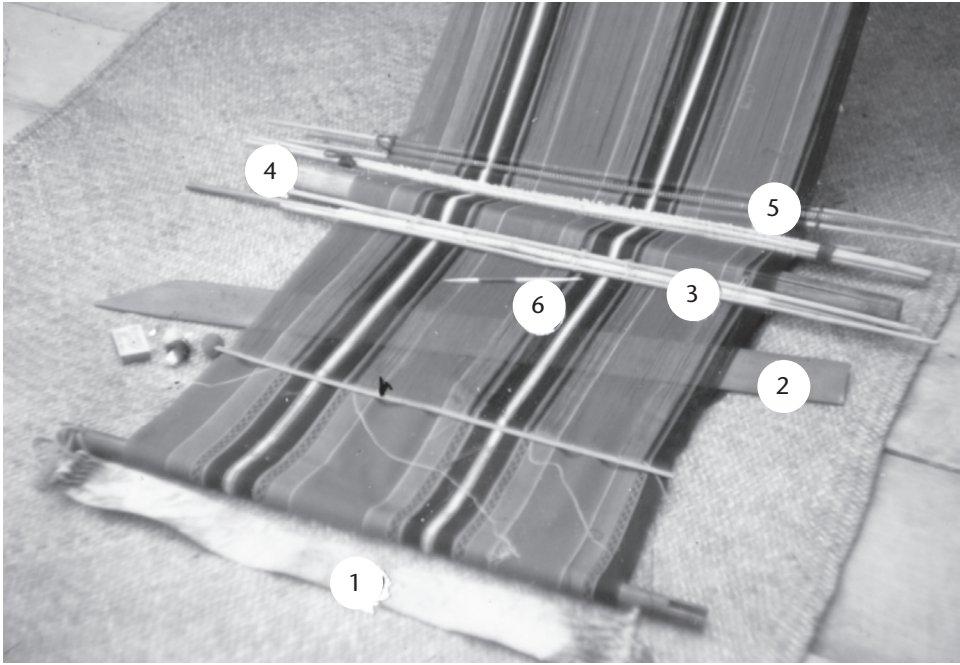




Above right: *puan za thup* is a heavy blanket with cotton batting woven into the woof.

Below right: the blanket *puan lai san*, named after the red band in the middle, is for men. *Puan lai san* are often used as shrouds by important people.





The paraphernalia of weaving (a *puan dum* being woven)

- 1 *duap* is the belt made of hide
- 2 *ciam peek* is the weaver's beam
- 3 *Nah vawh* is the rod which with string wound around it will pull up the warp to form a pattern. The bamboo rods for the *nah vawh* pattern are called *ciang tang*. The zig-zag pattern these *nah vawh* form are called *ciang kaw*, and the diamond shape is called *tang mai mu* or cucumber seed.
- 4 *siam lawng*, a cylindrical bamboo piece helps separate the warp.
- 5 *tuk lik* a serrated triangular bamboo rod spreads the warp to a fixed width.
- 6 *sakuh ling* porcupine quill is used to separate stuck warps. A little water, *siam tui piak*, is sprinkled on the waft when it is sticky.

An art still practised today

Weaving with different designs and colours gained currency with my mother's generation, because by that time her father Chief Hau Cin Khup had sent a 100-man labour corps to France and the people had been opened to the outside world. Basic colours: white (*saiha dial*, elephant tusk) represents elephants; black – rhinoceros; red – tigers and leopards in funeral flags. Zigzag patterns are *ciang kaw* (crooked sticks); diamonds are *tang mai mu* (cucumber seed). These are the basic patterns in the *puan dum* my mother wove (above) in 1962.

Conclusion

Kamhau culture into the third millennium

An unknown dynasty

The Tedim mission compound world-view, as portrayed by Nelson and Cox in *Rough Roads, Good Life*,¹ gives a very skewed view of the Kamhau regime and culture, much of which appeared unknown even to those styled as 'missionaries to Kamhau'. The mission-compound perspective was that there were three 'giants' at large in the land – ignorance, disease and fear – and that the Kamhaus were a 'primitive' people without even a word for 'forgive' until the Gospel was brought to them.

Their world-view must have been coloured by earlier missionaries such as Dr E.H. East, who preceded the Nelsons, and who saw Kamhau as a nation of drunks: 'Every occasion whether it is joy or sorrow, they must drink and when drunk must dance.' (East 1919:45). Even in the Nelson's 1939 to 1951 tenure, their mission-compound world-view describes the Chins as 'killing one another for bride prizes',² and 'mothers starving their children to brew intoxicating drinks'.³

Even the *tapidaw*⁴ Christians, who somehow never thought to question the mission-compound views, have not been helpful in this regard, as when one of them writes: 'A Chin would rather have the reputation of being the heaviest drinker than any other reputation on earth. He knows no greater joy than to be drunk, day and night.'⁵ For a better understanding of Kamhau, we here give a historical, political and cultural sketch of the chiefs, from Khan Thuam to Pum Za Mang, who played a pivotal role in the story of Burma's independence.

Khan Thuam's world (c.1750 – c.1850)

One must start with Khan Thuam, the founder of the land that was to be known under the British as Kamhau tract (Kamhaugam), Sukte tract (*Suktegam*) and Siyin tract (*Sihzanggam*). A biblical analogy captures the tenor of Khan Thuam's youth: 'In those days Israel had no king; everyone did as he saw fit' (Judges 21:25). There was no one powerful ruler. In Mualbeem, Khan Thuam's village, his uncle Kaih Mang collected tributes of suckling pigs and grain, but was unable even to protect the community, and Khan Thuam was made a slave by a man called Zel Vum from neighbouring Limkhai.

This worthy entered the village *tual* altar wearing his feathers and red-dyed goat-hair plumes, and was met by a shower of stones from Mualbeem youth, who would not tolerate such ostentation. Zel Vum got hold of the fatherless Khan Thuam, accused him of throwing seven stones at him and charged him with seven three-fist pigs damage. When no-one, not even his uncle Kaih Mang, would ransom him, Zel Vum made him his *sila* slave.⁶ In those days, the unscrupulous could roam the country making the poor and defenceless their *sila*, slaves, exacting all kinds of tributes like *sasan* (any cut of meat bar those promised elsewhere), *liang ziat*, (right-shoulder meat) or *liang vei* (left-shoulder meat), to be rendered when the *sila* gives a feast. Khan Thuam was to be made a *sila* again by one Pau Hau of Vangteh village, who accused him of entering his field...

Khan Thuam became *sial cing mang* (top cowherd) by out-wrestling every fellow cowherd, and then, playing chief, collected dues of wild berries and the breast cuts of birds. When he grew older, and his uncle Kaih Mang wanted to collect dues from those who picked wild mango and figs, Khan Thuam could not resist speaking out. For his trouble, Kaih Mang set his slave to strangle him. However, on seeing the two struggle for dear life, Khan Thuam's mother handed her son a bone knife, with which Khan Thuam slit the slave's jugular, killing him.

Khan Thuam's prowess in his missions to redress wrongs caused nine *mang* (headmen) to plot against him, and he asked for the protection of the chief of Rallang. With the help of the Rallang people he plotted his revenge against his enemies. After conquering them, he found himself lord of the land from Manipur in the north to Falam in the south.

After he had lived in Rallang for some time and had taken part in Khuang Ceu's wars and raids, Khan Thuam asked for Khuang Ceu's help in taking revenge against those who wanted to kill him. When the promise of help was received, Khan Thuam sent word to Mualbeem that he was about to invade. Mualbeem then capitulated and invited Khan Thuam to rule them. After Khan Thuam had been settled in Mualbeem for a few years, the people of Lamzang wanted his son Kam Hau to be their protector. Khan Thuam chronicled the event in song thus:

*Tang ni bang ka sat lai tak a
Von mang gua bang tuan sak e
Vonmang ni bang tuan sak e
Lamtui gambang mangsak e*

As the sun of my glory burns hot
I have set up my son on his own
On his own, have I set him up
To reign and rule in Lamtui*

* Lamtui means Lamzang

Kam Hau (c.1768–1868): the making of a dynasty

From Mualbeem, Kam Hau migrated to Lamzang with the nucleus of a collective leadership that represented both important clans and individual talents. Notable for representing diverse clans were Lam Dong of Buansing clan, his adviser on warfare, and Thang Tun of Bawm Khai clan, his adviser

on administration. Other advisers included Thang Sum of the Sote, Pum Eng of the Suankhup clan and Kam Dong of the Buansing clan.

Carey and Tuck write (1932:120) in *The Chin Hills*, 'while those ruled by Kanhow took the name of Kanhowte or Kanhows people.' Historically, Kamhaute does not mean the Kamhau clan, but a total of fifty-five clans (according to Pum Za Mang 1924), with sixteen clans of the Zo tribe, six clans of the Thahdo tribe and the rest being from the Guite, Simte and other tribes.⁷

Kamhau tract, as the British called it, was an administrative unit bounded by 93°19' and 94°10' longitude and 21°10' and 24°00' latitude; it is 120 miles long and 80 miles wide and in 1948 there were 150 villages with 6,000 houses.⁸ Because of its difficult terrain, Kam Hau's 'absolute control' (Carey and Tuck 1932:120) over the people was a notable administrative feat.

On moving to Tedim, Kam Hau set up a triumvirate with himself as leader, Hatlang Mang Gin as chief of warfare and Hatzaw Khoi Lam as chief of administration. In addition, he enrolled Sakte Pau Vum, Zilom Kim Thuam, Hatzaw Tel Khat, Samte Pau Am and Cin Kam in drawing up the Customary Law of Kamhau, which was in effect from 1848 until 1948, when Burma became independent.⁹

Carey and Tuck write of Kam Hau's absolute rule over his village as defining his style of leadership,¹⁰ which is also mentioned in one of Kam Hau's rare songs, in which he made no pretence about his own rule: he made short shrift of those who could pose a challenge.¹¹ With the exception of a Manipur raid in 1857, which ended in a defeat for the invaders, his firm rule gave his people a hundred years of peace.

Kam Hau took the following eight tributes: 1) *taang seu*: a basket of millet; 2) *sial siah*: a mithan from every village every three years; 3) *inn sa liang*: domestic shoulder meat of *sa aih* hunting, *gal aih* war celebrations and the *tong* feast; 4) *daak sap*: hire of *daak gongs*, a cut of meat from funeral feasts; 5) *sial liang man*: one rupee, the price of a shoulder of a *sial* mithan; 6) *gamsa liang*, shoulder meat from a wild animal taken in Kamhauland; 7) *tuuk tha khaal tha*, one day labour in the fields of the chief each rainy season and each summer; 8) if anyone emigrates from Kamhauland his house will become the chief's.

Khaw Cin, during his rule (see below), created another tribute called *dainet* that commemorates his feeding of the people of Lamzang and Gawngmual during a three-year famine. It is a cut of meat from the worship of the *pusa* spirit. During the era of party politics, the KSVP (or Chin Freedom League) campaigned against *haak kol nam kua* or the 'nine yokes of the Kamhau chief'.¹² To the credit of the Kamhau chiefs who had wielded power for six generations, a century and a half, 'nine yokes' was the worst the opposition could accuse them of, in contrast to the torture, killings and mayhem committed by Thawmte, Tawmbing, Gualnam, Khupson and Khupmu who had preceded them in history, or even the outrages committed by 'democratic' vote.¹³

The customary law of Kamhau

The law has 26 sections and 143 articles, and anticipates human rights and the abolition of capital punishment. Although translated into Burmese by Chief Pum Za Mang and published by Anadipan Pitaka Press in 1924, neither *Rough Roads, Good Life* (the Tedim mission compound world-view) nor Dr Robert G. Johnson's two volumes on American Baptist Chin Mission has made any mention of it.

The bangkua family network¹⁴

Kamhau social structure can be understood by focusing on the role of Pau Vum, Kam Hau's *bangkuapi*. *Bangkua* encompasses both the relations by blood on the wife-taking side and the relations through marriage with the wife-givers, the *pu te* maternal clan.¹⁵ The most important person in this network is the *bangkua*, also known as *sabaal* in Teizang and *thalloh* in Saizang usage. The *bangkuapi* is the kinsman, adviser and military leader rolled in one. Kam Hau personally recruited Pau Vum from Mualbeem while he was dancing at the *tual* altar.¹⁶

Chief Hau Chin Khup's *bangkua* was Vai Kham, renowned for his bravery, who was recruited to avenge the death of Hau Pum, the chief's father. (The two prepared to die together when the British surrounded Tonzang and demanded the surrender of Hau Chin Khup.)

Pax Kam Hau

The Pax Kam Hau years (1848–1948) saw a renaissance in *zo* songs and dance and in celebrations of *kumcin vuisai* (yearly celebrations for elephant hunts). The *Sai pi khuk su* (elephant curtsy) song and dance¹⁷ is a lively change from the old war and hunting songs of the Sim and Teizang clans. There was also a renaissance of dances like the Sawngpi dance that Pu Vung Za Kham attributed to the Khuano Buansing people who migrated to Keizang.¹⁸

The piggy-bank system

After Kam Hau had pacified the land he had conquered, he toured the villages, giving each one a pig, a hen and a cockerel. The pig was instituted as *vok pi kun ngak* or the resident sow.

A piglet that is weaned is called a *gual* and its value was pegged at a silver rupee. A two-fist pig is four *gual*, a three-fist pig is six *gual* and a four-fist pig is ten *gual*. A buffalo is thirty *gual* or rupees; a *sial* mithan cow (that has calved) is fifty *gual* or rupees. The pigs and the buffaloes and *sial* mithans kept under the house comprises each Kamhau family's currency.

The fixing of compensation and fines for damages in readily available animals made for an efficient justice system.

An agricultural economy

Tuuk tha and *khal tha* are a day labour at the chief's *taungya* field in the rainy season and the summer, respectively. The chief's labour tribute from 135 villages, or some 2,000 families, was a well-regimented labour force. My mother, daughter of the chief, used to tell us how they worked shoulder to

shoulder with those who gave their tribute labour in almost nostalgic terms, so well did tribute labour seem to work.

Vung Khaw Man, Chief Hau Chin Khup's wife, was known to manage the chief's Ngazo *taungya* so efficiently that in the 1924 harvest 1,000 pumpkins were commemorated at Maimual memorial park at the entrance of Tonzang.

A terrace system using stone and tree-trunk retaining walls works well enough that Kamhau people could brew large portions of the grain into *zu*, although not to the extent of starving their children as *Rough Roads, Good Life* accuses (p. 46).

The *tang* soil-erosion control system, with rainwater intercepting ditches, had been efficient enough that industrious families could produce the vaunted *taang za* hundred-basket harvest, so that they could give the *taang hawm* social-elevation feasts that lead to the grand *tong* feasts that twine the souls of a husband and wife in eternity.

Trees and bamboo

Kamhau law has a section, and eleven articles, on trees and bamboos, preventing the wanton cutting of trees and maintaining firewood reserve groves (*sing halh*).

Feasts and legacy

KAM HAU'S 50-SIAL MITHAN TONG FEAST AND THE MEAT DISTRIBUTION

Kam Hau slaughtered 50 *sial* mithans at his *tong* and Zel Vum of Liimkhai claimed the right shoulder, the *to sa* or allegiance. Laang Za of the Manlun family received a *phei*, a hind leg or *sanggam sa* (offering to agnates).¹⁹ This is significant in that Kam Hau recognized Zel Vum with the right shoulder (Lai Thu Thang Ca 1937:3) *to sa* or allegiance meat. Laang Za's receiving the hind leg means that he was given a *sanggam sa* or considered as 'brother', debunking the claim that Laang Za was acting as Khan Thuam's protector by making him his *sila* (Khan Thuam's having to flee to Rallang is proof that this claim is not valid).

FEASTS CELEBRATING HUNTS

Feasts in the time of Kam Hau's sons could be many and often. We know little more than both Za Tual and Za Pau were credited with slaying over 40 elephants. There must have been endless feasts of *sa aih* as described in Chapter 6. For those who want to know what a man must do to say that he has done all the requirements of a feast of social elevation, here is what Vung Za Kham (1962) did:

- 1 After arriving back from jail I gave the *gal aih* feast and killed *gal sung sa* and *gal khensa ka go hi*.
- 2 After retiring as the chief's secretary, I gave the *sa aih* feast and killed *sai khen sa* and *sai sung sa*.²⁰
- 3 I gave a *taang hawm* feast and killed *sial zu meh*.
- 4 From 7 February 1947 I gave the *tong* feast and killed *inntual* and *inn sung sial zu meh*.

- 5 I gave the *taangza ai* hundred-basket millet harvest feast and killed *tang sa sa*.

FEEDING THE PEOPLE IN FAMINE

During Kam Hau's rule, Vaiphei and others from Manipur came down to Tedim and Kam Hau sold his stock of ivory to feed them.

Khaw Cin (1868–90): the decline

The monolith of power dissipated under Khaw Cin's chieftainship, because Kam Hau gave his sons Lian Thang, Thuam Lian, Thang Khaw Pau and Hau Pum their own tribute villages. Clan opposition to Hau Pum's marriage to Hatzaw Tel Ciin and Khaw Cin's own love affair and marriage to Hatlang Vung Khaw Lian had not helped relations between the Sukte, on one hand, and the Hatzaw and important Hatlang clans on the other.

The British expedition to the Chin Hills and the subsequent fall of Siallum fortress left only the Kamhaus still facing the British. If Khaw Cin thought that joining the British expedition into Lushai Hills might keep the British away from Kamhauland, he had a surprise coming, and he was served with a demand to surrender all guns and pay a fine of Rs 1000. With his health failing, the lame old warrior made a pitiful effort to dig trenches along Khuangzang ridge (near the mission quarters), but a terse British account of the defence of Tiddiim recounted 48 enemies killed and no British casualties, testifying to the unequal contest. Khaw Cin died in Ngennung when the British entered Tiddim

Khaw Cin's legacy

Khaw Cin's twenty-year rule may best be remembered by Taakheuh *mual*, the memorial park where one Thuam Neng brought a foreign enemy head and the chief and elders made him an *a-go-a-lup* elite; but he himself is best remembered for his feeding Gawng and Lamzang villagers during a three-year famine, selflessly selling his ivory, gongs and other heirlooms. The tribute *dainet*,²¹ was a commemoration of the feeding.²²

Chief Hau Chin Khup, KSM, TDM²³ (1891–1934): the magnificent chief

When the British annexed Siyin, and the Sukte tracts and Fort Siallum fell on 4 May 1891, the British were determined to get the only remaining Chin chief, Hau Chin Khup. Captain Rundall arrived in Tonzang on 13 February 1891 demanded the surrender of Hau Chin Khup. But the young chief and his *bangkua pa* Vai Kham prepared to make their last stand at the *gulh tawng* basement of Pu Tawn Khual, ready to go down in flames rather than suffer the indignity of surrender.

But the British drew the people into the village by staging cavalry parades, and surrounded Tonzang during the night of the 23rd. Shooting reported at four o'clock on the morning of the 24th was probably Za Tual shooting his way out to flee to Mulam to fight another day. By the end of the day the casualties tallied twelve dead and many wounded. Pu Phut Vum persuaded

the young warrior to surrender and Hau Chin Khup was denied a fiery martyrdom.

Trials of courage and will

In Rangoon the British put Hau Chin Khup through trials to see if he had it in him to take on the mantle of the great Kam Hau. He was even challenged to ride a steeplechase, though he had never ridden a horse in his life and finished the course through sheer tenacity. The examination of the young chief was so thorough that the British even discovered he had an extra molar on each side of each jaw. The teenager who stalked elephants on foot never betrayed any fear. When they asked if he had anything to say, he immediately asked for all the land of his grandfather Kam Hau.

The British installed him as chief of Kamhauland with the Burmese royal title of Ye Myeh A Shin or 'Lord of the earth and the water'.²⁴ He was also given Magistrate power, class 3 (with authority to issue the death penalty). Beyond all the accolades the British bestowed upon him, that Hau Chin Khup single-handedly disarmed his tribe without the aid of any troops seems to be the most impressive. He did it by means of sheer personality and the tremendous respect he had earned.

Cultural hero

In a prestige-centred culture Hau Chin Khup was hunter nonpareil, with kills of five tusker elephants, twenty-eight *zangsial* bison, two tigers, two leopards and more than two-hundred lesser game. He was reputed to have stalked elephants on foot to shoot them with his musket in the ear (once he got too close, and the elephant caught him with its trunk and raised him above the tall *kine* (elephant) grass to crush him afoot; but it dropped him like a hot potato when his bottle of *tuibuk* tobacco distillate broke, and the cigar stench drove away the beast).

In war, he told of the time he had a three day-and-night fire-fight with the British, till the wash from the pan of his musket made 'the very earth stuck in my gums'. He counted five *do khens*, or enemies killed in combat.²⁵

The people loved him for stories such as that which told that he once dismounted from his stallion to retrieve a single *gataam* sulphur bean on the road, though he took in more than 2,000 baskets of millet tribute alone.

A funeral extravaganza

The funeral of Tel Ciin, widow of Chief Hau Pum, and Hau Chin Khup's mother, on 1 June 1933 was often cited as the grandest of all funerals. Attended by the whole Kamhau nation, and all guns required to fire a powder-horn full of gun powder, the dark pall from the smoke over the spacious *inn pi* 'big house' was the talk of any who remembered the funeral: 52 mithans 10 buffalos, 11 cows and 2 ponies, 75 domestic animals in all, were slaughtered.

The decline of Kamhau culture and Sukte hegemony

Vung Za Kham blames the *tapidaw* Christians for the decline of Sukte hegemony and of Kamhau *zuhai sabak* (wine and meat culture).²⁶ The *tapidaw* went to court, claiming that as Christians they should not have to pay the chief's *inn sa liang* domestic meat tribute and *khua liau* village dues. According to Revd J. Herbert Cope (Johnson 1988:344), 'The Christian does not sacrifice nor does he hold drunken feasts, where upon, according to the law of the land they are excused from paying the dues.'²⁷ Although Superintendent J.M. Wright ruled that Christians must pay the dues, some still elected to migrate to the plains rather than comply. Some *tapidaw* claim that the chief exiled the Christians, though other Christians such as Revd Vial Nang, Ngul Lang and others never left. The mission mishandled this case so badly that it resulted in what the Burmese call a 'division of blood'.²⁸ Even today, some *tapidaw* leaders never seem to stop blaming the Kamhau chiefs for these events.²⁹

Chief Pum Za Mang, KSM, ATM³⁰ (1934–48): unsung statesman

Risking treason

Nobody except the writer, Vung Za Kham, and the Japanese commander in Kalewa would have seen the 'For Your Eyes Only' letter. Pum Za Mang himself was facing the other way so that he could swear he never saw it.

The British say that in the letter Pum Za Mang promised the Japanese that his tract was to submit without fighting.³¹

Nobody knows exactly what was in the letter, but we know that Chin soldiers captured by the Japanese in Burma, like Bo Luan Cin Suan, Neng Suan (later RSM) and Neng Go (later Captain) arrived back in Tonzang, and the Chin Hills Battalion captured in Myitkyina was also released.

Most amazingly, the crack 33rd Japanese Imperial Division, 'The White Tigers'³² stopped at Kalewa, gateway to the Chin Hills. While the 17th Indian Division, the 'lone outpost', 160 miles from Imphal, was not attacked for almost two years, until March 1944.

Were the contents of Pum Za Mang's letter (in which he was reputed to promise co-operation *after* the British left), or Pum Za Mang and his levies who knew the Kamhau tract so well, factors that caused Yanagida, commander of the 33rd Division, not to attack? In Malaya, Singapore, all the way up to Burma, Yanagida was not stoppable; and then he stopped for almost two years while Pum Za Mang built the 17th Indian division a road from Tiddim to Imphal!

Sitting on a fence

Pum Za Mang risked being charged with treason by writing to the Japanese, but he helped build Tiddim–Imphal road on which the 17th Indian Division was to evacuate to India. His Kamhaus built the critical 33-mile sector to Nakzang bridge and the famous Chocolate Staircase section of road near Tiddim that rises 4,000 feet in seven miles, all by human labour. He was awarded the KSM (*Kyet thaye zaung shwe Salwe ya Min*, 'Recipient of the Gold Chain of Honour') for this.

The Japanese 'Co-operation Commission'

Whether or not Chief Pum Za Mang's secret letter has anything to do with the fact that the 'White Tigers' did not tear the 17th Division to pieces when there was no force within 160 miles but Pum Za Mang's jungle-wise levies (formed by Lt. Col. Norman Kelly, OBE, and posted in the jungle villages between Yazgyo and Tonzang), the Japanese did honour his offer of co-operation³³ by naming the Japanese occupation government in the Chin Hills a 'Co-operation' under 'the Commissioner of Co-operation'.

The Japanese recognized Pum Za Mang as Chief of Kamhau tract or Kamhaugam Ukipa.³⁴ They also made G. Lian Cin Thang, his younger brother who received military training in the Rangoon University Training Corps (in preparation for such a time?), Commander of Kamhau Battalion of the CDA, Chin Defence Army and Chief of Intelligence, the highest ranking Chin in the Japanese occupation.

As Pum Za Mang succeeded in persuading the Japanese to release Chin soldiers captured in Burma, he was also able to request the Japanese commissioner to hand over to him some Lamzang villagers in the name of 'co-operation'.

British re-occupation

When the British came back they suspended Chief Pum Za Mang for six months. But they could not pin anything on the astute chief, so in the end they had to re-instate him.

During his suspension, rumours thrived about Kamhaugam being divided, to be ruled to the east of the Manipur by Zo Lian Khaw Mang, Thahdo Let Suah and Captain Mang Tung Nung, and by Thang Khaw Kai and Guite Thawn Hang to the west. However the rumour ceased with the re-instatement of the chief.

The wily chief made pre-emptive move against his adversaries by rallying the other Chin chiefs to ask the government to give them pensions and join Aung San in his bid to get independence for Burma.

The first Panglong Conference

Kamhau chief Pum Za Mang, Lumbang chief Hlur Hmung and Haka chief Kio Mang attended this meeting of 23–28 March 1946, which had on its agenda the united struggle for independence from Britain and the future of Burma after independence as a unified republic.

The Shan *sawbwa* (traditional chief) and Mr Stevenson (Deputy Commissioner in Falam and the British representative in the Panglong Conference) tried to persuade the Chin chiefs not to join Aung San every evening at their residence, but one can imagine that Chief Pum Za Mang, who could not get the British to build even a middle school for his 135 villages, would not be enthusiastic about them.

However Pum Za Mang told other Chin chiefs that there were no natural resources and that they couldn't even produce enough to feed themselves. If we did not join the Burmese they could simply cut our rice supply from Kalemmyo (Kalaymyo) and we'll be in the Chin Hills without the ability to feed

ourselves. The British people will not be interested in developing our area. Therefore we three Chin chiefs should agree with Aung San. The other two Chin chiefs also agreed and Aung San's group gained some strength, but no agreement could be made with the Shans at this meeting. Back in Rangoon, Aung San complained that Stevenson was trying to sow discord among the hill and plains people, and Stevenson was recalled to England.

The second Panglong conference

Aung San and the Burmese group were encouraged by the joining of the three Chin chiefs to their cause and renewed their efforts to win over the Shans in a second conference. The Shan could no longer hold out, and the agreement was signed on 12 February 1947.

At this second conference Chief Pum Za Mang, most senior among the chiefs and of pivotal influence, pleaded sickness and Chief Thawng Za Khup, the Sukte chief from Saizang, signed for Kamhau, Sukte and Sihzang tracts. But without Chief Pum Za Mang, who was the most senior representative among the delegates, Prime Minister Attlee's stipulation of unanimous agreement was called in question and the British called for an enquiry.

Reese-Williams enquiry

I asked his son, Sian Lian Pau, if the chief was on his death bed, to miss the most important meeting of his life, and was told that he had been in bad health all along, but that he was not dying. Two months later, as he might have expected, the British called for an enquiry because Chins were not represented fully.

This time Pum Za Mang attended the meeting with his son and heir, Chief Khup Khen Kham, his chief elder, Khup Za Mujng. Lian Khaw Mang of Phaitu village of the Zo tribe, Letsuah of Thangsih village and Awn Khaw Mang of Hiangzang village of the Thahdo tribe; Thawn Hang of Tuimui village of the Guite tribe also came.

Pum Za Mang in attendance with full representation from Kamhau confirmed the Second Panglong agreement and opened the way for the signing of the Aung San-Atlee agreement.

Chief Pum Za Mang and his vision rejected

Chief Pum Za Mang, and the other Chin chiefs for that matter, had long been disappointed with British policy regarding 'higher' education for the Chins, and with the neglect of the promises given to Hau Chin Khup and those who formed a Labour Corps for the French front in the First World War. Thus they agreed to relinquish their power and cast their lot with Aung San.

In return they asked for equity for the minority races that Aung San promised so graphically with '*bama takyat, chin takyat, kachin takyat, kayin takyat, yakhaing ta kyat* etc.' (meaning one for the Burman, one for the Chin, one for the Kachin etc., i.e. full equity).

Mass meeting on 20 February 1948

In Falam there was a mass-meeting referendum to determine the kind of government for the Chins. The meeting had 5,000 attendees, many of whom thought that they voted for the end of the Chins' *siah leh bum* tributes. Notably it also rejected an ad hoc committee proposal 'that the system of having Chiefs and Headmen considered as a system is yet the best for our people in their present state of political and education'.

Dr Vum Ko Hau's *Remarks and Extracts* say: 'The Chins at Panglong and later did not ask for a separate State. Instead they asked for roads and schools... (re the only private school in the Chin Hills secretly founded by the Siyins at Thuklai...)' No mention is made of Pum Za Mang's vision of political equity or even the status of a state. The Chin special division did not even have the separate budget of a state or clear demarcations of the boundaries with the adjacent Sagaing Division.

Death of the last Kamhau chief

When Chief Pum Za Mang received the last rite of the Roman Catholic church at two o'clock, 10 November 1948, a comet known as Ashbrook-Jackson stood vigil by the Morning Star, its ray pointing to where the chief lay.

The remains were carried to the Tonzang *inn pi* royal house the same night and a *hing lap* procession for the recent dead began the sequence of rites for a Kamhau chief. All the funerary rites for a chief already mentioned in this book were undertaken, and he was entombed with the *kawltei bungleh* rite, with mourners carrying him in a *tut lap* dance all the way to the tomb.³⁵

Kamhau culture into the third millennium

The last time the Kamhau peoples acted as a socio-political entity was when Chief Pum Za Mang attended the historic Reese-Williams Enquiry with representatives from the Zo, Thahdo and Guite tribes, confirming the signing of the Panglong Agreement.

The beginning of the decline of Kamhau was attributed to the *tapidaw* or early Christians, who rebelled against rendering Hau Chin Khup the tribute that belonged to him. The 'division of blood' that the Buddhists of Burma blame the Christian missionaries for, have not been healed after a century.

Discord and strife among the tribes

Among Kamhau tribes, clashes between Kukis (Thahdo) and Paihte in the past years are indications of the bad relations that began with the British Kuki expedition in which Chief Ngul Bul, paramount leader, was taken in guerrilla warfare by a villager of Heilei, an act that the British credited to Hau Chin Khup. The results of tactics of divide and rule still persist, and will do so as long as we let them.

Mending the infrastructure of the past

The eight-foot-wide *sawbwa* road network has been in disrepair since the country's independence. Politicians before independence called the road

a product of Kamhau forced labour, and during the 26 years of socialism no-one would think of repairing it, considering it a vestige of feudal power. Without the chiefs to fine a *vok tuk thum leh zibel khat* or a 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*, no repairs were made, and even trees started to grow on the surface of the road.

If we cannot have commerce and social intercourse with the dollar or rupee world, we should at least revert to our 'piggy bank' monetary system by keeping the traditional *vokpi kun ngak* resident sow. If no government tells us to repair our *sawbwa* network, each village should themselves maintain it for their motorcycles, *troller-ji* cars or jeeps.

Catholic Kamhau culture

Since Chief Pum Za Mang invited the Catholics to establish a mission and to build schools and a hospital in Tonzang, the capital of Kamhau, Catholicism has had a hold in Kamhau. With the last Kamhau chief given the last rites of the Catholic church, and now that his heirs and brothers have embraced the Catholic faith, and having turned over the *innpi* royal house and its premises to the Catholic church, Kamhau culture is, to all intents and purposes, Catholic. The Roman Catholic churches are built upon local tradition and are most tolerant (unlike Protestant churches), so that singing *zu kholh la*, or drinking itself, has not been objected to. Catholics have been joining *lam vui* communal dances for generations, and *han la* songs have even been composed for church festivities.

If the need should arise to regulate certain songs and dances, the Catholic church, with its echelons of authority and power, is in the best position to do so.

It is gratifying to see that one churchman of the Zo tribe has become a bishop who can lead the Zo clans, who make up a major part of the Kamhau nation, to work for the solidarity of Kamhau people.

Revitalizing the *bangkua* family network and adapting the former *zuhai sabak* and wine culture to meet the disciplines of the churches could bring back such customs as our *tuuk zu kholh* (first-fruit) offering to one's maternal clan and of *zu kholh* to one's protectors.

NOTES

- 1 Phileda O. Nelson and Karen Nelson Cox, 2000, *Rough Roads, Good Life*.
- 2 Ibid.:51.
- 3 Ibid.:46.
- 4 Previously, Chin converts were called *tapidaw*, meaning 'follower' in Burmese.
- 5 C. Thang Za Tuan, 1999, 'Some reflections on Christianity and formal education in the Chin Hills' in *Thinking About Christianity and the Chins In Myanmar*, ed. Cung Lian Hup.
- 6 One could be bullied into slavery, and a slave like the young Khan Thuam was not made to serve the master. Instead, when he grows up and gives a feast, he must give a shoulder or a cut of meat to his master.
- 7 Chin Minthar Chief Pum Za Mang in *Sukte Yazawin*, Adipanppitika Pres, Mandalay, 1924.

- 8 In *Kamhaugam Ukpote Tangthu leh Tonzang Khua tangthu* (Khup Za Mung *et al.* 2002) the area is given as 60 by 123 miles, and the number of villages, incorrectly, as 120.
- 9 Note that neither the mission-compound world-view *Rough Roads, Good Life*, nor the two volumes of American Baptist Chin Mission (Johnson 1988) mention Kamhau Customary Law.
- 10 Carey and Tuck *The Chin Hills I*:119.
- 11

<p><i>A mi pau in Thuam vontawi neem aw ci, Sing apau teng sang sing bang khia zeel ing Khua kiim a pau teng tong dam in ka neem sak e, Khangvai mang' siallum sawm sial in ka neem hi e</i></p>	<p>They tell me, son of Thuam, be gentle. But I trim down unsightly growths And parleyed and calmed neighbouring voices And appeased Southern Shield with mithans.</p>
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- 12 To the credit of generation of Kamhau chiefs, the populace cannot be called 'the down trodden Kamhau people' as a retired educator writes in the YSBC magazine 1955–2005. The opposition party brought out the slogan even though the chiefs had already relinquished their *siah* tributes before the Panglong conference of 1946.
- 13 For instance it has been reported that an elected circle chairman and his thugs once hung the headman of Kahngen upside down and burned chilli powder underneath him. A taste of 'independence', 'freedom' and 'democracy' 'by the people' was a real threat to the Sukte, Buansing, Tawmbing and Bawmkhai *et al.* who made up the ruling class and 'a-go-a-lup-te', those who gave the banquets, might also be targeted. In late 1948 a clandestine poster in Tonzang threatened to cut off the manhood of Sukte males and the breasts of Buansing women (personal comment, Kam Khen Kham).
- 14 'Fights and killings because of quarrels over the bride price' (Nelson and Cox 2000:51) do not belong to Kamhau culture, because marriage is the basis of the *bangkua* family in which the wife-giving clan has their own 'fixed' price, a mithan cow, for example. Relations between the wife-giving and receiving clans are acknowledged by the *zuhai sabak* order (of *zu* and meat).
- 15 See F.K. Lehman, *The Structure of Chin Society*, p. 123.
- 16 Pau Vum best noted song:

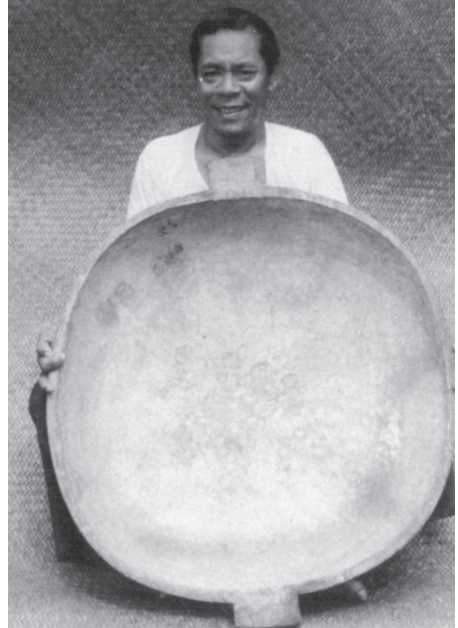
<p><i>Dimtui khua suan pheii lam a sau tumki suang Ciin thang aw suihlung na muang kha ding hi CiinThang aw suihlung na muang kha ding hi e, A pepet ciang heem lam hi kha ding hi</i></p>	<p>Midst Dimtui's multitude nations O my Liege, never let your vigil lax If you ever your vigil lax Too stark the truth'd prove to be.</p>
--	--
- 17 'Vuisai lim lian pal ka lawh nin, nahsing nuai ah, ta bang khuk sung e. Minthang pal lawh tuang ih tun ciang ka lem khuang tawh ta bang khuk sung e.' ('The day I shot the famous Jumbo, I curtsy like this in the jungle. When I arrived home with my trophy we curtsy thus.')
- 18 Vung Za Kham, *Pu Vungzakham's Thuciamtehna*, mss.
- 19 Manlun Tuang Za Go of Lomzang village was said to claim that a *phei* hind leg is *to sa*, which would mean Kam Hau offering a slave's tribute to Laang Za. However, there is the legend of Zo and Sihzang offering one another the *a phei* as *sanggam sa* and that they quarrelled because the size of the leg of a *valuk* flying fox was small, whereas that of a sambar stag was huge for the short tail.
- 20 'Killed' so and so *sa* means he killed these extra animal, mostly pigs, that make them belong to the group.
- 21 The tribute makes the ninth of Kamhau's tributes that the opposition party called *haak kol nam kua* or 'the nine yokes of the Kamhau chiefs'.
- 22 Yet one of the very first Christians to oppose chief Hau Chin Khup's *inn sa liang* tribute was Dam Khup from Gawngmual village, who would be old enough to remember the famine.
- 23 *Kyet thaye zaung shwe Salwe ya Min* (Recipient of the Gold Chain of Honour) and *Thuye gaung ngwe Da ya Min* (Recipient of the Silver Sword of Bravery).

- 24 Khup Za Mung *et al.*, *Chin Hills Regulation Acts 1896*, in *Kamhaugam Ukpote Tangthu Leh Tonzang Khua Tangthu*.
- 25 Game and enemies that a person counts as coups are those that he has given feasts over and that the elders, the elite of society, have acknowledged.
- 26 Vung Za Kham, *Pu Vungzakham Thuciamtehna Laibu*.
- 27 Pu Kam Khen Kham (p.c.) said it was the Christian's Christmas meat, not non-Christian sacrifice, that some Christians refused to pay.
- 28 Prof. Tin Pe Maung: 'The Buddhists of Burma blame the Christian missionaries for causing as they say in Burmese the division of blood among Burmans.', 'Buddhism in Burma', Burma Christian Council, 6 March 1953, Rangoon.
- 29 In 'Reminiscence of an old man' by Eddie in *Yangon Siyin Baptist Church Magazine* published in 2005, a *tapidaw* educator writes of 'the down-trodden Kamhow people' and 'the nine yokes' of the Kamhow chief.
- 30 *Kyet thaye zaung shwe Salwe ya Min* (Recipient of the Gold Chain of Honour) and *Ahmudan gaung Tazeik ya Min* (Recipient of the Medal for Good Service).
- 31 Kelly, Desmond, 2003, *Kelly's Burma Campaign*, p. 84.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 33 The letter was said to be mainly about an offer to co-operate with the Japanese *after* the British left. Father Moses, later Bishop Aloysius, once said the chief asked the Japanese not to bomb his house in Tonzang, which he would paint black, or in Tiddim, which he would paint red.
- 34 An order was signed by Tual Kam, Assistant Resident, that allowed the chief to collect the same tribute as in the previous years.
- 35 In the *tut lap* dance the dancers squat and spin in time with the music in a tiring dance that demonstrates the ultimate love and devotion to the dead.

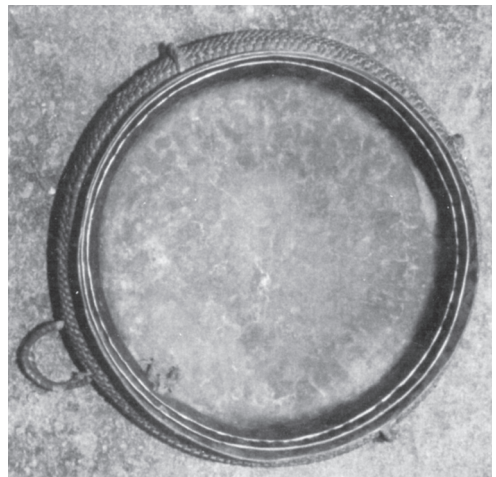
Heirlooms and hair



Above: a single-piece bedstead and wooden trencher belonged to Chief Thang Khaw Pau, son of Kam Hau.



Below: a *daak* musical-instrument set named *daak lam tai*, and a *saibeel* 'elephant pot' that belonged to Chief Pum Za Mang.



Below, left to right: the safari team, or *gam kuan te*, are Pa Kam Za Nang, guide and *samulman*, my father with a 10.75 mm Mauser rifle, Pa Tun Za Thang with (*tukpaak*) *samulman*, Pa Suan Gin, Pa Hong Za Cin and Pa Cin Za Hau. Note the hornbill feathers and the *tukpaak* flowers for the *samulman*. *Samul* means hair, *man* means to take, and the *samulman* is accorded hero-status for being the first man to arrive at the kill in the hunt and war. They are entitled to sing their own *han la* victor's chant. Only *samulman* Tun Za Thang, third from left, has the traditional occipital hair knot.



Below, left: Kamhau women have worn their hair in three plaits since historical records began. The beautiful hair of a woman was eulogised as *besam lentang bangpha no* and compared to the lush leaves of a banana plant, but has no ceremonial significance.

Below, right: a boy would wear his bregmatic hair tied up in a little knot, surmounted by the red vent feather of an Indian bul bul bird. Called *van eel tot*, the hairdo is to let the lock of hair grow for the occipital knot called *tuk*.



Appendix I

Kamhau glossary

Key to Kamhau dialect pronunciation by Revd S.T. HAUGO

S.T. Haugo devised a system of dots, dash and colon as pronunciation guide and to indicate tonal direction. He uses *'kei*, *.ka*, *-pai* and *:hi*.

1 ` of *'kei* indicates *kahto* or a rising tone like the sound 'wee';

2 . in *.ka* indicates *kia suk* or a falling tone as in 'doom';

3 - in *-pai* indicates *phei pai* or a level sound;

4 : in *:hi* indicates *sawi kah* or a slanting upward sound, starting high and trailing down, as in 'thee' and 'why'. Please note the words and their corresponding tonal directions: 'Praise -ye .the :Lord. 'P', 't' and 'k' are not aspirated, but 'ph' and 'th' are. 'Kh' is pronounced as the phonetic X, for example as *Xristo*, *khup* (*Xup*), *khut* (*Xut*) etc.

ak tui ai san [-AK -TUI - AI -SAN] a method of divining; the tip of an egg is opened and it is set on a trivet of bamboo or stick driven in to the ground. The egg is marked longitudinally and a piece of *mei lah* pitch-pine brand is lit underneath. The way in which the egg spills over is read.

a-go-a-lup-te the elite, lit. the upper class who 'have slaughtered animals and served *zu* in feasts'.

ai lawng [AI-LAWNG] a style of singing often used in making a statement, while the speaker dances solo (the dance is called *ailawng laam*).

ai san na [-AI :SAN -NA] divining, fortune telling.

Aikham [AI-XAM] [-AI -XAM] the only one of the spirits mentioned alone, and who is served without any pairing at the feast. There is, however, no indication that Aikham, or Pasion for that matter, is considered superior to the others.

aktui aisan [-AK -TUI - AI - SAN] to divine by eggs mounted on a tripod of sticks. The top of the eggs are opened, and longitudinal lines were drawn upon them. The diviner reads the egg spills in order to make predictions about hunting and war expeditions.

an hang [ANH-HANG] food, steamed millet, cooked millet.

an pia, dawī kau, sikha anpia to serve meal to spirits, or *kau*.

an sangh [AN :SANGH] *an sangh kaikhawm* gleaning.

angkhak [-ANG 'KHAK] see *zu angkhak*, below.

bangkua [ˈBANG :KUA] household; family.

bel [ˈBEL] a marker stick for *zu tung neek*, see below. The water level between the rim of the pot to the top of the *bel* marker is called *kang khat*.

buuk tui [BUUKˈTUI] poetic diction for *tuibuuk*. Next to *zu hai sabak* (see below), *tuibuuk* is a very important custom.

dai nek [DAI ˈNEK] *saliang* meat tribute.

dawhdan [DAWH .DANH] the raised floor in the *innliim* parlor and *inn sung* room, used as a sleeping berth.

dawi tang [DAWI -TANG] to observe a ritual.

dawisa pa [ˈDAWI.SA ˈPA] priest, ‘medicine man’. See also *tulpi*.

dawn kai [ˈDAWN -KAI] siphon for *zu*.

do [DO] to reciprocate, return favour; to broach a pot of *zu* if guests bring *zu* as in *tuuk zu kholh* (first-fruit offering). See *zu do*.

ciim sa [-CIIM ˈSA] a small pig killed after all the meat has been distributed to their proper *panmun* holders and there is nothing left for the *tanu* and others who have given full time to cook and serve the guests.

em [EM] / sa em to singe the hair of an animal before cutting up the carcass.

gan kha khawh [-GAN -XA -XAWH] see p. 181. The best of the litter is earmarked for this important propitiation.

ga tam [GA -TAM] a sulphur bean, *Canavalia ensiformis*. (A staple food: the dried seed is cooked, leached and fermented.)

gawh [GAWH] from *go*, to kill or slaughter. If a *sial* is slaughtered to honour someone, it is *gawh*, but for a treaty it is *sial ban*.

gual [-GUAL] see p. 212. A weaned piglet, the standard currency of Kamhwa. It was pegged at one Indian silver rupee.

gua mung [ˈGUA -MUNG] a bamboo flag pole; nutant bamboo poles with leaves at the top used in the *tong* feast. See *ton mung*.

gulh tawng [GULH .TAWNG] See *kulhtawng*.

haai kot [HAI KOT] a common chalice. The cup which is passed from one person to another in *Kawmlak dawipeeng* worship/propitiation.

haam [HAAM] a raised sleeping berth in the house of a chief or headman, see *sawm*.

haitawi [HAI-TAWI] lit. ‘cup-bearer’, the most senior of the *tanu* daughters in *panmun*. The family of the *haitawi* are known as *haitawi te* in plural.

hamsia wood see *handal*.

han [HANH] cemetery, graveyard.

handal [ˈHANH ˈDAL] the day after the funeral, when the priest takes a bowl of pure water and sprinkles it outside the gate with *hamsia* leaves for purification.

han kuang [HANH -KUANG] a scaphoid coffin, a hollowed timber coffin, usually for a clan in ancient times.

han’ la [HANH ˈLA] ‘*han*’ is from *hang* or brave, *la* is song. A type of song sung by a hero, a *samulman* (see below) to herald a victory.

hausa [HAU SA] headman, but often used for chief or clan leader.

heh nu pa [HEH NU PA] split bamboo to tie *heh suk* and *heh pheï* bamboo trellis squares.

- heh pheï [.HEH -HPEI] split bamboo running along purlins in lattice work that sandwich the thatch roofing, with the *heh suk* pieces running along the rafters. See *heh suk*.
- heh suk [.EH .SUK] split bamboo running along the rafters on the lattice work of the roof that sandwich the thatch roofing.
- hing lap [HING'LAP] see *laam*. The body of an important person is honoured by being rocked and carried round the *songhs* several times during funeral observances, and this done for the first time on the day after the death, before decomposition sets in, hence the name *hing lap*. *Hing* means 'green, living, fresh'.
- hual sing [HUAL 'SINGH] a species of hardwood.
- huan thoih [.HUAN .THOIH] a propitiation rite.
- iik [-IIK] spare ribs/bacon in pork and plate/flank in beef.
- innka songh ['INN -KA 'SONGH] a forked *songh* the elite erect on the upper tier of the *innka* deck.
- inn kuun ['INN 'KUUN] backyard.
- inn sungpi ['INN-SUNG'PI] the innermost room, the inner sanctum, which is closed except for the *tong* and funeral.
- inn teek ['INN -TEEK] host; in the context of a funeral *inn teek te* are the bereaved family.
- inntual ['INN -TUAL] the front courtyard.
- inn tuan ['INN 'TUAN] to set up house, to leave the parents' house to live on one's own.
- kah la ['KAH 'LA] a woman's lamentation. See *minsial*.
- kai [KAI] *kai* means to lead someone by the hand to a *zu* pot or to a meal. It is not proper in our custom to seem too eager to eat or drink when invited, so you may have to pull someone by the hand to make him or her eat or drink.
- kang khat/zu kangh khat ['KANGH KHAT] a measure of drink. See *zu tung neek*.
- kau [KAU] a kind of spirit associated with witchcraft.
- kau hawl [.KAU -HAWL] to exorcise a *kau* spirit.
- kawltei bunglet [KAWL'TEI -BUNG'LET] a song by that name which is sung on the road to the cemetery. An honour somewhat like the 'Reversed Arms!' salute, because *bunglet* means reversed and *kawltei* is a spear.
- kawmlak dawipeeng thoih [.KAWMH .LAK -DAWI-PEENG .THOIH] a propitiation rite; together with *sumtawng*, *huan* and *pusa*.
- kawsah [KAW SAH] see *kua sah*.
- keekta [KEEK 'TA] an ideal couple chosen to officiate at the *tong* ceremony.
- khaap [XAAP] the length between the tip of the outstretched thumb and middle finger, about nine inches. *Khaap* is used to measure the circumference of circular shapes like gongs, cauldron pots etc.
- khang [XANG] the downhill direction. *Baang khang* means the space on the downhill side from the door. See *sak*.
- khapi [XA 'PI] the moon, also of the pantheon of spirits, cf. *Pasian*.
- khau kuul [XAU-KUUL] creepers used by the elite to bind timber and bamboo in construction. See also *veihnam khau*.
- khau laam [XAU-LAAM] holder for skeins of thread or yarn.
- khau siing [XAU-SIING] creepers used by the elite in construction.
- khe phiau ['XE 'PHIAU] a blanket for women.

- khua mual [XUA-MUAL] a park at the entrance of a village in which memorials are erected and banyan and other leafy trees are planted.
- khuado [XUA DO] a harvest feast.
- khuai la [XUAI 'LA] bringing home the bee hives. See Chapter 5.
- Khuasiam [XUA-SIAM] a guardian spirit of the village.
- Khuavak ['KHUA-VAK] light spirit, see also Pasian.
- Khuaziing ['KHUA-ZING] darkness spirit, see also Pasian.
- Khuhipi ['KHUH'PI] sky spirit, see also Pasian.
- khun zu [KHUNH-ZU] the line of *zu* pots at funerals.
- khutdawh dom [.XUT .DAWH 'DOM] to diagnose a sickness by feeling the pulse of the patient.
- ki kawng ['KI-KAWNG] of animal horn, long and curved; the sign of a mature animal.
- kua sah ['KUA SAH] an animal slaughtered at a funeral (*kawsah*).
- kulh [KULH] a stockade, a barrier of stakes driven into the ground; the outer fencing of a compound.
- kulh tawng [KULH TAWN] a basement underneath *sungpi* and *inn sung* rooms. Also *gulh tawng*.
- kun vui ['KUUN VUI] to bury the first child to die at the backyard *inn kuun*.
- laam [LAMH] to carry the body of a person, or a trophy such as the skull of an elephant, in a dance, rocking it to the beat of a drum or to singing. See *hing lap*.
- laang ['LAANG] a bier.
- laang khet ni ['LANG .XET -NI] the day before the funeral, when the bier is made and when the priest makes the holes on the carrying poles with a chisel, hence the term.
- laang phei ['LAANG -PHEI] a bier used for the *hing lap* dance.
- laang tung ['LAANG -TUNG] a bier in which the body is lashed on in a sitting position.
- lam vui ['LAMH -VUI] a group dance led by a drummer, who is followed by others who file behind him. Each one puts his/her palm on the shoulder of the one in front, the other hand behind and around the waist of one after them.
- lawm [LAWMH] the social club in the house of the chief, headman or elder; to which as many as twenty families belong, and where their sons sleep. See *sawm*.
- lawm an neek ['LAWMH 'AN 'NEEK] a communal feast held after sowing. See *lawm* and *sawm*.
- leigil luak ['LEI -GIL 'LUAK] to scoop up earth, to disturb the earth: it is forbidden to scoop up earth at *tual* altar worship.
- liang paak [-LIANG :PAAK] the top part of the shoulder, called shoulder butt in pork, and the chuck in beef.
- liang tongh [-LIANG TONGH] the lower part of the shoulder, picnic shoulder in pork, and hank/brisket in beef.
- liang vei [-LIANG 'VEI] the left shoulder meat, as well as the hoofs. See also *liang ziat*. The *liang ziat* or *liang vei* of the *tong* feast is offered to one's overlord.
- liang ziat [LIANG 'ZIAT] the right shoulder meat, as well as the hoofs.
- liau [LIAU] to pay a fine or to pay tax. *Tul li liau* means an elder who pays a tax of *tuk li*. Or a four-fist pig. See *tuuk*.
- ling do [LING-DO] a rite analogous to a medical check-up.

- lip khap [LIP XAP] to fear, apprehension, such as the feeling of being around a known murderer.
- Lungzai [ˈLUNG-ZAI] see Pasian.
- lup [LUP] to broach a pot of *zu* in honour of someone.
- lupna pi [ˈLUP -NA ˈPI] the master-bed.
- luup [LUUP] to broach a pot of *zu*.
- meel muh [-MEL :MUH] souvenirs. The maternal side of the deceased, the *pute*, ask for a souvenir. In ancient times it would be the *sa khau* sling bag, tinder-box or some other personal item.
- mei lah [ˈMEI LAH] resinous pine brands for torches. Procuring *meilah*, called *meilah puak*, is an important duty performed by the *tanus*. Torch of pitch pine (*Pinus rigida*).
- meipaam lupna [ˈMEI-PAAM ˈLUP-NA] the bed near the fireplace, opposite to the *lupna pi*.
- meitua [ˈMEIˈTUAL] name for pig in religious worship.
- mim sim pha [ˈMIMH-SIMˈPHA] a description of mithan cattle, indicating that the horn is about a hand in length.
- minsial [-MIN -SIAL] counting coups. At a wake or funeral, a man makes a harangue about achievements, or rants about the deeds of the departed, as the masculine equivalent of a woman's lament. The one who delivers a *minsial* usually finishes by firing a gun. The emotional release is a catharsis.
- misi hing lap [ˈMI-SI-HING ˈLAP] see *misi lam*. The deceased is honoured on the day after he dies, supposedly while still not decomposed.
- misi lam [ˈMI-SI LAM] to honour the deceased by putting him/her on a bier, and swaying and rocking the bier in time with the music.
- mual [MUAL] lit. hill or mountain. It is also a resting place at the entrance of a village, where war heroes, hunting parties or *khuai la* parties are met by the villages with *zu* and *tuk paaks*. Memorial stones are erected there, and *paan* and *salu* skulls of animals slaughtered at funeral are *vui*-ed, entombed.
- mual hah [-MUAL .HAH] see *mual*; tidying up the *mual* stones, slabs, trees etc. for a feast, esp. for *khuado*.
- mual suah [-MUAL :SUAH] to herald a victory by singing *han la* and firing a volley.
- mual suak [-MUAL ˈSUAK] to come to view or hill in poetry.
- muam [-MUAM] to sip *tuibuuk*, *zu* wine or any liquid in the mouth. One spits it out when the tangy taste becomes vapid or *tam*.
- mui phei [ˈMUI-PHEI] spinning wheel.
- mui tung [ˈMUI-TUNG] spinning spindle.
- muut [ˈMUUT] to blow over a wound, to comfort a child by blowing over the an injury or the site of pain, or to be prayed over by a priest.
- naak bul [ˈNAAK ˈBUL] a cut of meat corresponding to the 'plate' cut in beef.
- nah puah [NAH PUAH] to stuff the *zu* meal with banana or other leaves when packing the pot of *zu* (*zubeel*). See *zu guang*.
- ngai ngaw [NGAI-NGAW] a kind of tree that was used for poles to mount heads of enemies.
- nipi [ˈNI ˈPI] the sun, cf. Pasian.
- Paakngiam [PAAK-NGIAM] an edible wildflower.
- pahtang [PAH-TAANG] poetic diction for the *innka* sun deck.
- pahtang zilza [PAH-TAANG ˈZIL-ZA] an open plaza.

- panmun [PANMUN] a household establishment in the Kamhau family network, consisting of relatives by blood and marriage and of close friends.
- Pasian [PA SIAN] God. In Kamhau belief, Pasian is one of the spirits usually mentioned together: Pasian/Lungzai, Nipi/Khapi, Khuhipi/Phahpi, Khuazing/Khuavak and Aikham.
- peeng [PEENG] a bamboo pipe with which a *zu tung* is sipped.
- peeng siim [PEENG-SIIM] guests who do not bring *zu*.
- Phahpi [PHAH 'PI] the earth spirit, see also Pasian.
- phawh lawh [PHAWH .LAWH], saphawh lawh [SA.PHAWH .LAWH] pieces of meat like the diaphragm, which do not belong to the joints and cuts, cooked for guests.
- phei paak [PHEI PAAK] the rump in beef and ham in pork.
- phei tongh [PHEI 'TONGH] the round in beef, ham in pork.
- phelek [PHE LEK] small (one square inch) thread square offered in propitiation.
- phih [PHIH] to spew forth *zu*, or a libation of *zu*. A sip of the *zu* is taken but not swallowed. It is spat onto the ground and an incantation is made.
- phu la [PHU'LA] to take vengeance.
- phu tuah [PHU TUAH] to celebrate the killing of an enemy or a big game during the intervening days or months between the death and funeral. See *sa aih* and *gal aih*.
- phui sam [PHUI-SAM] to pray, make an invocation, depending on the words it can also mean to curse.
- phui tong [PHUI -TONG] cherry tree.
- pi kang [PI-KANG] a term for chicken in religious worship. *Pi vom* also means chicken.
- pialkhang [-PIAL -XANG] the space in the downhill direction from the fireplace, between the *dawhdan* and the fireplace, the master bed.
- pu [PU] grandfather, maternal uncle, male member of one's mother's clan; lord, master, male members of the ruling clan used to be addressed as *pu* and female members as *ni*.
- pu sa thoih ['PU SA] a propitiation rite. *Pu sa* means soul of an ancestor.
- puah, zubeel puah, nah puah [ZU-BEEL PUAH] to top up the *zu* meal charge with leaves at the neck of the *zu* pot. Banana or *theitheek* leaves are commonly used.
- puan bu ['PUAN BU] a blanket woven with cotton batting for extra warmth.
- puan dum ['PUAN-DUM] a ceremonial blanket.
- puan lai san ['PUAN-LAI-SAN] a blanket for men.
- puan za thup ['PUAN ZA THUP] a blanket woven with cotton batting for extra warmth.
- sa ['SA] meat, flesh.
- sa baak ['SA :BAAK] see *zuhai-sabaak*.
- sabaal ['SA 'BAAL] paterfamilias, agnatic branch of the *panmun*. In Teizang usage, the most senior *sanggam* (brethren) in the family network.
- sa bah [SA .BAH] to honour someone by hand-feeding them a piece of meat.
- sa gawh [SA GAWH] to kill an animal in honour of someone.
- sagil bawl [SA-GIL BAWL] to eviscerate a carcass (*sa gil khuah*) and process the meat of the innards for distribution and cooking. The intestines are stuffed with blood and bits of fat for sausages.
- sagil khuah [SA-GIL KHUAH] to eviscerate a carcass in preparation for singeing it.
- sagil tat [SA-GIL .TAT] an animal killed to formalize an act.

- sagual go [‘SA-GUAL GO] one who provides an animal for a feast.
- sahawm na [‘SA HAWM-NA] the apportioning of meat, dividing and distributing it according to *bangkua* meat order; see *zuhai-sabaak*. The meat cut for each person or household is called *sa tanh*.
- sak [SAK] the upslope direction; e.g. *pang sak* means the wall on the upslope side of the house. See also *khang*.
- sakhi [‘SA-KHI] barking or muntjac deer.
- sakhi lunggam [‘SA ‘KHI ‘LUNG-GAM] a worm with red bristles like the colour of a muntjac.
- sakhu lot [‘SA ‘KHU LOT] divining by throwing *sakhu lot* meat pieces.
- sakuang [‘SA-KUANG] a wooden trencher for meat.
- sa liang [‘SA-LIANG] shoulder meat. *Saliang bit* is the whole of the front leg, including the hoofs. See *liang ziat* and *liang vei*.
- salu [‘SA-LU] the head of an animal, also hunting trophies and those used for a funeral.
- salu paang [‘SA-LU-PAANG] the meat on the head, the jaw, jowl, tongue and brain.
- samulman [‘SA ‘MUL-MAN] when a kill is made in hunt or war, the first person to arrive at the scene is honoured along with the hero, and is called *samulman* or a *mul man*. They have their own *samulman han la*.
- sa naang khil [‘SA-NANG KHIL] the liver, heart, lungs, kidneys and a loop of sausage, which are threaded through with a strip of bamboo shaving called *naang*, and set aside for the host of a feast.
- sanggam [SANG-GAM] lit. brother, brethren line, see *sabaal* and *saphuuk*.
- sangkil [‘SANG-KIL] the raised door sill at the main door.
- sangoi [‘SA ‘NGOI] sausage made from the small intestines and stuffed with the blood, fried innards’ fats, and other ingredients such as banana shoots or flowers. *Sangoi* is considered an essential part of meat cuts when they are distributed.
- sapha [‘SA-PHA] see p. 131: acknowledgement meat.
- saphuuk [‘SA-PHUUK] second in line in the *sanggam* after the *sabaal*.
- sasem [‘SA-SEM] a *panmun* ceremonial position responsible for cutting meat according to the household usage. Mistakes by a *sasem* can lead to serious misunderstandings between members of the ceremonial household. The *sasem* often act as the host’s spokesman, e.g. in officially asking for the hand of a girl for the host’s son.
- sa sung en [‘SA-SUNG-‘EN] to divine by looking at the organ parts of animals, especially the liver and pancreas. For example, if any part of the liver is shaped like a tongue, there will be death. If the gall bladder is full, there will be a good harvest.
- sa sung kua [‘SA-SUNG KUA] viscera, entrails, innards; organ parts.
- sa tanh [‘SA TANH] a guest’s share of meat, as a ‘receipt’ for their contribution of *zu*.
- sawl baang [SAWL-BAANG] to hang a leafy branch on the gate to indicate that the family is observing a rite: ‘No Entry’.
- sawl si [SAWL-SI] avoidance of breaking a branch or of picking green leaves.
- sawm [SAWM] since the time of internecine wars, boys of cowherd-age, ten or more, sleep in the house of the chief, headman or elders; they are called *sawm* boys, the house they sleep is called *sawm*, e.g. *innpi sawm* or ‘*sawm* of the big house’.
- sawm tanu [‘SAWM ‘TA :NU] ‘*sawm* daughter’; all married daughters or their families, they cook and brew *zu* for the *sawm* boys. See *sawm upa*.

- sawm upa ['SAWM 'U-PA] all married boys who once belonged to the *sawm* become elders and advisors.
- sawng beng [SAWNG 'BENG] a special hunt organized at the *lawm an neek* feast.
- sawng la [SAWNG 'LA] songs sung at *sawng* celebrations.
- sawngpi zu [SAWNG 'PI-ZU] the pot of *zu* a *sawng* hero is entitled to serve at funerals.
- sial [SIAL] also known as a mithan or gayal, is a domesticated wild ox scientifically named *Bos frontalis*. It is the medium of exchange in payment of tribute to overlords, bride-price and other large transactions. It is slaughtered for the important *tong*, *gal-aiih/sa-aiih* (victory and hunting) and funeral feasts.
- sial ban [SIAL-BAN] the slaughter of a *sial* mithan to solemnize a treaty. The signatories smeared one another with the tail of the animal dipped in the blood. A terrible curse is invoked upon whoever breaks the treaty.
- sialkhou ki kaai [-SIAL-KHAU .KI .KAI] tug of war.
- sial ki [SIAL 'KI] a mithan horn beaten as percussion instrument; or ritual cups for *zu*.
- sialpi [SIAL 'PI] a female mithan that has calved. (In Kamhau law, a *sialpi* is worth 50 silver rupees.)
- sialsawm [SIAL 'SAWM] Teizang name for *lawm an nek*.
- sial zabo [SIAL 'ZA 'BO] a *sial* cattle (*Bos frontalis*) which has horns *za bo* long (the length between the wrist and the tip of the middle finger, seven inches).
- siam zu, siampi zu ['SIAM-ZU] *zu* prepared for the priest.
- siim [SIIM] to attend, to take part.
- sikha [SI-KHA] ghost.
- si pu suah [-SI 'PU .SUAH] p. 196: 'to bring the dead outside'.
- si vui na ['SI :VUI -NA] a animal killed at a funeral, especially one contributed from outside of the family.
- songh ['SONGH] a hardwood pole erected in the centre of the front courtyard. Each pole represents a mithan. Also, collectively, all the *songhs* planted.
- songh ka ['SONGH 'KA] see *innka songh*. A forked *songh*, planted in the middle of the *innka* of chiefs. Gongs age, hung from the forks. Also called *innka songh*.
- songh kiim kot ['SONH 'KIIM KOT] a dance to honour the dead by carrying and rocking, 'dandling' the bier (*laam*) around the *songh*.
- songh pi nuai ['SONGH 'PI'NUAI] lit. under the *songh* poles. The household of one who has *songh* poles. The term is used when talking about asking for the hand of a girl from a family who have performed the *tong* feast.
- suang phah ['SUANG PHAH] a flagstone between the gate and the parlour.
- suang phah paito ['SUANG PHAH-PAI TO] a flagstone bordering the *sumtawng* pounding area, dividing it from the lawn.
- sumtawng thoih ['SUMH TAWNG THOIH] a propitiation rite performed at the *sumtawng* pounding area for the guardian spirit of Thangho and Liando, of the legend of the same names.
- sunden [SUNDEN] the space near the *inn sungpi* wall, between the *lupna pi* and *pial khang dawhdan*. The dead are laid there for mummification or during a wake.
- sung kua [SUNG KUA] the viscera, organ meat, innards and entrails.
- suut ['SUUT] a central post. There are six *suut* posts: 1) *mai suut*, 2) *sumtawng suut*, 3) *meipaam (suut)*, 4) *lukhung suut* (also *lupna pi lukhung suut*), 5) *suut*

siang and 6) *phai suut*. *Suutpi* or *luhung suut* is the most important. A person clings to the *suutpi* to ask protection from the owner of the house.

- taai teh [ˈTAAI .TEH] the meal of *zu* after the seep has been extracted.
- taakdo [ˈTAAK-DO] a six-inch thick and a foot wide timber, laid between the front *mai suut* and *meipaam lukhung suut*, and used as a bench.
- taang suak [ˈTAANG ˈSUAK] the parade dance of the celebrants on the morning of *zu pi* day.
- tam [-TAM] vapid, becomes tasteless. See *tubuuk muam tam*.
- tang [TANG] (also *tang phung*), stone or wood to retard soil slippage.
- tang luang [TANG-LUANG] logs felled across slope to retard soil slippage.
- tang suang [-TANG .SUANG] stone for erection of *tang*.
- tanu [TA NU] lit. daughter. In a *panmun* household establishment, the married daughter of a kinswoman, her husband or any member of her family, whether male or female. *Tanu te* is the plural form, but also collective term for all *tanu*. See *haitawi*.
- tap deek [TAP DEEK] a piece of timber, six-inches thick and a foot wide, forming the side of the hearth.
- tawlawk [ˈTAW LAWK] the koel bird, *Eudynamys scolopacea*.
- thal loh [ˈTHAL LOH] a Saizang term for *sabaal* or *bangkua pi*.
- theidam [ˈTHEI-DAM] a plant used in making gunpowder.
- thei theek [ˈTHEI :THEEK] *Myrobalan terminalia*, the leaf is used in stuffing (*nah puah*) a *zubeel*.
- thuap na, zubeel thuapna [:THUAP -NA] [ˈZU -BEEL :THUAP NA] an auxiliary pot of *zu*.
- thusa [ˈTHU-SA] a *panmun* position of steward/recorder for the host. He keeps tabs on all the guests' contributions of *zu*, and he teams up with the *sasem* meat-cutter for the correct distribution of meat. He often acts as spokesman for the household. *Thusa te* is both the plural and collectively the family of a *thusa*.
- ton mung [TONH-MUNG] a nutant-bamboo flagpole, with leaves at the top, planted at *tong* feasts. The bamboo *ton mung* is tied on the *songh* poles.
- tong [TONG] the most important and prestigious feast a couple can give, similar to the *khuang tsawi* feast of Falam Chins. It is said to 'twine the souls' of the couple for eternity.
- tual [TUAL] the village altar where sacrifices are made.
- tual la [TUAL ˈLA] songs related to the *tual*.
- tual phiat [-TUAL :HPIAT] cleaning up the *tual* in preparation for worship and *sial sawm* (Teizang).
- tual ui at [-TUAL ˈUI ˈAT] the sacrifice of a dog at the *tual*.
- tuibuuk [ˈTUI -BUUK] filtrate of tobacco from the *buuk* water pipe. It is carried in a small bottle called *umta* or *thei*, sipped and held in the mouth till the liquid is vapid. A very important custom, the offer of *tuibuuk* is a social gambit, known as an ice-breaker even between court litigants. See *buuk tui*.
- tuui buuk muam tam [ˈTUI-BUUK MUAM-TAM] (measurement of time interval) the time for the *tuibuuk* to become vapid in the mouth: about ten to twelve minutes.
- tui kuang or kuang zawn [ˈTUI -KUANG] [-KUANG -ZAWN] a water trough; anyone who drinks from your *tui kuang* is *tual* or ally, and earns your protection.
- tui zawl [TUI ZAWL] water ducts made of bamboo and timber ducting.
- Tuisiam [ˈTUI-SIAM] guardian of the waters, cf. *Khuasiam*.

- tuk tumh [TUK .TUMH] hair knot, the occipital knot of northern Chins.
- tul [TUUL] a bamboo spike, about 2 mm in diameter and 30 cm long, used in killing a pig. The spike is thrust through the heart. Also called *vok tul*.
- tul [TUUL] the ceremonial spear of a clan. The priest is called *tulpi*.
- tulpi [TUL 'PI] the clan priest, who performs the *tong* ceremony. He ceremonially sticks the *sial* mithan with the clan *tul* spear.
- tulpi sam [-TUUL 'PI 'SAMH] *pinh* (Burmese) escort in which monks are invited and escorted to the place of invitation.
- tuuk [TUUK] a measurement similar to a 'hand' or 4 inches, used for pigs, and measured at the chest with a strip of bamboo, string or creepers. The string is folded and measured out with the fist closing on it. A fraction of a 'fist' is measured with the finger or *zung*.
- tuuk li liau [TUUK -LI -LIAU] an elder who pays a tax of a four-fist pig.
- tuuk zu kholh [TUUK -ZU .KHOLH] first-fruit offering, of which there are three: 1) *pianna pa te* to paterfamilias; 2) *pute zu kholh* to maternal side; 3) to *te* or to one's lord (protector).

u pa [U PA] elder; *hausa upa*, the chief, headman and elders.

- vai laang [VAI 'LANG] bier, frame made of bamboo. See *misi hinglap*.
- va phual [VA :PHUAL] hornbill (*Anthracoceros albirostris*).
- veih nam khau [VEIH-NAM-XAU] a kind of creeper, with unpleasant smell, the only kind allowed to be used by the commoners.
- vok gawl [VOK GAWL] timber fencing for the basement enclosure for pigs (*vok*) and other livestock.
- vok kuang [VOK-KUANG] the trough to feed pigs.
- vok song [VOK 'SONG] ceremonial post for a pig slaughtered.
- vok vul [VOK VUL] to commit a pig to a family for raising.
- vok zu [VOK -ZU] the *zu* pot served by the family who raise the *lawm* pig.
- vom khau [VOMH-KHAU] creepers used to bind *vok song* and *gua mung*.
- vuina [VUI-NA] an animal, *sial*, cow or buffalo, which someone contributes to the funeral.
- vul [VUL] see *vok vul*.

- zaam [ZAMH] gong, musical instrument.
- zaang sa [-ZAANG 'SA] loin in pork and loin/rib in beef.
- zabo ['ZA 'BO] see *sial zabo*.
- zan hak [ZANH .HAK] a wake, to stay awake the whole night.
- zo inn [-ZO 'INN] see p. 20; vernacular house of Kamhau, Sukte and Siyin tracts.
- zo zam [-ZO -ZAM] *kyet-mauh-pan*; love-lies-bleeding flower, *Amaranthu caudatus*.
- zu [-ZU] an alcoholic beverage made from grain fermented by leaven (*sil ngo*).
- zu ang khaak ['ZU -ANG 'XAK] honouring a person by offering him/her to sip from your pot without surrendering your own seat.
- zubawl [-ZU -BAWL] a person deputized by a participant in a feast to supervise the distribution of the *zu*.
- zubawl ['ZU -BAWL] a wine steward; one who is assigned by the contributor of *zu* to ensure its proper distribution.
- zubel thuk [-ZU -BEL :THUK] reciprocal pot of *zu* procured by defendant.
- zu guang [ZU 'GUANG] to charge a *zu* pot with *zu* meal, for broaching.
- zu ha [ZU 'HA] *zu* meal made from pure millet. It can be eaten, or masticated and fed to babies.
- zuhai sabaak [ZU :HAI 'SA :BAAK] wine-and-meat order of a family.

- zu haang ['ZU-HANG] distilled alcohol, wood alcohol.
- zu khaih ['ZU .XAIH] [.DAWN -KAAI] to siphon *zu* with *dawnkaai*.
- zu kholh/tuukzu kholh [ZU XOLH] offering of first fruit *zu* to one's parents and the distaff clan, called *pu te*. In close-bonded Kamhau society *zu kholh* to both the agnate and distaff side of a household is important.
- zu laak ['ZU 'LAAK] a guest's *zu* contribution.
- zu lawi ['ZU LAWI] the first steep siphoned from a pot of *zu*. See *zu khaih/zu taak*.
- zu leep [ZU-LEEP] to have the first turn to drink from a *zu tung* beel. Since the steep is the best for whoever first drinks it, *zu leep* is a prerogative or honour among those present.
- zu leih [-ZU .LEIH] to prime a pot of *zu* with water for sipping or siphoning.
- zu ning [-ZU-NING] the liquid *zu* which forms in the meal made from glutinous rice.
- zu sia, zu panh [-ZU :SIA] to take a sip from a *zu tung beel*, spit it on the floor, and then get someone to drink.
- zu taak [ZU TAAK] siphoned *zu*, steep.
- zu tanh ['ZU TANH] a guest or host's portion of *zu*.
- zu te [ZU 'TE] the brewed meal from which *zu* is steeped and siphoned or sipped by *peeng* pipes.
- zu tui phih [ZU'TUI 'PHIH] initiating a drink; *zu phih* is a form of libation where one sips *zu* (or some other liquid) and instead of swallowing it, blows it out with a steady spray and makes an incantation for health, wealth, good harvest, fecundity etc.
- zu tulh [ZU TULH] to feed *zu* by holding the cup to the lips of someone as a gesture of hospitality. *Si zu tulh*: sometimes the dead are also offered *zu tulh* and asked to bless with good hunting or success in war.
- zu tung neek [ZU-TUNG 'NEEK] drinking of *zu* with a *peeng*/pipe, as opposed to drinking *zukhaih/zu taak* or siphoned seep. *Kang khat* is the measure a person drinks at a time. The pot is filled to the brim and a measure is also filled with water. As the person drinks the pot is refilled until all the water is gone from the measuring cup.
- zu, lukhung ['LU:XUNG-ZU] a pot of *zu* broached at the head of the master bed as an offering to the dead.
- zu, peeng siim ['ZU-PEENG-SIIM] a guest at a feast who may not be a contributor of *zu* or meat.
- zuak pi [ZUAK 'PI] a bamboo-matting wall.
- zubeel gual [ZU-BEEL 'GUAL] to arrange the *zu* pots in a feast at their designated places in the house.
- zuhai-sabaak [ZU-HAI 'SA-BAAK] the order of *zu* and meat in Chin society; the reciprocal offer of *zu* and the division of meat in a feast.
- zuhawmna [ZU HAWM-NA] distribution of *zu* by taking someone to a particular pot by the *zubawl* or by giving a cup of *zu* seep (*zu khaih/zu taak*) by the *zubawl*.

Teeklui pottery

(Madam Dim Khua Ning)



Above: two strips of clay are flattened to make the rim and neck of the pot.

Below: the rim and neck are shaped first.





A piece of cloth is wrapped around the neck exposing only the rim to the sun. After the rim is dry the body is shaped with a bat to make rope patterns.



The pot is sun-dried and then fired with corn cobs and kindling.



The hot pot is glazed with *cimh* powder, from the sap of a tree called *cingh sing*.

Appendix II

Anthology of songs

Part one: clan songs (Kamhau)

1 Pu Khan Thuam La

- A Pham aw, pham aw na ci zong a pham na lo e,
Len a tum thang heek sang lah kei zang zawn e.
A sing lel ah zawn bang tuan siam lei veng e,
Tang khau lel ah baak bang kai siam lei ing e.
- B Ka pat pat a zang tawi ta aw, sial lum a sul zui aw e.
Ka thum thum a do vontawi aw, tong dam a sul zui aw e.
- C Zang sih na gualngaih teng lak ah, von aw sawl ban bangve aw.
Ning zu ai sa tam ta na e, von in sik bang dawn mawh e.
- D Ka sawn aw e, Sawm Hau aw e, Mualpi te zamkang aw e.
Mualpite zamkang ka lak aw, sawn in kha kiat nan nei e.
- E Lung ka hehna Mualpi vang khua gising in na po hen aw.
Gi singin na po hen aw Mualpi vang khua, a lel dawn ah zo lawk ta na tau
hen aw.
- F Sak ciang teimei khang ciang zang tui, a lai ah kam kei hi'ng e.
Siah tang kaihna teimei dong e, ka hial na zang tui hi e.
- G A mi sawm sial a a ka lut bang leng veh e,
Pau Hau sawm sial a ka lut bang leng veh e.
PauHau sawm sial a kalut bang leng veh e,
Siing ii lel ah langva bawm bang leng veh e. (Thang Tuan)
- H Zangtui kaih dial teeng in ci e, ka nuam lo lun ta hi'ng e.
Ka zua cial dawn cial pheii tung ah khai mu bang heek ing. (Thang Tuan)
- I KhanThuam in Vangteh Guite tung Pau Hau a topa tung ah nangawn a
siahong kaih khit ciangin Vangteh guite laphuah.
Na nig zu din' sun kim tu kawt tawi ing, na aisa din' thai tawh silh puan
zawn ing.
Khang ciang vai mang siallum tawh ong kuan zongin khum tui na
sawnhuai non phal loh ding aw e. (Thang Tuan)

2a Pu Kam Hau La

- A Mi pau in Thuam' von tawi neem aw ci,
Siing a pau teng sang sing bang khia zeel ing.
Khua kiim a pau teng tong dam in ka neem sak e,
Khangvai mang' siallum sawm sial in ka neem hi e.
(Kai Neem Hi)
- B Zangsih ten tong ong khak tah e, dimtui valnu neem ci e,
Dolai a leng Dimtui valnu kamkei laitan no hing e.
- C Dimtui aw zangtui aw e, leido a siallum aw e,
Do va bang pau ka gamzang ah,
Siallum phung bang ciang ing e.
- D Khua a cih vamung e, sih khua a cih va mung e,
A mual zum piu peu ka zuhi aw,
Sih khua cih kil pial la'ng e.
- E Gam a phok bang ling nei ing e,
Khankha mang bawn siah kai e.
Khankha man bawn siah kai e,
Khuakiimsiah tang kai ing e.
- F Ka sumtual ah simsingphung cing suan ing e,
Simsing phung cing sawmsial in si e.
Ka pahtang ah lai hen tuang e,
Lai hen geel cing miza in bawm e.

2b Pu Kam Hau Kiiphuah

- A Von aw na mual suak hi venge, pahtang sun ni liap sang e,
Pahtang sun ni liap sang aw e, ton sawl leh han sawl hi e.
(By Pi Gawh Ciin, mother of Pu Kam Hau)
- B Dimtui khua suan pheii lam a sau tumki usang ciinthat aw suih lungna
muang kha dinghi.
Ciin Thang aw suilung na muang kha dinghi e, a pe pet iang heemlam
hikha ding hi.
(By advisor Sukte Pau Vum)

3a Pi Ciin Ngul La (wife of Kam Hau)

- A Zangvuisai leh lia ka sakduang do ta'n sa bang hawm khawm aw.
Na awi na'm aw ziin aw e, gual aw e, a lawm na'm aw.
- B Von kop tang bang khang aw e kum cin vui sai thang aw e.
Kum cin vui sai thang aw e, vui sai tawh mual suak aw e.
- C Kiang mang a thang zawm aw, ka von nih thum thang zawm aw.
Sak leh khang va bang pau lo aw, vui sai a tung nung hing e.
- D Hong dem lo aw khua kiim gual aw, siahtaang a tung nung hi e.
Lai hen tuanna kiang na pah tang, siing tan henkol khai aw e.
Za tan sawm e, lun na sum tual nunvom in zial zo ing e.

3b Pi Ciin Ngul Ki Phuah La

- A Va pai ve aw von lia nu mual kai ve aw,
 Khua don suang mualna tunciang tun aw ci aw.
 Na zua'n phaiva alawhna gamkim daidam,
 Ngomei kai nuai na tun ciang zua aw ci aw.
 (By Pi Ciin her mother when she was married to Kam Hau)

4 Pu Hau Pum La

- A Tembang ka deih na sul ah lung ta sul ah,
 Lai ah namtem hiam kham aw kham zo lo e.
 Namtem hiam kikham hen aw khua vai pheih ah,
 Deih lam zon na'n zing dai bang nawk nuam ve'ng e.
 (In reply to Pi Tel Ciin's song, 5A)

5 Pi Tel Ciin La

- A Na phung awi loh ngalliam aw ong leeng lo aw,
 Na phung tawh hai zu na hawmmawhding hi e.
 Na phung tawh haizu na hawm mawh ding hi,
 Phung tawh ning hai khen liang ing lia lawm la'ng e.
 (See 4A for the reply).
- B Ka tawi zang nitui aw e, Kam kei laitan,
 Zang gam gil al bang na man takding aw.
 Na zua lang lam cian dal leh awh hi minthangm,
 Ciau lui lumsuang zah a vum na ngai na'm aw.

6a Pu Hau Cin Khup

- A Sang lian tung ah na tuang in la ziin khua mual ah,
 Za ta sin laai liap sak aw.
 Kam kei lunglian ma ciang suan aw,
 Kul nuh dang na hong sak aw.
- B Kawi tawh lung tup sau mang lim lian,
 Zo pa bang mual man lo e.
 Khat tang miim bang ka pianna sau mang nuai ah,
 Lailung nong muan sak nam aw.
- C Kawi aw tuang nung hong sia lo aw, sang ih sim tawh,
 Ih nih gel in leng van tuang lam ngil hen aw.
 Leng van tuang lam kulnuh tual ah,
 Na kawi sang gah sin lai phuh bang kho ing e.
- D Kawi tawh gii bang hong khen aw nuai ziin ta aw,
 Sun ni lam khaam lai ve aw.
 Sun ni kham lo gii bang nong khen,
 Kei pawh lun vontawi hing e.
- E Tung Pasian hong tual kum heen nuai sim lei ah,
 Se sum tam kham nuam ing e.
 Do lai heen kol khai hi leh sei no gual aw,
 Sol kha dan' ma'n luai nam bang suut nuam ing e.

- F Khua mual ah haan zai sa'ng e,
 Von in tun min lo thei e.
 Han zai sa'n tuang tung ing e,
 Kawi in ka tong dawng mawh e.
- G Ei zong sang deih ih laak bang ka von thang aw,
 Ziin in tui bang la hi e.
 Na zua nga bang ka leen lai in,
 Khua mual sii bang tawh hi e.
- H Huang vulh sawm sial geel cing pan leh,
 Do hang tuang lam in nei e.
 Lang lam geel a cing na pi vaang khua gin aw,
 Nuihsiam leel na om lo e.
- I Lul vok leng keel huang dai dai e,
 Von aw khau bang suut leng e.
 Nuai zin tawh tai ga ki seh leng,
 Se sum sawm sial kaihmin bang luang ding hi e.
- J A mi pau in Simte Zo te ci,
 Sim te Zo te ka zua khan pih sa hi e.
 Sim te Zo te ka zua khan pih sa hi,
 Khua leh zo tui sung lawh a kei niang hing e.

6b Pu Hau Chin Khup Ki Phuah La

- A Hen luang kaihna khua pheh lam tam diu deu,
 Von aw mai mit seek bang siip na sa n'am aw.
 A kumluaibang vei lo in sul heinawn aw,
 Zang gam phaipak a kui zil ma ciang suan aw.
 (By Pu Lian Thang when the British took him to Rangoon)

7a Pu Pum Za Mang La

- A Ka lai dip van in sam ing e, luan khi nul ing,
 Kawi cing mu bang ngai ing e.
 Zua pau aw meel na mu naam ka kawi cing pawh,
 Koi ah vaai bang tham hiam aw
- B *Om lai vei pian in dang sa'ng e,
 Ka besam kuul ah sia'ng e.
 Kuul a ka siat ka be sam aw,
 Pal cih a tuan' na hi e.
- C Bung tui na gam lei aw e,
 Sang deih pal lai ka lawh na.
 Sang deih paal lai ka lawhna bung tui gam lei,
 Sen gual um bang ka khawh na.
- D Ziin khawi sang mang meel hoih no tawh,
 Tuang ka tun kaal ngaak la'ng e.
 Tuang tung in kan kong suak leng pawh,
 Zua lun thel bang tho ding sa'ng e,
 Han min hong sial ding sa'ng e.

7b Pu Pum Za Mang Ki Phuah La

These are some of the songs about Comet Ashbrook-Jackson that appeared over Tedim on the morning of November 11, 1948 when Chief Pum Za Mang KSM, ATM died.

- A Suktui ciin mang kha na kiak nin,
 Baw al khuan a tung alsi pian dang aw e.
 Kawltui lunmang hen sal tan nin,
 Tung alsi tual ah kia e.
 (By Vungzaham, Tonzang)
- B Zing dam sol no pu pa gual gen,
 Lun mangin ma ciang suan e.
 Za ta'n mai mit ih suan kimnam,
 Gual aw sun ni tang ban e.
 (By Taithul Hang Za Thawn, Khuadai)
- C Lun mang aw kha nakiat nin e,
 Se al neel a kai aw e.
 Tung ciang thangvan se al neel kai,
 Lun kha vang ki hil hi e.
 (By Capt. P. Pau Za Gin ^{OB} [Order of Burma])
- D Za ii lai ah nam cih tong dot,
 Lun mang zozam pham thei e.
 Tung Pasian leh sun ni zong,
 Lung muang mawh e,
 Ttung alsi in tang sak e.

8 Pi Ciin Khaw Man (wife of Chief Pum Za Mang)

- A Mal gam heisan a va leenong ziling e,
 Vang la ka maw nawh ding aw na neem ve aw.
 Sen ang kawi dingkhang sum bangkanial lo e,
 Sawm kholh gual leh ka zua cial liim ngai ing e.
- B Sangmangliantawh tuang tung bang in,
 Kawl ciang huiva maubang e.
 Sang mang lian tawh tuang tung hi lo,
 Kawi phamsa tuang tung hi e.

9 Pi Cing Za Niiang (haitawi cup-bearer to Kamhau chiefs)

- A Ninghai tawi na gual tung tuan na,
 Sangmang in tuang nusia e.

10 Pu Hau Khaw Zam La

- A Thah ban sap lai bansap lai,
 Leido phuk cil kei hing e.
- B Vangkhua al bang manlai tak a,
 Sanglian phuk cil kei hing e.

11a Pa Pau Za Kam La

- A Zan ciang zal mang a na huai sa,
Sang lian ong tuang tung tah e.
Beemtui khua mual lum suang tung ah,
Zua aw han zai na sa aw.
- B Kiang na pal lawh lam bang pak ding,
Zua kop mu bang ngai ing e.
Mu bang ngaih ngo bang ong lang ven,
Nuai zin lung na tai nam aw.

11b Pa Pau Za Kam Kiphuah La

- A Ciin ngaih ang kawi ngalliam in e,
Vuisai a kop a la hi e.
- B Sei niam sei sang Dimtuilai ah,
Pal lawh leen eng no bang e.
(By Pi Ciin Khaw Man)

12 Pu Pau Vum La (*Bunglung simna*)

- A Zang vuisai leh milai pai tem bang ki thuah,
Vaimang tawi thang. a khu len mui kaai bang.
- B Siallum thangsa neemkha vak ka cih man in,
Hei kik ing e tomte khawl sak lei ing e.

13 Pu Tuang Khaw Thang La

- A Zang sih tang gual hang ki sa, min than deih na'n,
Phual mu mul tuk lu a tuan e.
- B Tang gual tawh pat bang sai ing e,
Zeh ka zum sak ngawn hi e.

14 Pu Za Tual La

- A Ciin teng banzal sang ka simna, kaihdial kawlv a laam bang e.
- B Zua mang lang lam sawmsial simna sun ni na siing zo nam aw.

Part two: classic and community songs

1 Kawl Tei Bung Leh

This song is only sung at the funerals of the elite. The ancients chose the bravest of the brave by spearing a wild boar in his nest. If he kills the boar he is a hero, if he misses or fails to kill the boar, he pays with his life. *Kawltei* means gun in poetic diction, *bungleh* is reversed, describing the practice of carrying the guns in reverse in Western military funerals. Kamhau usage now only retains the song, which only the elite are entitled to on their last journey to the cemetery. The song and the author's translation:

Kawl tei bung leh na deih leh aw, If Reversed Arms! you covet,
Ngarpa lian sial bang sun aw. Spear the boar in his lair
Khai mu veng tawh na deih leh aw, If you the eagles feather do covet,
Dolai al bang va that aw. Kill your foe in combat fair!

2 Khua Do songs

- A Ka lo nawl a khuai aw e, sim ngal then aw, nang in kum khua na thei a ken dong.
 Nangin kum khua na thei a ken dong, ning zu a ken dong, aisa a ken dong.
- B Do na liing liing , do na liing liing e, gual in kum khua do na liing liing e.
 Gual in kum khua do na liing liing e, do han a nau bang ka kap hi e.
- C Tuuk lehkhall ki khen na ding lum mei ong kaai cii ciai e.
 Lummei ong kaai ciici ai e khuavan nuai ah khua van theng leh khua dai e.
- D Mau kii hang sang bang ka nawhna ding ka pa aw tau sang ong dawh sak aw.
 Ka pa aw tau sang ong dawh sak aw, a sang liin lian in ong dawh sak aw.

3 La Phei (tune)

- A Pham aw pham aw na ci zongin pham na lo e,
 Len a tum thang hek sang lah kei zang zaw'ng e.
 A sing lel a zawng bang tuan siam lei veng e,
 Ttang khau lel ah baak bang kai siam lei ing.
- B Khua kiim a mi'n lum suang a nongdelh lai in,
 Luang? sing bangtho zo vaak e cih om lo.
 Zuang tho ing e, vang khua lam bang zong ing e,
 Heh luat nep nang tu kawl nau bang tawi ing.

4 La Tung (tune)

- A Siah tangkaih na Teimei dong e, ah hialna zaang tui hi e.
- B Sak ciang tei mei khang ciang laamtui a lai ah kamkei hi'ng e.

5 Pasal La, Gal La

- A Kuan suk ta e, luipi dung zui ing, ih khang vasihi piau ah, leido phai bi bang ka zial hi e.
 Zang ni suak e, sum lu lai law'ng e, ih khua kal tui tung ah do sumlu beel bang ka suang hi e.
- B Tuang lam tung a, tang pa khau bang cia lah va tong suah sia e, tul kung ah uak loh kawi aw ci e.
 Lah va tong suah tang ka sinlai lun lum suang ka tawi kaal in tung khai mu'n tawi in la zo ta e.
- C Nuai om lai aw, khuai bang hang lawm lawm na ciin ka that hiam aw tuai bat phu lam bang nong zong hiam aw.
 Lai ciin that cia, suih lung tai la cia nam cih tui bang la cia, khua mual ah min thei na lo hiam aw.

- D Na han thang lut lut zu bang ka om lai in, tun ii tawi lawi bang kathang hi e.
Lal tang dai sat nung leh ma kha e, gual in lum bang sung e, han leh loh tui bang ka gawm hi e.
- E Sun ni lo ka sa a ci thul guah luang e, lummeii in zeel sun ni pa bang mual e.
Solkha lo ka tang a ci pha zaw suak e, vanlai zawl a solsa pha taang lo e.
- F Lumsuang lo ka muang a cih thulguah luang e, kaihmin in luan lum suang piau ah sep e.
Tul ta lo ka pal ah ci, huih khii laang e, a dawn lai lawh tulta paaltang lo e.
Khai mu veng tawh na deih leh aw, do lai al bang va that aw.
- G Ka lal in daai hongveel e, khua dai pam a pasalin khuam bang do e.
Nam tei tawi in suul zui ing, ciau ii gal ah pasal lian lu khai ing e.
- H Ka lal in lal aw ong ci, lal hi lo e, sih batphu ka zong hi e.
Khang lui teng kha pam zo ta, khang thak gual aw, khisa tai to zil leeng e.
- I Ka nung a teen lal ci e, ka mai a ten lal ci e.
Lal hi lo, siing zua pa hing e, ka nung a so leeng sak e.
- J Tang in lai thah tam ka sial nam e, ka hai kek ta kawi na kiu keu e.
Tang tup a, thei bang ka lawh leh aw, tuklu bu al gia'n ka zom hi e.
- K Thum thum ta cia miim va aw e, na ngaih man thum thum ta cia.
Kei in na pasal that tang e, na ngaih man thum thum ta cia.
- L Thuam ah lummei kaai na cii ciai e, ka tun mim bang thum na lit lit e.
Nam tem lung deih a ka tawi leh aw, han lu bing tui ciau ciau e.
- M *Kawl tei bung leh na deih leh aw, ngal pa lian sial bang sun aw.
Khai mu veng tawh na deih leh aw dolai al bang va that aw.
- N Zan khat in khua kua suan ing hang sem that ing, khua pheii lam ah huang zang a li tung e.
Lal tang dai sat nung leh ma kha e, gual in lum bang sung e, han leh lui tui bang ka gawm hi e.

6 Sa Aih La (Hunting Feast)

- A Ka sawmsial ka ngai zawm aw, ka von niang ka ngai zawm aw.
Sawm sial suul a hei thei aw e, von niang ngaih lai a na e.
- B Sawm sial ka gawh thang zawm aw e, von niang kha kia thang zawm aw.
Sawmsial gawh leh von niang khakia, mual ii heem ah thang nah e.
- C Gawh tam sim na zang leng phual mul siang ah kang lai laam bang e.
Sawm sial gawh tam ka sim na aw, phual mul lam sil sial aw.
- D Tung a leeng khaimu aw e, nuai a ta kamkei aw e.
A lai tak ah lia hek ing e, deih teng phual mul in tuang e.

7 Sa Noh La (Funeral)

1. Sai e, sai e, sa sai e sai e; 2. Vung e vung e, savung e vung e; 3. Gial e, gial e, sagial e gial e; 4. Sial e, sial e, sasial e sial e; 5. Ngawk e, ngawk e, sangawk e ngawk e; 6. Buai e, buai e, sabuai e buai e; 7. Suai e, suai e, sasuai e suai e;

8. Za e, za e, saza e, za e. hih bang in sa hi. Sa nolh panin anau a teng kinolh hi.

1. Sai; 2. Cingh pi; 3. Zang sial; 4. Sahang; 5. Ngali; 6. Vompi; 7. Sakuh;
8. Saza, hih teng ki nolh hi. sa tam man mahmah am sa tam pi vei tak ai te in, Tul e, tul e, satul e tul e, ci a tul dong a nolh uh hi.

8 Songh Kiimkot La (Funeral)

A Ka tun in tungual nei e, ka zua in zua gual nei e.

B Lai thatin sawm tang kho ing e, mi zah lai a zeek ing e.

9 Vaiphei Te La

A Sin thu soi ding Tual Awn pa aw,
Do cih tu lut Am Thang pa aw.
Do cih tu lut Am Thang pa aw,
Van nuai lut sial a tun na Za Tual pa aw.

10 Zang Ta La (Gal la) (War songs)

A Ham taang thot ing, zang ta lai lawng e, ka khua gun tui tung a do sumlu beel bang ka suang hi e.

B Zang va haam e hen aw tho zuk aw, na tun suihlung lau e, siang ah zing vai bang lap nuam ing e.

C Ka zo nak ing e, ka zo nak ing e, Kuivuum pan in ka zo nak ing.
Kuivum panin e ka zo nak ing, tui taw sial khah e va mu ing e.

D Ka ngaih nak in e, ka ngaih nak in, Va-awm pan in e ka ngaih nak in.
Va-awm panin e, ka ngaih nak in, zang ta nau len meel va mu ing e.

E *Ka von tem bang na deih leh, zang ta va mat sak ve aw.
Zang ta na mat zawh ciangin e, na deih bel paai a kuah aw.

F Sawn tel tan khat a ka tan aw, lai thah ka sial na hi e,
Dal lum khai khat a ka khai aw, nua ciang ka dal na hi e.

G Zang lei ah dawh tam tung ah e, nung leh ka ma sawn maw'ng e.
Suul kik tang e, ka sial lum tawh, zang ta vangkhua suan ing e.

H *Zang lei a ta, sumlu maai pa tang in siam bang meet ing e.
Ka ciin bat phu ka zon ni e, sakam kei bang gial ing e.

I Ging seng seng, ging seng aw e, ka khausu ging seng seng e.
Leido sumlu ka puak na aw, ka khausu ging seng seng e.

J Ka tan tan aw, zang sumlu aw, khausu dim in pua ing e.
Buh beel a suan loh ding aw, al va suih lung tai sak e.

K Kamkei bang a ka gial nin e, solkha na liim zui ing e.
Sol kha na liim zui ing e, sun ni nuai ah sumlu bing bang khai ing e.

L Khua kiim in lal a thah leh sing bang nip zaw zong hi e.
Dim tui in lal a thah leh kamkei gial lai tan hang e.

M Zang a bungpi minthang aw e, a sau vaivut in len e.
Kua ban zal hi na cih leh aw, dimtui a ban zaal ci aw.

- N Sak a leng leng, khang a leng leng, dim tui phel gua bang khauh e.
Dimtui zang tui sun ni nuai a, kawl ciang huiva maau bang e.
- O Zang tawi nga bang ka leen na siang ka kankil kal lah tang e.
Ka maimit lah tungh va set a, ka pheiphung khai lah tang e.
- P Bung thul ta ung, bung thul ta ung, ka lal lei do bung thul ta ung e.
Ka khua a mi aw, ni thum nin e mai ta na ung e.

11 Ton La

- A Lo khawh a ka kipat in hi ci mah leng ka cih na hi.
Thai tawh tu kawl ka tawi in thai tawh sawm tang sung dip e.
- B Neih tong onn sung ka va et leh miim leh sawm tang sung dip e.
A thak koi ah koih hiam aw, tuanlui a gua tam nah e.
- C Nei tong na inn pha leilua lai keu e inn.
Phual v na meipha lei lua, lai am e.
- D Buhtang aw la ci e, beelpi kawm a buhtang aw la ci e.
Beelpi kawm a buhtang aw la ci e, khut dim siu seu ong pia aw la ciing e.
- E Ka lo aw dam diu deu e, hawi a hawi a e, mawng lo aw dam diu deu e.
Thai tawh tu kawl ka tawi na hawi a hawi a e, mawng lo aw dam diu deu e.
- F Tekpi nu zupi ei sa a, khumhi tah e, tang za sawm sial in ai e.
A lai ah sial tong ka cih leh, khua kiim ii lut sa a ahau mit mei sum nah e.
- G Ka gualin tong tong a cih a kaai hi ta e, a kaai in vallnan nei e.
Mi lahliangin lam sul ah hawi ta na ung e miim va ten bual nan nei e.
- H A hau hau in pawl thei, a pawl pawl mah hau thei e.
Ei mi lah liang lam sul ah hawi ta na ung e, litva ten bual nan nei e.
- I Mun inn phaleh gamlopha thuam tang phui gua gua tawh thuam tange,
beem tang tawh hai thei a lunlai bang e.
Mi singkhua ah zing va zin tange, laimi ka hen sangin kamin lawi bang
thang zaw e.
- J Ton leh hauh aw ni bang sa vung vung, nuai a lah khimzing tah e,
ka khawh ciandal in siang e.
Ka khawh ciandal in sia tang e khua kim a miin lam bang eng nah e.
- K Ka khua sih zang sial leh zang tun na, npi gua tawj thuam tang ebeem
tang tawh hai thei a lun laibang e.
Ka mai mitlah khim khua zing bang nuai a pa hing siam in lobang siam
ta hen.
- L Pi gua koi ah tambelhiam aw, tuanlui ah gua om nah e,
A phukin va kuan ve vua, nih leh thum va kuan.
- M Pau Huas sawm sial in lut tang e, silh puan hawm in tan ing e,
Laimika mat lah ciangin e, tunlumphul bang e.

Part three: miscellaneous

1 Old age

- A Tungkhai mu bang ka len na,
 Zang kam keibang ka len na.
 Ka pheiphung aw zehna zum ta n'am aw,
 Do cih ham bang ka huai na ka ban zal aw,
 Nikhat ziing meii bang daai in a lawm lo e.
- B Tumbang vuaikuan ka hiam ka selung a zuang bang e,
 Von sau liim ah kei ong khawl dih ve ning e.
 Sang cih tun na... Sai tui na gualtong dam in ho ve aw.
 (By Pu Khan Thuam visited son Gawh Pau)

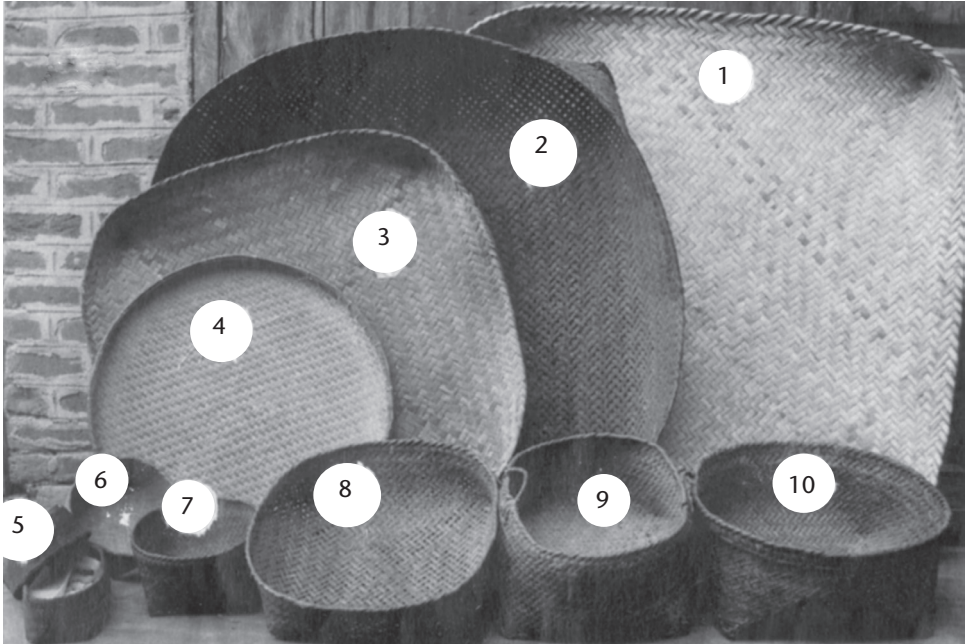
2 Love song

- A Ngaih ngii ngeii aw na tat na mu nuaming e,
 Simlei muan tual na tuat aw luak nuam ve'ng e.
 Sim lei mualpi kaih min in na luang ve aw,
 Ngaih tong ka san na dingin dawh tamhen aw.
- B Ngai ing ci a tumtai bang vuling na cih,
 Vul loh damtuina hongleh luanna hi e.
 Vul loh damtui in luang aw tuanglam lai ah,
 Heisa'n pal aw ke'n hong lo masa va'ng e.

3 S. Khup Chin Pau La

- A Ka sen lai in ni bang el ten,
 Suktui al bang mang hen ci.
 Ta bang khial lo Sian in sung ven,
 Pak bang ong tawi lai hi e.
- A Theisen kholhpih luntawi ngalliam kalung tuak,
 Na vang lum bang sung ing.
 Ham bang huaina se sum phung cing,
 Sial ngam la'ng lawm aw, hong huai lai ve aw.

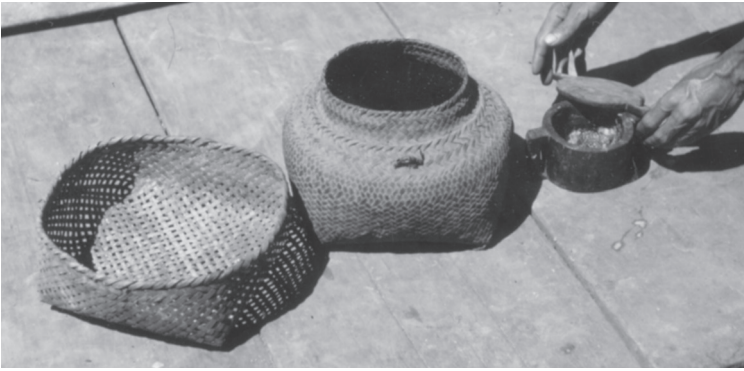
Bamboo, cane, reed and wood



Above: Few people can name all the different baskets in this photo: (1) *buh hak*, (2) *miim haih ciang*, (3) *buh hak neu*, (4) *lawh pi*, (5) *lawh bup*, (6) *pawta*, (7) *lawh ta*, (8) *ciang*, (9) *hai li ciang*, (10) *haai pi*.

Right: Cradles like this are often presented by maternal grandparents. They are often made with *guapi* species. The souls of those destined to be married were lulled by the gods before they were born





Above (left to right): The *ciang* is used as a strainer and receptacle. The high neck container is *bok thok*. The wooden receptacle is a *za san kuang*, or chilli container. Note the hinged lid.

Right: Stools made of rattan cane and bamboo are typical of Kamhau. Thangkai area, east of Tonzang, produces more rattan cane than the present demand. If roads could be opened to Mawlaik to the east, rattan could become a viable industry.



Below: This method of carrying a chicken keeps them from being suffocating or crushed. Carrying an *aak bawm* and dancing is said to cure bed-wetting!





Left: This load saddle is carved from naturally curved wood. Wood-carving is done by using the axe with the blade turned ninety degrees.

Above: This *samsih zing* fine-tooth comb is typically Northern Chin. It is an effective de-licer.

Below: *Gawsem* is made of reed pipes, a gourd box and a finely ground metal reed. It is doubtful if the instrument is indigenous to the Chins. *Gawsem* might have been an instrument made of *gua*, bamboo. In the songs of Zawl Cing leh Ngambawm, our 'Romeo and Juliet', it is said to make a winnowing basket *lawh pi* 'dance', that is turn round when held on the finger tips of young girls sitting in a circle. It does not dance if the moving spirit does not admire any of the girls.



Appendix III

Kamhau customary law

Preface

This translation of Kamhau customary law is from the notebook of Pu Vung Za Kham, *Lai atpi* Secretary to the Kamhau chiefs, in which some of the later Section and article numbers are different from the original Burmese version published in 1924 by Chief Pum Za Mang ^{KSM, ATM}. An example: Section XXIV, article 140 is *A khan 23, pohma 154*, which is more detailed. Pu Sian Lian Pau, son of Chief Pum Za Mang, and Pa Mang Hau Thang (First Secretary, Myanmar Embassy, Singapore) have been consulted for some customary and legal points of law and revisions have been made as necessary. Definitions within the Kamhau Customary Law are given in notes.

Adei III *Section III*

NAMBAT 1/NUMBER 1, LAIMAI 18/PAGE 18

Khat leh khat in thu a neih ciang Hausa te leh upa te mai ah thunei pa? leh thu lang pa? in zube khat tuak lup ma sa a, tua ciang in a thu ki dong hi. Mi khat leh khat a lang nih a thukim a, na mai sak uh thu te ukpi zum leh hausu zum a nong gen hang un ki sang nawn lo ding hi.

When litigants come to the *hausu zum* headman's court, both the plaintiff and defendant produce/put up a pot of *zu* before the court is in session. If the litigants (party to a lawsuit) agree to settle the case on their own volition, the case will no longer be heard in the *ukpi zum* chief's court.

A dei IV – Lol khawhna leh leitang tawh kipawl thu *Section IV – Agriculture and land use*

NAMBAT/NUMBER 5

Lo a ki kho nai lo mun khat mi khat leh khat kituh leh, hausu upa¹ in en ding a, a kikim a hawm sak ding. A man nop kei uh leh a lo la ding a, mi dang khat ki pia ding hi.

¹ *Hausu upa*, the headman and elders.

If two persons dispute over a new field, the elders will survey the land and divide it equally between them. If they do not comply with the decision, the land will be taken away and given to another person.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 6

Mi khat lo khawh na mi khat in kei lo hi ci a a kam tam leh tua lo zuan pa pen thu khen ma teng a khawl na ding in thukham napi a tawp lo a, a sep leh a thu a leh leh a gim na tha teng mai hi. Ki loh lo hi.

If a person clears a field and another person says that it is his field, the first person must stop work till the matter is settled. If the former does not desist and eventually loses the case, his labour will not be compensated.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 7

Lo ki gi suang bot sim a, a phut sim a om leh, tua pa pen vok tuk li² khat liau dong hi. Zubel khat³ zong liau ding hi. A gi suang phuh pen a po na lui ah ki phut pha ding hi. A liau vok leh zu pen hausa te leh upa teng in go a ne hi.

Lo lai a ganhing lut loh nang a sialdai ki kai hong a ganhing lut a, an a neek leh an man leh dai hon man vok tuk thum khat liau ding a inn sian leh sa sat⁴ vok tuk thum khat tuak leh zubel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If any one removes a 'lo ki gi suang' boundary stone and plants it at another location, he shall be fined a 4-fist pig. The boundary stone shall be returned to its original location. The pig will be slaughtered for the headman and elders.

If anyone removes fencing around a field and someone's animals enter and destroy the crop, the person who removes the fencing shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig for 'breaking the fence' and the cost of the crop, a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

A dei v – Sing leh gua thu *Section v – Trees and bamboos*

NAMBAT/NUMBER 8

Lo nei pa in ankung deep thei na pi a deih a a lo lai a singkung te. Lo nei pa dong lo a, a gu sim a om leh, a phuk sim a om leh, lo nei pa a ding vok tukthum khat inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zubel khat liau sak hi.

If anyone cuts trees and steals the wood from the field of someone who purposely leaves them standing, though they shade the crop, fruit or pine,

2 *Vok tuk li* or 4-fist pig. A pig is measured at its girth. The length of the girth is folded in two and measured by closing the fist, fist-over-fist. A fist is 3 inches. Parts of a fist are a finger or *zung*, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

3 *Zubel khat* in a Kamhau court means a pot of *zu*. The pot, called 'beel mai' or 'siatvat beel' has a capacity of a four-gallon tin of *zu te* meal. The pot shall not be stuffed with leaves (*nah puah lo*) to ensure that a proper amount of *zu te* is charged. There is no specification as to the quality of the *zu te*, but the litigants are not likely to want to offer inferior *zu* to the court.

4 *Inn sian sa sat* is a court fee, a 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*.

the perpetrator/trespasser shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the field, a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu* for the court.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 9

*Sing halh*⁵ sung a sing a kiguk sak a ki phuk sak a om leh, vok tukthum khat leh zubei khat liau ding hi. A sing phuk teng sing halh nei pan ngah hi. Sing nei pa in Rs6 4 ngah a, Rs 2 hausa pa in ngah hi.

If trees in a *sing halh* reserved forest are cut and stolen, the perpetrator pays a fine of a 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*. The firewood goes to the owner of the *sing hal*. The owner of the trees gets Rs 4, and the headman gets Rs 2. NB In the Burmese version *gual li* is Rs 4, *gual nih* Rs 2 etc. *Pyit dan si yin thu*: one who determines the guilt, headman and elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 10

Lo lai leh gam lak a hai kung po te a phuk pa vok tukli khat leh zubei khat liau ding hi. A liau pen hausa pa leh upa te in ne hi.

Anyone who cuts down a mango tree in a field or one that grows wild will be fined a 4-fist pig and a pot of *zu*. The fine goes to the headman and elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 11

Lo lai leh huan sung a a po singno te, a bot khia a sugawp te vokitukli khat liau ding hi. Hausa upa te a dingin zubei khat tawh liau ding.

Anyone who uproots or destroys fruit trees in the wild or in the field shall pay a fine of a 4-fist pig and a pot of *zu*. The *zu* is for the headman and the elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 12

Khua mual kiim nai a a ki suan sing phuk te zubei khat liau ding a hausa upa in ne ding hi.

Anyone who cuts down trees in the *khua mual* park must pay a fine of a pot of *zu* for the headman and elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 13

Mi si te meel muh na a khua mual leh han a sing gelh leh suang gelh a su sia a om leh a bawl na sum bei zah lang liau ding hi inn sian sa sat vok tuk thum khat tuak leh zubei khat tawh liau ding hi.

Anyone who destroys steles and stones erected as memorials to the dead will be fine half the cost of the memorials, a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

⁵ *Sing halh* is reserve forest for firewood.

⁶ Rupee, written Re for singular, Rs for plural, is a silver dollar. Fifteen rupees make a gold sovereign.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 14

Lo a ki hawm nai lo sung a gua phung hah te in lo hawm ciang a a lo a ngah kei a, mi dang khat in a ngah leh gua phung hah pa in gua a po zah zah sat ding a, lo ngah pa in gua phung ngah ding hi.

If one who tends a wild bamboo grove does not receive that land from the elders he may cut down all the bamboo, and the one who receives that lot shall receive the bamboo grove.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 15

Inn gua a hi a gam gua a hi zongin gua phung nei om thei napi a, a sat gawp te, vok tuk thum khat leh zibel khat liau ding a, seh thum suah seh khat gua neipa, seh khat hausapa, seh khat upa teng in ne ding hi.

Anyone who knowingly destroys local or wild bamboo shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu. The owner, the headman and the elders each get one third.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 16

Mi gua phung a guatuai khiak te, nambat 14 bangin ki khen ding hi.

Anyone who steals bamboo shoots shall be fined according to Article 14.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 17

Mi khat gua suan a bot khia te tung ah a tung a nam bat 14 a bang in ki khen ding hi.

Anyone who uproots the bamboo of another person shall be fined according to Article 14.

A dei vi – Ganhing an neekna thu
Section vi – Crops destroyed by animals

NAMBAT/NUMBER 18

Mi khempeuhin ih neihsa sial, lawi, bawng, sakol te kum simin May kha pan October kha bei dong cing ding hi. Ngei na om banga tua hun sung cing lo a na khah uh leh a mi om lo an a neek leh gan neipa ganhing khat ciang vok tuuk thum khat leh zubeel khat liau ding a lo neipa, hausa pa, upa teng in seh thum suah seh khat ciat a ngah ding hi.

Everyone must herd his domestic animals – mithan *sial*, buffaloes and horses – during the months of May to October. If anyone does not herd his animals according to the customs, and if the animals eat the crops of another person when he is not there, the owner of the animals must pay a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu for each animal. The owner of the field, the headman and the elders will each get a third of the fine.

18A, MAWH NGAH LOHNA/EXCEPTION 1

A masa Sialtal sang nga nei sialpi ta lap te inn nuai a a kikhum lai tengin an a neek hangin ki liau lo hi.

A male mithan ox that has already has five siblings (that is at least five years old) and a *sial* cow that already has born calves will not be fined as long as they are kept under the house.

18B, A NIHNA/EXCEPTION 2

Khua kiimkot ganhing gamtat na ding sung a lo nei ten ganhing lut zawh loh na ding a um lo a a zawntat uh a, ganhing lut a an a neek leh bang mah thu om lo a mai hi.

If there is no grazing land for a village, and if the owner of a field has not fenced his field so that no animal can enter, there shall be no fine if animals eat the crop.

18C, A THUM NA/EXCEPTION 3

Huan sung a an kungte a po sungin vok leh keel lut a, huan neipa in a thah leh huan nei pa a gan man zah lang, huan neipa in gan neipa pia ding a, a gan si sa peen gan neipa leh huan neipa in lang hawm a ne ding uh hi.

During the crop season, if pigs and goats enter the *huan* garden and the owner of the garden kills them, he and the owner of the animals will divide the animals.

NOTE

Hih in ngeina lui a hi a ngeina thak ah ganhing in an a neek ciangin Logam sung ah vaimiim kung thum dangka san pek khat, tang kung khat dangka san pek khat, begui khat pe khat, gatam gui khat pe khat a ki sim a ki liau hi.

Ngal lak lo te ah vaimim kung nga, tang kung guk, buh kung guk, ciangin dangka san pek khat in ki tuat hi. Inn sian peen Rs 1. Ah hamu a tuat Rs 40. Dong Rs 6. ki ne hi.

Whether in the old or new customs, any crop destroyed by animals will be assessed according to the following criteria:

three stalks of maize will be fined three pieces (48 pieces in one silver rupee);

one stalk of millet will be fined one piece;

one bean vine will be fined one anna (16 annas in one silver rupee);

one gatam (sulphur) bean vine will be fined one anna.

for *ngal lak* or dry *ngal* land: five maize stalks, six millet stalks and six paddy are each fined one piece. *Inn sian* is calculated at *hamu* (half a rupee) up to Rs 40.

A dei VII – Ganhing gamsa te thangsiahna thu **Section VII – Trapping wild animals**

NAMBAT/NUMBER 19

Gamsa te gum to in ahi zongin, thangsiah ahi zongin, pialsiah ahi zongin, siah in tua thang te ah ih khawisa ganhing te awk a a sih leh a nuai a ki lak bangin ki khen ding hi.

If any domestic animal is caught in *gum* pit trap, rope snare, or *pial* deadfall trap, they shall be settled as follows.

19A

Ih khawisa ganhing te tun zawhna gamsung a thang siah ahih leh gansi ci a, a hih kei leh a man zah sum thangsiah pa in ganneipa pia ding hi a, hausate leh upate a ding zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If the trap is within the reach of domestic animals, it is considered *gansi* 'animal death' or the trapper shall give the price of the animal to the owner and shall pay a fine of *zubeel khat*, one pot of *zu*, for the headman and the elders.

19B

Ih khawisa ganhingte tun zawh lohna a siah ahih leh gansi lang loh na ding leh hausa leh upa te a ding zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If the trap is beyond the reach of domestic animals, the trapper shall pay half the price of the *gansi* and a pot of *zu* for the headman and the elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 20

Ganhing thang siah na ding a gum ahi zongin, pial a hi zongin, thang ahi zongin, a kisiah na ah mi khat awk in si leh thang neipa in sialpi khat a a vui na ding in ka khen ding a inn sian leh sa sat, vok tuuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a person is caught in a *gum*, rope snare or *pial* trap, the trapper must provide a *sial pi* (mature mithan cow) for the funeral and pay a fine of a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 21

Thang a gamsa awk mu a, a koh leh thang nei pan a liang khat a ko pa pia ding hi.

If anyone informs the trapper about any animal caught in a trap, he shall receive one foreleg (front leg) of the animal.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 22

Thang neipa ko lo a, a mu teen a sa a guuk sim uh leh a nuai a bangin mawh kipia ding hi.

If a person finds an animal caught in a trap and steals it he shall be fined as below.

22A

Ngal, vom, sazuk, saza, hi te sa gu ahih leh, thang neipa a ding vok tuk 3-3 leh inn sian sa sat vok tuuk thum 2 (tuk 3-5) leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

The person who steals the animal shall pay a fine of three 3-fist pigs for the trapper, two 3-fist pigs for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and one pot of *zu* for a wild pig, bear, sambar or goral.

22B

Sakuh, sathak, sakhi te gu, a hih leh thang neipa a ding tuuk thum khat, inn sian leh sa sat tuuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

The person who steals the animal shall pay a fine of one 3-fist pig, one 3-fist each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

A dei VIII – Khut khialh na thu
Section VIII – Accidental homicide

NAMBAT/NUMBER 23

Mi khatin mi khat sih sak nopna lungsim nei lo pi in gamsa sa a, kap kha a hi zongin, sa kapna khat kap a kha ahi zongin, thautang in suang kha a a tang lengsawn in a kha ahi zongin, mi kha a, a sih leh, lawi giat liau ding a, inn sian lawi khat, sa sat lawi khat leh, zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi. Misi ten lawi guk ngah hi.

If a person unintentionally shoots dead a person mistaking him/her to be a wild animal, or if the ricochet of the bullet kill a person, he shall pay a fine of eight buffaloes. One buffalo each is for *inn sian* and *sa sat*, and six buffaloes will be paid to the family of the dead.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 24

Sial, lawi, bawng, sakol, lo lai ahi zongin, gamlak a hi zongin, gamsa sa a thau tawh a kap kha pa tung ah, a gan si ci a, a hih? Kei leh, gansi man zah liau ding hi.

If a person mistakes a mithan *sial*, a buffalo, cow, horse in a *lo* field or in the jungle for wild game, shot it and did not inform the owner, he shall pay a fine of the cost of the dead animal.

Nambat/Number 25

Khut khial a mi khat a khut a khe sam in poi sak leh sial zabo khat leh inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a person hurts another person and make him lame or he loses the use of a hand, he shall pay a fine of a *zabo* (horn length from tip of middle finger to wrist) mithan *sial* and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*, and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 26

Misite inn pan ahi zongin zu nunna a hi zongin, sivui ciang a hi zongin, zan a mei det tein mi inn khat a kat khak leh mei de pa vok tuuk thum khat leh zubeel khatin inn kangpa ki huh sak ding hi.

If a person's torch in a funeral or at a *tong* feast burns a house, the person shall help the owner of the house with one 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 27

Sihna a hi zongin nopna a hi zongin zu neek na phualah mi khat leh khat kilai in zubeel a hi a, taubeel ahi zongin kisia sak leh a beel man zah loh ding a zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If there was damage to a *zu* pot or a *tau beel* brass pot at a feast as a result of a fight, the persons involved shall pay for the cost of the articles and a fine of a pot of *zu*.

27A

Sa huan nang leh meh huan nang a beel kikawmte a siasak a omleh a tung a bangin kikhen ding hi.

For any damage done to pots and utensils borrowed for cooking, the fine shall be as in Number 27.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 28

Zuphual an phual a gamtat khialhna tawh zubeel anbeel te a siatsak khak hangin thu om lo hi.

There shall be no fine for any damage to *zu* pots and cooking utensils due to accidents.

28A

Saap ding a sakol kikawmte a sih leh sakol man lang kiloh ding hi.

If a horse borrowed for hire dies, there shall be a fine of half the price of the horse.

A dei ix – Mei hal thu
Section ix – Forest fires

NAMBAT/NUMBER 29

Kua mah peuhin an neek tuidawn hi leh a ki mang thei na te, sing gua te, kumsim in March kha bei ma in gamsung pan meikat theih loh dingin na keem uh ahih kei leh inn ah na pua uh zongin ngeina om bangin na kep loh hang un na vante uh mei in a kat hangin gam hal mipa tungah thu omlo ding hi.

If anyone fails to remove food and other property, timber or bamboo from the fields before March (after which they may be burnt for pasture), there shall be no fine if a person starts a fire that destroys them.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 30

Kua mah peuhin March kha bei ma a gam hal a lo peh a lo a kat leh tha khat pai in mang tom sak ding hi.

If a person starts a fire that spreads to a field, he/she will do a day's work clearing up the debris in the field.

30A

Sing, gua, bite leh a dang na a ki mang thei te a kat leh mei hal pa a man zah liau ding hi. Lo leh sing, bi leh an te mei kang ding a, a lauhuai lo gam la pi pan mei hal a gam kuam khat pan kuam khat mei kang a a pehin a kat hangin thu omlo hi. Ganhing, mihing te, a kang zongin, bangmah thu om lo hi.

If timber, trees, bamboo and other useful materials are destroyed by a fire, the person who started it shall be fined the cost of materials destroyed by the fire. If a person starts a fire that is at a safe distance, but the fire spreads from one valley to others and burns timber, trees, bamboo and other useful materials, there shall be no fines. If animals and human beings are burnt there shall be no fine.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 31

Mi khatin git loh lungsim tawh mi inn a hal a, a kat tum leh a inn man zah leh hausa leh upa te a ding vok tuukli khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a man sets fire to a house out of malice, he shall be fined the price of the house and a 4-fist pig each for the headman and the elders, and a pot of zu.

31A

Inn kang kiphelh zo a, tawm bang kang a hih leh, meihalpa sial zabo khat leh inn sian sa sat vok tuuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau dng hi.

SUAH TAKNA: Khual zinte a sum puak a zin pa keemsak in, a inn tawh kang khawm leh thu om lo hi.

If the fire is successfully doused and only a little damage is done, the arsonist shall be fined a *sial zabo* mithan, and a 3-fist pig each for the headman and the elders.

EXEMPTION: Any money entrusted to the host by travellers lost in the fire shall not be compensated.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 32

Mikhat in gitloh lungsim tawh mi lo buuk khat halsak in kang tum leh a tung a pohmah 31 a thu om bangin ki khen ding hi.

If a person sets fire to the *lo buk* field hut of another person out of malice the case shall be settled as above.

A dei x – Biakna thu
Section x – Religion

NAMBAT/NUMBER 33

Mi khat peuhmah vok, sial, keel tawh pusa dawi thoih a, mi lut loh nanging, ngeina bang a sawl baang napi, a lut a om leh a nuai a bangin, mawh kipia ding hi.

If a person trespasses on a *pusa* propitiation of a pig, mithan or goat by entering a forbidden area marked by a *sawl* leafy branch displayed at the entrance, the trespasser shall be made to pay as follows:

33A

Sial zeh phite vok tuuk li khat leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

Any trespasser on a mithan rite shall be fine a 4-fist pig and a pot of zu.

33B

Vok zeh phi te vokno thum? Leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

Any trespasser on a pig rite shall be fined three piglets and a pot of zu.

33C

Dawi dang kheem ppeuh zeh phi te a ki thoihna gan man zah lang leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

Trespassers on any other propitiation shall be fined half the price of the animal sacrificed and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 34

Kamhau uk sung khua kheem peuh ah tual bawl ciangin gamdang mi te hong lut loh na dingin khua ziat khua vei ah sawl bang thei na pi a zeh a phi te tual vokgawh cia leh zubeel khat liau ding hi. A hi zong in Kamhaugam sung mi kheempeuh leh Sakte uk sung mi kheem peuh ki tang lo hi.

When any village in Kamhaugam (Kamhau tract) has made a *tual* sacrifice, a sawl leafy branch is displayed at the left and right side of the village. Any person who knowingly trespasses the *tual* sacrifice shall be fined the same size of the *tual* pig and a pot of zu.

A dei xī – Guk tak na thu
Section xī – Theft

NAMBAT/NUMBER 35

Guta khat a guk laitakin a van tawh man khawm leh a van guk teng pia kik sak ding a, inn sian sa sat vok tukthum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a thief is caught with what he has stolen, he shall be made to return it and fined a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 36

Mikhat in mi khat neih sa sial, lawi, bawng, sakol, kel gu in, a go zongin a zuak zongin a guk leh, a ganhing guk cia khat a kinaupuak in liau ding hi. Inn sian a guk cia khat, sa sat vuktukli khat leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

A thak a khel na ah a inn sian sa sat Rs 10 tuak ki la hi.

If a person steals a mithan, buffalo, cow, horse or goat and kills it or sells it he will be fined twice the cost of the animal. He will pay *inn sian* of the same size of the animal and a 4-fist pig for *sa sat*, and a pot of zu.

New rule: both *inn sian* and *sa sat* are Rs 10 each.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 37

Kuamah peuh in kei sial hi lo cih thei na pi a mi sial khat ama sial a suah sak nop na tawh sial bil aat leh guta suak dektak a hi ciang vuktukthum khat liau ding hi. Inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a person makes a cut mark (*sial bil at*) on a mithan knowing that the *sial* is not his, this is tantamount to stealing the animal and he shall be fined a 3-fist pig. He shall pay 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 38

Mihkhat in ama siala suah ding dei na tawh mi sialkhat long ok sak eh tukthumkhat leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person puts a bell on a mithan that is not his own, with the intention of making it his, he shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 39

Vok gu te a vokguk kinaupuak leh inn sian sa sat vok tukkhat? Tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A person who steals a pig will be fined twice its cost, and a 3-fist each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

Nambat/Number 40

Ui gu te vok tukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat vok tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A person who steals a dog shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 41

Zawhngeu gu te a zawhngeu guk a nei te pia kiksak ding a, zawhngeu neipa a ding vokno nih leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

A person who steals a cat shall return the cat to its owner and shall pay a fine of two piglets to the owner and a pot of *zu*. NB Two piglets are also called *gual nih*, or Rs 2.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 42

Mihuang sung a lut a akgu te, a nei te a ding tukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person steals a chicken, he shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the chicken and a 3-fist pig each for the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 43

Mihuang suk a lut la akbu sung a aktui gu te pohmah 42 bangin liau ding hi.

SUAHTAKNA: Aktui tang khat bek aisan nading a a lak hangin thu omlo a mai hi.

A NIH SUAH TAKNA: Kum sagih pha nai lo naupang ten ak leh aktui a guk hangin thu suak lo hi.

If a person enters the premise of another and steals eggs from the nest, he shall pay a fine as in article 42.

EXEMPTION 1: If only one egg is taken for omen reading, there is no fine.

EXEMPTION 2: If anyone under the age of seven, there is no case.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 44

Sahawm pa thulo a, sagu te in, hausa leh upa ten vuktukthum khat leh zibel khat dan tat ding hi.

If anyone takes meat without the permission of the *sahawm pa*, one who distributes the meat portions, he shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu for the headman and the elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 45

Mi khat in a ma satan mun khat a koih a a koihna pan a sa gupa in sa nei pa a ding tukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person steals the *sa tan* meat portion of another from where he puts it, he shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig for the owner of the *sa tan* and a 3-fist pig each for the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 46

Inn sunga tum a sa gu te vuktukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

A person who enters into a house and steals meat shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 47

Vaimiim, miim, tang, kawlmiiim, gatam, baal te a guk leh a a guk man zah kinaupuak a liau ding a inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A person who steals maize, sorghum, millet or sulphur beans shall be fined twice their price and a 3-fist pig for each of *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 48

Khualzin gamvak te in a gil kial a mi lo a kawl miim tu khiak a, a tu a teep khit ciang a vui, lo nei pa muh dinga a koih leh mai hi. Akoih kei leh vokno khat a piak nangin ki khen ding hi.

If a wayfarer takes the stalks of sorghum to suck the juice, but places the sheaves where the owner of the fields will find them, there is no fine. He shall be fined a piglet if he does not place the sheaves where the owner of the field will find them.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 49

Sahawk, nahtang, mai, sing, zanah, ga kisia gute, vokno nih liau dinga hausa pa leh upa te ading zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A person who steals oranges/tangerines, bananas, pumpkins, ginger, tobacco leaves or sulphur beans (*ga kisia*, sulphur beans washed before fermenting) shall pay a fine of two piglets and a pot of *zu* for the headman and the elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 50

Mi' hai kung a hai gute, a seng bawm a guang inn a tut leh, hai nei te a ding tuk thumkhat inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

SUAHTAKNA: Khual zin gam vak te in a gilkial a neek te a in ah puak kei peuh leh thu om lo hi.

A person who steals mangoes from a tree and takes them home in his/her basket shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig for the owner of the mango tree and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

EXEMPTION: There is no case if wayfarers pluck and eat the mangoes as long as they do not take any home.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 51

Dangka gu te a guk zah kinaupuak a liau ding a inn sian tukthum khat sa sat tukthum khat leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi. Inn sian sa sat in a sum guk zah zui a ki la ding hi.

A person who steals cash shall pay twice the amount and shall pay a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*. *Inn sa sat* will be assessed on the amount of the stolen money.

51A

Sum pek khat a ki pan Rs 50 dong gu te inn sian sa sat Rs 6 leh sa sat Rs 6, zibel khat ki la ding hi.

A person who steals from Re 1 to Rs 50, shall be fined Rs 6 each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

51B

Rs 51 pan Rs 100 gu te inn sian Rs 20 leh upa sa sat tukli khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

A person who steals from Rs 51 to Rs 100 shall be fined Rs 20 for *inn sian* and a 4-fist pig *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

51C

Rs 100 pan Rs 200 dong gu te inn sian Rs 20 leh sa sat Rs 10 zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A person who steals Rs 100 to Rs 200 shall be fined Rs 20 *inn sian* and Rs 10 *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 52

Inn huang sung ahi zongin inn sung a hizong in puanza, puanak, puan ten, lukhu dial, kawng gak, niik, numei lukhum leh puan silh niik ten a gu te a van guk kinaupuak a liau ding a, inn sian sa sat vok tuuk 3 - 3 leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

Whether from the within the compound or from inside of a house, a person who steals blankets, shirts, *longyi* (sarong), cap, turban, belt, woman's *longyi*, woman's cap or other clothing shall be fined twice the price of the materials stolen, three 3-fist pigs *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu* .

NAMBAT/NUMBER 53

Taubeel, daak bu , zampi, daktal, saiha gu te in a van guk zah nih kinau puak in liau ding a sa sat tukthum? Leh zubeel khat liau ding hi. Tukthum khat innluh man a sum mang pa in ngah ding a, hausa pa in khat, upa ten khat, hih bang a hawm ding uh hi.

A person who steals *taubeel* (brass pot), *daak bu* (3-piece gong), gong, *daktal* (small gong) or elephant tusks shall be fined twice the price of the stolen goods and three 3-fist pigs and a pot of *zu*. The owner of the properties shall get one 3-fist pig, called *inn luh man* (entry), the headman gets a 3-fist pig, the elders get one 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu* for the headman and elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 54

Khi gute, a tunga pohmah 53 bangin kikhen ding hi.

A person who steals a *khi* necklace shall be fined as in article 53

NAMBAT/NUMBER 55

Mi ngawng a khi awh gusimte a tunga pohmah 53 zui in ki liausak ding hi.

Any one who steals beads from the neck of the owner shall be judged as in article 53.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 56

Mi lo buuk sung a tu, hei, temtawng, tui um, belsuang khat peuh peuh gu te tungah pohmah inn sung a guta te mah bangin 53 zui in kiliau sak ding hi.

Any person who steals hoes, axes or *dah* knives from a *lo buuk* field hut will be judged as one who enters a house in article 53.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 57

Gam lak a mi sing suih sa gute leh a su gawp te tung ah singnei pa a ding tukthum khat inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

If a person destroys hewn timber left in the jungle, they shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the timber, and a 3-fist each for the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 58

Bi gu te a bi guk teng bi nei pa pia sak ding a, zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a person steals thatch, he must give back the thatch to the owner and shall be fined a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 59

Han leh khua mual a dial khai gute tuk thum khat leh zubeel tawh liau ding hi.

If a person steals flags, buntings or streamers at the cemetery or *khua mual*, they shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 60

Ak gia sawm tung a sawn gu te leh vaphual mul gu te misi te inn a a guk leh, pohmah 59 bangin liau ding hi.

A person who steals the feathers and dyed hair from the *ak gia sawm* bouquet shall be fined as in article 59.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 61

Lo lai leh huan sung a singno gu te vok no nih liau ding hi.

A person who steals plants from a field or house garden shall be fine two piglets.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 62

Gua gu te vuktukthum khat leh zibel khat liauding hi. Sehthum suah ding a, sehkhat guanei te, seh khat inn sian, sehkhat sa sat hi ding hi.

Anyone who steals bamboo shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu. One third of the fine shall be given to the owner of the bamboo, one third each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 63

Gua pum 10 nuai gu te peuhmah 62 bangin ki khen ding hi.

Anyone who steal less than ten bamboos shall be fined according to article 62.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 64

Gua pum 10 val gute guaneipa a ding vok tukthum khat inn sian tukthum khat sa sat tuk thumkhat leh zibel khat liauding hi.

Anyone who steals more than ten bamboo shall be fine a 3-fist pig for the owner of the bamboo and a 3-fist pig for each *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 65

Gua heh gute a gua heh guk teng gua nei pa pia kik ding a a nuai bang in kikhen ding hi.

Anyone who steals split bamboos shall be fined as follows:

65A

Gua heh 100 nuai gute tukthum khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi. A dan seh thum suah seh khat ciat a hawm ding hi.

Anyone who steals less than 100 split bamboo shall be fine one 3-fist pig and a pot of zu. The fine shall be split between the owner of the bamboo, the headman and the elders.

65B

Gua heh 100 val gute guaneipa ngah ding tukthumkhat inn sianleh sa sat tukthum khat tuak, leh zubele khat liau ding hi.

A person who steals more than 100 split bamboos shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner and 3-pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 66

Mi neih sa ci khuk a ci huam sim te ci khuk nei pa ngah ding tukthum khat inn sian sa sat thukthum khat tuak, leh zubele khat liau ding hi.

Anyone who makes salt without the knowledge of the pit owner shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the salt pit, and one 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 67

Ngawi sung a ngasa te gu te ngawi neiteng a ding tukthumkhat, inn sian sa sat thukthum khat tuak leh zubele khat liau ding hi. Ngawi sung a ngasa la in, ci a a koh leh thu om lo hi.

A person who steals fish caught in a fish trap shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the trap and a 3-fist pig each of the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 68

Ngawi dawh na tui lii sung a ngasa te a man sim a om leh ngawi nei te ngah ding sial zabo khat inn sian tukthum khat leh sa sat tukthum khat leh zubele khat liau ding hi.

A person who catches fish from a *ngawi* (trap) pond shall be fined a *sial zabo* and a 3-fist pig each for the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 69

Khuai pial at sim te khuai nun man ki naupuak a liau ding a, inn sian leh sa sat tukthum khat tuak tuak leh zubele khat tawh liau ding hi.

Any person who steals bees' wax from the *khuai pial* beehive shall pay a fine of twice the price of the wax and a 3-fist pig each for the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

A dei XII – Thu im sim thu
Section XII – Secrecy

NAMBAT/NUMBER 70

Kuamah peuh mah in mi van kiat suah a hi zongin a mangngilh a hi zong in mu a, a ip sim leh a, hausa pa tung ah a koh kei leh, a dei XI poh mah 36 bangin ki khen dinghi.

If a person finds an article that another drops or forgets and does not report it to the headman he shall be fined according to article 36.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 71

Keen a kia sial, bawng, lawi, sakol, ken kia mu a, a iimsim te a sa sem sim te, gansi ci a a lang mah loh sak ding a, inn sian sa sat vok tukthum khat tuk tawh liau ding hi. Zubel khat zong liau ding hi.

A person who finds a cow, buffalo or horse that has fallen off a cliff, and who did not report this but secretly butchered the meat, is guilty of the death of an animal. He/she shall be fined half the price of the animal, and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*. He shall also be fined a pot of *zu*.

71A

Ngia, sahang, kamkei te neek ganhing, sial, lawi, bawng, sakol si mu te in gan nei te theih loh kal a a sem sim leh a nei pa ngah ding tukthum khat leh hausa pa a ding zubel khat liau ding hi.

If a person secretly butchers the meat of a mithan, buffalo, cow or horse, he shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the owner of the animal and a pot of *zu* for the headman.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 72

Kong zing inn kawm a ak deng lum sim te in, a nei te theih loh a a nek sim leh gual nih leh zubel khat liau ding hi.

SUAH TAKNA: Ak si a nei te a pia leh leh thu omlo hi.

If a person kills a chicken in the lanes of a village and eats it, he shall pay a fine of *gual nih* (Rs 2) and a pot of *zu*.

EXEMPTION: If he/she returns the dead chicken to the owner there shall be no fine.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 73

Innsaliang leh gamsaliang in te a nuai a bangin liau ding hi.

The fine for domestic and wild/feral *sa liang* foreleg shall be fined as follows:

73A

Sakhi, sazuk, sathak, saza, sakuh liang te tung ah liang khat tung ah Rs 3 liau ding hi.

The fine for barking deer, sambhur, mountain goat, goral and porcupine shall be Rs 3.

73B

Zang sial, tungsial, ngal vom, liang khat ah Rs 6 pai liau ding hi.

The fine for the foreleg of a gaur (*pyaung*), *tung sial* (*saing/bos banteng*) wild pig and bear shall be Rs 6.

73C

Sial, lawi, bawng, vok liang khat ah Rs 6 liau ding hi.

Fine for the foreleg of a buffalo or cow shall be Rs 6.

73D

Vok leh keel liang khat ah Rs 3 pai liau ding hi.

The *liang* foreleg of a pig or goat is Rs 3. (See 73C *vokin* Rs 6.)

NAMBAT/NUMBER 74

Ukpi pa ci, siah ngei na bang a a puak lo te vuktukthum khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

A person who does not pay the salt due to the chief shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of *zu*.

A dei XIII – Ki dai sak na thu
Section XIII – Defamation

NAMBAT/NUMBER 75

Mi khatin mikhat min dai ding ngaih sun a kampau tawh a hi zongin, lai tawh a hi zongin gen a, a gelh te tukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat tukthumkhat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person defames a person by word or in writing, he shall pay as a fine a 3-fist pig, and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 76

Mi khat in mi khat, kau nei lo pi, kau nei a cih leh lawi nga leh inn sian lawi khat sa sat lawi khat, lawi giat liau ding hi.

If one person says that another is a *kau nei* (of witchcraft family) who is not, they shall be fined five buffaloes, and a buffalo each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*, eight buffaloes in all.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 77

Mi khat inmi kau nei khat, kau nei pa ci in ko leh, aw, a cih leh vuktukli khat liau ding hi. A liau go a, hausa upa in ne hi. Kau nei khat leh kau nei lo khat kitawng uh a, khat leh khat ki hehsuah a, kau neipa pen kau nei lo pa in, nang kau nei ci a a ko hangin thu om lo hi. Innkuan khat kam kikapna ah, kau nei te kau nei hi a cih hangin thu om lo hi.

If a person taunts a *kau nei* person as '*kau nei*', he shall pay a fine of 4-fist pig. The pig shall be killed and eaten by the headman and elders. If a person and a *kau nei* quarrel and the person calls the *kau nei* a *kau nei* there is no culpability. If in family discussion, another person is said to be a *kau nei*, there is no offence.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 78

Guta lo pi, guta cia a dai sak leh anuai a bangin ki khen ding hi.

If a person accuses another falsely as a thief the case will be settled as follows:

78A

Sial, lawi, bawng, sakol, zam, bel, khi, sum Rs 50 val gu a ki ngawh ki dai sak na te ah thu deih te ngah ding tukthum khat, inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

Any person who falsely accuses another of theft of a mithan, buffalo, cow, horse, gong, brass pot, necklace or money exceeding Rs 50 shall be fined a 3-fist pig for the plaintiff and one 3-fist pig each for the headman and elders.

78B

A manpha lo van gu a a ngawh leh, tukthum khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If anyone falsely accuses another of stealing things of small value he shall be fined one 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 79

Su lu lo pi, su lu ci a a ngawh leh vuktukthum khat leh inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If someone falsely accuses a person of adultery, he shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa siat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 80

Gam sung ah gam vak a, sai, zangsial, ngal, vomte, A in man ci a a ki thangsa, B in nang mat hi lo a keimat hi a cih leh, B pen vuktukli khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi. A liau, hausa upa in ne ding hi.

If person A is already reputed to have shot elephant, gaur, wild pig and bear, but person B says it is he that shot the animal, B shall be fined a 4-fist pig and a pot of zu. The headman and elders shall eat the fine.

80A

Nang mat hilo hi, mimat hi a cih leh, tua pa vuktukthum khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi. A liau hausa upa in ne hi.

If someone tells another person it is not you who shot the animals but another person, that person shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot if zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 81

Ukpi te leh khuahausa te sawl tak upa te, khua mi ten a simmawh leh a, a ko gawp leh, tua pa tukthum khat leh zibel khat liau ding hi. A liau hausa upa in ne ding hi.

Anyone who does not give proper respect and obedience to the those sent by the chief and headmen shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu, which will be eaten by the headman and elders.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 82

Khat leh khat ki ngawh na a tuam tuam te ah, hausa leh upa te mai a thu deihpa leh thu neipa khat leh khat thuman thu zuau cih a nih uh a thukim a zo ngei na

bang a sum kikhaam ki luui a a om uh leh, a mawh zaw in, a ki khap na zui in ki liau sak hi. A ki thu nialna zong, ngeina bangin a mawh pa liau hi.

If litigants make a bet over a case, the one who loses must pay.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 83

Sum ki khapna thu te ah, a sum ki khap a tawm a tam zui in inn sian sa sat a nuai abangin ki la hi:

In a case of betting the *inn siana* and *sa sat* will be assessed as follows:

83A

Sum ki khap Rs 50 nuai a hi leh, inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak ki la hi.

If the bet is less than Rs 50, a 3-fist pig each is taken for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

83B

Sum ki khap R 50 tung siah bang zah bang zah hi ta leh inn sian tukli khat sa sat tukli khat leh leh zubei khat liau ding hi. A in B sial gu a ngawh a, Rs 100 ki kham hi. B sial guk maan a hi ciangin B in pen pohmah 78 bang a liau ding a, a kikhapna sum teng zong sum ding hi.

For any bet over Rs 50, *inn sian* and *sa sat* shall be *vok tukli* (4-fist pig) each. A accuses B of stealing a mithan and they made a bet of Rs 100. As B is judged to have stolen the mithan, B shall be fined according to article 78, and he shall lose the money put up for the bet.

A dei xiv – Nupa kikhen thu Section xiv – Divorce

Nambat/Number 84

Mopi dinga pasal te a kuan ciang ngei na bang in thaman Rs 4 numei te pia ding hi. Numei ten zong ih ngei na bangin vok khat go ding a a sa leh a tanu, pasal ten paisak hi. Hih bang a khat leh khat ki teng a, ki dei lo a, a ki khen ciang, a nuai a bangin ki khen hi.

When a man takes a wife, his family gives Rs 4 as *thaman* (wage). The family of the bride will slaughter a pig as per custom, and will send the bride and the meat (due to the groom) to the groom's family. If there is a separation, the case shall be settled as following:

84A

Pasal in a zi a maak nop leh ma thei hi. Mawhna om lo hi. Ahi zongin thaman, mo liah man, saseeng puakman sum bei teng ngah kik lo hi.

The husband can divorce his wife. It is allowed, but he shall not get back *thaman* (wage), *molian man* (the bridesmaid fee) or *sasengpuak man* (fee to carry the meat basket).

84B

Numei in pasal deihlo in ma nuam leh ma thei hi. Bang mah mawh na om lo hi. A kipi a thaman Rs 4 tang vok a gawhnai kei leh, thaman, moliah man, sa seng puak man, pasal te pia kik ding hi.

The wife may divorce her husband. It is allowed, but if her family has not slaughtered a pig for the *thaman* (wage), *molian man* (bridesmaid fee) and *saseng puakman* (the fee for carrying the meat basket) shall be returned to the husband's family.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 85

Pasal khat numei khat tawh ngeina bang a ki teeng a a om khawm khit uh ciang ta nei lo in, a zi mawh na nei lo in, a zi a maak leh vuktukli khat liau ding hi. Inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak liau ding hi. A zi mawhna tawh a maak leh thu om lo hi.

If a man marries and his wife does not conceive, he may divorce his wife without any other cause. He shall pay his affines a 4-fist pig. A 3-fist pig each goes to *inn sian* and *sa sat*. If he divorces his wife for any reason there shall be no fine.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 86

Pasal khat in a zi man a piak khit ciangin a zi deih kei leh maa thei hi. A zi man a piak sa ngah kik nawn lo hi.

A man may divorce his wife after he has paid the bride-price, but if he divorces her simply because he does not like her, he shall not get back the bride-price he has paid.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 87

Numei khat leh pasal khat ngei na bang a kiteeng a, man pia lo a a zi a sih leh, ta a nei a a nei kei zongin, a ki pi a thukim na a man lang, numei te pia ding hi.

If a woman marries a man according to the custom, and if the wife dies before the bride-price is given, half the bride-price agreed upon shall be paid to the bride's family.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 88

Numei khat leh pasal khat kiteeng a ta pasal khat a neih khit ciang a pasal a sih hangin a zi in a ta a ngaak leh a ta tawh a om khawm a pasal a neih kei leh, a kiciam na bang un pasal ten numei te a man pia ding uh hi.

If a woman marries a man, and if the husband dies after they have a son and the wife decides to stay with her son without marrying again, the husband's family shall pay the bride-price as agreed upon.

88A

A si pa zi in a ta ngaak zo lo a, a nung lam a a ciah leh, a man ngeen thei lo ding hi. Ngah thei lo ding uh hi. A man a piak sa a om leh, tua a piak sa teng pasal ten ngeen kik thei lo hi.

If the wife of the dead husband does not stay with his son, the husband's family cannot get back the bride-price already paid. If part of the bride-price has been paid, they cannot get back the amount that has been paid.

88B

Pasal ten a ta vaak man, nawi tawh a kikhen ciangin, numei te sial zabo khat pia ding hi.

The husband shall pay a *sial zabo* mithan after the child is weaned for the maintenance/upkeep of the child.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 89

Pasal khat in numei khat ong ngaih na ding in kheem in, mi theih a hi zongin a sim tham a hi zongin ngei na bangin tua numei tawh omkhawm in gai leh a teen pih nuamkei leh, tua pa vokituk 3-5, thu deih te pia ding a, inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a man pretends love to a woman to win her love, and with or without knowledge of others makes her pregnant but refuse to marry her, he shall pay a fine of five 3-fist pigs to the woman and pay a fine of a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 90

Tua zawl gai ta a suah ciang, a pa in a deih leh naupang nawi tawh a ki khen ciangin sial zabo khat numei nupia ding hi. Pohmah 89 bang a thu ki khente zah sum pen a piak ma in numei nu a sih leh thu khen sa ki phiat ding a numei te lawi 8 pia ding a inn sian lawi 2, sa sat lawi khat leh zubeel kht liau ding hi.

Pohmah 89 thukhenna liausum piak khit a, a sih hangin thu om lo hi.

If an illegitimate son is born and the father wants the child, he can pay a *sial zabo* mithan after the child is weaned. If the woman dies before the fine is paid, the decision shall be null and void, and the woman's family shall be paid eight buffaloes and two buffaloes for *inn siat* and one buffalo for *sa sat*, and a pot of *zu* shall be paid.

If the woman dies after the fines have been paid there shall be no case.

A dei xv – Zi guuk thu
Section xv – Seduction

NAMBAT/NUMBER 91

Mi zi ci thei na pi a, mizi hi ci a upna ding thu om thei na pi a, mi pasal khat zi a luuk sak leh, tua pa mi zi gu suak a hih ciang, tua pen in thu a ki sit ma in ngeina bangin votukthum khat go ding a, a pasal in a zi a maak leh thu deih pa ngah ding lawi 6, inn sian lawi 1, sa sat lawi 1 leh zubeel khaat liau ding hi.

If a man knowingly, or having reasons to know that a woman is the wife of another man, commits adultery with her, it amounts to seduction of another man's wife. If the husband divorces her, he shall pay a fine of six buffaloes to the husband, and one buffalo for *inn sian* and one buffalo for *sa sat*.

91A

A zi a maak kei leh lah lawi 3, inn sian sa sat lawi 1, leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If the husband does not divorce her, the man shall pay a fine of three buffaloes for the husband, one buffalo for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and one pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 92

Mi zi cih thei na pi, mizi hi ci a muanmawh huai na om na pi in pasal khat in mizi khat a teenpih a hi zongin nupa bang in om khawm uh ahi zongin zi gu suak a hih ciang, vuktukthum 1, go ma sa ding hi. Thu dei pa ngah ding lawi 6, inn sian lawi 1, sa sat lawi khat leh, zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person knowingly, or having reasons to believe that a woman is the wife of another, but marries her or has connubial relation with her, it amounts to seduction. He must first kill a 3-fist pig. He shall then pay a fine of six buffaloes for the husband, one buffalo each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

92A

Thu dei pa in a zi man a piak sa teng numei te tung ah ngen kik ding a, ngah kik ding uh hi.

The husband shall demand all the bride-price he had given.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 93

Pasal khat in numeikhat ten pih ding in zuthawl pia zo na pi, pasal khat in tua numei nu a teenpih leh tua pa in lawm sut suak a hih ciang sial zabo khat liau ding hi. Inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi. A ten pih kei leh thu om lo hi.

If a man marries a woman who has accepted the *zu thawl* engagement of another, it amounts to seduction and he shall pay affines a *sial zabo* mithan, and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*. There is no fine if he does not marry the engaged woman.

A dei xvi – Su guk luuk thu
Section xvi – Rape

NAMBAT/NUMBER 94

Nungak, meigong, mi zi numei te lampi a hizongin, gamlak a hizongin, koi lai mun, koilai mun hi ta leh numei ut lo pi, thukim lo pi a pasal khat in numei khat lu leh su guk luuk suak a, a nuai a bangin kikhen ding hi.

If a man commits adultery with an unmarried woman, a widow, another man's wife on the road, in a jungle or wherever, it amounts to rape and he shall pay a fine as below:

94A

Nungak leh meigongte tung a khial te sialpi khat leh inn sian sa sat? vok tukli khat leh sa sat tuk 3 khat zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

A man who rapes an unmarried woman or a widow shall pay a fine of a *sialpi* (a cow that has given birth to calves) and a 4-fist pig for *inn sian* and a 3-fist pig for *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

94B

Pasal nei teng tung a khial te, thudeih te ngah ding lawi 6, inn sian lawi 1, sa sat lawi 1 leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

A person who commits rape on a married woman shall pay six buffaloes and one buffalo *inn sian* and one buffalo *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 95

Pasal khat in ta pasal ngaak a om numei khat, innsung ah numei thukim loh in va lu leh thugen ma in vokitukthum khat go ding a, lawi 6, inn sian lawi 1, sa sat lawi 1 leh zubeel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a man rapes a woman who is bringing up a son in the house, he shall first slaughter a 3-fist pig and pay a fine of six buffaloes and a buffalo each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 96

Pasal khat in mi zi nawi a teep hi zongin, a meek ahi zongin a mawh leh votuk 3-5, leh inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

If a man sucks or caresses the breast of another man's wife, he shall pay a fine of five 3-fist pigs and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

A dei xvii**Section xvii – Homicide****NAMBAT/NUMBER 97**

Mi khat in mi khat sihna ding ngaih sut na tawh, na khat peuh mah seema a sih sak leh, tua pa in, misi sak suak a hih ciang, vok tukli khat go ma sa ding h. Tua khit ciangin a si te a ding lawi 8, inn sian lawi 2, sa sat lawi 1 leh zubeel khatliau ding hi.

If a man causes the death of a person with intention to kill, he commits homicide or manslaughter. He shall first kill a 4-fist pig in the court and pay a fine of eight buffaloes, two buffaloes for *inn sian* and a buffalo for *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 98

Mi khat sih ding leh a liam ding ngaih sutna in, lampi tung ahizongin kong biang a hizongin so dawh in mi si leh, vok tukli khat go masa ding hi. Tua khit ciangin lawi 6, inn sian lawi 1, sa sat lawi 1 leh zubeel khat liau ding hi. Atung a pohmah 97 sung bangin kikhen ding hi.

If a person with intention to hurt or kill lays a *so* or sharpened bamboo *panji* trap at the door or on the road and kills the person, he/she shall first kill a 4-fist pig in court. Then he shall pay a fine of six buffaloes, one buffalo each for a *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*. The case shall be judged according to article 97.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 99

Mi khat in mi khat sih ding deih na in, a bum a hi zongin, zatui khah in a si a hi zongin, a sih leh thu deih te lawi 6, sa sat lawi khat, inn sian lawi 1 leh zubei khat liau ding hi.

If someone, with intent to kill, uses black magic, a hex, puts a curse on or poisons another person who dies, they shall be fined 6 buffaloes for the plaintiff, and one buffalo each for *inn siat* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

99A

Teti a kicing in lak ding hi.

There must be clear witnesses.

99B

Mi a si zah zah, mi khat lawi 8 a tuat in ki liau sak ding hi.

The fine shall be eight buffaloes for each death.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 100

A gai ten, a sung a ta a siatna ding a a bawl siat leh zatui ne a hizongin, a muut khia sak a hizongin a tolh khiat sak leh mi si sak suak a hi ciang tua pa tung ah lawi 8 leh zubei khat liau dingin kikhen ding hi.

If a pregnant woman has her baby aborted by medicine or by black magic, this amounts to manslaughter or homicide. The person who aborts the baby shall be fined 8 buffaloes.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 101

Mi khatin mi that a, mi a sih lohhang n a poi leh, a a khan tawntung na sem zo lo ding ahih leh, pohmah 99 ma thu om bangin kikhen ding hi.

If someone attempts to murder another person and they do not die but are handicapped so that he cannot work for the rest of his life, the case shall be judged according to article 99.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 102

Mikhat in mikhat gim ngah ding ngaih sutna tawh, lampi tung ahi a mi kong biang a hi zongin so siah a, na sia tak a mi a gim sak leh tua pa sial pi khat leh inn sian sa sat tuklikhat tuak leh zubei khat liau ding hi.

If a person with intention to harm another lays a *so* (pit with sharp stakes) trap at the gate or on a road and the victim is harmed seriously, then they

must pay a fine of a *sial pi* mithan cow and a 4-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 103

Mi khat in a hehna tawh mi khat sam at tan sak leh tua pa sial khat leh inn sian sa sat vuktukli khat tuak leh zibel khat liau ding hi.

If a person cuts off the hair of another in anger, they shall be fined a *sial pi* mithan and a 4-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 104

Mi khat in mi khat gim ngah ding ngaihsut na tawh lampi a hi a inn kong biang a hizong in so dawh a a bawl leh tuapa in sial zabo khat liau ding hi. Inn sian sa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zibel khat tawh liau ding hi.

If a person lays a *so* (pit with sharp stakes) with intention to harm another on the road or at a gate, that person shall be fined a *sial zabo* mithan and a 3-fist mithan each for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 105

Zu phual an phual ah mi khat leh khat ki tawng in a tem dok in, ong sat gawp ding hing ci in tawng leh a nuai a bangin liau ding hi.

If at a drinking or eating party a person unsheathes a knife and threatens to cut someone, he shall pay a fine as follows:

105A

Za ip a, a tembul a lente zibel khat liau ding hi.

A person who grabs the handle of the knife in his *za ip* bag with intention to harm.

105B

A tem dok a, hong sat ning, a ci te tukthumkhat liau ding hi. Pohmah 105A leh B a liau zu leh sa te hausa leh upa ten ne uh hi.

A person who unsheathes the knife and threatens to cut shall be fined a 3-fist pig. The fines of pig and *zu* in articles 105A and B shall be eaten by the headman and elders.

A dei xviii – Ganhing suk khak thu *Section xviii – Hurting Animals*

NAMBAT/NUMBER 106

Kua mah peuh in ih lo lai a an ne sial, bawng, lawi, sakol, teipi, tem, hei sat in ganhing te sisak leng, gansi lang gan neipa in ngah ding a khen ding a a sa a kim a hawm ding uh hi. Pohmah 106 a bang a hih a a sih kei leh a mut na sum bei teng lo nei pa in si ding a a dam ciangin pia ding hi.

If a person hurts a *sial* mithan, cow, buffalo or horse with a spear, axe or knife and causes the death of an animal that has eaten crops in his field, the owner of the animal shall get half of the meat. If the animal does not die, the owner of the field must pay for the treatment by a shaman (who pronounces incantations) and will return the animals when they are healed.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 107

Amit na peen zatui zaha tawh bawl a a dam zawh kei leh gan mitna peen lo neipa pia ding a ah cia khat pia ding hi.

Sial cing naupang ten suang tawh deng a, a mit a taw zongin thu om lo hi.

If the eye of an animal does not heal after treatment, the owner of the field shall take the animal and give another animal of the same size to its owner.

If a cowherd blinds an animal by throwing stones at it there shall be no penalty.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 108

Kua mah peuhin ganhing a gai lawi, bawng, sial, sakol sing khuah, suangtum tawh deng kha in tolh leh tua pa vok tuk thum khat leh inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

If a person throws a stone at, or beats with a club, a pregnant buffalo, cow, mithan or horse and the animal aborts, they shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

108A

A tawh hang a a sih leh a gan si cia lohsak ding a, inn sian sa sat tuk thum khat tuak leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

If a person axes or otherwise causes the death of an animal, he shall pay a fine of an animal of the the same size, and pay a 3-fist pig for each *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of *zu*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 109

Uipi, vokpi, kelpi, sing khuah suangtum tawh deng a, a tolh leh vok no nih leh zubeel khat liau ding hi.

If a person throws a stone or club at a pig or goat and the animal aborts, he shall pay a fine of two piglets and a pot of *zu*.

A dei xix – Mihai thu

Section xix – The mentally handicapped

NAMBAT/NUMBER 110

Mihai te in a ut peuh peuh hih thei hi. Mi hai khatin mi khat peuh mah sih sak na lo ngal a dang khempeuh a suk siat hangin thu om lo a maai hi.

A mentally handicapped person shall not be held accountable for any action he may commit except for the death of another person.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 111

Mihai khatin mi khat a thah leh a nu apa a hih kei keh, a beh teen sialpi khatin si vui ding hi.

If a mentally deficient person kills someone their family (father and mother) shall provide a *sial pi* mithan cow for the funeral of the dead person.

**A dei xx – Thu nial thu
Section xx – Disobedience**

NAMBAT/NUMBER 112

Kua kua na hi uh zongin na ukpi te un thu hong dot nop om ahi zongin thu dang khat hang a hi zongin hong sam a, na nial uh a, na pai kei uh leh Rs 10 dan hong tat ding hi.

Whosoever who refuses to come if the chief summons them to ask a question or for any other reason shall be fined Rs 10.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 113

Khua khempeuh lam bawl ding sawl a, a bawl kei leh ukpipa in Rs 50 dan hong tat ding hi.

Any village that refuses to build a road if the chief orders it shall be fined Rs 50.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 114

Khua khempeuh in a gamsung lam sia buuk sia bawl na ding thu pia a, bawl lo uh a lei tung a sakol kia a tua khua Rs 30 daan ukpipa in hong pia ding hi.

CIAM TEH NANG. Sakol a sih leh sakol man ngah ding hi. A sih kei leh bang mah dan pia thei lo hi.

If any village fails to comply with the order to repair roads and bungalows, and if a horse falls from a bridge, that village shall be fined Rs 30 by the chief.

NOTE: If the horse dies, the village shall pay for the horse, but there shall be no fine if the horse does not die.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 115

Khua khat a hizongin gam khat a hizongin a kilawh thei nat a tun lai takin, khua khat leh khua khat ki kawm lo na dingin hong ki kham cip na pi zui lo a, a ki kawm leh, tua pa vuktukthum 3 liau ding hi.

If anyone fails to comply to the order not the visit any village where there is an epidemic of contagious disease, that person shall be fined a 3-fist pig.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 116

Khua khat leh khua khat ahi zongin gam khat leh gamkhat ah a ki lawh thei ganhingnat om a, kikawm lo ding ci a thukhamna zui lo a, a kikawm a gan hing hawl a gan si sa ne te sialpi khat dan tuak ding hi.

If there is an order not to visit another village or place because of an outbreak of animal diseases, but someone fails to comply and brings in an animal from that place or eats the meat of a diseased animal, they shall be fined a *sial pi* mithan.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 117

Thu piak na lai zia kaai sak pa tukthum khat liau ding hi.

Anyone who causes a delay of an official letter shall be fined a 3-fist pig.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 118

Kamhau uksungah gam vak a hi zongin khual zin a hizongin ci na pai zo lo te leh misi luang khua khat leh khua khat ngei na bng a a pua lote sial pi khat dan tuak ding hi.

Any village in Kamhaugam (tract) that does not carry a sick hunter, a traveller who cannot walk or a corpse shall be fined one *sial pi* mithan cow.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 119

Thu phamawh a zat ding aki khum ganhing nei pa in ama thu tawh a khak khiat leh tukthumkhat leh zubel khat dan tuak ding hi.

(Pohmah 120, 121, 121A, 121B, 122, 122A, 123, 124, 125, 125A, 126, 127 hih innluah thu teng ka gelh sa hi a, hi lai ah ka gelh nawn kei hi.)

If the owner of an animal that is to be used for an emergency releases the animal the owner shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

(I have already dealt with matters related with inheritance laws in the foregoing articles. Vung Za Kham)

A dei xxiii – Thu tuam tuam *Section xxiii –Miscellaneous*

These articles are taken from precedents.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 128

Mi khat leh khat ki ho theih loh na ding ahi zongin ngaih sun a mi khat leh mi khat kikal a, thuzuau gen a mi holh tuah te tung ah vuktukthum khat insian, sa sat tukthum khat leh zubel khat liau ding hi.

Anyone who sows mistrust between two persons and tells lies shall be fined a 3-fist pig, a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 129

Khualzin te, gamvakte, sumzuak sum leite, sum zong a vak te innkuan pih te a nu a pa a beh a zi a ta te dah na ding ngaih sun a kam tawh a hi zong in lai tawh ahi zong in khual gam a om mi khat a peuh mah a si lo pi si ci a, a kheem leh tua pa vok tukthum khat, insiansa sat tukthum khat tuak leh zubel khat liau ding hi.

If a person gives a false report by word of mouth or by letter to a family, father or mother, to make them sad about those who travel on business, they shall be fined a 3-fist pig, a 3-fist pig each for *inn sian* and *sa sat* and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 130

Mi khat in ganhing khat hawl a, a inn tun zo loin khua mi te inn nuai ah khum a, na kep sak un ci a vai khakna pi, inn nei pa in tua ganhing khah sak a gamsung a a sih leh tukthumkhat leh zubei khat inn neipa liau ding hi.

If a person releases an animal entrusted to him by one who has been driving it but who could not continue on the journey, and if the animal dies in the jungle, he shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 131

Thauvui huan na ah ganhing te lut zawh loh na ding a um lo a, ganhing lut a thauvui tui dawn a a sih leh, thauvui huan pa in gan si lang loh ding hi. Inn sian leh sa sat tukthumkhat tuak tawh liau ding hi.

If a person does not protect the solution for gunpowder he is manufacturing and an animal drinks the solution and dies, the gunpowder manufacturer shall pay half the price of the animal. He shall also be fined a 3-fist pig for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 132

Kamhau uk sung ah ganhing zang man kila lo hi. Ahizongin khat leh khat amau thukimna twh ganzang man hih zah ong pia ning ci a a ki kawm leh a thu ciamna zui in ki pia sak ding hi.

In Kamhau territory there is no stud fee. But if an agreement is made for a stud fee it shall be paid.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 133

Khat leh khat sum kilei a inn a zan khat a giah khit nak leh a khel nuam zongin ki kheel thei nawn lo hi. A nih uha a thukim uh leh kikheel thei hi.

If two persons have made a business transaction and they have slept on the transaction overnight, it is final. But if both parties agree, the transaction may be cancelled.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 134

Kamhau uk sung khua kheempeuh ah zukham a hizongin a lung am ahi zongin zanin zi khial a, mi inn huang sung a a lut hangin mawhna omlo hi. Uk dang gam dang ten Kamhau uk sungmi te tung ah hih bang khialh na te thu a bawl sa a om leh tua gam mi te hong dan piak bang zui in kiliau sak ding hi.

If a person from Kamhau *uksung* (territory) enters the house of another while inebriated or suffering loss of memory, this shall not constitute an offence. If anyone from outside of Kamhau tract commits an entry in Kamhau territory the case shall be settled according to the law of their country.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 135

Thei napi a a kisimmawhna tawh min kibang phuak a om leh tua pa vok tukthum khat leh zubei khat liau ding hi.

If someone names a child after another person in order to offend, they shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 136

Mi tui zawl lak na a tui dim te, vuktukthum khat leh zubele khat dan tuak ding hi.

Anyone who draws water from the *tui zawl* water ducts shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

136A

A tung a khat vei liau ngah sa pa in, a masa mah bangin a dawh ngei bang a a dawh kik leh leh vuktukthum khat inn sian tuk thum khat leh sa sat tukthum khat leh zubele khat liau ding hi.

If a person repeats the above (article 136) offense, they shall pay a fine of a 3-fist pig and a 3-fist pig for each of *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 137

Naupang ten tuizawl tem tawh a sat gawp leh, tui zawl zah a nu a pa ten loh ding hi.

If a child cuts a *tui zawl* water duct their parents shall pay for the damage.

137A

Tui zawl thak sui nuamlo pa vok tukthum khat leh zubele khat liau dinghi.

Anyone who does not want to hew a new water duct shall be fined a 3-fist pig and a pot of zu.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 138

Kamhau uksung mi te in khua khat leh khua khat, gam khat leh gam khat a lal ciangin a inn uh ngah lo a, zuak thei lo a, ukpipa in ngah hi. Uk sung a lal te khua hausa ten ngah ding a, uk pua a lal te ukpipa in ngah hi. A puak theih loh te a nuai a kong lak hi:

1) innka, 2) lupna peek, 3) tutphah, 4) taakdo, 5) sang kil leh, 6) gawl kheem peuh.

Anyone in Kamhau *uksung* (tract) who migrates may not sell his house; the chief shall get the house. The headman shall get the house of anyone who moves to another village in Kamhau tract. The migrant may not take the following items, which have been acquired by community labour:

1) innka deck planks, 2) lupna peek bedstead, 3) tutphah bench, 4) taakdo, 5) sang kil door sill and 6) all timber palisades.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 139

Kamhau uksung mi kheempeuhin a khawisa sial gam dang ah a zuak leh inn saliang tang sial liang man Rs 1 pai ki la hi. An neek tuidawn lei na a hih leh saliang tang ki pia lo hi. Sum leh pai dei na a hih leh sa liang kai te Rs 2 ki pia ding hi.

Any person who sells a mithan outside Kamhau territory shall pay Rs 1 *sial liang man*. This shall be waived if the mithan is sold to buy food. If the mithan is sold commercially, it goes to the chief or headman to whom the *saliang* foreleg is due.

A dei xxiv – Sum lei tawi thu
Section xxiv – Loans and debts

NAMBAT/NUMBER 140

Mi khat in mi khat tungah sum lei tawi a, a kiciamni hun in ki pia zo lo a tua pa in a sum lei tawi ni a a ki ciamna bangin sum nei pa ki loh sak ding hi. Inn sian leh sa sat zong pohmah 83, a dei xiii, bangin ki la ding hi.

A person who takes a loan of money (or silver coins, animals, or any loans in kind)* shall pay it back on the date of their agreement. *Inn sian* and *sa sat* shall be paid as in article 83 of Section XIII.

* My own clarification from the Burmese version, *Kanhauk Ne Htonezan Sa-ok Letswe*

NAMBAT/NUMBER 141

Pohmah 128 aa kong lah na sung a sum leitawi lai in mi khatin sum lei tawi pa in a thu ciam ni a a piak zawh kei leh kei mah in ka pia ding hi, a ci pa in a ci a om leh tua pa in pia ding hi. Khat leh khat a kinial leh sum kikhaam a tui sia dawn ding in kikhen ding hi.

If a person cannot pay back the loan, the one who stood surety for it shall pay. If there is a problem, the case shall be settled by rite of *tui sia dawn*, drinking the cursed water.

A dei xxv – Gan tai matna thu
Section xxv –Lost and found animals

NAMBAT/NUMBER 142

Gan ih tai suah ciang a man te a nuai a bang a tan ding a, ih ganhing la ding hi hang.

- 1) *Sial, lawi, sakol leh bawng khat ciang peek khat, Rs 1;*
- 2) *Keel leh vok, ui khat ciang in hamu khat, 8 as. pia ding;*
- 3) *Ui khat maat khat 4 as.*

Lost and found animals shall be redeemed as followed:

- 1) Re 1 for mithan, buffalo, cow;
- 2) Pig and goat, 8 annas (half rupee) for a day;
- 3) One *maat* (4 annas) for a dog.

A dei xxvi – Sa liang man
Section xxvi – Cost of a sa liang foreleg*

**Sa liang* mean the foreleg of an animal, including the hooves. A *liang tongh* means the lower part of the foreleg with the hooves.

NAMBAT/NUMBER 143

Gam saliang leh innsaliang man a anuai a bang hi.

- 1) *Tungsial, zangsial liang khat ciangin Rs 3 pai hi;*
- 2) *Sazuk, vom, ngal, saza liang khat Rs 2 pai hi;*
- 3) *Sathak, sakhi liang khat 12 as;*
- 4) *Sakuh liang khat hamu;*
- 5) *Lawi, sial, bawng, sakol liang khat ciangin Rs 2;*
- 6) *Voktukli val liang khat ciang Rs 2;*
- 7) *Vok tukli liang Re 1;*
- 8) *Vok thumleh tuk li kikal 8 as;*
- 9) *Vok tukthum sang a neu zaw liang khat ciang maat khat hi;*

Hih a tung a thu khenna bang tengin a gamsung a thu piang la piang te khen a, a khen zawh loh uh teti a thei omloh na te ah, muhmawh vantung a Pasian leh dawimang ten khen ta hen ki ci a, ai tui kidawn sak hi.

The cost of domestic and feral forelegs of animals are as follows:

- 1) The foreleg of a *Banteng pyaung* and gaur (Burmese: *saing*) costs Rs 3;
- 2) The foreleg of a sambhur, bear, wild pig, goral costs Rs 2;
- 3) The foreleg of a mountain goat or barking deer *muntiaj* costs 12 as (there are 16 annas to a rupee);
- 4) The foreleg of a porcupine costs *hamu* or 8 annas;
- 5) The foreleg of a buffalo, a mithan, cow or horse costs Rs 2;
- 6) The foreleg of a pig bigger than a 4-fist pig is Rs 2;
- 7) The foreleg of a 4-fist pig costs Re 1;
- 8) The foreleg of a 3- to 4-fist pig costs 8 as (annas);
- 9) The foreleg of a pig smaller than a 3-fist pig is 4 annas;

NB If the chiefs and headmen cannot settle a case, they say that God and the gods will decide, and have the litigants drink the *ai tui* cursed water.

Tui sia neekna thu
The cursed water rite

For any kind of dispute, if there is no witness, and if by their own agreement the litigants decide to settle the dispute by the custom of *tui sia neek* and money wager, the following incantation is made at the *tual* altar:

The one who is to administer the *tui sia* curse water puts the teeth of tiger, bear, wild boar, and pieces of the horn of gaur and rhinoceros, dried creepers of gourd and pumpkin,⁷ chilli and charcoal in a *keu phel* gourd of *zu* meal and water:

Oh come ye, come ye my Pasian,⁸ my Lungzai, Come ye my Nipi (sun), my Khapi (moon). Come my Khuazing (darkness), my Khuavak (light), my Khuhipi (heaven), my Phahpi (earth). Come my Tuipi (great water), my Vansangdim. Come my Khangneel spirit, come my Saitak spirit;⁹ come my village guardian, come to the assembly. Come spirit I worship with *zu* wine and with meat, come to the assembly. Now that A and B are having a dispute that we men of the world cannot settle, we are referring to you the unseen.

If only one of the litigants is going to drink the *tui sia* water, the witness, then the votive person comes to the *tual* altar and stands on the stone slab. Then the administrator of the *tui sia* water blows a libation¹⁰ toward heaven and intones:

Be witness oh my Lungzai spirit, be witness my Nipi sun, my Khapi moon, my Khuhipi heaven and my Phahpi earth spirit. Be witness my light and darkness spirit, my sea and Vansangdim spirit. Be witness my Khangnel, my Saitak spirit. Oh be a witness my Livei, my Li Mang. Be witness the guardian spirit of my village. Be witnesses those whom we propitiate in wine and meat, the length and breath of my river.

In the case of a mithan dispute:

Now A and B dispute over a mithan. A claims the mithan is his and B disputes, saying it is his. No earthling knows, and none can settle this dispute. When none of us here below pasian, can settle this dispute, we come to thee my pasian, my Lungzai, my Nipi, Khapi, Phahpi, my Khuazing, Khuavak, my Tuipi, my Vansangdim, my Khangneel, my Saitak, the guardian spirit of my village and my waters.

If A has claimed through greed a mithan that is not his but B's, let his wife and children die. Let them perish. Wherever they may wander, let the elephant, the gaur, the tiger, the boar, sharpen your horns and tusks. Bite them. Gore them. Scratch them. Let them meet with rapids. Let them

7 'Um *gui gam*, mai *gui gam*' is a curse word, meaning dried creeper of gourd and pumpkin, and signifying death..

8 'Pasian', with capital P, designates the proper name of a Pasian god, that is one of the gods or spirits our ancestors worshipped. In Christian usage, the name of Almighty God only will be capitalized.

9 Tuipi here does not refer to any big body of water, while Vansangdim is a place in Tedim and Saitak is the name of a spirit our ancestors invoke, as Za Tual, son of Kam Hau, was said to have invoked when he shot the Manipuri general at Suang Suang with '*na thei un*', meaning be a witness! In the *tui sia* ne oath the gods are called to witness.

10 '*Tui phih*' is to blow a spray of *zu* as an act of libation, similar to the pouring of the libation on the earth or floor.

fall off high cliffs. Let them be impaled by sharp stakes and sharp stones. Sharpen your horns and tusks. Let them ooze like *zu ning* morass. Let them rot like rotten *taiteh* beer hop and dry up like gourd *maltal*, dry up like gourd and pumpkin creepers. Let him be like a burnt out firewood.

If A has not been lying, but B has been seeking to harm A through lies, let A and his family be blessed with good health. Let them harvest a hundred baskets of sorghum and a hundred baskets of millet. Let them be blessed with sons and daughters. Let them be victorious over principal enemies and be successful in hunts. May they be successful in business. Let them be fruitful like spiders and crabs. Let them have money and mithans. Let their ways prosper.

After the above curse has been pronounced, the votary is made to drink the cursed water, and the *keu* gourd cup is broken over his head. The curse says that if he is guilty he and his family will die within the three month vow period.

If the vow is reciprocal, the whole vow is repeated and the second person is made to drink the *tui sia* water.

If there is a cash wager, the money is entrusted to the office of the chief or if the vow is made in a headman's court it is entrusted to the headman's office. In the olden days the *tui sia* curse was made only where there are Sukte headmen.

If two persons are to drink the *tui sia* cursed water, each prepares the *zu hol* water and tooth of a tiger, elephant, bear, wildboar, dried gourd and pumpkin creepers, red chilli and charcoal; and both drink the cursed water.

If only one person drinks the *tui sia* cursed water, for the *tui sia* there is a court fee of Rs 4, of which the administrator get Rs 2, 8 as, and the witness gets Re 1, 8 as.

Inn sian and *sa sat* of Rs 10 each is put up, and the money of the one who loses the case is taken and the winner's money is returned. If only one person is to drink the *tui sia*, they each put up Rs 2 each, and the money is not returned to either of them.

Tui sia dawn na ding a thu gelh na zia

The terms of the tui sia contract

If the dispute is for a mithan, the description of the animal and how it was stolen are recorded. Now I shall describe how the case is conducted. A says my mithan of such a description is claimed by B. My mithan is calved by my mithan so and so. Or, I got it from such and such a person. Since it is my own, if B should insist claiming it is his and if I am proven wrong, I shall pay my wager of Rs 300 and twice the Rs 50 (cost of a mithan), Rs 100.

If I survive, since I am taking the *tui sia*, to attest to the truth, I shall get twice the price of the mithan and wager money of Rs 300.

In this *tui sia* case A and B made an agreement on a wager of Rs 300. Three months from the date of the drinking of *tui sia*, if there is any death, any loss of limbs of 1.A., 2.B, 3.C, 4.D, 5.E, 6.F, 7.G. (i.e. named family members), A shall be guilty and B shall get the mithan involved in the dispute, and also the Rs 300 wager. Rs 20 *inn sian* and *sa sat* must be paid by A.

If in the 90 days, three months, there is no death, sickness or accidents, A shall receive twice the cost of the mithan, or one *sial pi* and Rs 50 and the Rs 300 wager, and B shall pay Rs 20 for *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

From the date of the drinking of the cursed water the family of A, as listed above, shall not receive any *dawi thoih* or *siing phih*¹¹ propitiation rite for sickness, nor take any kind of medicine, nor pray, nor have the prayers of the Pau Cin Hau religion. They may not *tuan vai* or serve in a propitiation rite or offer a *zu kholh* offering to elders according to the records of *tui sui*. If any of the rules is broken, the votary shall be deemed guilty and they shall pay the fines.

'*Khut sam khe sam*' means then loss of a limb. The votary shall be deemed guilty if there is a loss of limb, even if the wound is healed.

If there is an abortion in the family, that means the votary is guilty. If an eye is blind or broken, he is guilty. Loss of a tooth does not mean guilt. If there is a government servant in the family, their name is not listed with the family's because they have taken a vow to be obedient to the government; therefore if that person dies, the votary is not deemed guilty. That is why the government servant is not included in the list of votaries.

The litigants are made to sign that they understand all the rules and agree to abide by them. They then put up the wager money and drink the *tui sia* cursed water. The wager money is set according to the poorer litigant's ability. If one is too poor to put up the money, he can say that he would put his life on the line if he can put up the *inn sian*. If he does not die, the accuser is deemed to lose the case and he has to pay the *inn sian* and *sa sat*.

Comment by Vung Za Kham

Now that knowledge has increased in the world so much, that I have not written these Kamhau customs thinking that others will be interested in them, but only desiring that such custom may not be lost and forgotten.

I never cease to wonder how in Kam Hau's time they could make such laws. Only God Almighty must have taught them, because in their time they did not have any writing and did not even know Burmese. They knew only how to cultivate land and spend all their time in hunting and warring. Unless God had taught them they would not know so much.

All I know was that Khoi Lam and Pau Vum helped him (Kam Hau) to rule and administer, and Mang Gin advised him on warfare and peace as the following Vaiphei song tell us.

*Sinthu soi ding Tual Awn pa aw,
Do cih tullut Am Thang pa aw
Do cih tullut Am Thang pa aw
Van nuai lut sial a tun na Za Tual pa aw*

11 In *sing phih* the priest chews a piece of ginger and then blows *phih*, the chewed ginger, on a person, usually where there is a pain.

In matters of governance, father of Tual Awn*
For war and peace, father of Am Thang
For war and peace, father of Am Thang
And all the tributes go to Za Tual's father*

*Father of Tual Awn was Khoi Lam; father of Am Thang was Mang Gin and father of Za Tual was Kam Hau.

Guns, powder-horns, swords and ceremonial shields

Guns

Flintlocks in Sukte, Kamhau and Siyin area are of British (*Angkalik*), Dutch (*Awlaan*) or Turkish (*Tuanki*) make. At least 287 flintlocks came into Kamhau possession when they defeated the Manipuri invaders in 1875.



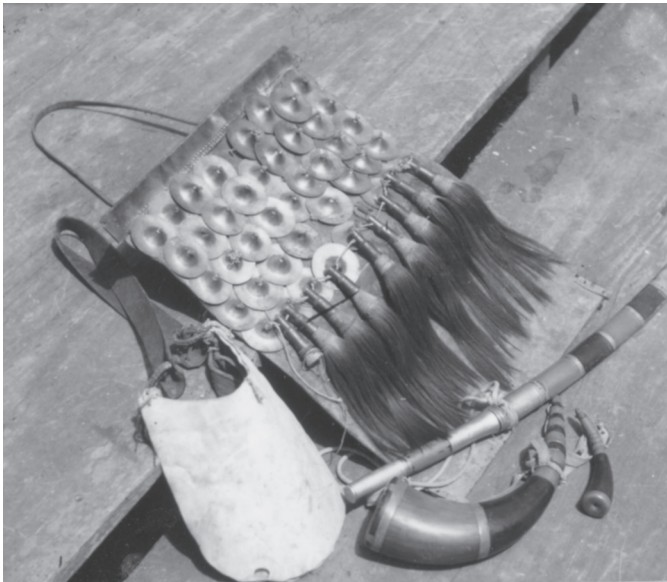
Above left: Pa Ngul Lang (Tiddim, 1962) in *zo puan* tunic with *zo thau* flintlock gun. Note the powder horn and the smaller horn for priming powder.

Above right: Pa Lam Khaw Zam of Valvuum village in handspun cotton shirt, leather belt and the entire field attire that our ancestors wore in hunt and war.





Left: The *sa khau* shoulder bag has a leopard-hide waterproof cover. This rope net bag can expand for bulky loads and our ancestors were known to carry their trophies of enemy heads in their *sa khau* bags.



Left: The ceremonial shield in this photo belonged to Kamhau Chief Pum Za Mang. Note the brass discs with red-dyed goat-hair tassels. The leopard skin has lost its hair. Cowhide shields were used in the days of sword, spear and arrow.

The flintlock gun (opposite) and sword (right) my grandfather carried at Leisan Fort, later known as Hau Khaw Zam Mual, against the British.



Gunpowder

No-one really knows how our forefathers learned to make gunpowder. The raw material comes from night-soil deposits dug from underneath the *awng* or latrine opening. The deposit in it is dissolved, the liquid then evaporated, cooled and the crystals are separated by passing through a sieve. These crystals are mixed equally with *theidam* (*Adhatoda vasica nees*) wood charcoal and pounded up (below right). Sulphur and *gataam tui* liquid from fermented sulphur are added to make the gunpowder.



Above left: Powder-horn and black powder. The horn is decorated with vermillion and *singhang* sap for black colour.

Above right: Pounding *theidam* wood charcoal and ammonium deposits from night soil.

Appendix IV

English to Kamhau poetic diction (selection)

English – Lakam (Kamhau dialect)

agree, to approve ~ [-ni :bang -awi]

angry ~ [-sek .bang.sup]

avoid ~ [-sing `bang.lawi]

basement ~ [-lah `nuai], space beneath the floor where domestic animals are kept

bed ~ [-lai :khun]

beer, zu beer ~ [-ngau -zu]

beloved ~ husbang: wife ~ [-lung :dit]

buy ~ [-pe bang kheek]

care, look after ~ [-huai] hamtang, ham tangbang huai

cemetery ~ [-do :haan]

choose ~ [-cian -tel]

comrade, friend ~ [-pei :bang.len]

comfort, sympathize ~ [-khua.tuah]

corn, maize ~ [-kuang-kai]

cowrie ~ [-nuang -thang] nuang tang

daughter-in-law ~ [-ma -mo]

deck, sundeck ~ cialdawh [-cial.dawh]: dawhsuang, dawh tawi, dawh neem

door ~ [-kan -kong], kankong

drum ~ [-lenh -khuang], [-tonh -khuang]

equal ~ [-sai `kim]: one equal in status [-tan :bang `kim]

field, cultivation land ~ lo gam, [-tap `lei]

forest ~ deep forest ~ [-len -tu], daai dam [-dai -dam]

friendly, compatible ~ [-ho -zawng]

gun ~ [-kawl `ciang] [-kang `thal]

head of the bed ~ [-khun :lan] lu khung

headman ~ [-tual -teek]

host ~ [-tual -teng]

humble, meek ~ [-dah -dial], [-pat.bang -neem]

humble ~ [ˌlah ˈliang]

hungry ~ [ˈtui :sam]

look ~ [ˌmit ˈmei.suan]

laugh ~ [ˌsiam bang -nui]

married woman ~ [-nung.ciang ˈsat ˈsa]

meat ~ [-ai ˈsa]

mithan cattle ~ [ˌnuun -vom]

old ~ [-hai :bang-teek], [-tum:bang-vuai]

proud, haughty ~ [ˌpat.bang ˈaan]

praise ~ [ˌsok.bang ˈmuak]

relatives ~ [-miim-phung]

search, look for ~ [-sang ˈsa :bang ˈvai]

sick ~ [ˌomh -lai -vei]

suffering ~ [ˌpuak :bang.lel] gim ngah

short pants ~ [-tai :tum]

sibling ~ [-lai]: younger sibling ~ [-lai, ˈciin]

slave ~ [ˌsimh ˈsal]

stone pavement (zo inn) ~ [ˌcial.dawh.dawh - tawi]

strange, different ~ [ˌkai -a-ˈdang]

stream ~ [ˌcian.lui] [-ciau :lui]

sulphur beans ~ [-tai ˈga]

sunden place in the house ~ [ˌta -pang]

surround ~ [ˌgawl.bang ˈuum]

tax, tribute ~ [ˌsiah -khuang]

think, meditate ~ [-lung-lai-hual]

tiger ~ [-gam -pu]

track, search ~ [-sang ˈsa :bang ˈvai]

understand ~ cian tel [ˌcian ˈtel]

well built ~ [ˌlam -pal.suih ˈsiam]

why ~ [ˌi ˈkom] bang hang

wild animals, game ~ [-sang] gamsa

world, this world ~ [ˌka ˈnuai ˈciang.sim ˈlei]

vip, important persons ~ [-hau ˈtawi]

younger brother ~ [-lai.ciin]

Education and the church



Dr J. Herbert Cope Memorial Church, dedicated on 10 April 1960.



Baptist worshippers at Cope Memorial Church, Tiddim, 1962.

A window on the world

Chief Hau Cin Khup saw education as the only way for his people to compete in the world, so he invited Karen preacher Sia Po Ku to Tonzang to teach Burmese. It is gratifying that his son and heir Pum Za Mang was the first Chin to publish a book (*Kamhau htonzan Tsak/History of the Sukte Clan*, 1924); son G. Lian Cin Thang graduated, and before the end of Kamhau rule in 1948, altogether eighteen great-grand- and grandchildren graduated, two with a Ph.D., and one the only Chin MRCP. Dr Howya Cin Pau was the first Kamhau matriculate (1931) and an LMP, with nine other grandchildren of the chief to become medical doctors. Thanks to his foresight, today there are more than 2,000 Kamhau graduates of all disciplines.

Father of Chin education

Chief Hau Cin Khup welcomed missionaries as the answer to his hopes for his people. Revd J. Herbert Cope, honorary IS for the Chin Hills, single-handedly took the Chins into the twentieth century by introducing the Roman alphabet and his Anglo-vernacular education system. Of the many Chin text-books, those in Kamhau dialect have been the core of Tiddim literature. His Anglo-vernacular system had the advantage of the student not having to have adequate Burmese or English to learn general science, hygiene or geography. Dr Cope's legacy among the Chins is the achievement of innumerable qualifications.

Roman Catholic Mission

Ever mindful of the advancement of his people, Chief Pum Za Mang approached the assistant resident A.K. Thompson to open a hospital and school in Tonzang. Although he was expecting something from the mutual-aid treaty his father signed with the British government, he was told to turn to the Roman Catholics. When the Catholics came, their acceptance of moderate use of *zu* wine, like that of the indigenous Laipan faith, helped the preservation of the culture, so Chief Pum Za Mang remained a patron to the mission and received the extreme unction of the Catholic Church. When he died in 1948, as an act of total severance from the past, his heirs turned over his house to the bishop who built a church in its place.



Pau Cin Hau Laipian house of prayer at Lailui, 1962.



Left: Revd Fr Kelbert with sculptor Thang Cin of Salzang.



Right: Roman Catholic Church at Tonzang, 1962.



Right: A tual altar post in Lailo village, 1962.

Below: Pau Cin Hau scripts on stones in Lailui village, 1962.



Appendix V

Dictionary of Kamhau poetic diction (selection)

ang kawi ~ zi = wife

anglai ~ awm = bosom

baan sam ~ sam lai = still lacking

bah khi ~ bil bah = earring

banzal ~ khut, baan = hand, work of the hand

bat phu ~ hehna thuk ~ vengeance

beem taang ~ taang beem = granary for millet

beh beel ~ an beel = pot, cooking pot

bemtui ~ mualbeem = name of village

beng ~ bil = ears

beng heem ~ za = to hear

besam ~ sam = hair

besam pha ~ sam hoih = beautiful hair

biing ~ sathau um = oil container, bottle

biphal ~ phalbi = winter

buai vom ~ vompi = bear

bual tui ~ tui lii = whirlpool

bu bang [ˈbu :bang] ~ hehpih = pity

buh al ~ ak = chicken

buh al gia ~ ak gia = cock plumes

buh ngo ~ Tau Lawn?

buhsan ~ khi awh = beads, necklace

buh tui ~ bung gam = Bung lung or Yazagyo

bum leeng ~ ki bumna = black magic

bung thul ~ gal zo = victory

bung pi ~ bung lung = name of village

bung pi [-bung ˈpi]~ gal lu suan na = a place where heads of slain enemies were displayed

buuktui ~ tuibuuk = tobacco filtrate (liquid ‘chew’ tobacco)

cial phah ~ innka = sun deck, see also *pah taang*

cial pheih ~ tuangdung = main piece of the *innka* teak deck

cial suk ~ tuang dung suk = main piece of the *innka* teak deck in the ‘downhill’ direction

cian dal [.cianh -dal] ~ daak = musical instrument

ciau gaal ~ gam sim tham = distant land
 ciau tui ~ gam mang sung ah = in deep forest
 ciin gin kaw! ciang ~ u' thau = older brother's gun, musket
 ciin hau ~ khua mual a dawnna = welcoming at the *khua mual* village gate
 ciin leh tuai ~ u leh nau = siblings, brothers
 ciin lia nu ~ u nu = older sister
 ciin mang ~ u = older sibling
 ciin mang luang lum ~ a u gal sung a si = an older brother killed in battle
 ciin tawh kop ~ u tawh kop = together with older brother
 ciin vaang sel ~ u nei lo = not having an older brother
 ciin' ~ u' = older brother's
 ciin' min = older brother/sister's name
 ciin' thanna ~ minthanna = fame

daai dam ~ han = cemetery
 daai teeng [-dai-teeng] ~ khua mual = *khua mual* village gate
 daal ngo tui ~ maan = photograph
 damtui ~ tui = water
 dawh suang ~ suang phah = stone pavement
 dawh tam ~ zaang = plain, not hilly
 deih an ~ zi ang = from the bosom of one's wife
 deih duang ~ zi te pumpi = wife's body, wife
 deih kawi ~ zi = wife
 dial [.dial] ~ liap = under shadow
 diil dial [:dil .dial] ~ ni dang san hun = late afternoon, setting sun
 diing dung [:diing-dung] ~ khua phelep
 dim tui ~ tedim
 do [.do] ~ dah na = sorrow
 do han ~ gal tawh ki sai = martial
 do kul [.do -kuul] ~ gal sim na = battle ground
 do la [.do 'la] ~ gaal te = enemies
 do lai [.do -lai] ~ galsung = in the war
 do lan [.do .lanh] ~ gal piang = start of war
 do sing [.do-siing] ~ gal te khauh na = enemy strength
 do sum lu ~ gal lu = enemy's head
 do suul zui ~ gal sul zui = to chase the enemy
 do tun nu ~ gal te = the enemies
 do va [do, va] ~ ih gal te ki phatsak na = the enemy's pride
 duang ~ pumpi = body
 duang zen [:duang :zenh] ~ ngaih na = deeply in love
 duh ngen [.duh .ngeen] ~ baal = taro yam
 dum puan ~ puan dum = ceremonial *puandum* blanket

eng lai [eng-lai] ~ khii = necklace
 eng lai cing ~ khi lai cing = perfect necklace
 et lawm ~ ki lawm = beautiful

gam daidam ~ gam sim tham = deep forest
 gam dawh ~ gamsung sa matna = hunting expedition
 gam huiva ~ vahui = green pigeon
 gam khuva ~ vakhu = dove
 gam kuam thuk ~ gam la = far away, a distant land

gam lai ~ gam sung = in the country
 gam za ang ~ gam = land, country
 gawh tam ~ zu nun na, zu tam vei nung = *zu nung* feast
 geel tui ~ thang ho leh lian do te khua
 gel kot [-gel'kot] ~ gel sing nuai = under the *gel* tree
 gen liang ['genh-liang] ~ tagah, gen thei = orphan, humble
 gia bang ~ ki puah = beautified, made pretty
 gii sing ~ sing gi = *sing gi* tree
 go thul [.go-thul] ~ leel = a basket with lid used for storage of clothing and other valuable articles

gual gam lei ~ mi gam ah = other's village or land
 gual geen ~ mi gen na = talk of others
 gual hen [-gual :heen] ~ mi gal mat = slave of others
 gual kawi ~ cial = to hire
 gual kha kia ~ lawm te si = death of a friend
 gual khawi ~ mi gan khawi = cattle belonging to others
 gual lai nga ~ mi lak pan = among others
 gual leel [-gual :lel] ki gen na = talked of by others
 gual lung tup ~ mi te deih = desire of others
 gual mun ~ mi kiangah = to others
 gual sang kap ~ mi sa mat = game shot by others
 gual ngaih ~lawm te = friends
 gual tung ~ mi sang a hang zaw = above others, superior
 guh ling ~ dahna = sorrow
 gui khau ~ khau = rope
 gun lui ~ lui neu peuh mah = a small stream

haam taang ~ lawm leh gual tawh = comrades
 haam vaih ~ cih mawh na = predicament
 hai thei ~ hai = mango
 hial neen ~ sing hiang lak = trees and branches
 hiang neen ~ songbirds = among their branches
 hong seem ken ~ hong nawh ken = wind, don't blow on me, don't bother me
 huih si ~ huih nung hiau hiau = gentle breeze
 huang zawl ~ inn huang = compound, property

ii khua mual = our *khua mual* park at the entrance to the village
 ii hiam ~ gal lu = head of the enemy
 ii sang kap ~ sa mat = the game we have taken, the wild animals we have shot
 ii ton mung ~ ih song = our *song* poles (ceremonial poles)
 ii sau pha ~ i ih inn = our house
 ii sau sak ~ inn sau sak = house
 ii sial lum ~ sial lum = shield
 ii tawi thang ~ teipi, thau = gun
 ii nua ciang ~ ih nung lam = the past
 ih tun ih zua ~ ih nu ih pa = our mother and father

kaan kong ~ kong pi = gate, garden gate
 kaih dial ~ dial khai = flag, streamers
 kaih tam ~ siah = tributes
 kan kil ~ inn sung kong = main door
 kan kong [.kan -kong] ~ kong pi = gate, garden gate

- kaang tui ~ mi kang = white man
 kaang vai ~ mikang te = the white man
 kawl ciang ~ thau = gun
 kawl hei ~ hei = axe
 kawl tei ~ teipi = spear
 kawl tu ~ tu = hoe
 kawl tui ~ kawl gam = land of the Burmese
 kawm pal ~ huang sung = inside the compound
 kha kia ~ si = die
 kha pham ~ si = die
 kha si = die, dead
 khai mu ~ mu = hawk, eagle
 khai mu veng ~ mu kha veng = feather of a hawk
 khang ciang [-khang 'ciang] ~ leitaw lam = the south; NB khang also mean downhill, lower grounds
 khau sau ~ sa khau = *sakhau* net bag
 khen kuan ~ ki khen kuan = soon to part
 khim khua zing ~ khim zing = eclipse of the sun
 khua mual ~ khua mual = the *khua mual* village gate, where home-coming heroes are met by the village, the memorial stones are erected there
 khua phei ~ khua lam pi = road to a village
 khul ~ leihawm pi = cave
 kiang mang ~ pasal = husband
 ko liang ['ko -liang] ~ liang ko = shoulder
 kot gawl ~ huang um na gawl = fencing
 kot kaw[.kot-kaw] ~ huang sung = compound
 kuang tap [-kuang 'tap] ~ tap tung = the fireplace, the hearth
 kuang tui ~ tui kuang = water trough
 kul luh ~luh gawp = to attack, flush out
- lai gil ~ gilsung = the stomach
 lai kaw i ~ zi = wife
 lai khun ~ lupna = bed
 lai heen ~ gal mat = enemy captured, killed
 lai lam ~ lampi = road
 lai lung ~ lung tang = heart
 lam gial [.lamh -gial] ~ lam = placenta, poetic for birth
 lang lam [-lang-lamh] ~ lamsa, neihsa lam sa = property
 lang mai ['laang 'mai] ~ maitang = face
 laang nuai ~ inn nuai = basement, space underneath the house
 lau kha [.lau -kha] ~ kha = soul
 leen tu ~ gam alk = forest
 leh lam ~ kheem = deceive
 len eng [.leen-eng] ~ saiha = elephant tusk, ivory
 len liang ['lenh-liang] ~ cih mawh, gen thei = downtrodden, humble, lowly
 len se sing [.len 'se 'sing] ~ songh, the *song* totem pole for *tong* feast; also, *simh sing gil*
 liap sak ~ ni liap = cloudy, show of sadness
 liim belh [.liim .belh] ~ muan leh suan = lit. to take shelter, the person one trusts
 liim cial [.liim 'cial] ~ innliim = parlour
 liim sun [.liim .sun] ~ muan leh suan = the person one trusts
 luan khi [.luan -khi] ~ khitui = tears

lui tum [.lui -tum] ~ pai = to go, to travel
 lum suang ~ taangza sim na = monument for the *taangza* or hundred-basket harvest
 feast
 lung tuak ~ ngai = to love, friendly
 lung tup ~ deih = desire

ma ciang ~ ma sak = ahead
 mai mit ~ mit tang = eyes
 mal zin, mal zin bang ko ~ zasak = to inform
 meel mak ~ theih ngei loh = stranger
 meel muh ~ phawk kikna = memory
 meel muh loh ~ muh ngei loh = stranger
 mi sung [mi-sung] ~ mi khua = strange land, other village
 mi za lai ah 'mi tampilak ah = from amongst many
 mim phung [.mimh-sung] ~ beh = kinsman, relative
 min thang ~ vang lian = famous, powerful
 min thei bang lawh na ~ u min lawh na = something by which the one is
 remembered
 mui khua zin ~ khua mial = night fall, at dusk
 mu bang, mu bang ngai ~ ngai = to love
 mun inn ~ inn mun = house site, house, home
 mun zaang ~ teen na = dwelling place

naal gua ~ gua = bamboo
 na ciam peel hiam? ~ mang ngilh na hiam? = have you forgotten?
 na kawi ~ na zi = your wife
 na kiang [kiang] ~ na pasal = your husband
 na kung tung ah ~ na pumpi ah = on your person
 na leen na ah ~ na hawh na ah = where you visited
 na thah sial ken ~ ki phat ken = don't boast
 na tong dam neem ~ na kam siam = your sweet words
 na tun na zua ~ na nu na pa = your parents
 na von na sawn ~ na ta na tu = your son and grandson
 nam, a nam ~ 'naak = nose
 nam cih [namh .cih] ~ mi kheem peuh = everybody
 nam to ~ khi um = bottle for beads
 nam zu ~ zusa = rat
 nau bang saan na, natong dam neem, nau bang sanna ~ ih ki ho na = our
 conversation
 ngal liam ~ pasal minthang = renowned man
 ngal pa ~ ngal = wild pig
 ngal pa lian ~ ngal khaat = wild boar
 ngo sai ~ ki lang = outstanding
 ning beel ~ zubeel = *zu* pot
 ning haai ~ zuhai = *zu* cup
 ning khum zawlna ~ dawn kaai = siphon
 ning neek sul ah ~ zu neek na ah = at a beer party, while having a drink together
 ning sak ~ zu = *zu* beer
 ning zu ai sa ~ zuleh sa = meat and drink
 nua ~ nu leh pa kiang
 nuai ziin leeng theng ~ na natna bei hen = may you get well
 nun khum [.nuun-khum] ~ nawi = milk

nun nop [.nunh .nop] ~ nop sakna = happiness

nun nuam ~ nopna = happiness

nuun vom [.nuun -vom] ~ sial = mithan

om lai [.omh-lai] ~ dawi = spirit

om lai vei = sick, bitten by spirit

om muan ~ omna peuh ah = everywhere

on lai vei ~ ci na = sick

ong en ~ om muan mun ah = from where one happens to be

ong ki thang ~ thu kiza = in the news

ong sial ~ ngaih sunden = always in the mind

ong siam ~ ong don = protector, one who takes care of me

pah taang [.pah- taang] ~ innka = the *innka* sun deck

paal lawh [-paal 'lawh] ~ ngah = to get, to achieve, to acquire, to take (game)

paal siam [.pal 'siam] ~ hoih = beautiful

peel lo ~ om den, kikheel lo = constant

peeng pum [.pengh'pum]~ phiit = flute, pumpeeng is reed.

phai tem ~ tem = knife

phai paak ~ gal = foe, enemy

phaak sap ~ gam la = far away

pham ~ si = die

phei phah ~ suang phah = stone pavement

phei phung ~ khe = leg

phual mul ~ vaphual kha = the pinion feather of a hornbill

phual mei ~ vaphual mei peek = the tail feather of a hornbill

phui gua ~ gua = bamboo

phung min ~ nam min = tribal name, family name

pial lai ~ pial khang = space beside fireplace

pian na ~ khua gam = native village, native country

pian tui ~ piantit = France

pi sei ~ pi = grandmother

pu pa ~ taang a pu te pa te = ancestors

pum paai ~ sakol khe = pony

pu von ~ pu = grandfather, maternal uncle, maternal male relatives

sa gual ~ ngal hon = a litter of wild pigs

sai tanh ~ tum tan = to cut in two

sang gah ~ ta gah = orphan

sang ~ gamsa = wild animals, games

sang dei h ~ sa man nuam = want to shoot wild game

sang gial min lun ~ humpi neel kaai = lion

sang gial minthang ~ humpi = tiger

sang kap ~ sa mat = game shot, wild animal

sang lian ~ gam sa lian = big game

sang nam cih ~ sa keem peuh = all kinds of wild animals

sau liim ~ inn liim = front parlour

sau mang ~ inn = house

sau suan ~ inn = house

sau suang ~ inn lam, teeng = to build a house, to live

sawl sang ~ zat tang zang = handy man servant

sawm kholh ~ sawm te = member of the *sawm* (boys who sleep in the chief's house)

- sawm sial ~ sial = mithan, *Bos frontalis*
 sawn tel ~ sawn = goat-hair tassel, plumes
 sawn teng ~ tu teng = all grandchildren
 se al ~ aksi = star
 seek sei [.seek -sei] ~ thei theek
 se haam ~ gol ta = grown up
 sei no ~ lawm te = friends
 se lung ~ lungsim = mind
 sen ai kawi = zi = wife
 se suul ~ suul zui = to track
 se sum ~ dangka = money
 si lau kha'n ~ a kha in = the soul
 siang ~ ka kiang = near me
 siah kun ~ inn kun = eave
 sial lum ~ lum = shield
 sial za tam ~ nop leh dah thuakna = suffering
 sian mang ~ pasian = god
 sian sin thu ~ pasian thu = god's will
 sian suang, sian sung ~ inn sung pi = inner room of the Zo inn house
 sih khum ~ cik = swamp
 sih phu ~ mi si te phu lak na ~ revenge
 siing la'ng ~ dem zo keng = I can't beat him, I can't excel
 siing ta'n ~ mi te in = the people, others
 sik tui ~ tui = water
 sim lei kuul phum ~ kiciamna suang phum = the stone buried in the ground as a
 vow
 sim vom ~ a lum gam = warm country
 sim zawng ~ zawng = monkey
 sin lai ~ lungsim = mind, thoughts
 sin thu ~ thu = affairs
 sin thu khing an ~ tangval nu ngak te husim = secret between lovers
 sol kha ~ kha = the moon
 suan ing ~gual zo ing ~ I am victorious
 suan neem ~ gim = tired
 suih lung ~ lungsim = mind
 suul kiik, suul hei ~ ki leh kik = return
 sum tual ~ inntual = front lawn, courtyard
 sum lu ~ lutang = head
 sum tual kaih dial ~ dial khai, sa sim na = flags, streamers at funeral
 sun kim .sun kim lung zuan ~ sun lung zuan = loneliness in the day time
 sun ni ~ ni = the sun
 sun ni nuai ~ ni nuai kha nuai = under the sun and the moon
 sun sawt ~ sun ni loh = all day long
- taang gual ~ khan gual = friends one grows up with
 taang bang dam ~ ci dam = in good health
 taang ka lai zom ~ ka sanggam = my brother and sisters
 taang tup ~ gal mat = killing enemies
 tah ai ~ ai san = to divine
 tang ni ~ ni bang a tang, cih theih lai tak = having good fortune, to be well to do
 tawi sang ~ tau sang = raised deck on the *innka*
 tamphai ~ phai tam = backyard

- tawi kulh [tawi .kulh] ~ kulh tawng = basement, underground beneath the house
 thang tui ~ khua = village
 thang van ~ vantung = the sky
 thang van zawt ~ vanleeng = airplane
 thei sen ~ neu lai = in youth
 thul guah ~ guah = rain
 ton sawl ~ tonna = the *tong* feast
 tong dot ~ dong = to ask, seek advice
 tong neem ~ mi gi = kind
 tong, tong dam ~ kam = words, speech
 tot, a tot ~ khekhap = footprint
 tuai mang = younger brother
 tuak khial ~ deih lo = reject
 tuang lam, lampi = road
 tuang nong sia ~ pai san = leave behind
 tuk lu ~ tuk tum = hair knot, occipital knot of northern Chins as differentiated from
 the bregmatic knot of central and southern Chins
 tuk lu a keel sawn san ~ gal mat sim na = red-dyed goat-hair plumes worn by one
 who killed an enemy
 tul ta [-tul 'ta] ~ sing = tree, timber
 tul liim ~ sing liim = the shade of a tree
 tum taai nam [-tum 'taai] ~ namtui = fragrant, sweet smell; mythical flower of
 beauty and fragrance
 tun [-tuun] ~ nu = mother
 tun lang lam ~ ih nu lam = mother's wealth
 tun sung lai zom ~ u nau = brothers and sisters, born of the same mother
- um bang khuai ~ ki sih suah = loss through death
 um bang khuai lo ~ ki khah suah lo = never let go of one another
 um gui khau ~ um gui = gourd creepers
 um hai ning zu ~ um hai a zu = *zu* drink served in *umhaai* gourd cups (um haai is
 used by dawisa priests); *um keeu* (taaiteh diahna, tui sia neek ciang a zat)
 used when *tui sia* oath is administered]
 um haai ning tui ~ kawm lak thoih ciang a *hai kot na* = the mixture of *zu* meal and
 water in *kawmlak thoih* worship
 um sung khuah bang ~ lo khawh hat = successful in farming
 um sung siang bang ~lo khawh tha zawh = able to take care of one's cultivation
 um bang khawl ~ mi hon omna = congregation of people
- vai mang ~ kumpi = the government
 vaang ~ vaang = influence, fame
 vaang khua ~ khua = village, town
 vaang ngaih ~ ngaih ciil = first love
 vai lo ~ lo = field, cultivation land
 van sim nuai ~ mun kheempeuh = everywhere
 von ~ ta = child
 von awi ~ uleh pa dahna = parent's moaning
 von gel ~ ta te = children
 von khan ~ khual na = to care for, to provide for
 von khan ~ tate khan = in the life of the son
 von mom ~ ta neu te = little children
 von pham ~ ta si = dead child

von sang gah ~ ta gah = orphan
von siang ~ tate kiang = near the children
von thang ~ pa = son, father's son
vui sai ~ sai = elephant

The funeral of the last of the Kamhau chiefs



KHUP KHEN KHAM
1924–68

The last chief of the Kamhaus was entombed on the 15th April 1968 with full tribal honours including nine *songh kimkot* around the *songhs*, a hero's *kawltei bunglet* was sung and carried in, *tut lap* dance to the family vault half a mile away.



The priest and *siam daak* group circling the *songh* poles.



A second drummer with *sialki* horn beater, piloted by a man with spear and ceremonial shield lead, *lam vui* dancers form an outer circle.



Man priming gun to fire *thau lot* salute.



Four dancers with drawn swords lead the outer dancers.



The bier is carried around the *songhs*.



Mourners follow the swordsmen and the drummer.



The cortège with *akgia sawm* bouquet of feathers and plumes.



Akgia sawm: a bouquet of feathers, red-dyed hair and white hackle-feathers fixed on a banana trunk representing the family's laurels in war and hunt. Above, only a token of five *sawnkai*, five hornbill feathers, five eagle pinions and five *tukpak* flowers are displayed, although the late chief is entitled to display more than twenty feathers for elephants alone, taken by his grandfather, father and one by himself. Gaur bison, tigers, leopards, boars, gorals and hundreds of lesser game are also represented only in token.



Parade of dignitaries dancing their farewell.



Banners: four white, four red, four black and five bamboo *pan* banners represent elephants, tigers/leopards, rhinoceros/horses and hundred-basket harvests.



The bier rests under the *phek buk* canopy, a privilege of only those who have given all feasts of merit.

Appendix VI

Kamhau names and their meanings

Ai [.ai]	celebration: <i>gal aih</i> (victory), <i>sa aih</i>
Am ['am]	desire, longing, love
Al [.al]	ubiquitous: <i>zeel kawi kawi</i> , <i>taw kawi kawi</i>
Awī [.awi]	moaning, lament: <i>thumna</i> , <i>tau na</i> , <i>lungzuan khaw ngaih</i>
Awn [.awn]	evade, surrender: <i>pial</i>
Bawi ['bawi]	diminution of name, e.g. Lianbawi, Thangbawi
Bia, Biak [.bia, 'biak]	worship, venerate: <i>biakna</i> , <i>maivilna</i> , <i>thu dot</i>
Ciang [-ciang]	to stack, to heap: <i>ki khol</i> , <i>ki koih kicing</i> , <i>kiciang</i>
Ciin ['tziin]	(poetic) older brother and sister, wealth, prosperity
Cin [.tzin] chin [chin]	people, populace, nation: as in <i>mi cin mi tang</i>
Cin [.tzin] cing [-tzing]	full, sufficient: <i>neihlehlam</i> , <i>nopna dahna</i>
Cingh [.cinh]	generous: <i>citna siamna</i> , <i>dikna</i> , <i>haza lo</i>
Dah [.dah]	sorrow: <i>dahna kahna lungkhamna</i>
Dai [.dai]	silent, over: <i>gam daai</i> , <i>hi nawn lo</i>
Dal ['dal]	protect, save: <i>ki dal ki kep na</i>
Dam [-dam]	well, healthy: <i>cidamna</i>
Dawl ['dawl]	support: <i>a sia a pha dawl</i>
Deng [-deng]	victory: <i>zawhna</i> , <i>nuai nenna</i>
Deih [.deih]	desire, ambition: <i>deihna</i> , <i>tupna sawmna</i> , <i>itna ngaih na</i>
Dem ['dem]	rival, compete: <i>kideemna</i>
Diah [.diah]	steeped, involved: <i>kidaih</i> , <i>nopna dahna</i>
Dim [.dim]	sufficient, full, to fill: <i>kidim</i> , <i>kicing</i> , <i>ki beh lap</i>
Do [-do]	to fight, war, suffering: <i>gaal te thuakna tuam tuam</i>
Don [.don]	to care for, to gaze: <i>gal et</i> , <i>cing</i> , <i>keem</i> , <i>vil</i>
Dongh [.dongh]	advisor: <i>thu dot</i> , <i>muan leh suan</i>
El [-el]	hate: <i>ki huatna</i> , <i>ki muh dahna</i>
En, Eng [enh, 'eng]	envy, covet: <i>ki en na</i> , <i>deih gawh na</i>
Gam [-gam]	property: <i>inn mun</i> , <i>lo gam</i>
Gawh [.gawh], Go [.go]	kill, give feast for the elite (those who have distinguished themselves by giving feasts): <i>gawh leh lup</i> , <i>tung nun ki demna</i>
Gen ['gen]	speak with authority: <i>genna pau na thu neih na</i>
Giak [giak]	to occupy, reside: <i>teng den</i> , <i>giak den</i>

Gin [.gin]	trustworthy, hope: <i>muan leh suan, ki ginna. Lam et na</i>
Ging [-ging]	ringing, noisy, sounds of music in joy or sorrow : <i>ging den, .gamlum den, nopna dahna</i>
Goih [.goih]	miss, lacking: <i>kisap na, ki tang sap na</i>
Hang [-hang]	brave, courageous: <i>gal hanna, thu hanna</i>
Hat ['hat]	strong: <i>thahat na</i>
Hau [.hau]	rich: <i>hauhna, man na, neihlehlam kicinna</i>
Heh [.heh]	anger, sorrow: <i>hehna, dahna</i>
Hen [-hen]	victor, captor (in war): <i>kol bulh khau khih, nat leh sat</i>
Hil [-hil]	tell, inform, augur foretell: <i>gen, ko, thei sak, kihil na</i>
Ho [-ho]	love, compatible : <i>ki it kingaih na, ki thu tuakna</i>
Hong ['hong]	rely on, take shelter: <i>hong zuan hong beel</i>
Hong [.hong]	to save, to protect: <i>hotkhiat na, kidal kihuhna</i>
Huai ['huai]	protect, to cover: <i>kikep ki uapna</i>
Huat ['huat]	loath, hate: <i>kilem lohna, ki huatna</i>
Hum [.hum]	elevated, full, self-sufficient: <i>sang, dim, ki cing</i>
Kai [.kai], Kaih [.kaih]	collect tributes, to capture enemies, to have followers: <i>siah kai, galmat, samat, ssila sal kaai, pawl kai</i>
Kam [.kam]	burns like coal (brave), outstanding: <i>mei am bangin a nasia</i>
	<i>thu genna</i>
Kan ['kan]	surpass, to better: <i>a val a kan</i>
Kang [.kang]	burn, aggressive in war: <i>meikang</i>
Khai [-khai]	uplift, promote: <i>kikhai, ki tawi, muan leh suan te</i>
Kap ['kap]	<i>lit.</i> to shoot, to shoot enemies or big game: <i>gal mat, sa mat,</i>
	<i>sa kap</i>
Kham [-xam]	protect, to shield: <i>kikham (tang a ding a ki kham)</i>
Khan [.xan]	life, progress: <i>khan lai hun, khan toh na</i>
Khat [.xat]	one, one and only: <i>khat bek</i>
Khaat [-xaat]	brave, rare, victorious: <i>haang, ki tawi, gualzo</i>
Khaw ['xaw], Khua [xaw]	village, town, people: <i>khual</i>
Khawl [-xawl]	stop, to stay together: <i>tawp, khawlkhawm</i>
Khawm [.xawm]	gather, collect (wealth): <i>kaikhawm, khol, koih</i>
Khen [-xen]	separate: <i>kikhen'na</i>
Khen [.xen]	victorious (in war): <i>zawhna (gaal mat sa mat, tungnum)</i>
Khoi [-xoi]	look after, care for: <i>kivak, kikhoina, ki kepna</i>
Khual [-xual]	benefactor, protector: <i>kikhualna, ki kepna, kidon'na</i>
Khup ['xup]	govern, dominate: <i>demzo, khengzo, zawhna</i>
Khui [-xui]	mend, repair: <i>a sia khat peuhpeuh puahphatna</i>
Kim ['kim]	peer, equal: <i>mi tawh kikim, mi baan</i>
Kim [-kim]	ample, sufficient: <i>kicing, pawlcing</i>
Kip [.kip]	firm, steady: <i>kho, hiden</i>
Laang [-lang]	brave, strong, renown: <i>haang, hat, kithei, kizeel</i>
Lal [-lal]	overlord, dominate: <i>kisak theihna, ki thupi sakna</i>
Lam ['lam], Lamh [.lamh]	acquire (wealth, property), to build: <i>inn le lo, sum le paai</i>
	<i>neizo, neizo, neih leh lamh</i>
Langh [.langh]	reknown, outstanding: <i>minthang, kilangh, kithei</i>
Lawh [.lawh]	earning, wealth: <i>lawhna, sapna, phawkna, ngahna kicing</i>
Leel [-lel]	counsel, guidance, adviser: <i>thugenna, thuzeekna, ngaihsutna</i>
Let ['let]	excel, surpass, outdo: <i>cingval, dimval, khengval</i>

Lian [.lianh]	great, eminent: <i>liatna, golna, thupi na, vaang leh liim</i>
Ling [.liing]	fear, sorrow, worry: <i>launa dahna, ling lawng</i>
Lo [.lo]	negative, disavowal: <i>hilo</i>
Luah [.luah]	succeed, inherit: <i>luahna, mun leh gam neih leh lamh luah</i>
Luai [.luai]	trust, depend, subjugate oneself: <i>tokaii, bel, thuum'</i>
Luan [.luanh]	care for, command: <i>kicin'na, ki-et kivilna, thu piakna</i>
Lum' [lum]	mighty, loud: <i>a gin lian, a vaang lian</i>
Lun [.lun]	noble, lordly, eminent: <i>na sia, hauhna liatna, hehna dahna</i>
Lut [lut]	obey, acquiesce, flatter, obsequious: <i>tum, thum, bia, thoih,</i>
<i>maivil</i>	
Leen [.len]	union, mutual care: <i>kizop kimatna, kikom kivakna, kiletna</i>
Man [.manh]/	
Mang [-mang]	noble, free, eminence: <i>maang, maanna, tawldamna, kam</i>
Muan [.muanh]/	<i>leh vaang neihna</i>
Muang [-muang]	trust, believe: <i>muang, muanna, suanna, belh, liimbelh</i>
Mun [.mun]	
Mung [-mung]	place, residence: <i>inn mun, logam</i>
	centre, head: <i>bulpi</i>
Nang [-nang]	
Nawn [.nawnh]	to defend, protect, suffer: <i>do'na, nan'na, dalna, thuakna</i>
Neek [-neek]	again, return, repeat: <i>hi kik, hehkik, dahkik, lungdam kik</i>
Nei [.nei], neih [.neih]	approach, desire: <i>naih, deiha</i>
Nem [.nemh]	property, wealth: <i>neihsa, lamhsa, neihna, lamhna</i>
Nen [.nenh]/	comfort, console: <i>hehnem, lungnuamsak</i>
Neng [neng]	win, to beat, to oppress: <i>zawhna, nuainenna</i>
Ngai [-ngai]/	
Ngaih [.ngaih]	love, remembrance: <i>itna, ngaihna, phawkna, it, ngai</i>
Ngak [ngak]	
Ngam [-ngam]	wait, patience: <i>ngak zawhna (a sia a pha ngak'na)</i>
Ngil [.ngil]	to dare: <i>hi ngam, seem ngam, bawl ngam</i>
Ngin [.nginh]	forget: <i>mangngilh, ngaihsun nawnlo</i>
Ngul [-ngul]	trust, readiness: <i>kigin'na, muan leh suanh</i>
Ngulh [.ngulh]	desire, remembrance: <i>lunggulh, phawkna</i>
Nial [nial]	
Nian [.nianh]	deny, dislike: <i>deihlo, hoih sa lo</i>
/Niang [-niang]	opulence, well off, sufficiency: <i>anneek tuidawn, zuu leh sa,</i>
Niiang [niiang]	<i>neih leh lamh, nopna dahna, kicing, kham</i>
Ning [-ning]	affluent, plentiful, abundant: <i>ki cing, nuamsa</i>
No [no]	wealth, sufficiency: <i>zu leh sa, neih leh lamh neihna</i>
Nok [.nok]	love, dear, dimunitive <i>itna, ngaihna, pahtawina, nel'ho'na</i>
Nuam [nuam]	trouble, problem, <i>nawngkai'na</i>
	happy, joy <i>lungnuam, sinnuam, lungkim, lungdam, nuamsa</i>
O' [-o]	
Oih [.oih], Awi [.awi]	care, welfare: <i>ki-o' kivakna, kikep kihuai' na,</i>
	moaning, lament: <i>thumna, tauna, lung zuan khua ngaihna</i>
Pam [.pamh]	
Pau [-pau]	desire, longing: <i>pam'maih sakna, ip lahna</i>
Pha [.pha]	speak, authority, leader <i>pauna ham'na, genna</i>
Phung [-phung]	good, well <i>hoihna phatna</i>
Phut [phut]	foundation, greatness: <i>phut, letna, manna</i>
	established, stand: <i>ding, kiphut</i>

Pian [.pianh]/ Piang [.piang] Pum [.pum]	being, become, success: <i>piangkhia, pianna khanna</i> oneness, one's own kind: <i>cikhat, sakhat, pumkhat, kibang</i>
Saan [sanh] Saans [-saang] Sawm [.sawmh] Seel [-see] Sial [-sial] Siam [-siam] Sian [-sianh] Siing [-siing] Soi/Son ['soi/son] Song [-song] Suah [.suah] Suak ['suak] Suang [.suangh] Suanh [.suanh] Sum ['suumh] Sut ['suut]	love, acceptance, reatness: <i>sanna ngaihna, hoihna phatna liatna</i> desire, goal, plan: <i>sawm, tupna sawmna, ngaihsutna</i> hide, to protect: <i>iim, pulak lo, liah, keem</i> moan, lament: <i>lungsim ngaihsutna, lungisialna</i> blessing, munificence, goodness: <i>dikna, citna, siam'na</i> god, holy: <i>pasian, siangtho</i> achieve, success: <i>khan gual baan, mi tawh kikumna</i> tell, speak, defeat: <i>gemma, sutna, lelhna, puukna</i> trust, depend: <i>muang, beel</i> take away, to change: <i>suah khia liahkhia</i> birth, origin, lineage: <i>pianna, suahna</i> outstanding: <i>tungnunna, min leh vaang neihna</i> trust, depend: <i>suanh leh muan, belh</i> wealth, eminence: <i>hauhna, liatna, vaangliatna</i> to deliver, to save: <i>kihuh kiphelna, taangpi taangta</i>
Taang [-taang] <i>taangta</i> Tawn [.tawnh] Tawi [.tawi] Teel [-teel] Tel ['tel] Than [.htanh]/ Thang [-htang] Thawn, Thawng [.htawnh] That [.htat] <i>zawhna</i> Theu ['hteu] Thiau ['htiau] <i>kitawi</i> Thuah [.htuah] Thual [.htual] Thuam [.htuam] Ton [.tonh] Tuah [.tuah] Tual [-tual] Tual-h [.tualh] Tuan [.tuan] Tuang [-tuang] Tul [.tul] Tun [.tun]	poetic diction for 'i' (masculine): <i>pasal peuhmah, taangpi</i> follow: <i>kizuihna</i> to honour: <i>pahtawina, ki-it kingaihna</i> to choose: <i>deih zawk, it zawk ngaihzaw, deihna</i> to understand, to remember: <i>ki theih telna, kiphawkna</i> renown, famous, known: <i>min than'na, hehna dahna, hoihna phatna</i> reputation, renown: <i>kithawn, kizeel</i> to kill, victory, success in war, or hunt: <i>gaalmat samat,</i> to abate, to cease, to stop: <i>hi nawnlo, daii, tawp</i> known for joy or sorrow: <i>hehna dahna, nopna a tuamtuum</i> companion, ally: <i>kithuah, kibehtlap, tungnung</i> recur, repeat in joy, or sorrow: <i>hi kik, behlap, gim kik tawl kik, nuam sa kik</i> feast of tong, feast of social elevation: <i>ton leh haan simna</i> meet again in joy or sorrow: <i>kituah, nopna dahna kituah</i> native, locale: <i>pianna mun, leikiat</i> to recoup, refill, equalize: <i>dimh, loh, kikim sak</i> travel, adventure: <i>khualzin gamvak, hatna</i> outstanding: <i>tungnung, pilzaw, hatzaw, saangaw</i> thousand, many: <i>tul khat, tampi</i> bring in wealth, fame and trophies of war and the hunt: <i>gal leh sa tun, neih leh lamh tun, sum leh paai</i>
Uap ['uap] <i>kivakna</i> Uk [.uk]	concern, loving care: <i>kikepna, kikhoina, kitahna, ki-uap na,</i> rule, success: <i>ki-uk na, zawhna, tungnunna</i>

Vaai [.vai]	destitute, failure: <i>gentheihna</i> , <i>liangvaihna</i>
Vai [-vai]	affairs, rule: <i>vaihawmna</i>
Vei [-vei]	suffering: <i>gimna tawlna thuakna te</i>
Vel ['vel]	deport, attitude: <i>etna</i> , <i>muhna</i>
Vial ['vial]	prevaricate: <i>hi kawikawi</i> , <i>thuak kawikawi</i>
Vum [.vumh]/	fame and success, self-sufficient: <i>kicing</i> , <i>tam</i> (<i>nopna dahna</i>)
Vung [-vung]	<i>vaangliatna</i> , <i>min leh za' neihna</i> , <i>minthan na</i>
za [.za]	hundred, many: <i>za khat</i> , <i>tampi</i> , <i>kicing</i>
Zam [.zamh]	to be influential, drum and gong: <i>zaam kawikawi</i> , <i>khuang</i> <i>leh zam</i> , <i>ki zeel</i>
Zel [-zel]	friendly, amicable: <i>mi tawh ki tuak thei</i>
Zen ki zeel [.zenh]	have a mental crush/feeling: <i>nopna dahna kizen</i>
Zing [-zing]	nostalgia, day and night: <i>lungzuan khua ngaihna</i> , <i>lungziinna</i> , <i>khuaziing khua vak</i>
Zo [.zo]	to defeat, victory: <i>zawhna</i>
Zom [.zomh]	to join, to continue: <i>kizom</i> , <i>kileen</i> , <i>kimat</i> , <i>kizui</i>
Zoo [-zo]	to participate: <i>pawlpihna</i> , <i>popna</i> , <i>siimna</i> , <i>uapna</i>
Zuan [.zuanh]	to approach: <i>neh</i> , <i>pai</i> , <i>a kiang zuan</i>
Zui [.zui]	to join, to follow: <i>kizui</i> , <i>kizom</i>

Appendix VII

Panmun family network

Panmun means post or duty. There are seven *panmun* posts: *bangkua*, *tanu*, *pu*, *thusa*, *sasem*, *nuphal* and *zawl*.

BANGKUAPI Agnatic branch (wife-takers)	TANU Daughters (quartermasters)	PU Distaff branch (wife-givers)
<p>1 BANGKUA PI <i>(sa bal/thal loh)</i> 1st <i>sanggam</i>. Oldest brother in the family or first paternal cousin.</p> <p>2 BANGKUA NIHNA <i>(sa phuk)</i> 2nd <i>sanggam</i>. 1st, 2nd, 3rd etc. paternal married sisters (direct lineage). Paternal cousins.</p> <p>3 SANGGAM THUMNA 3rd <i>sanggam</i> (first <i>sanggam</i> is the most important).</p>	<p>1 HAI TAWI Cup-bearer/<i>tanu pi</i> (chief daughter). Family of most senior married daughter.</p> <p>2 TANU NIHNA <i>Inn lak mo khak leh ni te a nung ta lai te</i> – paternal cousins (female) and families of paternal aunt. Sibling <i>tanus</i> are called ‘<i>a kun</i>’ and paternal cousin <i>tanus</i> are called ‘<i>a dak</i>’.</p> <p>3 TANU THUMNA 3rd <i>tanu</i> married cousins of paternal uncles, grand uncles.</p> <p>4 TANU LINA 4th <i>tanu</i> are appointed from families of married paternal female cousins. NB <i>Tanu</i> literally means ‘daughter’. The families of married daughters are ‘<i>tanu te</i>’ or ‘daughters’.</p> <p>Duties: The <i>Haitaw nu</i>, or the senior daughter, assists the priest (<i>tulpi pa</i>). She siphons the <i>zu</i> and carries the gourd cup of the shaman or priest.</p>	<p>1 PU PI Mother’s father. Mother’s brother or heir of mother’s lineage.</p> <p>2 PU NIHNA Wife’s father, i.e. the children’s ‘<i>pu</i>’ or the heir of their mother’s lineage.</p> <p>3 PU THUMNA (3rd <i>pu</i>) Father’s <i>pu</i> family, i.e. father’s mother’s clan.</p> <p>4 PU DANG TE Other <i>pu</i> from mother’s clan (wife-giver’s clan) may be appointed; as many as one wishes. <i>Pu</i> are in a superior position in terms of obligations. All male members, even newborn boys, are addressed as ‘<i>pu</i>’.</p>

THUSA <i>Adjutant</i>	SASEM <i>Meat-cutter</i>	NUPHAL <i>Brothers-in-law</i>	ZAWL <i>Alter-ego</i>
<p>1 BEH THUSA Clan '<i>thusa</i>'.</p> <p>2 VENG THUSA Appointed from neighbouring <i>thusa</i>, these are those trusted like one's own brother. <i>Thusa</i> are spokesmen for the family.</p> <p>Duties They keep tabs on all the <i>zu</i> contributed so that all the contributions are duly acknowledged by the proper cuts of meat due to the post of the <i>zu</i> contributor.</p> <p>NB His function is that of the adjutant in the military. He helps the householder and often acts as spokesman for the family.</p>	<p>1 BEH SASEM The clan meat-cutter is appointed from one of the senior <i>sanggam</i> (of the agnatic line).</p> <p>2 VENG SASEM Appointed from close friends.</p> <p>Duties <i>Sasem</i> means 'cut meat'. The <i>sasem</i> must know the practice of the host's clan, so that he will cut the portions of meat according to the often varying practices of clans. Appointment of posts is intimated by the cut of meat rendered to the family. Promotion or cessation of posts are also intimated by cuts of meat.</p>	<p>1 NUPHAL BUL Family of wife's married sister or wife's paternal cousins' family.</p> <p>2 NUPHAL BUL Family of wife's married sisters.</p> <p>3 NUPHAL'S Any married paternal female; second or third cousin</p> <p>NB The family reaches out to others not related by blood but through marriage.</p>	<p>ZAWL In the era of internecine wars, a <i>zawl</i> might be a trusted ally while today a <i>zawl</i> can be bosom friend.</p>

Appendix VIII

***Zubeel* line-up for a four-day funeral**

***Lang khét ni* (day before *Sivui* entombment)**

Daytime

All *zu* contributed by *si tuam* family are siphoned (*khaih*) and the *zu taak* is served to those who prepared the cemetery, repaired the *innka* and gathered *meilah* pitch-pine brands.

Night-time

The *zu* pots of two senior *tanu* families who do not make the *si tuam* contributions are lined up on the *bang sak*, uphill side from the door (1) and *bang khang*, downhill side from the door (2). They are called *zu pui* or lead *zu*, and managed by two *inn teek bul* families. These *zu pui* pots are followed by *tanu zu* according to *zu* pot sizes. All *tanu zu* are served to *taang pi*, that is all guests. NB *Zu* pots 1, 3 and 5 are on the *bang sak* side and 2, 4, 6 are on the *bang khang* side.

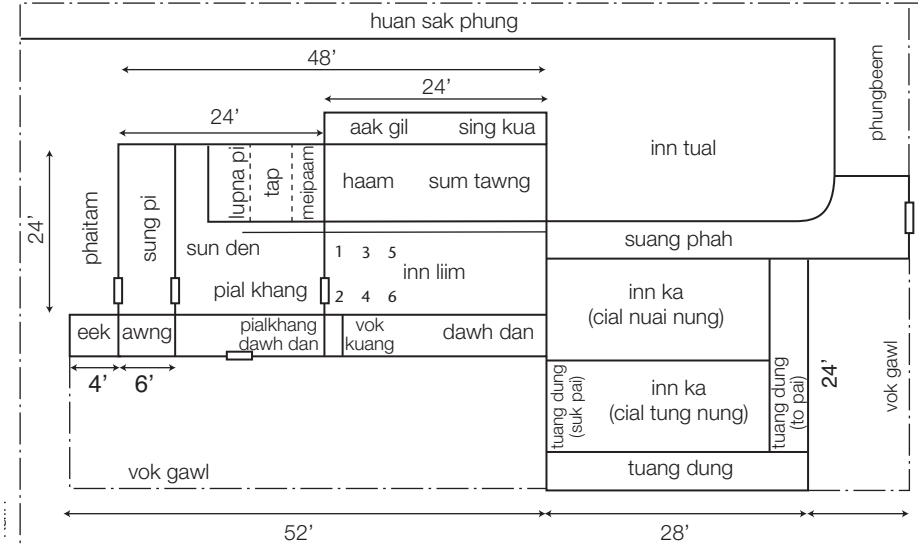
***Si vui ni* (day of entombment)**

In the line-up: (1) *inn teek zu*, *kot kah*; (2) *sa phuk*; (3) *sanggam bul*; (4) *sanggam bul*; (5) *zawl* (*taang zawl*); (6) *sanggam bul*; (7) *nu phal*; (8) onwards are *sanggam zu* in order of sizes with *sanggam bul zu* bringing up the rear. (1) *Ngawng pi* (*pu pi*); (2) *Ngawng zui* (*pupi huan*) Those guests who do not have *vakna* posts are feted with these pots.

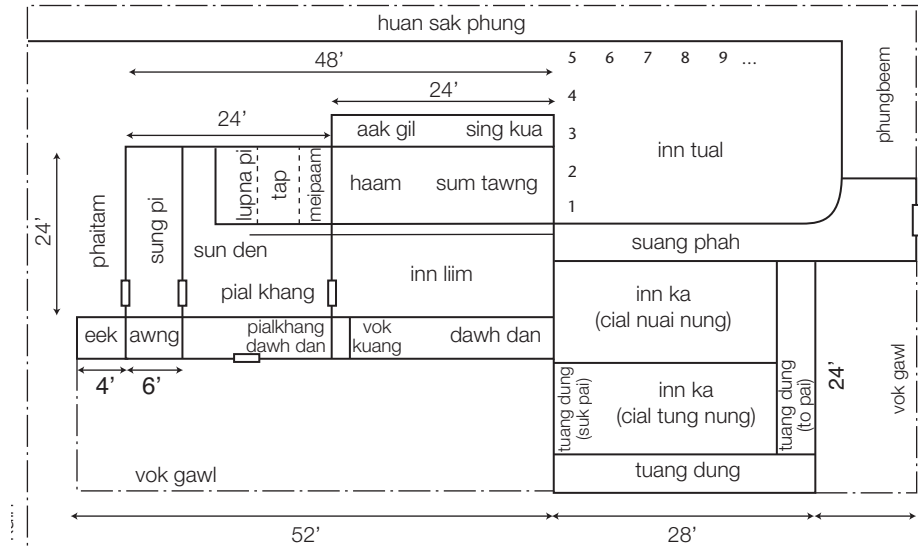
NB *Ngawng* means 'neck', the cut of meat the *pu* (wife-giving side) receives. Therefore *ngawng* here denotes *pu*.

***Inn sung zu* (sa at zu)**

From *inn teek zu* to *sanggam zu* are served to fete the *sungh te*: (I) *sanggam bul zu* (II) *zawl zu* (III) *nuphal zu* (*nu phal no zaw*) (IV) *sanggam zu* (*sanggam dawn*).



Lang khet ni



Si vui ni

Han dal ni (the day after entombment)

Zubeel: (1) *Sa baal zu*, managed by the one who managed the *kot kah zu* on *sivui* entombment day. (2) *Pu zu*. It is followed by third *sungh*, with all *sungh zu* till spot 30. These are managed by those who feted *sanggam* on *sivui* entombment day.

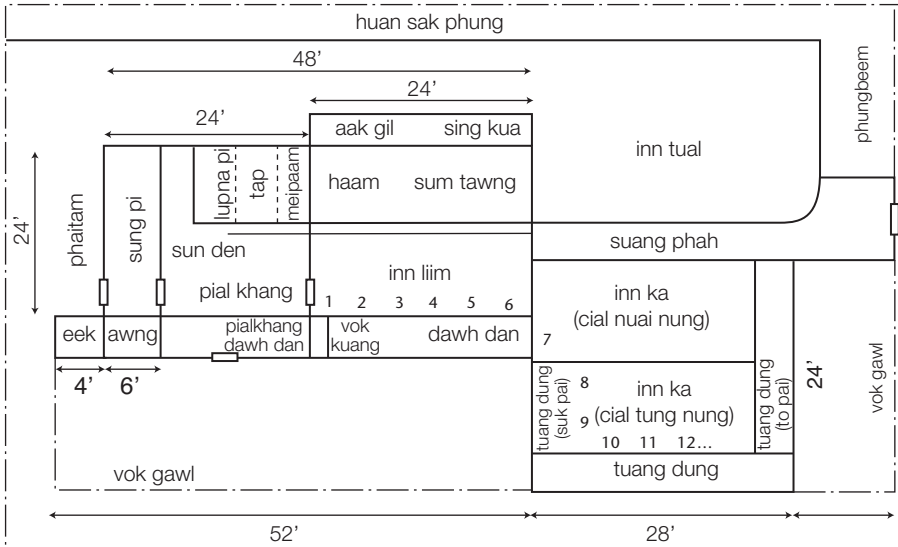
Han saak tan ni (the second day after sivui ni)

Pot (1) *Inn teek zu*; (2) *Sabaal zu*; (3) *Pu zu (ngawng pi)*; (4) *haitawi (si tuam)* [traditional *si tuam* cannot be changed]; (5) *sa phuk zu*; (6) *Pu zu (ngawng zui)*; (7) *Si tuam (haitawi zom)*; (8) *sanggam* followed by *sungh*, and *tanu* alternately.

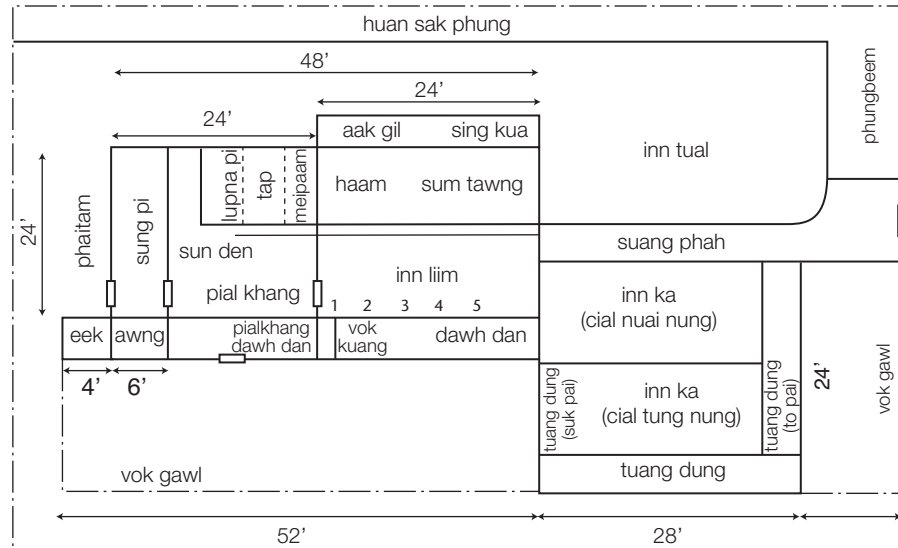
Tawi sawn ni (the third day after si vui ni)

Zu pots are lined up inwards to the interior of the house, and the *zu* managed as for social feasts.

NB This *zubeel* line up is Teizang practice. Some Teizang words like *san dal*, *san sak tan* are changed to Kamhau usage. Readers should refer to the Glossary and *Panmun* chart (Appendices I and VII) to understand the formal line-up of *zubeel*.



Han dal ni



Han saak tan ni

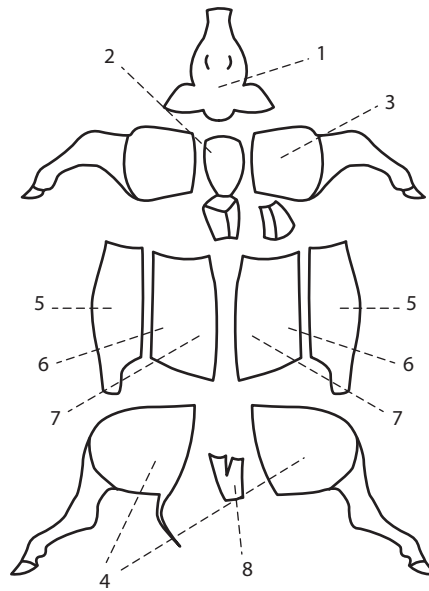
Appendix IX

Teizang meat distribution

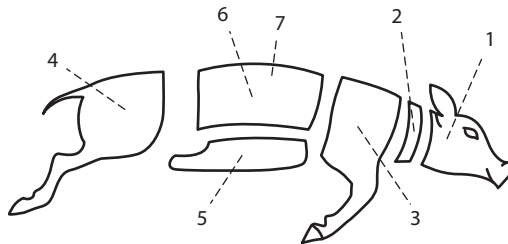
Meat cutting and meat distribution

Meat distribution is a symbol of love and recognition according to the various relationships in the *bangkua* family set up.

	Names of cuts	Bride-price recipients	House-warming recipients
1	<i>lu tang</i> – head <i>sa kha</i> – the jaw <i>salu pang</i> – jowl	<i>inn tekte</i> – head and <i>sanam khai</i> <i>bawmta</i> – <i>sa kha</i>	<i>inn tekte</i> – head and <i>sanam khai</i> <i>bawmta</i> – <i>sa kha</i>
2	<i>ngawng</i> – the neck	<i>pu te</i> , half; <i>a kuan te</i> , half	<i>pu te</i>
3	<i>sa liang</i> – shoulder and foreleg (including the hoof) <i>liang tongh/liangpaak</i> – butt	<i>a kuate</i> – all 4 legs	<i>sabal & saphuk</i> – <i>tumbul</i>
4	<i>sa phei (mei bang)</i> – hind leg with tail <i>tongh/phei lukhu</i> – rump	<i>a kuate</i> – all 4 legs	<i>tanus</i> – a <i>phei</i> /hind leg
5	<i>a iik</i> – spare rib	<i>a kuate</i> , half; <i>inn tekte</i> , half	<i>sungh</i> , <i>haitawi</i> , <i>thusa</i>
6	<i>a pangh</i> – a huai	<i>a kuate</i> , half; <i>inn tekte</i> , half	<i>sungh</i> , <i>haitawi</i> , <i>thusa</i>
7	<i>zang sa</i> – loin	<i>a kuate</i> , half	<i>sanggam</i>
8	<i>a phuk ka</i>	cooked as <i>sa leep</i>	cooked as <i>sa leep</i>
9	<i>a sung kua</i> – viscera	<i>a kuate</i> & <i>inn tekte</i> each take half of <i>phaw lawh</i> , the <i>gilpi</i> /stomach is halved and given for <i>sa leep</i>	
Notes: <i>a go te</i> – those who kill the animal; <i>inn tekte</i> – host; <i>sa leep</i> – non-essential cuts cooked for the guests; <i>a phawh lawh</i> – bits of meat not for distribution, usually cooked as <i>sa leep</i> .			



See key opposite for names and uses of the cuts.



Meat distribution for bride-price meat

Whether beef or pork, the meat is distributed as described below. The groom's family gets:

- four legs;
- half of the *a zaang*, the back;
- they are also given the rest of two cuts, *zaang lang*;
- the rest of four cuts of the *zaang* is for the *tamsi priest* of the bride's family;
- one or two strips *zingh khat zingh nih* of the *zaang langh pangh sa* is given to the *a kuan te* or the groom's family;
- the neck meat is divided into two: *akuan te* (groom's half) and *a teek* (host's half);
- the *gilpi* stomach is halved and split between the groom and bride's families;

- h) *sa phawhlawh*, miscellaneous meat, is halved for both sides;
- i) a *iik sa* ribs are halved for each side;
- j) the head and *sa nam* are set as for the host.

A kuan te, groom's family meat distribution:

- a) the head and *a nam* are set aside for *sa leep*;
- b) one leg is retained by the *a kuan te* groom, another is retained for the host; the best two legs are made *tumbul* – the top part taken away and give to *sabaal* and *sa phuuk*;
- c) the back *zang sa* is distributed as *sanggam sa* for the host;
- d) the *phei* or hind leg is distributed as *tanu sa*;
- e) the side or *pangh sa* is distributed as *sungh* or wife-giver meat;
- f) six or seven *sa leep khil*, garlands of miscellaneous stringed meat, are made. Both *tamsi* get a *khil*. The *haitawi* gets one *sa leep khi*, the *ngawng pi te* (senior wife-giver) and the rest each get a *khil* garland, making up six *sa leep nang khil*. Those who can afford to kill big animals may give the wife-givers *pu te*, two *sa nang khil* garlands.

Wife-takers' distribution

Of the four legs the wife-takers bring, they set aside, *khai*, one leg for the host. They cut off the top part of *tumbil* or *bawla tumbul* and offer one to those who helped with the bride-price. The last *tumbul* is given to the usual recipients for the wife-taker's family. If there is no-one who helps with the bride-price, they are given in addition to the *sabal* and *saphuk*. The remaining *tumbul* is given to the one who gets the *saliangpaak*.

Besides receiving the *liang pak* meat the *sanggam* receive one rib bone of the *sa zang*. If this is not sufficient, the *zaang zom meat* can be taken and distributed. The *ngawngpi* and *ngawng zui* wife-giver and next wife-giver may also receive the above meat. The *sunghte* or wife-giver also gets the side meat and the *tanu* who cook gets the *sa khal*

Tanu meat distribution

- a) Three legs are given and one hanged.
- b) Half the *zaang lang* is given to the groom family and half is eaten (at the feast).
- c) A *lakh* of the liver is given and three *lakhs* used to acknowledge the *zubeels*.
- d) One coil of sausage is given to the groom and three coils are distributed to acknowledge the *zubeel* pots.
- e) The *a pang* side meats for *zubeel sialna* are strung together with the liver and sausage.

Mithan killed to honour someone

- 1) All the four legs are given to the *maak* or groom's side.

- 2) All of the *a zaang liang bup* also is given.
- 3) The *a zaang* with four ribs is given to the host's *tamsi*.
- 4) The rest is given to the *maak* groom.
- 5) Half of the *pang* side meat is given to the *maak* groom and the other half is distributed as *zubeel tab* (meat in acknowledgement of *zu* pots brought in).
- 6) The head and the tail is given to the *inn teek* host.
- 7) The *iik* sa side meat is divided into two and given to the *a kuan te* groom's *sanangkhill*¹ meat coil and is to be consumed at the feast.
- 8) The rest of the shoulder meat is given to the *maak te* groom and the *nangkhill* meat coil and *sa leep* are eaten at the feast.
- 9) The neck is divided into two; one part is given to the groom and the other is eaten at the feast with *sa nang khil* and *sa leep*.
- 10) The stomach is divided into two. One part is given to the *maak* groom and the other is made into *anang khil* to be consumed at the feast.
- 11) The liver is divided into three segments, the largest of which is divided in the portions. The smallest portion is given to the *maak* groom's *sa leep nang khil*. The remaining *lak* or segments are eaten at the feast.
- 12) A small portion of the blood is given to the host for distribution. The sausage is divided into four parts: one portion is given for *sa leep nang khil*; another portion is given to the *maak* groom for their *sa leep*; one portion is given to the *inntee* host for *sa pi* main share; the last is given to the *intee sa leep nang khil*.

The *bangkua* investiture meat distribution²

The *sabal* and *sa phuk* are given the round. The spare-rib cut at the second nipple is given to the *thusa*.

The spare-rib cut at the second nipple is given to the *hautawi*. The *sa khal* is given to the *tulpi* priest.

The neck and the *iik* spare rib is given to *pu te*. The *phei* hind leg is shared among the *tanus*. The *zaang sa*, or loin and short loin, are given to *sanggam* brethren. The spare rib before the first nipple is given to the *sungh sa* wife-givers.

Millet *taang-aih* meat distribution

The wife-giver *pute* gets the neck. One shoulder is given to the over lord. The *tul phuh liang* is divided between the wife-giver *sungh te* and the over lords. The other shoulder is divided between *sungh* wife-givers. The *phei* or hind leg

1 A garland of meat containing the heart, lungs, kidneys and a loop of sausage that are threaded through with a strip of bamboo shaving called *naang*, and set aside for the host.

2 *Panmun seh*, *panmun gual* or choosing *panmun* holders is carefully planned. The formal investiture is done at the *inn tamh sa gawh* of a house-warming feast. There is no formal announcement but each *panmun* holder knows the post he is given by the meat portion (or *sa tamh*) the *thusa* steward and *sasem* meat-cutter renders to them.

is given to the *tanus*. The loin five ribs are given to *pu te*. Half of the *iik* spare rib is given to the *haitawi*. The shoulder meat is given as *sanggam sa*.

When pigs are killed for spirit propitiation the shoulder is given to the over lord. For *sa puan ak puan* the meat is taken from the fifth nipple and the skin of the shoulder is taken to the cuff and given to *pute*. The loin meat up to the fifth rib is for *sanggam bretheren*

There cannot be uniformity in meat distribution. So the brisket and leg round are often distributed according to mutual understandings.

Sa aih hunting feast meat distribution

One shoulder is given to the chief, the other shoulder is divided and the chuck is given as *tanu sa*. The hind legs *phei* are divided and the *paak* rump is given as *tanu sa*. The other *phei* hind leg is divided and the rump is given as *sanggam sa*.

Some people divided the stomach, the blood and the sausage among three or four families.

Half of the *iik* is given to a *song teek*, and eight or nine of the other *iik* are given to the person who had given the *tong* feast three times.

Those who have given the *gal aih* or *sa aih* three times, those who are *khat pui*, are given one cut; those who are *nih pui* are given two cuts. Those who are three *pui* are given the one cut of *khat pui* and the two cuts of *nih pui* decorated (*zeem*) with the liver, the sausage and the stomach.

Both the *angnih* shoulders are given as *zu la sial na* acknowledgement of *zu* pots, and the rest are distributed as *sanggam sa*. Some of the *phei* hind leg is skinned and the next day *pang khat* is set aside and the rest is given to the elders.

Distribution of sun sa and zan sa

The neck is given to *pu te* wife-givers. One *liang* is given to the chief, the other is given to *samulman* (*saphui pu*). A hindleg is made *tumbul* and given to those who procure the *zing zu*. The rump is given as *sanggam* and *tan sa*. The *a liang lakna* is given as the host's *zubeek sial na*. The *iik* spare-rib meat is cut in to nine cuts, and eight cuts called *lung pi sa* are entrusted to the elders. Half of the *iik* spare rib is given as *sa leep* and the remainder is for *samulman* (*saphuipua*).

Meat distribution at funerals

The neck of whatever is killed by the *intee* host is given to the *pu te*. The *si tuam* (who provide the pall blanket) gets the hind leg with the tail and the shoulder. The other *phei* is made *tumbul*. The shoulder chuck and the *zang* loin meat are divided among the host meat-cutter and *tanu*. The *sungh tanu* and *thusa* are given to also, and this is called *innsung sa*. Half of the *iik* is given to *sa lee* meal. The hind leg is made *tumbul* and *kha haat* is given to *sa baal*. The *liang lak na sa* is distributed to those who have contributed as *sa kuang val a hawm*.

Meat distribution of those who contributed from outside of the family

The contributor can hire a *sa baul*, giving him a shoulder, and the rest is given to the *inn teek* host. If the animal is killed *a vui te*, in the contributor's own house, then the head, the hind leg and half the heart, the kidney, the pancreas and two pieces of the stomach are sent to the house of the funeral for distribution there. The large stomach, the *iik* and some *phawh lawh* are given to the host. The *misivui* provider can distribute one shoulder and one *zang*, the whole lung, from their own house.

Meat cutting

When an animal is killed, first it is eviscerated, then the head is cut off, the neck is taken out. The shoulders are taken out and the left and right are noted. The two hind legs are taken out. One is called *phei mei bang* and made larger. Then the loin is cut into two halves which are cut into three strips each. Some of the meat pieces not in the main cuts, like the shoulders, legs etc., are taken out and called *phawh lawh*. The *iik*, the *gil hual* (*a phuk ka*) is taken out.

Appendix X

Kamhau, Burmese and scientific botanical names

With contributions from Pu Kam Khen Kham and Mg Thang Cin Mang. Kam Khen Kham contributed the Kamhau botanical names and their Burmese names. Thang Cin Mang, a Burmese, gave me their scientific names. My own sources are *Burmese-English Dictionary of the Myanmar Language Commission*, Ministry of Education 4th edition, 1994; *Some Common Burmese Timbers* by V. Desraj, 1961; *The Modern All-round Agricultural Methods* by Myo Thant, B.Ag. Permit No.721/2004 (c), September 2004; *Myanmar Medicinal Plants* by Agricultural and Irrigation Departments, 2000; *Larousse Encyclopedia; The Modern English-English- Burmese Dictionary*, Ed. Khin Maung Aye, 1996.

A lu	အာ လူး	potato
Ai kung	မိသလင	ginger-like herb – <i>Zingiber barbatum</i>
Ai lai dum	နန္ဒင်း တိန် ပြာ	tumeric – <i>Curuma</i>
Ai san	နန္ဒင်း	tumeric – <i>Curcuma longa</i>
Ak sial sing	နော့ ပင်	Haldu (India) – <i>Rubiaceae</i> , <i>Adina Cordifolia</i>
An kam	မုန် ညှင်းထုပ်	Chinese cabbage – <i>Brassica Pekinensis</i>
An kam (Leilum)	မုန် ညှင် ရွက်	mustard – <i>Brassica junicea</i>
An kam lum	ဂေါ် ဝီ ထုပ်	cabbage – <i>Brassica oleracea</i>
An phing	လက်ထုပ်ကြိုး ပင်	rosebay – <i>Holorrena antidysentrica</i>
An thul, an teh thuk	ချဉ် ပေါင်ပင်	roselle and deccan hemp – <i>Hibiscus</i>
An zo teh	ဇောက် လောက်ညှ	vegetable, black nightshade – <i>solanum nigrum</i>
Apple	ပန်း သီး	apple – <i>Pyrus malus</i>
Aw za	ဩဇာသီး	sweet sop – <i>Annona squamosa</i>
Baak bu kung	ဗေါက် ကြီးပင်	gooseberry species? – <i>Physalis?</i>
	ဗေါက်	wild gooseberry – <i>Physalis minima</i>
Baak lawng sing	ကြောင် သျှာ ပင်	Indian trumpet – <i>Ignonia indica</i>
Baal	ပိန်း ဥ	taro – <i>Colocassia antiquorum/esculenta?</i>
Baal huang kung	မဟော်ရပင်	<i>mahaw ya bin</i>
Bambwe		trade name: Kumbi (India) – <i>Careya arborea</i>
Banpi	ငှက် ဖျော ကြိုး	plantain, banana – <i>musaceae</i> order of <i>Zingiberales</i> spp

Be gul	ပဲလင်း မြေ	snake gourd – <i>Trichosanthes cucumeria</i>
Be hiang	ပဲစိမ်းငုံ	congo pea – <i>Cajanus indicus</i>
Be kan	ပဲ ငါး ဖိ	soya bean
Be lawi	ပဲ လွန်း	cowpea – <i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
Be li	ပဲ တီ စိမ်း	green gram
Be pi	ပဲ ကြီး	Indian bean/lablab bean – <i>Dolichos lablab</i>
Bepum	စား တောင်ပဲ	field pea/true pea – <i>Pisum arvense</i>
Besan	ကုလား ပဲ	gram /Bengal gram/chickpea – <i>Cicer arietinum</i>
Be zun neek	ပဲစိမ်းစား	yam bean – <i>Pachyrhizus angulatus</i>
Biangkiuh sing	မျောက်ဆပ်	medicinal plant – <i>Holopteleia integrifolia</i>
Bil sing	သတိ ပင်	hardwood – <i>Protium serratum</i>
Buang nai kung	ကြက် ပေါင် ပင်	kyet paung bin
Buh kung	စပါး ပင်	sa ba bin
Ci lanh	ပျဉ်းကတိုး	pyinkado, ironwood – <i>Xylia dolabriformis</i>
Ciing gui	ကြိမ်	cane, rattan
Cingh singh	သစ်ရာ	thitya – <i>Shorea obtusa</i>
Cingh singh a pa	အင်ကြင်း	trade name: Burma Sal – <i>Pentacme suavis</i>
Danih kung	တနီပင်	nipa palms – <i>Nypa fruticans</i>
Daw dawng	ဘောစ ကိုင်းပင်	baw sa gaing bin
Dan ta lawn kung	တနီသလွန် ပင်	dandalun tree – <i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lamk
Didu	တီးကျားပွ	didu – <i>Malvaceae, Bombax insigne</i>
Dol sing	ကျွန်း	teak, Sagwan(India) – <i>Tectona grandis</i>
Gam nah tang	တော ငှက် ပျော	taw hnga pyaw
Ganh gaw	ဂန်စီဂေါ်	ironwood – <i>Mesua ferrea</i>
Ga taam tang kang	ပဲ'လက်မြဲ	swordbean – <i>Canavalia eformis</i>
Gataam tang san	ပဲ'လက်နီ	red swordbean
Gawrkha	ရေခါးသီး	chayote – <i>Sechium edule</i>
Gel sing	စကားဝါ	yellow champa – <i>Michelia champaca</i> Linn
Gial heek	မိုယီးမခ	willow
Go sing	သစ်ဆီပုံ	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>
Go sing kung	သားစားဆီမီးပင်	tharsa sein bin plant
Gua kung	ဝါးပင်	bamboo plant– <i>Dendrocalamus</i>
Guasia	မျှင် ဝါး ၊ ဝါး ဖ ယောင်း	pliant bamboo – <i>Dendrocalamus dendisii</i>
Gun lei be kung	ပဲ ဖြူ ကလေး	white beans – <i>Phaseolus lunatus</i>
Ha kaai	မျောက် ဥ	white yam – <i>Scorea alata</i>
Hai kung	သရက	mango – <i>Mangifera indica</i>
Huan khau kung	ယုန်ပင်	yone plant
Hai hu sing	ဝဉ္ဇပင်	Devil's tongue, cobra plant – <i>Amorpha phallus companulatus</i> Blume
Kaal sing	တူနီ၊ ဂါနီ	dwa ni bine
Kai kang sing	ဖန်ခါးပင်	myrobalan tree – <i>Terminalia chebula</i>
Kai kih	စစ် သိမ်	sit thein
	စစ် တုံ	medicinal herb – <i>Homalomena rubescens</i>
Kanyin	ကညမူ	<i>Dipterocarpus</i>
Kaunghmu	ကောင်းမှု	<i>Anisoptera glabra</i>

Kawl kaai	ကန်ခွန်း၌	sweet potato – <i>Ipomoca batatas</i>
Kawl sathau	ကြက်ဆုပ်	castor oil plant – <i>Recinus communisi</i> (MMP)
Kawl sing	မာလကာပင်	guava – <i>Psidium guajava</i>
Kawltu kung	ကြံပင်	sugar-cane – <i>Saccharum officinarum</i>
Kep buk	ပ တိုင်း ခေတတ္ထမြူ	thorn apple, stramonium – <i>Datura stramonium</i>
Kep buk san	ပ တိုင်း ခေတတ္ထနီ	red stramonium
Kha sing	သစ် ကြိုး ပင်	<i>thit kyi bin</i> – <i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>
Kha suan	တောကြက်သွန်	wild onion – <i>Allium cepa</i>
Khang tui gul	ပေါက် နွယ်	<i>nwai/creepers</i>
Khau gui baak bu	ကုလား မျက်စိ ပင်	heart's pea – <i>Cardiospermum</i>
Kiil ling pi	ရှိုး စောင်းသီး ကြိုး	<i>Barboda aloes, Aloe vera</i> Linn.
Kok ku	ကကတ္ထူ ပင်	<i>kokku bin</i> – <i>Albizzia lebeck</i>
Kumpi bi neek	စီးတော် ပ	field pea – <i>Pisuma vense</i>
Kyana		<i>kyana, Carapa moluccensis</i>
La ho kung	ဖက် ယား	nettle – <i>Girardinia heterophylla</i>
Lai paak	စကျီပန်း	paper flower – <i>Bougainvillea spp</i>
Lang bawm (an bong)	ကီးပေါင်	bulbous growth on trees/parasitic shrub of <i>Loranthus</i> family
Le kung	ချိုင်းဝါပင်	<i>byaing wa bin</i>
Leibe (mawng phalli)	မြေပဲ	<i>mye be</i>
Leng gah	ဓမ္မစိသီး	grape – <i>Vitis spp</i>
Leng thei	နာနတ်သီး	pineapple
Leidi	သဇင်ပန်း	<i>Bulbophyllum auricomum</i>
Lei di pa	သဇင်ပန်း ပို	<i>thazin po</i>
Lo thang kha kung	လယ်ဟင်းခါးပင်	bitter onion
Ling maw	လိမ်မော်သီး ကမ္ပလွလာသီး	sweet orange – <i>C.sinensis</i>
Ling pak	နှင်း ဆီ ပန်း	rose – <i>Rosa spp</i>
Ling pi bin	ကလင်	<i>ka ling bin ka</i>
Ling uih kung	ဆူးပုပ်ပင်	<i>Acacia pendula</i>
Lothang kang	ကြက် သွန် မြူ	garlic – <i>Allium sativum</i>
Lothangsan	ကြက် သွန် နီ	onion & shallot – <i>Allium cepa</i>
Ma keng	မန်ကျည်းပင်	tamarind – <i>Tamarindus indica</i> Linn
Ma khaw kung	အုန်း ပင်	coconut palm – <i>Cocos nucifera</i>
Maai	ရွှေဝရံ	pumpkin – <i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
Maai gui	ဝရံနွယ်	<i>pa yone nwai</i>
Maai puang	ကျောက်ဝရံ	white pumpkin – <i>Benincasa cerifera</i>
Mahogany, golden	ရင်းမာပင်	yinmar tree – <i>Chukrasia tabularis</i>
Manawi/malang	ပိန်းနဲ ပင်း	jack fruit – <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i>
Mangkawl sing	သလဲပင်	pomegranate
Maniawga		maniawga – <i>Carallia interregima</i> , Syn. <i>Carallia lucida</i>
Manta thuk	ခရမ်းချဉ်သီး	tomato – <i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>
Mat pe	မတ်ပဲ	black gram – <i>Phaseolus mungo</i>
Mau kung (guapi/tuuk)	ကျူပင်	reed
Mawng pha li	မြေပဲ	ground nut/ peanut – <i>Arachis hypogaea</i>
Mawng sing	ညောင် ပင်	banyan tree – <i>Ficus bengha lensis</i>
Mei seem kung	မြေပဲမီးနပ်	<i>mye nu bin</i>
Meitei be	ကသဲပဲ	<i>ka thay pe</i>
Meitei sing	စီးခါးပင်	<i>zee hka bin</i>

Mezali	မဲဇလီကုလားလဲ	<i>meza li bin</i> , ringworm shrub – <i>Cassia alata</i>
Mi kang be	ကုလားပဲ	<i>kala pe</i> , gram/chickpea – <i>Cicer arietinum</i>
Mothak zummawh	ထိကရုံးပင်ဘိနိုပင်	sensitive plant – <i>Mimosa pudica</i> Linn.
Mua kung	ဘဲ နယ် ပင်	<i>be ne bin</i>
Mual gu	မဟာကာ ကျွဲရေ ကျ	<i>mahaga Kywe ye kya</i>
Mui sing	သပြေပင်	eunesia tree – <i>Eunesia jambosa</i>
Mui sing (Na ling)	ရေ နန့်သါ ပင်	<i>ye na ta bin</i>
Nabe	နဘဲ	jhingan – <i>Laudea grandis</i> , Syn. <i>Odina wodier</i>
Nahkhusing	ပေါက် ရိုင်း	Flame of the forest – <i>Butea frondosa Roxb.</i>
Nahtang	ငှက်ပြော	<i>nga pyaw bin</i> , banana – <i>Musa spp</i>
Nensi pak	နှင်းဆီပန်း	rose – <i>Rosa spp</i>
Ngai ngaw	ငှက် ဇလပ်	<i>ngu bin</i> , purging cassia – <i>Cassia fistula</i>
Ngan sap sing	တောက်ဆိပ်ပြာ	<i>dauh sat bya</i>
Ngeisok kang	ဇလပ်မြူ	<i>salat ph/yu</i>
Ngeisok san	ဇလပ်နီ	<i>salat ni</i>
Nipi paak	နေ ကြာပန်း	sunflower – <i>Helianthus annus</i>
Ni suh kung	သင်းတောင်ပင်	<i>baung bin</i>
Ong kung	အုန်း ပင်	palm, <i>Cocos nucifear</i>
Paak ngiam		a well-known Kamhau plant with an edible flower
Paal pi	သစ်ခွပန်း	orchid – <i>Orchidaceae spp</i>
Paang	လက်ပံပ	cotton tree – <i>Bombax malabaricum</i>
Padauk	ပိတောက်	<i>Pterocarpus indicus/ macrocarpus</i>
Palawpinan	ပလောပိန်	tapioca or cassava – <i>Manihot utilissima</i>
Pat kung	ဝါပင်	cotton – <i>Gossypium spp</i>
Pawng sing	တော ကြံ ပင် (အရုန)	wild sugarcane – <i>Saccharum officinarum</i>
Peeng pe sing	ပိတသင်းကပ်ပင်	<i>peik thinn kat bin</i>
Peh sing	တွဲဖြူပင်	<i>dwa phyu bin</i>
Pei kung	ပြည်ပင်	<i>pyi bin</i>
Phai kung	ကိုင်းပင်	<i>kaing bin</i>
Phok ling (sam sawp)	ကင်ပုံးပင်	<i>kin pawn bin</i>
Phuitong sing	ချယ်ရီပင်	cherry wild snake gourd – <i>Coccinia indica</i>
Pumpeeng kung	ကျူ ပင်	reed, <i>kyu bin</i>
Pumuam gah kung	ကွမ်းယာသီးပင်	betelnut tree, <i>belle vine</i> – <i>Piper betle</i> Linn.
Pumuam teh kung	ကွမ်းရွက် ပင်	<i>kun ywet bin</i>
Sahawk	ရှောက်ကဝါ	kaffir lime – <i>Citrus hystrix</i>
Sahawk thuk pum gol	ရှောက် ချို သီး	sour orange – <i>C. aurantium</i>
Sakhital sing kung	ရှောက် ဆံပင် ချဉ်	kabala orange
Salat	ဖုန်စိမ်း ပင်	<i>pone sei bin</i>
Sa pe pak	ဆီလတ်	lettuce – <i>Lactuca sativa</i>
Sawbya	ခံပယ်ပန်း	jasmine – <i>Jasminum sambac</i>
Se sing	ဗော ပြာ	<i>Sterculia campanulata</i>
	ဝက်သစ်ချပင်	oak – <i>Quercus semiserrata</i>

Seek pi (grapefruit)	ကျွဲ ကော သီး	pomelo – <i>Citrus decumana</i>
Seek pi	ရွှေကက်သခွါးသီး	citron – <i>Citrus medica</i>
Sial luang	မြောင်စဉ့် အောင်ပင်	<i>pyaungza aungbin</i> , a kind of rush – <i>Microstegium ciliatum</i>
Sial nap the kung	တောက်ရွှံပင်	<i>dauhhkwabin</i>
Sial thei theek	ခါးအောင်ပင်	<i>hka aungbin</i> – <i>Ficus hispida</i>
Sii pi	နှမ်းယဉ်	sesame – <i>Sesamum indicum</i>
Sii sing	နှမ်းပင်	sesame – <i>Sesamum indicum</i>
Siing	ရင်း	ginger – <i>Zingiberofficinale</i>
Sing gi	သမလန်း	<i>thamalan bin</i>
Sing hang kung	သစ်ဆေးပင်	Lacquer tree – <i>Melanorrhoea usetta</i>
Sing la	သလေပင်	<i>shalebin</i>
Singpi	ပိန်းနဲသီး	jack fruit – <i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>
Sing sang sing	မုှ်းနဲဖြူပင်	<i>mayo/nahpyu bin</i>
Singtang mai (nu nun)	သဘောသီး	papaya
Suak lu sing	စီးဖြူ ပင်	Indian gooseberry – <i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>
Suang kua sing	ကဲသစ်ပင်	<i>Erythrina arborescens</i> , <i>E. suberosa</i>
Talekung	သလဲပင်	pomegranate – <i>Punica granatum</i>
Taak sing	ထင်းရှူးပင်	pine tree – <i>Pinus khasya</i> (Chin Hills)
Tal mit lo	ဇာမနိခြက်	<i>armani myet</i>
Taloh saga kung	တလုပ်ကျေးပင်	<i>tayig saga bin</i> – <i>Frangipani plumerice</i> <i>aculifolia</i>
Tam pa ya	သံပုရာသီး	lime – <i>Citrus aurantifolia</i>
Tan sing	အင်ပင်	<i>in bin</i> – <i>Dipterocarpus tuberculatus</i>
Tang mai	သခွါး	cucumber – <i>Cucumis sativus</i>
Tangh kha/meh kha	ကြက်ဟင်းခါးသီး	bitter gourd – <i>Momordica charantia</i>
Tat sing	မျောက်လုပ်ပင်	monkey jack – <i>Artocarpus lakoocha</i>
Taukkyan	တောက်ကြံ	<i>Terminalia tomentosa crenulata</i> , <i>T. corciacea</i>
Taung peinne	တောင် ပခန့်	<i>aungpeinne</i> – <i>Artocarpus chaplasha</i>
Taung thayet	တောင် သရက်	<i>taung thayet</i> – <i>Swintonia floribunda</i>
Taw ka phi kung	‘နီကျွဲ ပင်	negro or wild coffee
Tawk sing	ညောင်အုန်းဇေတ	<i>nyanung bedah</i>
Tei sing	ရှေးတမာ ပင်	<i>gwe ta ma bin</i>
Thakpi sing	ဟိုင်းဩပင်	<i>haing aw bin</i>
Thalsing	စပါးလင်	lemon grass – <i>Cymbopogon citratus</i> Stapf
Thang khuai kung	ထမန်းပင်	toddy palm – <i>Borassus flabellifer</i>
Thawhbat	ထော့ပတ်သီး	avocado – <i>Persea americana</i>
Theiba sing	ခပေါင်းရေကြည်	clearing-nut tree – <i>Strychnos potarum</i> Linn.
Thei dam	မယားကြီးပင်/မုရားကြီး	Malabar nut – <i>Adhatoda vasica</i> nees
Thei sing	ကတွတ်	fig – <i>Ficus cunia</i>
Thei theek	သမန်းပင်	<i>tha hpan bin</i> – <i>Ficus glomerata</i>
Thingadu	သင်္ကတိုးပင်	<i>thingadu</i> – <i>Parashorea stellata</i>
Thingan	သင်္ကန်း	rock damma tree, tradename Hopea – <i>Hopea odorata</i>
Thitka	သစ်ခ	<i>thika</i> – <i>Pentace burmanica</i>
Thitkado	သစ်ကတိုး	<i>thitkado</i> – <i>Cedrela toona</i>
Thitya	သစ် ရာ	Burma sal – <i>Shorea obtusa</i>
Tuai ki sing	ကင်းမလင်း	<i>kin ma lin tree</i> – <i>Antidesma diandrum</i>
Tuai leeng	ရွှေး ပင်	<i>ywe bin tree</i> – <i>Abrus precatorius</i>
Tuan kum	ကျွဲပင်	<i>kyu bin</i> – <i>Arundo donax</i>
Tum sing	ခရီး ပင်	<i>hka yi tree</i>

Ui hai nam	သ ရက်ကင်းခု	<i>thayet kin hku?</i> – <i>Curcuma armada</i>
Ui lei kung	ဆေးပုဇွန်လုံး	<i>sie pazun lone tree</i>
Ui te gui	ခွေးလေးနွယ်	cowhage – <i>Mucuna pruriens</i>
Um gui	ဘုန်း နွယ်	<i>bunwai</i> – <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>
Um pawng kung	ပတိုင်းပင်	<i>padaing bin</i> – <i>Datura suaveolens</i>
Vaai mim	ပြောင်းပင်	<i>pyaung bin</i> , maize – <i>Zea mays</i>
Vagi kha kung	ငှေး ထ ခါးပင်	<i>gwe hka bin</i>
Vagi san sing	ငှေး ကြိုးနီပင်	<i>gwe gyinibin?</i> – <i>Spondias pinnata</i>
Vagi tang mai vom	ငှေး မျက်နှာ မ	<i>gwe myet hna me</i>
Vagi tang kang	ကင် ငှေး ဖြူ	<i>kin gwe hpyu</i>
Vak nut sing	တည်ပင်	species of persimmon – <i>Diospyros burmanica</i>
Van sam	ရွှေနှယ်ပင်	dodder plant – <i>cuscuta reflexa</i> Roxb
Vang sing kang	စိန်ပန်းဖြူ	<i>seinbanphyu</i> – <i>Poinciana regia</i>
Vang sing san	စိန်ပန်းနီ	gold mohur tree – <i>Delonixia regia</i>
Vau sing	စွယ်တော်တည်ပင်	<i>swedawbin</i> – <i>Bauhinia acuminata</i>
Vokanlingnei kung	ဟင်းနုနွယ်ဆူး ပေါက်	prickly amaranth <i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>
Vokan ling neilokung	ဟင်းနုနွယ်	species of amaranth used as vegetable – <i>Amaranthus blilum</i> , <i>Apaniculatus</i> etc.
Vong sing	ယမနေ	<i>yemane</i> – <i>Gmelina arborea</i>
Vunbu sing	ပြည့်စင်ပင်(သို့) ကင်ပလင်း	<i>pyihsinbin</i> , <i>Antidesma bunius</i> , <i>A. diandrum</i>
Yindaik	ရင်းတိုက်	<i>yindaik</i> – <i>Dalbergia cultrata</i>
Yinmar	ရင်းမာ	<i>yinmar</i> – <i>Chukrasia tabularis</i>
Yon	ရိုး	axlewood – <i>Anogeissus acuminata</i> , <i>Anogessus phyllyreoefolia</i>
Yukalip kung	ယူကလစ်ပင်	<i>eucalyptus</i>
Za nah (zatep)	ဆေး ပင်	tobacco – <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>
Za nahpi kung	ဆေး ချောပင်	tobacco variety
Zang be kang	ပဲကျား	lima bean – <i>Phaseolus lunatus</i>
Zang sial lo	ဆေး ပူဇွန် ချောပင်	<i>sei pa zun</i> , medicinal plant
Zasan	ငရုတ်မျောက်ငိုသီး ပင်	chilli – <i>Capsicum annuum</i>
Zawng hai kung	မျောက် ရမ်းပဲ ပင်	<i>ma yan bin tree</i>
Zawng tah kung	မျောက်ငိုသီး ပင် မောင်ရင်္ဂို	<i>myauk ngu thee bin</i> , speargrass – <i>Heteropogon contortus</i>
Zuang sing	မအူပင်	<i>ma u bin tree</i>
Zin ngal	ထမ်းသတ်ပင် သံသတ် ပင်	<i>than that bin tree</i>
Zo zam kung	ကြက်မောက်ပင်	love-lies-bleeding – <i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>
Zu ning sing	ဒိပ်မွေးပင်	twining shrub – <i>Erycibe citriniflora</i>

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About the author

Sukte Khup Chin Pau is the grandson of Hau Chin Khup, chief of the Kamhaus, on the maternal side. Both he and his wife, Rita Man Lam Cing, granddaughter of Chief Pum Za Mang, grew up in the atmosphere of Kamhau chiefs and witnessed many of the feasts and funerals. Both speak the Kamhau dialect, so named because it was spoken by Kamhau's court and also by Chief Pum Za Mang himself.

Sukte Khup Chin Pau was born in Tedim on the 17th July 1933. He was educated at Anglo-Vernacular school in Tedim and later continued his studies at St Paul's English High School, Rangoon, where he matriculated in the second division in 1950. He studied Civil Engineering in Rangoon BOC College and was selected as an exchange scholar to study at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, and graduated with a Bachelor of Civil Engineering in 1962.

He served in the Burma Army Corps of Engineers for 27 years and retired as a Major. He was a full member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. He pursued his interest in history of architecture, a subject he took under Professor Louise Hall at Duke. He studied northern Chin *zo inn* vernacular, and photographed and recorded architectural details.

He and his wife are currently living in Singapore. After retiring from the Poh Lian Company Ltd, where he worked as a civil engineer, the author was awarded the Master of Religious Education from Cornerstone University, Michigan, in 2005, and was ordained as a Baptist pastor at the age of 75 by the Singapore Baptist Convention in 2008.

