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MYTHS OF THE GALO TRIBE OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH: A  
STUDY OF CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

1<sup>st</sup> PROJECT REPORT

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Myth is an interesting area of study for mythologists, folklorists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and other related disciplines like literature and history. In general, myth finds expression through different modes of narration and serves to inform us the world-view of the people. It reflects, expresses and explores the self-image of the people of a particular community or society. The study of myths is thus of central importance in the study of social reality in cultural perspective. It presents an understanding of culture specific human behavior as well as the way of life and instills a sense of discipline in the individual or the society that gives us an idea of social reality.

*As Kirk said, myths can possess significance through their structure, which may unconsciously represent structural elements in the society from which they originate or typical behaviouristic attitudes of the myth-makers themselves. They may also reflect specific human preoccupations, including those caused by contradictions between instincts, wishes, and the intransigent realities of nature and society.*<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, an understanding of social reality in tribal community anchors on the study of folklores in general and myth in particular. But a society is not static; it is dynamic over time and space. Obviously, the social reality of a community in transition cannot be completely captured by studying myths of a past period. Nonetheless, such myths do not become altogether outdated.

*Blackburn* has shown a culture or society doesn't evolve disjointedly; at least some elements of the past are found to exist in the new or modified forms and so the emerging situation presents a change in continuity. This perspective of change and continuity could also be the frame of analysis of the dynamics of myths over time and space. In different situations the old myths do continue but with changes to suit the context. Of course, new

myths may be created to explain a social reality but still old myths do retain their relevance because the culture, as has been said, is normally a process of change and continuity.<sup>2</sup>

With this backdrop, the present research was undertaken to study the societal significance of myths in a tribal community in transition with *Galo* tribe of Arunachal Pradesh as case study. The *Galo* tribe inhabits West Siang, East Siang and Upper Subansiri districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Like any tribal community of Arunachal Pradesh, the *Galos*, an Indo-Mongoloid group of Arunachal Pradesh, have a rich heritage of oral literature. Most of their faiths and beliefs are based on their myths. They also believe in the supreme power of the Almighty *Donyi-Polo*, who in turn received the supreme powers from 'Jimi Ane.' In *Galo*, the 'Jimi Ane' is the creator of this entire universe. She is a mother Goddess who created the Sun, Moon, stars, planets including living and non-living things on earth.<sup>3</sup>

The *Galos* have their own depository of oral narratives which are commonly shared by every individual of the community irrespective of their dialectal variations and regional settlement. These oral narratives not only grant continuity and stability to the culture of the tribe but also ensure connectivity with other cultures of various other tribes of the state particularly with the Tani group. It is worthwhile to mention here that almost all the myths of the *Galo* tribe centres around the life story and activities of *Abo Tani*. By virtue of this fact, Tani is hailed as Ancestor of all Tani Group tribes representing *Adi*, *Apatani*, *Galo*, *Nyishi*, *Tagin* etc.

But now-a-days the tribal society is changing fast and exposed to formal life and development process, education, market economy, scientific reasoning, democratic political system to mention a few which are beyond the tribal level of understanding and adaptation. Nevertheless, they have a life which combines both traditional and modern forces and have adjusted to move ahead with the changing time. Thus, in the present age, although the profound influence of the modern forces is well discernible in various activities of the society such as the ceremonies and practices relating to birth, marriage,

death, genealogical counting of origin, festivals, cultivations, customary laws, religion etc. yet the role and functions of myths in the society have not been relegated to the background. The social reality of the *Galo* in its various manifestations like social relations, religious practices, economic and political life are drawn from myths, legends, etc. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that myths form one of the most important available models of instruction since no separate philosophical system of inquiry exists with the *Galo* tribe.

Precisely, the study has documented some selected myths of the *Galo* tribe which were critically analyzed and found to have perpetual relevance as well as implication on the *Galo* society in the changing context especially in expounding many social phenomena of the tribe.

#### **Notes and References**

1. Kirk, G.S. 1970. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and other Cultures*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, p. 252.
2. Blackburn, Stuart H. 2008. *Himalayan Tribal Tales: Oral Tradition and Culture in the Apatani Valley*. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands, pp. 107-129.
3. Nyori, T. 1993. *History and Culture of the Adis*. Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

For the present study we are supposed to go for reviewing of literature which has two dimensions: one is related to literature on tribes, their oral narratives with reference to the *Galo* and the other is related to the works on the myths. The works on the tribal oral narratives of Arunachal Pradesh and the *Galo* mostly include ethnographic analysis and on some aspects of the folklores. With regard to myths, there are works by a few anthropologists and folklorists but these are not specifically related to the topic at hand. As such, there are only a few available literatures on the *Galo* tribe. All early works whatsoever done on the *Galos* were the works of a few adventurous administrative officers of the NEFA days but those available works do not have much significance or direct link with the proposed research work of the researcher. Moreover, all these extant works are rather descriptive and analytical on the socio-political and economic aspects and also on certain other aspects of the *Galo* tribe, but no focused research work is available on social relevance of myths in the lives of the *Galos* of Arunachal Pradesh. Hence, the research work in question is a maiden endeavor towards documenting the myths of the *Galos*. This, in fact, is the primary concern of the present study.

Going by the origin of the word 'myth' its meaning has been changing from its Greek origin which meant "speech" or "message" to the Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary meaning that defines a myth as "a usually traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or a natural phenomenon".<sup>1</sup>

Social scientists hold diverse views on myths; all, however, seem to agree on one basic fact: that a myth is a tale or a narrative.

Kirk in his classic book *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and other Cultures*, tries to understand a set of wide ranging but connected problems of myths, their relation with folktales and rituals, the validity and scope of structuralist theory of myth, the range of possible mythical functions, etc. In his book, he has suggested a simplified working typology of mythical functions. The first type is primarily narrative and entertaining for all myths are stories and depend heavily on their narrative qualities for their creation and preservation. Yet myths that are exclusively narrative and seem to have no speculative or operative content whatever are rare or rather they belong to the special genres of folktales and legends, preserved through their appeal either as neat and simple tales or as elaborated relics of the past. The second type of functions is the operative, iterative and validatory is a broad category. The myths it includes tend to be repeated regularly on ritual or ceremonial occasions and their repetition is part of their value and meaning. Sometimes it will be magical in intention, part of a ritual designed to be efficacious, to bring about a desirable continuity in nature or society. Many fertility myths are of this kind. The reversal of the sun's passage at the solstices or the beginning or ending of seasonal rains, is aided and confirmed by the performance of imitative actions at the crucial time of the year, and often by the accompaniment of myths stating the first occasion, originative and paradigmatic occurrence, of the desired events. The third type of mythical function, an important one by any standards, is precisely the speculative and explanatory. It is true that explicit aetiologies, of the names, origins and functions of plants, animals, men, cults, rituals, customs, institutions, cliffs, caves, mountains, rivers, tend to be superficial; in savage societies they are often appended to a myth as a matter of routine, and without touching its essential character.<sup>2</sup>

According to William Bascom, "Myths are prose narratives which, in the society in which these are told, are considered to be truthful account of what happened in the remote past. They are accepted on faith; they are thought to be believed; and they can be cited as

authority as answer to ignorance, doubt, or disbelief. Myths are the embodiment of dogma; they are usually sacred; and they are often associated with theology and ritual. Their main characters are not human beings, but they often have human attributes; they are animals, deities or culture heroes, whose actions are set in an earlier world, when the earth was different from what it is today, or in another world such as the sky or underworld. Myths account for the origin of the world, of mankind, of death, or for characteristics of birds, animals, geographical features, and the phenomena of nature. They may recount the activities of the deities, their love affairs, their family relationships, their friendships and enmities, their victories and defeats. They may purport to “explain” the details of ceremonial paraphernalia or rituals, or why taboos must be observed, but such etiological elements are not confined to myths”.<sup>3</sup>

Ruthven opens his monograph “Myth” by conceding that it is difficult to define myth because it is obscure in origin, protean in form and ambiguous in meaning.<sup>4</sup>

In Tristram Potter Coffin's definition "myths are folk tales that are religious in nature and explain the universe and its inhabitants. Such stories are considered true by both the narrator and the audience and tell of creation and regulation of the world".<sup>5</sup>

To Eliade, an authority in phenomenology of religion, myths are always creation stories which are situated in the Primordial Time. In "*Toward a Definition of Myth*," he makes out a strong case for cosmogony myths which subsume all myths of origin. He declares that "myths of origin ... reveal how man became what he is today - mortal, sexual and obliged to work to sustain himself". In general, he makes these observations:

- that myth, such as it is lived by archaic societies, constitutes the story of the deeds of supernatural beings;
- that the story is considered to be absolutely *true* (because it refers to realities) and *sacred* (because it is the work of Supernatural Beings);

- that myth always concerns a “creation”; it tells how something has come into existence, or how a way of behaving, an institution, a way of working, were established; that is why myths constitute paradigms for every meaningful human act;
- that in knowing the myth one knows the “origin” of things and is thus able to master things and manipulate them at will; this is not an “external”, “abstract” knowledge, but a knowledge that one “lives” ritually, either by reciting the myth ceremoniously, or by carrying out the ritual for which it serves as justification;
- that in one way or another one “lives” the myth, gripped by the sacred, exalting power of the events one is rememorializing and re-actualizing. <sup>6</sup>

Rene Wellek and Austin Warren in their *Theory of Literature: A Seminal Study of the Nature and Function of Literature in all its Contexts* defined that, “Myth is social, anonymous, communal,” because it binds together the society in which it occurs particularly through rites and rituals which are largely social events. <sup>7</sup>

The anonymous character of myths is well brought out by G.S. Kirk, an authority on Greek myths. He remarks in *On Defining Myth*: If all myths are tales, not all tales are myths: a novel is not a myth, for instance, neither is a Christian cautionary tale (which is not to deny that they may contain elements of myth). By “myth” most people mean “primitive”, unsophisticated and non-literary tales, tales that are told in non-literate cultures that are repeated and developed by anonymous storytellers rather than being invented by an individual author with pen in hand. It is a condition of our knowing any such tale from antiquity, at least that it should have become traditional, should have passed down from generation to generation to be eventually recorded when literacy becomes established. <sup>8</sup>

Isidore Okpewho, a Nigerian writer has also felt that “any narrative of the oral tradition so long as it lays emphasis on fanciful play [is] a myth”. <sup>9</sup>

Robert A. Segal in his book *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* makes explicit his own proposed definition of myth and writes, "To begin with, I propose to defining myth as a story. That myth, whatever else it is, is a story may seem self-evident. After all, when asked to name myths, most of us think first of stories about Greek and Roman gods and heroes. Yet myth can also be taken more broadly as a belief or credo – for example, the American 'rags to riches myth' and the American 'myth of the frontier'." <sup>10</sup>

Myth-making is not the habit only of the primitive mind; it is a feature of all ages. In Joseph Campbell's well known words, "Myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation". Hence, it may be inferred that myths are narratives, in that they may reflect man's metaphysical quests, his vision of cosmic existence and involve gods and heroes. <sup>11</sup>

Now interrogation must be addressed as to: Why is it that we arrive at a semantic stalemate when it comes to defining myths? There are as many as six tricky issues that beset any myth scholar when the question is trying to arrive at a precise definition.

(i) Myths are tales/stories which took place in ancient times. In other words, myths surpass the coordinates of time and space, for they belong to the primordial times. Being pre-historical phenomena, they pose difficulties to us who are in a way, enslaved by time and space because of our contingent character.

(ii) Most myths are sacred narratives characterized by man, and fear and awe and this transcendent phenomenon cannot be adequately comprehended by human linguistic categories. <sup>12</sup>

(iii) We lack the "immediacy" of the "primitives". Therefore, an unmediated awareness of myths has been replaced by a mediated, critical approach to myths, which is characterized by reflection and subject-object dichotomy. <sup>13</sup>

(iv) In the on-going confrontation between science and myths, science has emerged the aggressive victor and subsequently, we, rationalistic and empirical to a large extent, tend to dismiss myths brusquely as they do not square in with our scientific cosmology. Wheelwright points out that, "science and myth are basically incommensurate ways of experiencing and science can't explain myth without explaining it away".<sup>14</sup>

(v) Myth is a multi-dimensional term whose reach traverses diverse areas such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, phenomenology of religion, literature and literary criticism.

(vi) It has to be noted that the term myth itself is quite elastic and flexible, and contains within itself shades of meaning. Over the centuries, accretions and encrustations have clouded the original meaning of the term.

Levi-Strauss in his *The Structural Study of Myth* studied the structure of the myths and mentioned that in order to understand what a myth really is; must we choose between platitude and sophism? Some claim that human societies merely express, through their mythology, fundamental feelings common to the whole mankind, such as love, hate, or revenge or that they try to provide some kind of explanations for phenomena which they cannot otherwise understand- astronomical, meteorological, and the like. But why should these societies do it in such elaborate and devious ways, when all of them are also acquainted with empirical explanations? On the other hand, psychoanalysts and that many anthropologists have shifted the problems away from the natural or cosmological toward the sociological and psychological fields. But then the interpretation becomes too easy: If a given mythology confers prominence on a certain figure, let us say an evil grandmother, it will be claimed that in such a society grandmothers are actually evil and that mythology reflects the social structure and the social relations; but should the actual data be conflicting, it would be as readily claimed that the purpose of mythology is to provide an

outlet for repressed feelings. Whatever the situation, a clever dialectic will always find a way to pretend that a meaning has been found.<sup>15</sup>

Punia in his book, *Social Values in Folklore*, studied the social values of folksongs of Haryana with reference to rural women. He has also portrayed that folklore is the aspect of culture which explains people's socio-cultural systems, beliefs, values and attitudes through different folk narratives.<sup>16</sup>

Handoo in his paper entitled *Folk Metaphor and Modern Indian Society*, has found that the folklorists have not adequately treated their tools on contemporary expressions such as films, advertisement, mass media, folk speech and other forms of Indian mass culture. They are still conventional. He concludes that the mass culture has not made much impact yet on Indian society as it has in the industrialized world of the west for which there is a gap in folkloristic studies in contemporary Indian society.<sup>17</sup>

Elwin in his book, entitled *The Myths of the North-East Frontier of India*, has made a comprehensive collection of the myths of all the tribes of erstwhile North-East Frontier Agency of India. It consists of nearly 400 interesting tales that throw ample light on the thought and world view of the tribes. His view is of paramount significance – “The word *Gallong* (now *Galo*) covers a number of small groups in Siang and northern Subansiri, among whom are the *Paktus*, *Riba-Basars*, *Tai-padias*, *Nali-bags*, *Tator-tanis*, while the *Ramos*, *Bokars* and *Tagins* are closely related to them”. *Gallong* village and political organization is built up on the clan system, each village consisting of a single clan. Houses are generally substantial and in contrast to the neighboring *Minyong* houses are square rather than rectangular. They do not have communal dormitories. The marriage arrangements of the *Gallongs* are unusual: male children are betrothed before birth; there is a slight but definite strain of polyandry. The art of weaving had largely died out among them but some of the beautiful traditional patterns are now being revived. The *Gallongs*

differ from the *Minyongs* and *Padams* in keeping their hair long, and are attractive looking people of fine physique. <sup>18</sup>

Further, in his *A Philosophy for NEFA*, Elwin who concentrated all his interest in the NEFA people in the later part of his life, believes that tribal religion is built up from an elaborate mythology, and in substantiation of his statement he quotes from an American writer who had remarked that “myths, at its best, is to be regarded as a recognition of the drama of human existence. Its ultimate aim is not the wishful distortion of of the world, but rather serious comprehension and envisagement of its fundamental nature. Myth is regarded as representing a world picture and insight into life generally and may therefore, be considered a primitive philosophy or metaphysical thought”. <sup>19</sup>

Dunbar in his ‘*Abors and Galongs*’ made clear about the differences between the Abors and Galos and had collected some myths and legends of the *Galos* and has also tried to trace the traditional origin of the *Galo*. He puts the traditional origin of the *Galos* as follows:

“At the beginning of the time, the Gods for seven generations dwelt alone on the Earth, to which they came in the following order, father to son, as they are named by the Miri in his incantations. *Jimi, Michek, Chegrum, Rumbuk, Buksin, Sintu, Turi* and in the eight generation *Riki* and *Rini*. *Riki* as the custom of Gods ate flesh raw but *Rini* cooked it. *Riki* was renamed *Taki* and *Rini*, who burnt the flesh before he ate it, was *Tani*”. <sup>20</sup> Kumar in his book, *Folk-lores & Folk-lore Motifs (Special Reference to North-East)*, has made a study of folklores of the North-East region. He has written that Arunachal Pradesh specially the central region, is very rich in myths of origin. There are myths of origin of different animals, birds and insects, such as, horse, pig, bear, elephant, dog, mithun, monkey, tiger, yak, rat, snake, fish, leeches, frog, hornets, cock, duck, bee and cricket, human organs such as teeth, eye, and fingers, natural objects and phenomena, such as rivers, Bramaputra, Lohit river, trees, seed, tea, brinjal, chillies, cotton, ginger, onion, millet, plantain, chestnut

tree, bamboo, leaves, flowers, grass, poison, sky, stars, mountain, wind, fire, lightening, hail, and rain, and other things and activities, such as iron, implements, death, disease, marriage, cultivation, trade, sacrifice, pig sacrifice, human sacrifice and head-hunting, weeping and singing.<sup>21</sup>

Sinha in his book *Religion and the Culture of North-Eastern India* says, “Myth plays a large part of carrying religion from generation to generation as it also transmits other cultural traditions. It is from this point of view that I consider myth to be playing a vital role in the cultural system of a people. In N.E. tribal cultures this functional role of myth becomes all the more important. I feel that all knowledge about origin of religion in all parts of world is itself based on an elaborate mythology. This then indicates another assumption that myth is interwoven finely in the network of religion. This is more true of the religion of the N.E. people..... The origin of the human race is traced back to pre-history when creators of the world may have tried to create it through a complicated genealogy of semi-ethereal mythical beings”.<sup>22</sup>

Datta in *Changing Functions of Traditional Narrative: The Case of North East India*, has presented how folk communities in north-east India use folklore in constructing the religious and political ideologies. He has further explored the fast changing functions of folk narratives among the tribal population of the said region. He has written, “Let us begin with the most obvious function-amusement or entertainment. It is common knowledge that since the earliest times folktales have provided amusement and entertainment not only to children but even to adults and the aged. This is very much true of the Indian society where large sections of the populations are still illiterate (if not non-literate) and lived in remote villages where other avenues of entertainment are not easily available. But what is remarkable is that even urban literate sections of the society cherish the flavors of folktales and other kinds of folklore material”.<sup>23</sup>

Mibang and Choudhuri in their edited work *Folk Culture and Oral Literature from North East* have compiled many important works on folk narratives from the North-East. Through N.K. Gogoi's paper, '*Folk Narratives and Social Reality in North-East India*', they explained the importance of folk narratives as a part of oral history providing a cohesive force to the community. The paper examines origin myths of the tribes of North-East India like the Tangsa and Miji of Arunachal Pradesh, Chand of Nagaland, Karbis of Assam, Puram Chothe of Manipur and tried to reveal explicitly how such folk narratives in one way are used for the formation of new clans/sub-clans or sub-tribes out of a single community or tribe and on the other way how such folk narratives can also provide a base for integration of two or more ethnic groups into one.<sup>24</sup>

Srivastava in his book *Folk Culture & Oral Tradition* mentioned that the study of folk culture and oral tradition in India may provide a tool to motivate the people in the desired manner to induce social change, which is the central objective of our development programmes. Such a study may help to identify the soft spots in our social organisms, through which we shall be able to crystallize our vision from sporadic expression of progress to the social formation which is the pivot of the desired course of change in our society.<sup>25</sup>

Mishra in his *Aspects of Myth in Modern Poetry* has analyzed the unifying myth and its effects on the nature and communication of poetic vision. He emphasized that the developments of secular and of religious thought in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were not only independent and exclusive of each other but also headed towards exclusively rational, intellectual, abstract and dogmatic systems of ideas. The dichotomy was not only confined to the separation of cosmology from theology, knowledge from belief, the secular from the Divine, but included also an overall separation of Reason and intellect from the instinctive, emotive or intuitive faculties. It was not merely the breakup of a synthesis or a myth in which all kinds of knowledge and vision lay together, but – and this “had more” far-

reaching implications- the segregation of the rational faculty of 'knowing' from those other faculties of 'participating' or 'experiencing' in a significant way. The disintegration of a myth begins precisely on the ground where individual reasoning dissociates itself from a living experience of the world around it, - trees, rocks, rivers, sun, moon, seasons and the like that provide a value and a unity to human experience of living.<sup>26</sup>

Sharma quite emphatically voices the significance of the folktales and stories in determining the prevalent concerns and serious reflections of the related contextualities in his essay *Relevance of Folk Tale and its Social, Moral Messages*. Of course they have become more relevant since they are immortal and have undying dynamism that represents the larger socio-cultural plane and are manifestations of the latent and visible currents of the society.

In this essay, he mentioned that "Folk tales are stories of the folk, the common people. Among the most common folk tales are myths, fables, legends, fairy tales and epics. Each tale had variation which contained elements peculiar to a particular society or culture. Folk tales form the root of all literature. The basic themes and plots are often the same across cultures. The purpose of folk tales is to serve as educational tools for pre-literate societies, passed on knowledge essential for survival, reinforced practices and social mores of a culture. We struggle just as the ancients did to know where we fit on this planet and how we should conduct our lives and we wonder on occasion just as any culture does". Further, "The great myths are valuable in their own right not just because they provide the mental hooks but also because they enable us to gather and understand new materials. These myths have survived through the centuries because they have had something important to say and because people of widely disparate ages and cultures have found in these tales lessons and inspiration for their own lives. This enables us to appreciate people of all cultures".<sup>27</sup>

Doley in his book, *Oral Literature of the Misings of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh*, has documented the rich tapestry of Mising oral literature and has also described about the lifestyles of Mising as reflected in their oral tradition.<sup>28</sup>

Pertaining to the social aspects of myths of the Galos, no works have been attempted so far while on various other aspects of oral literature of the tribe, there are some works as enlisted below which are very significant for the least known tribe of the least known area. Ete in his work *Pume Dada Hoi Dada Okke Oyo Hei ya* has made a note on the marriage system of the Galo. He writes that the first move is made by the parents of the boy to be married. They depute a person of trust and tact to find out how the parents of the girl fancied by them as a daughter-in-law and approved by the clan and village-elders, would receive a formal proposal. If the messenger finds that they would not mind considering it, he arranges for a formal call by his principals. On the appointed date the boy with his father and a few kins and friends visit the girl's parent with meat and drink. If the match is favoured, the proposal, made usually with great caution and by indirect suggestion, is accepted with the presents, though with a show of reluctance. Before the groom's party returns, the matter has been settled, the agreement sealed with a joined repast.<sup>29</sup>

Another work *Nyikok Agom, The sacred lore of the Galo, 1984*, is a compilation book on innumerable proverbs and aphorisms used by the Galos in their dialect.<sup>30</sup> Chowdhury in his paper *Myths of Arunachal Tribes* has studied the creation myths of the Adis, Galos, Akas, Apatanis and correlate them with the myths of creation of the Bible and Hindu mythology and has pointed out the recurrence of imagery of the sky and the earth. "We begin with the creation myths of the Adis of Arunachal. They tell us that in the beginning, there was no shape or form; everything was enveloped in darkness. We are naturally reminded of the myths of creation in the Bible and our own conception of utter chaos and confusion in the beginning, in the Hindu mythology".<sup>31</sup>

Srivastava in his book, *The Gallongs* gives an introductory idea of the Gallongs, their country, material culture, social and economic organizations, rituals and beliefs and a few other aspects of life. He has also highlighted the different aspects of marriage such as marriageable age, marriage restrictions, types of marriage, consideration for marriage, seasons of marriage and marriage ceremonies. Besides, he has described about the old age, causes of sickness and death, death and treatment of the dead body, disposal of the dead body practiced among the Galos.<sup>32</sup>

Pandey in his paper *Kebang: A Folk Tale of the Gallongs* has written that “The *Adis* have a myth explaining the existence of the *Kebang* in their society. *Kebang* or *Keba* means the meeting. All the socio-political problems of the *Adis* are decided by the *Kebang*. Plainly the myth which is a *Gallong* version of Basar area of the West Siang District, displays knowledge of ethnographic distribution and characteristic practices of the people. It also narrates the origin of the village councils, the laws and the *Kebang*, the ‘meeting’, which decides and determines the personal behaviours as well as the socio-economic and political life of the society as a whole”.<sup>33</sup>

Nyori in his book, *History and Culture of the Adis*, has written about the historical and cultural aspects of the *Adis* including Galo from earliest time to the present day with special emphasis on their traditional life and culture. He has also thrown a light on migration process and the genealogical history of the Galo and other sub-tribes of the *Adis*.<sup>34</sup>

Datta, Badu and Ette in their joint paper entitled “*Significance of the hymn in the Creation of the Universe among the Gallongs*” have described the status, role and functions of the Nyibo and Bo in the Galo society and the significance of hymn in the creation of the Universe.<sup>35</sup>

Osik in his book, *Myths, Legends and Tales of Arunachal Pradesh*, made a collection of myths, legends and tales of various tribes of Arunachal Pradesh such as the Adis, Apatanis, Galos, Idu-Mishmis, Noctes, Singphos and Tangsas.<sup>36</sup>

Riba in his book, *The Tribals and Their Changing Environment – A Case Study of Galos of West Siang District*, has described the relationship between human and environment particularly of the Southern part of Galo concentrated area of West Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh. He has written about the Galos and their changing belief systems.<sup>37</sup>

Padu in his recently published book *Moopin Poopwr Poonu Nwwtom and Mymmvn Gogrv of the Galos of Arunachal Pradesh* has defined the Moopin mythology and also written about some aspects of Moopin, due importance given to women, vegetation and environment, sacrifice of hobo, smearing of iti etc.<sup>38</sup>

A few more works are also available which are relevant in context of the oral narratives of Arunachal Pradesh at hand but none of them is specifically related to the problem undertaken. However, reference may be made of a few works e.g. T. Mibang & P.T. Abraham's (eds) *Indian Folk Tales of North-East* (2002), Pranab Jyoti Gogoi's *Social Reality on Oral Literature* (2002), Vineeta Dowerah Nath's *Oral Narratives of Nocte Society* (2003), Razzeko Delley's *A study of Oral Literature of the Idu Mishmis with reference to Myths and Legends* (2007) etc.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

From the literature reviewed, it is found that till today, there is no specific research works on the *Galos* that are related to the research perspective outlined here. So it is a pioneering as well as a maiden work in the context of the *Galos* of Arunachal Pradesh since no research work and documentation on *Galo* myths have been attempted till now. Over and above, since myth reflects traditional behavior and reinforces the systems of beliefs and

practices, the present study of the myth is an exercise in the direction of documenting some *Galo* myths and to see how these myths have changed and continued in this transitional period i.e. pre-modern to modern. Moreover, it will add to the existing knowledge on the topic by bringing forth a tangible form from its existing intangible oral form.

On the whole, the present work has an interdisciplinary perspective as socio-cultural lives of *Galos* have been studied with reference to myths.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This study has been undertaken for the following reasons:

- (i) to understand the aspects of *Galo* culture through the prism of myths;
- (ii) to trace the origin of important social practices with reference to myths;
- (iii) to explore the relevance of myths in changing context; and
- (iv) to document myths to be selected for the purpose of this study.

### **METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION**

The method that sets anthropological research apart from other disciplines is the ethnography which is a qualitative process of exploring in depth the whys and how of human culture, behavior and expression. Using this ethnographic method, anthropologists can uncover unexpected insights that are gained by studying a topic in person, in situ, over time and from diverse perspectives.

The ethnographic method uses multiple data collection techniques including interview, participant observation etc. to construct a holistic and contextual view of the phenomena

under study. During the research, anthropologists make observations and pursue perspectives from diverse angles and in diverse ways.

Since the present study is an anthropological research, the primary data have been collected from the fieldworks by using two ethnographic qualitative research methods i.e., in-depth individual interviews as well as participant observation. Thus, a cross-section of *Nyibo* (Priest), *Nyikok* (Orator) and educated Galos from different sections of Galos living in East Siang, West Siang and Upper Subansiri Districts were interviewed using judgment sample design.

The data on Galo myths, specifically the cosmogony myths, myths of the origin of marriage, death and Mopin, and various types of rituals and practices related to these myths were collected through in-depth interviews. Since, observation are also be one of the tools for the present study, full participation in the daily life, rituals, ceremonies and the festivals of the various villages and places were considered for studying minutely the customs, traditions, practices and beliefs prevalent among the *Galos*. In fact, the content of the myths were analyzed to throw light on significant aspects of the social relevance of the myths.

Furthermore, relevant secondary materials were also consulted. Thus, an appreciable amount of materials such as books, journals, articles, magazines, newspapers and clips related to Galos have been reviewed from all libraries of East, West Siang and Upper Subansiri districts, the State Central library and Museum of Itanagar and University library, Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar, Department of Folklores, Guwahati University. Other published and unpublished materials were also sought for the work. In fact, this approach has placed this work within the anthropological school approach to data collection.

## **METHODOLOGY OF DATA ANALYSIS**

Data for qualitative analysis most often consist of interview recordings and transcripts, and field notes written during participant observation sessions. As such, careful and repeated listening to the recordings of the interviews and field notes as techniques of qualitative data analysis was done. Thereafter, these recordings and field notes were precisely transcribed, translated and represented in a written document to give clear and exact interpretation of the myths under study. It involves sifting and sorting through pieces of data to detect and interpret thematic categorizations, search for inconsistencies and contradictions, and generate conclusions on the research objectives. Once the transcription was completed, these collected data were again, classified into different categories of myths such as the cosmogony myth, myth of the origin of marriage, death and Mopin. These interpreted myths were then systematized and cross-examined to arrive at an agreed-upon interpretation.

Finally, these different narratives of myths were analyzed to assess if these myths are continually being followed and used by the *Galo* people or it has undergone any changes under the impact of different modern ideas and external forces in the contemporary time. Different observable features of changes noticed were minutely described.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### LAND AND PEOPLE

#### Origin

The ancestors of the *Galo* lived in the Tibetan region and on the fringes of the Indo-Tibetan frontier. The *Galo* belong to Mongoloid stock. It is believed that the *Galo* have descended from *Sisi* - the earth mother. After few generations the whole tribe was divided based on genealogies into a number of sub-tribes. Earlier they were one of the sub-tribes of Adis who were known as Doba-Abor by the Britishers in the pre-independence era. But with the amendment of the nomenclature from Galong to *Galo* by the Parliament of India in 2011, today, they are known only as *Galo* and not as Galong or *Adi-Galo*.

The *Galo* tribe is one of the major indigenous tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Almost one-third of the *Galos* inhabits the three districts of Arunachal Pradesh viz. - East Siang, West Siang and Upper Subansiri. In fact, with the passage of time particularly since Independent period, the population of the tribe grew rapidly and the pace of development stimulates migration process. As a result, the *Galos* started settling in many other parts of the state such as State's Capital Itanagar and other districts, e.g. Dibang Valley, Lower Dibang Valley, Lohit, East Kameng and Changlang etc.

Like any tribal community of Arunachal Pradesh, the *Galos*, an Indo-Mongoloid group of Arunachal Pradesh, have a rich heritage of oral literature. Most of their faiths and beliefs are based on their myths. They also believe in the supreme power of the Almighty *Donyi-Polo*, who in turn received the supreme powers from 'Jimi Ane.' In *Galo*, the 'Jimi Ane' is the creator of this entire universe. She is a mother Goddess who created the Sun, Moon, stars, planets including living and non-living things on earth.

### **Dialect and Dialectal variations**

*Galos* have their own language in the form of ‘mother-tongue’ but with no written form or script so the language of *Galos* may be termed as dialect according to the modern definition of language. This dialect of *Galo* is quite similar to the dialects of rest of the Tani tribes but it is entirely distinct from the dialects of many other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh like the languages and dialects of Khamti, Monpa, Mishmi, Nocte, Tangsa, Singpho etc. In fact, within this dialect of *Galo*, again, there exist linguistic or dialectal variation which is manifested in the use of different alphabets and pronunciation for the same words from region to region or among the three sub-groups of *Galo*. This minor nuance within the dialect is because of the use of phonemes such as R, Y, S, H and J in the sound system. In view of this, *Galo* tribe may be categorized into three linguistic groups like Lare-*Galo*, Karka-*Galo* and Pugo-*Galo*. The Lare-*Galo* use ‘RE’ sound and R phoneme in the last syllable of most of the words while Pugo-*Galo* use ‘YE’ sound and Y phoneme on their part. For the sentence – *I will come tomorrow*, the Lare-*Galo* will say - *Ngo are alo ne* and Pugo-*Galo* will say - *Ngo aye alo ne*. Similarly, *mithun* is pronounced differently as *hobo* (Lare-*Galo*), *sobo* (Pugo-*Galo*) and *jobo* or *job* (Karka-*Galo*) respectively. Karka-*Galo* usually makes use of ‘JO’ sound and J phoneme for many words unlike others. For example, the names of animals are pronounced as *jote* (elephant), *jobin* (goat), *jobe* (mithun) and *jerek* (pig) while it differently pronounced by Lare as *hote* (elephant), *hobin* (goat), *hobe* (mithun) and *erek* (pig). It is seen that Lare-*Galo* gives more stress on the use of R phoneme, Pugo-*Galo* on Y phoneme and Karka-*Galo* on J phoneme. There are many such instances of linguistic variation existing within the dialect of *Galo* tribe but such variations are not cared now-a-days. <sup>1</sup>

Besides, the Galo dialect has two different varieties known as *Gomku* and *Gomli*. *Gomku* is the older variety and it is basically used in sayings, proverbs, rhapsodies, rituals etc. while *Gomli* is the newer variety commonly used by all Galos today. Common people cannot understand and use *Gomku* so it is used by limited Galos particularly the senior citizens, *nyibos* and *nyikoks*. Thus, *Gomku* and *Gomli* can be compared with Sanskrit and Hindi.<sup>2</sup>

Galos use a form of speech which conforms to the general characteristics of the Adi language but it differs from it in a number of slight phonetic peculiarities. For example, we find H in Galo where Adi usually use SH. The typical example is Galo *ehi* for Adi *eshing*. But each and every Adi word having SH does not change into H in Galo. There are many words where both dialects retain SH. In fact, a detailed phonetic analysis can only reveal the environments in which this change takes place. Another distinctive trait of Galo language lies in its dropping of final -ING unlike that of the Adis. Thus, Galo *keba* and *ponu* correspond to Adi *kebang* and *ponung*. Competent authorities, who have done work on the dialects of the North-East Frontier Agency, categorized Galo in the North Assam Group of the Tibeto-Burman Languages. The people have been speaking the same Galo dialect which their ancestors used to speak centuries ago. In the olden days of inter-village feuds, when people were not much in contact with the neighbouring tribes, their dialects was not much influenced by those of the neighbouring people. But in the recent past, due to closer and unrestricted contacts with the plains and other groups of people in the area, a little change, in the shape of inclusion of some words from other dialects and languages, has been brought about. Though the people invariably speak the dialect of their own, yet in the neighbourhood of the headquarters and outposts and administrative centres, it is influenced by the dialects of that area. In fact, the Galo itself has a number of sub dialects, as each group of villages or each clan has developed their own phonetic

peculiarities which distinguish them from others. The Galo has only a spoken dialect; they have no script till now. People in the foothills have learned both Assamese and Hindi and those who are employed in various jobs have also learned to understand and communicate in Hindi.<sup>3</sup>

### **Unique features of naming pattern**

The Galos have some uniqueness in their systems such as the naming pattern, use of different terms for addressing the members of the family and relatives, counting of genealogies, clothing, hair style, design and construction of the houses, various social and cultural practices etc. Among the uniqueness, the naming pattern followed by the Galos is very interesting and important. Generally, in the first syllable of the name “*Ta*” is prefixed such as *Lizom* becomes *Tazom* (‘*Ta*’ + *Zom*) for the male and likewise, to those of females ‘*Ya*’ is prefixed, as *Nipe* becomes *Yape* (*Ya* + *Pe*).<sup>4</sup>

Another interesting practice amongst the Galo is that they use different terms for addressing the members of the family and relatives which is not conspicuous in many other tribal society. For instance, in-laws and other elders call the daughters-in-law and younger brother’s wife with various terms such as *Nyamte* for the first or eldest son, *Nyamro* for the second son, *Nyamde* for the third one, *Nyamko* for the fourth one and *Nyamee* for the last or the youngest son. There is also a provision for repetition of the terms from *Nyamte* onwards if a family has more than five sons. The husband’s younger brothers and sisters will use the same terms but with slight variations i.e. *Nete* for the first and eldest brother, *Nero* for the second, *Nede* for the third, *Neko* for the fourth one and *Neyi* for the youngest and last brother. Since there are a lot of names among the Galo tribe, some of the names have to be based on physical appearances, the relative positions of child in the family and the attitudes of the parents towards the child but it needs conform to and used to synchronize with the last syllable of the father. Thus, the first

born male child are named as – *Tali, Tato, Talo, Taba, Tado, Takom, Tamo, Takar, Tamar, Tadak, Tabi, Tako* etc. and *Yabi, Yajum, Yage*, etc. for the female child. The middle born children's names are generally *Tabom* for male and *Yabom* for female and all names not meant for the first and last children. The names of the last child are *Tai, Tater* and *Tanya* for the male and *Yai, Yater* and *Yanya* for the female.<sup>5</sup>

As there are numerous persons having same names in the Galo tribe, the last syllable of the father's name is prefixed to the first syllable of the son's or daughter's name to distinguish the persons of the same name. So, if the father's name is *Tanya* and his son's pet name is *Takap*, the latter's name will be *Nyakap* i.e. 'Nya' from the father and 'Kap' as any addition for the son's name, combining together to form 'Nyakap' (*Nya + Kap = Nyakap*). This is one of the most unique features of naming pattern in the Galo society which lead to easy counting of the long lines of genealogies of various clans of Galo tribe right from the beginning of earth to the present day.<sup>6</sup>

### **Economy**

The Galo people are dependent on subsistence farming as the basis of their economy. As such, the economy is subsistence in character without any market production. Through the practice of farming either by wet rice cultivation or by shifting cultivation widely known as *jhumming* or *jhum* cultivation, the Galo people make their existence. In shifting cultivation, along with the farming of rice, some other crops are also grown as a kind of mixed cropping; but that is for domestic use only. Although now-a-days, many Galo farmers have started *jhum* cultivation in a large scale for sale in markets to earn money. In recent times, the people are beginning to take up other enterprising activities like cultivation of horticultural crops as well as cultivation of cash crops such as tea plantation

and rubber plantation particularly in foothill areas but still wet rice cultivation and jhum cultivation remain the main source of livelihoods.

### **Culture**

The people of Arunachal Pradesh are the most diverse ethnic races in the world with multiple traditions, customs, beliefs and practices. The Galo, being one of the major tribes of the state, adds to this diversity. The Galo people have rich cultural heritage that have come down to them from generation to generation and have been maintained continuously since time immemorial.

*Mopin*, which is annually celebrated during the 1<sup>st</sup> week of April is the most significant festival of the Galo tribe. It is a fertility festival in which *Ane Mopin* (Mother Mopin) and eternal sisters *Pinku* and *Pinte* are invoked to shower their blessings for rich agricultural harvest. The Goddess Mopin is offered with animal sacrifice (preferably mithun i.e. Bos Frontalis) for appeasement. It is believed that after such invocation, the *Mopin Goddess* employs her daughters *Pinku* and *Pinte* to take rich harvest to the land of human beings that would ensure peace, prosperity and happiness. During the celebration, the people put on pure white dresses, which are symbols of peace and purity and *Ponu*, a type of dance, to the tune of the *Ponu* song. The people dine and drink together and make merriment for almost a week.

### **The Belief System**

The Galo people are animistic in nature and consider nature to be the ultimate power. However, there is no particular delineation of any figure as God or supreme power. For the Galos, supreme power lies with the almighty *Donyi* (sun) and *Polo* (moon). Since their religious consciousness is animism in nature, they consider this world to be a

manifestation of the good and the evil spirits with the evil bent on to cause harms and the good, trying to keep justice and maintain order of life.

In fact, some changes in beliefs are noticeable among urban and educated Galos, but life systems of most of them are still guided by those beliefs. To them, every creature on earth is a creation of supernatural powers which take care of them. Everything found in the forests and rivers are owned by certain deities or spirits. All incidents either natural or unnatural are believed to be the works of some unseen powers and every action of a man is being watched by them. Centuries of their interaction with the ecosystem and environment has helped the tribe to evolve and acquire a way of life for their sustenance adjusted to nature. All their activities like farming, hunting, fishing, rituals and festivals etc. are carried out in accordance with these belief systems. They believe that the suffering of human beings is the reflection of some deities' displeasure towards that person or his family. Natural hazards like floods, landslides, epidemics, crop failures etc. are interpreted as the wrath of some deities for not offering due ritual sacrifices or misconduct done by the people.

Hence, before taking up any major activity related to the forest, rivers etc. they perform certain rituals by examining chicken or animal liver or tasting yolk of boiled eggs. It is some form of seeking permission from spirits of the forest. If the result of the examination is favorable, the work is carried out. There are many animals and birds in the forest whose killing is prohibited. Likewise, they do not ransack the forest unnecessarily. The Galos do not use any abusive or insulting words for any wild animals especially during hunting and fishing. Making hue and cry, throwing stones into the deep jungles etc. are not permitted due to the belief that it would disturb and enrage the deities of the jungle.<sup>7</sup>

All such beliefs of the Galo people are revealed in various rituals that are performed on various ceremonies and occasions. The performances of these rituals are believed to *guard them against the influences made by the spirits. To fight the evils influences, the Galos perform inhibitory rituals (rituals that are believed to put a check and cure further influences) and to perpetuate good influences they perform propitious rituals.*

### **Social Life**

The Galo people live in villages. Within a locality, there are several villages. Usually, in early days, a village was inhabited by a single clan but today, villages are inhabited by *more than one clan as a result of matrimonial relations and other socio-economic factors.*

The Galo villagers view themselves and their village as a grand continuum of numerous circles. They are conditioned by the cycles of seasons, the position of the sun and the moving and waning of the moon. Their life is integrated to such cyclical behavior of the nature. They believe in the cycles of biological life and human culture. Their belief is translated into a coherently expressed ritual. For instance, if there is an epidemic in the village, people worship village deity. The *Nyibo* (Priest) circumambulates along the village boundary to stop the entry of the evil. The circumambulation recognizes the potential energy possessed by the villagers of a self-organizing system for maintaining harmony in the world and distracting chaos in human life. Village is perceived as a circle of marriage and kinship, a circle of rituals and festivals, and a circle of tradition influencing the minds of men.

### **Administration – Traditional Village Council**

The administration of the Galo society is traditional and governed by customary rules. Of course, these traditional village councils assist the State Govt. in the General Administration. The most powerful body in the village is the council of elders which comprise of *Head Gaon Burah (HGB)*, two or three *Gaon Burahs (GB)* and all elders of

village. The entire machinery of village control revolves round this nucleus – the council. Any dispute is heard in the village council house called *Dere* and the judgment is done on the basis of the arguments given by the elders and *Gaon Burahs* or popularly known as *Gam*. All cases arising in the village are brought before this council called *Keba*. The *Keba* has full authority over the governance of the village and anyone found guilty and not conforming to the established norms of the society is penalized and punished. Any case brought before it is discussed threadbare, pros and cons are examined carefully in the long and tiresome sittings, which sometimes last for weeks and then decision is given which is binding to the parties concerned. Both executive and judicial powers are vested in this *Keba*. It was through the sanction given by the society itself, to which every member owes their allegiance.<sup>8</sup>

The traditional council of elders, however, has been retained, but another institution of *Bango* – the inter-village council – has been superimposed. It consists of a few villages and all *Head Gaon Burahs/Gams* of the villages concerned; besides, a few others function as its members. The *Bango* has also a ‘Secretary’ who is in charge of its office. Inter-village disputes are generally before it and the members, who act as the body of elders, decide the case. Fines collected from the inter-village disputes are kept for *Bango* fund and is spent for the welfare of the whole area within the *Bango*. *Bogum Bokang* – the divisional council – is the biggest superimposed unit of traditional village council. It consists of all the *Bangos* in the division and is convened when important decisions have to be taken for the welfare of entire population. Each *Bango* sends its representatives to the meeting of the *Bogum Bokang* and decisions are taken on the consensus of their opinions. *Inter-Bango* disputes, if any, are also settled at such meetings. All these hierarchical system of administration has been introduced by the British rulers and is still in vogue. But the *Bogum Bokang* has not got the sanction of the society and no social or

supernatural punishment is expected to be inflicted on the defaulters who fail to obey their decisions. The defaulters then come under the purview of the usual Penal laws and are punished accordingly by the administration. The policy of the administration is to administer justice through the *Keba* and only in cases of disregard to this authority; the administration may decide to intervene.<sup>9</sup>

### **Migration**

The Galo, Indo-Mongoloid tribe of Arunachal Pradesh has a rich heritage of oral literature and a glorious past. They lived in mountainous tracts and tough geographical terrain. The Galo elders say that long ago, they lived in the Tibetan region and on the fringes of the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Streams of migrating families came down from time to time from upper to lower areas (North to South) and in absence of adequate geographical knowledge, they followed the easiest tract. Gradually, the lower areas gave them shelter and they slowly established permanent settlements. Very often, marauding raiders from beyond the frontier raided their settlements and since they were not very powerful in their military prowess at that time, they were forced to emigrate towards different places. As per the version of migration stories, it is evident that the internecine conflict, natural calamities, topographical and economic hardships forced the tribe to move out from their earlier home in Tibet. The tribe journeyed towards Southern direction across the *Siyom* river, occupied the hilly regions between the rivers and spread themselves over the lower ranges between Subansiri and Siang (Brahmaputra) rivers. It is generally believed that almost all section of Galo group originally came from *Siang Kosi*, *Pa-Pigru*, *Mabe-Pakbe*, *Tada Dege*, *Yomsi-Libu* and *Puyi-Punyo* beyond the Himalaya ranges.

The different groups of the Galos have their own versions of migration. Some of these are elucidated below:

(a) *The Bagra version*

On the eve of their migrations a great council (*Keba*) was held in *Topo-Karbo Puyi-Punyo* at which it was decided that *Topo* or *Karbo* should leave the place and migrate towards the south (to the present Adi areas), because there was shortage of cultivable land due to the increase of population. But neither of them was willing to move. Ultimately it was agreed that their lucks should be tried by shooting arrows at a particular target, planting bamboos and gourds. The condition was that the one whose arrows slipped away and did not remain fixed at the target and whose bamboos and gourds leaned towards the south would leave *Topo-Karbo-Puyi-Punyo* and migrate to the south. In the trial, *Topo's* arrows slipped away but *Karbo's* arrow hit the trunk of the trees and stuck to it and *Topo's* bamboos and gourds also leaned towards the south. Accordingly, *Topo* had to leave *Topo-Karbo-Puyi-Punyo* and moved towards the present Adi area and *Karbo* remained there. In this way *Topo* with the members of his family, after distributing their properties according to their choice started migration. Later on, one of the *Topo's* descendants *Paktu* became very prominent, so after him this group of the Galos is known as the *Paktu* group (*Paktu Ao*). They first came to Golo or Galo Yorbe or the hill range of Golo or Galo and crossed it. After settling nearby that place for several generations, this group migrated to Peka Rela and from there *Topo's* party came to Matpuyi or the plains of Mat. From this place they came to Bogi and from there came to Chipar-Geko and Ambin-Dero area. There Ato *Paktu* had to fight with Jara-Jarba and Tane-Kode and they were defeated and killed by Ato *Paktu* and *Kojum*.

*Ato Paktu* had three sons viz. - *Tugo*, *Tutem* and *Tume*. The Bagra clan claims their origin from *Tume*, the Ete and Eshi clans are the descendants of *Tutem* and *Loya*, *Lomi*, *Lollen*, *Loyi*, *Ado* and *Amo* were of *Tugo*. According to *Gotu Bagra*, the priest of the *Donyi-Polo Mopin-Solung Dere* at *Aalo*, the Bagra clan followed its own route of migration from *Chipar-Geko* and *Ambin-Dero*; they migrated to *Rutu-Ragi*. Then they came to *Doryi-*

Kela and from there to Bebe-Jegar. Leaving Bebe-Jegar they came to Tuchi-Tute. Afterwards, the party left that area and went Tumru-Hai, a place in Dohi-Dobi range near Rilug-Garu area. From there they crossed the Perlek-Jada and went down to Lole, a place in the upper course of stream Kome. Finding the area not favourable for settlement, they came back and settled at Poru-Tagi area for a few years. From there the Bagras came down to Reri-Pajo i.e. the valley of Basar. After many years of settlement, they left Reri-Pajo and came to Jumsi-Jumte. From Jumsi-Jumte, they moved to Sijum-Ridi and then to Lutak-Renyak. From there they moved to Kago-Kahi and then to Deyi-Pombe. While they were in this area, they had to fight with the Minyongs. Here the Bagras settled for many years. From this area also they migrated to Tungin-Hagi and then to the present Bagra area like Lipu and Sibi Namsi. They are still in this area and thus, the Bagras have covered whole of the area from Angu to Doji.<sup>10</sup>

(b) *The Bam version*

From *Korum-Jimi*, the genealogy of Lego Ao is counted as *Jimi* – Michi – Chibuk – Buksin – Sintu – Turi – Rini (Tani) – Niche – Chide – Demen – Menra – Raba – **Bam**. Again from Bam, it is Mekar whose two sons are *Karju* (known as *Taju*) and *Karo* (known as *Tao*).

The *Bams* started their migration from *Yomsi-Libu* i.e. from the source of the *Siyom* River. Tame, one of the ancestors of Bam clan left the place and came to Ridi-Kadi and after many years of settlement there, his family migrated to Lilek-Kamen or the present Karbak area of the West Siang District. It is said that here for the first time they acquired their rice-measuring bamboo tubes (ambin-dutup) and the dohi-lipin (a small round piece of stone used as token of good luck). Here they also made their bows and arrows out of ejo (a kind of bamboo). After many years of settlement, they left Lilek-Kamen and came

to Nyoyo-Lemen and then to Kuni-Yami. Here they had matrimonial relations with the Geyi and the Karbak clans. From Kunu Yami, the Bam clan came to Rego-Hogo in the present Kamba area. Here they had to fight with Tagu-Taba (a clan of the Minyong). They left Rego-Hogo and migrated to Temen-Lemen and then to Liduk. From Liduk they came to Nirba-Raga and then to Mid-Dego and then to Nyopu-Rao-Karkum. Upto this stage, Taju, Tao and other related people of the Bam group were living together. Here they performed Mithun sacrifice together. After this they started their sojourns on different directions. The Tajus migrated to Rehi-Agi, Gichi-Gite, Gite-Moba in successive stages. Tao was expert in fishing and Tame was in trapping. So, they could not live in the same place together. Tao went to place where the fishing facilities were available. But Tame and his related families remained in the present Bam area in the Basar circle of West Siang District. The present Bam area covers Nyopu, Lego-Lengo, Yorsi-Yorte, Kisi-Kite, Lesi-Leda, Resi-Rete, Ambin-Deri. <sup>11</sup>

(c) *The Bogum version*

Ato Bogum has a lot of sons as his successors. The counting of genealogy from Jimi, it is Jimi – Michi – Chibuk – Buksin – Sintu – Turi – Rini (Tani) – Nidum – Dumde – De – Eyei – Yiyom – Yomba – Bali – Libo – Bogum – Gumi – Milo – Loju – Jupak – Pakko – *Koyu*, from Pakyi it is Pakyi – Yino – Nomi – Mingu – Ngutik – Tiggín – Ginke – Kesi – Siso – Homen – Menbom – *Bomjen* and *Hora (Sora)*. From Pakdi, it is Pakdi – *Dini* and *Diyum*, from Miju, it is Miju – Jupak – Pakam - *Kami* and *Kamchi*, again Miju – Jupak – Paklo – *Lona*, from Gumi – Milo – Loshi – Hiko – Kopak – *Padu*, from Miju – Jupak – Pakyi – Yino – Nomi – Mingu – Ngusam – *Kamsam*. From Mibo – Boka – Kada – Dadik – Dikshi – Sibi – Bikar – Karbu – *Bui & Buchi*. Again from Mibo, it is Boka – Kakom – Komna – *Nada*. From Mi, it is Mi – Itik – Tingngo – Ngoba – Basi – Sido – Dojum – Jummar – Mardi – *Dirchi*. Then, again it is Bogum – Gumtu – Tubu – Bukam – *Kambu*.

Bogum – Gumdin – Gumdin – Dinsi – Sika – Kayi – Yiyom – Yomba – Bali – *Likar & Lingu*. Again from Bali, it is Bali – Liro – *Ronya*. Again, it is Bali – Liro – Romin – *Mindo & Minga*. From Romin, it is Romin – Minjo – *Josam & Jokik*. Thus, Bogum has twenty two sons in total.

A version of the *Bogum* group, particularly of the *Bomjen* clan as told by Gibom Bomjen, the HGB of Nari village is given below:

The *Bogums* started their migration from Siang-Kosi, somewhere in the upper course of the Siang River and came to Ringo, in the present Tuting area. From Ringo they came to Bondo-Janbo and to Ramsing and Karko. From there they moved down to Dosing where a quarrel between Bogums and the Tages occurred. Accordingly, here also the Bogums could not live longer and they came to Tot-Pigo. After some years, they left Tot-Pigo and came to Nyika-Artu. At that place many Bogums died when a house in which they lived collapsed. Due to this they moved to Deyi-Pomne, then to Ugo-Paggo, then to Hugo-Rigo. From Hugo-Rigo, they came to Sisum-Dele (present Darka). Here, they quarreled among themselves for fishing rights. At the same time a man of Diyum clan was killed by the Yapom (evil spirit of the jungle). Due to this the Dini, Dirchi and the Koyu clans went towards the west via Sile-Geku to Reri-Pajo (Basar-Bam area) while the other groups remained behind. Later the Bomjen and Sora clans too went further north to Nikte leaving the Diyum and the Lona in Aalo area.

Dinto-Tojo, one of the ancestors of the Bomjen left Nikte with the members of his family and came to Peri-Sonyo (now Ngomdir). From there Tojo's party came to Nyensi-Posi (Sinyen-Kosi or the source of the Ego (simen) river). From there they came down to Degok-Yalok (near present Koyu village) and from there they moved to Kudi-Rami (Rote). From Kudi-Rami, Tojo's son, Jora with family came to Tapi village. Due to the constant failure of crops in this area, Jora migrated from this area to a better and fertile

land at the foothills of Nari. Most of the Bomjens are settled at Nari and Lumpo villages. A few families are settled at Aalo Town, Ngomdir village and Peri village. Soras are settled at Aalo areas and Nari village. Other Bogum sons are scattered in different areas such as Likabali, Basar, Aalo and Koyu circles.<sup>12</sup>

(d) *The Dabi-Ringu version*

Counting from Jimi onwards, the Bage sons have genealogical counting as Jimi – Michi – Chibuk – Buksin – Sintu – Turi – Rini (Tani) – Dumde – De – Elo – Lolen – Lenro – Rochi – Chiba – Bage – *Gemi (Rumi)* and Gelin, from Gelin, it is Linda – *Dabi* and Dari, from Dari, it is *Ringu* and *Riso* originated.

The migration of Dabi-Ringu or Bage sons begins with their settlement at Rutu-Ragi from where they moved to Be-Be-Jeger, one of the ancestors of Dabi-Ringus with his party came to Angu from Be-Be-Jeger and they settled there for many years. From Angu they came to Sisum-Dele and from there, moving along the right bank of the Siyom river came to Pangin (Yeyi). From Pangin, they came to Bomu or Kebang. Later on, they left Bomu and moving on the right bank of the Siang river came to the present Pasighat area settled at a place near the Sibokorong for some years. From Sibokorong, they came to Ruglek Namchi in the present Ledum-Mirem area, then to Piraputu and then to Kadu. From here they migrated towards the north-west and came to Reri-Pajo or present Basar area. Here they met Riba-Basar group of the Galos and maintained cordial relations with them. From Basar they had to move away and came to Sibum-Si and then to Acho-Geten. From Acho-Geten, some Dabis came to Gakar. They left Gakar and came to Garu. They settled there for some years and then left for Juhi. Here also they could not live long and came back to Garu. Here too, they could not settle permanently. Accordingly they moved to Kakki. From Kakki they moved to Tene where they settled for several generations.

Here Nyago Dabi lived and showed his remarkable personality which attracted the British administrators who appointed him as Political Jamadar for this area. But after Independence, they left Tene except one family, for Namey village in the foothills. <sup>13</sup>

(e) *The Kara version*

The learned council of the *KARA* society opined that *Tani Ao* multiplied in Central Asia where there was a big river named '*Kara Bogba*', mighty hill '*Kara Dadi*' and fertile plain land downhill with full of resources. The descendants of Abo Tani were sub-divided into four groups viz. - Nyipak, Nyimu, Nyimek and Nya and from Nya group, the last Abo Tani was borne and multiplied whose descendant are now spread over the windward and leeward side of the Eastern Himalayas. It is opined that the hordes of tribesmen or highlanders have migrated from the ancient land and searched for safer place due to great famine and epidemic. Nature has to say much, though the prosperity in property was available, they could not resist the frequent flu and epidemic like Duli, Taki-Echi and Tame (Small pox, Dysentery, Cholera and Malaria); they have to leave the ancient fertile land. According to Lt. Dekar Kena, the ancient people plead in hordes to different directions, but they all practiced the same type of rituals and worship which the descendants of Tani group are performing till today in central Arunachal Pradesh. Among the victims, the ferocious and exiled Ato Dekar with his family and kinsmen moved uphill and crossed mighty Kara Dadi (Mountain Pass). On that pass, there was a big snake monster having two heads spitting out fires from the mouth which was popularly known in mythology as Biirta Nyoore. Ato Dekar was brave and ferocious as he chopped off the mighty snake monster into several pieces in a twinkling of an eye. Then he moved downward (southward) cleared ancient Taapi Rapgo (denser algaeclad snow hillock), moved forward and broke open the Kuru Libu and Yomko Litak which hitherto was still challenged by the natural forces. Thus, braving all weathers by clearing all the hurdles,

the chill wind of snow, beast and snakes settled down at Riche-Rite on the river bank of Kuru and Kemle river. Ato Dekar's descendant and other kinsmen could not settle at Richi-Rite for long and had to migrate down the Kuru-Kemle river upto Gichi-Gite Namchi from there they crossed the Hagi-Modi settled down near Sigen Kero at Niji Namchi then from there to Tero Kero Namchi. Here again epidemic broke out and many succumbed to death. After that a few survivors moved downward upto Jimar Koro (Singik or Subansiri) at Palrijo to avenge the nature's demand, sacrificed Daapo Sobo (ceremonial accreditation to appease God of Epidemic). Here the Palrijo was renamed as Daporijo. Soon after the ceremonial accreditation, they crossed over to Jimar Koro from the point of Gitu Pigo. Thereafter, they settled down at Palnamchi on the bank of downstream named Jiha Koro. Ato Karga, Ato Karin, Ato Kara along with the kinsmen moved to Rubh Namchi then to Rilo Dapo and then to Roksi Ampir. From Roksi Ampir, they moved to Lite Bokha and from there the descendant of Ato Karga crossed over to Akatare. Then Ato Kara and Ato Karin from Lite Bokba alighted at Nyumchen Namchi at the confluence of Banyo Koro with Sinyum river. The Riches (descendant of Ato Karin) went back to Pal Namchi then to Doche-Dote where they are settled now. Here at Nyumchen Namchi, Rachi-Rahi and their offspring multiplied. Here Ato Rachi's descendant Chimi, Mimar-Haji-Nyokir, Kena, Rallen, Nyoye and Mida were borne. After so many years settlement there, they jointly migrated to Digi-Bakar where the historic Kur-Roda war was fought at the bank of Jimar Koro (Subansiri river) in which the heroes of repute from Ato Kara's descendant won the war. The heroes were Amo Taje, Kaa-Leker, Ramgi Poote, Nayi Gipo, Jiyom Kugu, Jiba-Nyiktap, Jiru Tobe led the war to victory by foiling the plan of the enemies' expansions and exploitation to diminish the Kara clan. From Digi Bakar they shifted to Kamda Liruk. From Kamda Liruk, Kara clan members separated to sustain the growth of population. Thereafter, descendant of Maa clan went to Ru-Namchi, then to Jiji Namchi and others at Puchi Namchi and at Digi

Bakar and Marnyo clan went to Dego-Namchi then to Rumte-Pate and Juli Mirma. Hai's went to Pache Namchi, then to Richi-Rite and then to Dar Namchi upto Jinyo Namchi and now settled at Haider/Baririjo. Kena-Rallen-Nyoye Mida and other kinsmen moved from Rumte Pate to Pache and then to Roori-Hakte. From Roori-Hakte, they again moved to Kulo-Repe and thence to Koche Namchi. From here, most of the clansmen migrated to Ghebe Namchi then to Kiyu-Lirum by crossing the famous Rubu-Pokok. From here, some Kenas went to Litemori and others moved to Taar Mori and are settled there while a few of them again migrated and are now settled upto Sibe-Rite. After some years, some of them went back to Rumte Riko and Kulo and some are now settled at Rakjap and Kamki. The Rallen from Koche Namchi migrated to Dirte Namchi and then to Lite-Mori. Some are now at Roma and some are settled at Liduk. The Nyokirs moved from Rumte to Jilok Marak, then to Sig-Puri and then to Sol Namchi upto Taku-Liba. From Taku Liba, some are settled at Litemori and some went back to Rumte Paate and Depu-Dego and settled there. The Nyoye and Mida migrated along with Nyokir- Kena and Rallen upto Kiyu-Dirte Namchi. Now the Nyoyes are settled at Litemori, Roma and Midas are settled at Siji Liya, Magi, Kuntor-Pale and Barjan villages. The Majis are settled at Tarmori and some of them are scattered in many villages at Upper Subansiri District and West Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh. The Midas migrated from Roori-Hakte to Kulo Repe, then to Oche-Geten and then to Jao-Kerba and then to Kangku. From there, they migrated to Yochugi and then to Dibe Goker after crossing the Goker Modi and settled at Bomti-Liktu and then to Sikkir Guar and then to Talom Sipar, Popek and to Barjan and then to Nyijir Koche to Sisi and then to Magi and Kuntor where they are settled now.

The foregoing versions of the different clans of the Galos may not be uniform and unanimous but give us some idea about their early homes. The Karka group places Pa-Pigru, the Doye clan claim there early settlement at near Tada-Dege, which is nearby Pa-

Pigru just on the Indo-Tibetan border while the Bagra clan and most of the other Galos place their original home at Topo-Karbo-Puyi-Punyo. No doubt, these versions differ about the exact location of the original place but they all point to the fact that the early home of the Galos was located to the north of the present land which means somewhere in Tibet. In fact, all these versions of the migration of the different groups of the Galo tribe suggest us that the movement of the tribe was always from the North to South. Barring the Bogum groups, the Galo groups migrated through the Damla Pass and Tada Dege of the present Mechuka-Monigong area of the West Siang District. From there, they spread to the whole area between the Siyom and the Subansiri rivers upto the foothills near the border of Assam.<sup>14</sup>

(g) *Lendo Version:*

This narration of the Genealogical origin and migration story of Lendo Ao was given by Mr. Bigam Ngulom. It is said that from Dumde – De – Elo – Lobo – Bogum clan. From Lolen, our clan originated i.e. Lendo and Lenro. From Lenro, Dabi, Riso, Ringu, Zirido, Karlo, Kadu and Kakki clans originated. We, Lendo sons and Lenro sons had been living together at Topo Golo or Golo Yorbe. Despite brothers, it was decided that the offspring of Lendo and Lenro would start matrimonial relations. So a great religious ritual was performed to this effect. Thereafter, Lenro sons taking the route from Meyi Koda through Hirik river came down to Boru Rakshap and we Lendo sons moved from Bayor Adi to Gache-Gatte to Bori Areas. There we stayed at Lilek Kamen near Tumbin Kaying. From there, again, we came down to Kunu Yami (present Boyi Village) near present Kamba. While staying at Kunu Yami, we fought against the Minyongs. From there, we moved to Aalo. Again, we fought with Minyongs at Aalo. After sometime, an incident occurred. A son of a Minyong was killed in the death-trap made at the present Aalo view point. When

the incident occurred, Ato Lendo leaving the sons Doke and Dobom, fled away with his son Doyor taking the route of present Pangin and reached Dokuakana (in Assam). Living there at Dokuakana, Ato Lendo fought against the Miri (Mising) tribe living there. While fighting with the Miri there, Ato Lendo died there at Majorbari. With the death of Ato Lendo, Doyor taking his two sons – Yorli and Yorngu came to Durpai area through Sinyik river. From Durpai, he reached Gensi and then through Rubrella reached Likar Ronya. From there, Yorli and Yorngu met their brother Doke at a place near the present Doji. After meeting there, Dokes have settled at a place known as Nyido Rele near the present Doji Jeeli. Slowly, they migrated to Sigi then from Sigi, they migrated to the Pusi Doke, from there came to Megu Aram. From there, we settled for some years at Chichum Dele near Chichum Abu (river), the name of the river Chichum Dele in present Darka village was given by us. Then we migrated to Rigo Namchi near R.K. Mission School. While staying there, a death-trap for killing animals was fixed at Nyomge-Geko in which a son of Tamen Rumdo was killed. When it was found that a boy was killed in death-trap, Ato Lendo fled from the place with his youngest son Doyor leaving behind Doke and Dobom. Dobom was the eldest son, from him Bombe – Deru – Rue as son. From Doke, the sons are Keli and Kero. A clan distinction exists among the sons of Doke known as Nyiji-Nyira. The sons of Ato Kero are considered as Nyira i.e. inferior class because the descendents of Ato Kero are from the marriage of a captive slave Minyong woman. Such complex exists among the Bogum clans such as Dirchi, Sora and Dini. Thus, Ato Keli's sons are now settled at Tirbin and Gensi areas while Ato Kero's sons are settled at Pusi Doke, Peri and Tabi Ripo areas. Rike and Tada are also Doke originally. There are no genealogical origin of Rike and Tada because they are Dokes in origin. Their nomenclatures changed only as a result of certain historical events. They should be called not as Rike or Tada but only as Doke. Once, Tada and his brother went to collect banana leaves from the jungle. In the jungle, Tada's brother met his Lombi brother-in-law who

was searching his mithuns; both brother-in-law and son-in-law were not in good terms because of gifts of Adam-Bati (valuable ornaments) during marriage. Now on the way when both met, they started fighting. Now the young brother was helpless because to help anyone of the two because if he helps his brother, then Lombi brother-in-law would be killed, and if he supports Lombi brother-in-law, then his brother would be killed. So he did not help anyone. After a long fight, both of them dispersed. Elder brother feeling disgusted with younger brother for not helping him in the fight give the term 'tada' to his brother as he did not listen to order. Younger brother sadly accepted and declared that he is not a doke and would call himself as tada not doke. Since then tada word had been used by some of the doke.

Similarly, Rike is also said to be have such story behind them. It is said that Rike remains a bachelor for good number of years. He could not arrange his livelihood for a long time. Moreover, he was a lazy fellow. One day, he ran away from his home and reached Kombo which was the native village of his mother. There, he stayed with his uncles there and did not return to his village. Despite repeated request from his brothers, he did not return. Thus, the term 'rike' was used as to call those Doke brothers who settled at Kombo areas.

Keeping these historical events in view, at the conference of Lendo Ao Welfare Society, it was reiterated that all these Rike and Tada clans are traceless and do not have any historical as well as genealogical background, so they should change their clan names to Doke for the better clarity.<sup>15</sup>

(h) *Lodu Version:*

This genealogy and migration story of Lodu ao was narrated by Mr. Boya Potom who is a nyikok among the Galo society. Since the known history of Galo origin, Jimi is the first and only source of evolution of human being on earth. From Jimi all things on this

universe like earth, Sun, moon, stars, human being, animals, birds, everything evolved. Thus, it is Jimi – Michi – Chisi/Sisi (the earth), jimi – Medo – Donyi (Sun), jimi – Mipo – Polo (Moon), jimi – Mipe – Peka – Kanu, Kale & Kamin (the spirits). The power and functions of Sun and Moon is derived from jimi only. So Donyi and Polo (Sun & Moon) have been bestowed with power to look after the well-being of all on earth.

The origin of man is thus Jimi – Michi – Chisi/Sisi – Sibuk – Buktu/Buksin – Sintu – Tue – Ere – Reni (the Tani, first human being) – Nidum – Numde – De – Eni – Niko – Kojum & Kopak. From Kojum – Jumsi – Silo – Lodu – Dupe – Peke – Keje – Jegi – Gipo – *Potom & Poyom & Poya*. From Poya, it is Poya – Yagi – Girak – *Rakli & Rakyom & Rakshap*. Again from Lodu, it is Lodu – Dubo – *Bogo & Boje*. Again from Peke – Keje – Jege – Gepa – *Paka* and *Param* who are settled at Dumporijo and are considered as clan brothers originating from Lodu.

In this way, the migration of Lodu clans started from Tibetan Mongoloid and Chinese areas passing through *Tada Dege*, from *Tada Dege* moving downwards to *Monigaon* then to *Payum*. From *Payum*, they migrated down to *Rumgong* through *Siang* river. From there, they migrated to *Boleng Dite-Dime* and from there, they reached *Pangin*. Again from *Pangin*, they move backward towards west and reached *Aalo* and stayed there for some years. Thereafter, they migrated to *Kamba* and from *Kamba* to *Kunu Yami* present *Boyi* village. At *Boyi*, many elders of *Lodu* clan died. Ato *Potom Poyom Poya*, *Potom – Toma – Mayi – Yiba – Basar – Sarlar*. The son of *Potom*, *Toma* died at *Kunu Yami*. From *Kunu Yami*, Ato *Sarlar* migrated to *Potom Degi* when grown up. In fact, the cause of his migration was the enemy attacks from *Kera* side. He was left alone so he migrated to *Potom Degi*. There, he settled down after marrying a *Belo* girl.

Thus, migration of *Lodu* clans mainly started from *Tada Dege* like *Bogum*, *Pugo Aalo*, *Bam Basar*, *Paktu Ao* as well as many other clans of *Galo* tribe.<sup>16</sup>

(i) *The Nyochi version*

As told by Mr. Moba Doye (GB, Seren vill.), the Doye version of migration starts from *Tada Dege* which is believed to be situated at the *Indo-Tibetan* border. From there, the *Ato Nyochi's* sons viz.- *Chiram, Doye* and *Ropo* started migrating and reached *Rubrela* through the route of *Jagheri* and lived there for some time. At present *Rubrela* is at Pidi circle of West Siang District. According to them, it is there, the *Zirido* and *Karlo* were also living. From *Rubrela*, they migrated to *Bolkayi* and thence they moved to *Kayi*. From there, they migrated to *Himipopdi* which is presently in *Tirbin* circle. Again, they migrated to *Dachimori*, which was also known as *Ret-Pente/Reri-Pajo* (present *Basar*). Then they move to *Tago-yago* (*Pagi*) where they met *Riba* and *Basar* of *Karko* clans. They lived at *Pagi* for a little longer time but started emigrating further in search of better place for settlement and cultivation. Thus, they reached *Taktir Rijo*. Now it is called *Padi* village. Further, they moved to *Reginamchi*, now known as *New Dari*. *Reginamchi* was also known as *Riponamchi*, they moved to *Echi*, *Echi* to *Takuliba* where they met the *Kaye* clan. From there, they reached *Delimurtak*. Here too, they did not settle permanently rather they move further to *Pujo*. After living a decade at *Pujo*, the clan members for the first time, decided to disperse from one another towards different places. Some moved to *Talnamchi* and *Tukarnamchi* while the other groups migrated to Southern part of *Ego* (*Simen*) valley in search of wet rice cultivable land and reached *Seren*, the foothill plains of Eastern bank of *Ego* river. But owing to famine at *Seren* and *Talnamchi*, they returned to *Pujo*. From *Pujo*, once again they move apart after the devastation of *Assam Earthquake* of 1950. Some left for *Basar* and *Pagi* while the others changed their habitation and moved back to *Delimurtak*.

From *Delimurtak*, in 1950s, they again migrated to *Seren*, *Ego*, *Jime* and those who were at *Basar* settled at *Nyigam* village while those at *Pagi* shifted and settled down at *Seren* village, the last village of *East Siang District*.<sup>17</sup>

## Land of the Galos

The Galo area begins in the East from the Sido valley and stretches upto the Subansiri river in the West. To the South is the Dhemaji and North Lakhimpur district of Assam and on the North-East, the Siyom river forms the demarcation line between the Minyong and the Galo areas. However, only two Galo villages – Kambu and Paya are on the left bank of Siyom river. To their North, the area extends upto the Bori, Pailibo-Ramo and Tagin areas.

The Galos are divided into several smaller groups each inhabiting compact area and each group has its own villages. From the South to the North, these groups may be listed as follows: *Ruti-Yeko, Risi-Rimen, Tai-Mara, Chibo-Lare, Paktu, Karka, Bogum, Lodu, Tator-Tani* and *Donyi-Maró*. Their important settlement areas are *Kadu, Koyu, Kora, Namey, Nari, Telam, Old Deka, Seren* of East Siang District while *Dipa, Silli, Kangku, Likabali, Garu, Gensi, Dali, Dari, Basar, Bam, Disi, Pagi, Bagra, Doji, Darka, Aalo, Kombo, Jini, Kamba, Darak, Yomcha, Tirbin, Liromoba, Taba-Sora* of West Siang District and *Maro, Baririjo* and *Dumporijo* of Upper Subansiri District.

The whole area of the Galo is an intricate labyrinth of precipitous, rocky and high hills and mountains, towering high on both sides of the rivers and streams. Generally hills are 1000 to 10,000 feet high and scattered throughout the area. There is luxuriant, though not very thick, growth of trees and plants on these hills. Constant cutting of trees for the shifting cultivation does not allow the forest to grow very thickly. Soil erosion and landslides are some of the characteristic features of the area leading to floods, blocking of tracks and endangering human and animal lives. The whole area is ecologically homogeneous with slight differences. In fact, the population is mainly concentrated in the valleys of rivers. The Galos are more fortunate in the sense that they have fertile lands and less sloping lands in the lower Siyom, Sipu and Ego (Simen) valleys than the Boris and Minyongs having rocky and steep lands.

The nature of the soil in the Galo area is different at different places. A few years back soil testing has been started at the Soil Testing Laboratory, Pasighat to ascertain the nature of the soil. The testing has recorded the mechanical composition and physical contents of the soil. It has proved that soils in the vicinity of Aalo (Along) are loamy and that of Basar is mixture of clay-loam. According to agronomic classification four major soil regions have been conceived in this area. The First is the 'Diluvial Loam and Sandy Loam of foothills'. These soils are found in the areas below 200 meters altitude at Nari, Seren, Kangku and Likabali. The Second is the 'Shun-Land soils'. Such soils are found in the areas of Jhuming in Aalo, Basar, Gensi and Liromoba. The Third soil region is the 'Mid-Altitudinal Virgin forest soils'. These soils are found in the high altitude of Liromoba and Gensi. The Forth soil region is the 'High-Altitudinal Virgin forest Soils' which spread over the extent of the surface category of above 800 meters.<sup>18</sup>

### **Rivers and Streams**

There are numerous rivers and streams in this area. The *Yomgo (Siyom)*, the next biggest river after the Siang in the division runs for a little distance through the Galo area. The *Ego (Simen)*, *Sipu* and *Sido* are other big rivers in the valleys in which many Galo villages are situated. Though there are plenty of rivers and streams, particularly in the South-Eastern region, not a single lake is to be seen. The undulating lands never permit the water to accumulate and take the shape of a lake.

### **Flora and Fauna**

Due to heavy and continuous rains for the greater part of the year, luxuriant evergreen vegetation is the most characteristics of the region. Thick jungles with tall, stout trees with long creepers around them are to be found everywhere and in the lower areas, there are bushes and shrubs in plenty. Elephant grasses, where one often loses one's way,

abound in the Southern-Eastern area. Bamboo and cane are available in abundance in almost all the jungles. Another cane-like parasitic creeper used for making hats is also found in the lower areas. Though some hills are over 4000 to 5000 feet high, pine trees are not available. With increase in altitude, a little variation in the flora is to be seen. At higher latitudes, thin bamboos in thick clusters are noticed. Various wild fruit trees – both sweet and citreous are also found, varying in kind and taste with altitude. Jackfruit are countless while mango, guava and other fruits representing the vegetation of the plain areas are a few and far between. Oranges are in plenty in the central and the south-eastern areas but lemons are rare. Betel nut trees are quite commonly grown in the foothill regions. Rhododendrons and orchids beautify the higher hills. Various other flowers with a variety of enchanting colors and fragrance adorn the areas.

The forests in the areas are the homes of various types of big and small animals, birds, snakes, insects etc. Tigers and panthers are found in the lower jungle of the foothills. The high steep mountains are probably not suitable for their habitation. Elephants are found only in a few selected areas of in the foothills. Right from the western border, that is, from the *Subansiri* river, upto its eastern boundary across the *Ego* river, there are only a few elephants in the Gensi-Daring jungle. Deer are in plenty and available in almost all the jungles. In spite of the regular hunting of deer, they have not been exterminated like the bears. Monkeys, squirrels and rats are found in without numbers and are delicious items of the Galo menu. Barking deer, otters, pheasants, jungle fowls and bats are also not uncommon. Pigeons and hornbills are in abundance. Wild pigs abound in thick jungles but their hunting requires an organized party of skilled hunters. Snakes are numerous but the cases of snake-bite are rare and those of consequent death are rarer still. Various other reptiles are also to be seen, of which the centipedes are important. Varieties of leeches both plain and striped are found and it would be fruitful and rewarding for a

zoologist to visit here for their research study. It is often observed that after a few showers leeches come out in millions. Its rivers and streams have abundant of fishes, toads, frogs and crabs. <sup>19</sup>

## **Climate**

The climate of the Galo area can be divided into two seasons – first one is rainy season from March to September and the second one is winter season from October to February. The area has a heavy and continuous rain ranging from 100 to 200 inches in year. March and April experience a few showers with an occasional break, and the heavy rains start from May and teasingly persist up to the end of August. September again has less rain with prolonged breaks. The pressure decreases considerably by the second part of October, the first being a little rainy; swollen rivers start receding and the blocked paths are opened. The highest rainfall is recorded in the months of May, June and July, more so in the latter two months, when moving outdoor becomes difficult as every small footpaths turns into a rivulets, small log-bridges are washed away and leeches abound everywhere. Luxuriant growth of grass and shrubs impede passages. The south-eastern areas bordering foothills become cut-off and inaccessible during the rainy season. Cold winds start blowing by the end of October and the following three months are very chilly. February again becomes pleasant. Due to innumerable hills the range of vision is very limited. Heavy thick sheet of fog can be seen on the body and the peaks of the hills and this causes the morning to be chilly. Temperature starts rising from a little before noon and goes on rising up to a little after two o'clock. With the approach of evening there is a considerable drop in the temperature and nights become cold. Though the area, as a whole is considerably cold, snowfall has rarely occurred. <sup>20</sup>

## **Profile of the Study Area**

The Galos are settled in almost all the districts of Arunachal Pradesh but their places of origin and settlements of the major populations are in three districts of the state viz. - *West Siang, East Siang* and *Upper Subansiri* districts. As per 2001 census, the total population of the Galo tribe living in these three districts is 108327 (Approx.). In West Siang district they are living in *Darak, Kamba, Liromoba, Yomcha, Aalo, Bagra, Tirbin, Basar, Dari, Gensi, Likabali* and *Kangku* circles. In East Siang district they living in 4 circles viz. – *New Seren, Nari, Koyu* and *Kora* and in Upper Subansiri district they are living in *Giba, Puchi Geko, Dumporijo* and *Baririjo* circles.

- (i) As a whole in education sector, there are 11 Govt. Hr. Secondary schools and 1 Private Hr. Secondary school, 13 Govt. Secondary schools and 6 Private Secondary schools, 68 Govt. M.E. schools and 16 Private M.E. schools, 117 Govt. Pry schools and 18 Private Pry schools, 1 Govt. College and 2 Private colleges in West Siang district.
- (ii) In East Siang district there are 11 Govt. Hr. Secondary schools and 1 Private Hr. Secondary school, 13 Govt. Secondary schools and 3 Private Secondary schools, 59 Govt. M.E. schools and 21 Private M.E. schools, 141 Govt. Primary schools and 7 Private Primary schools, 2 Govt. College and 2 Private colleges.
- (iii) In Upper Subansiri district there are 4 Govt. Hr. Secondary schools, 7 Govt. Secondary schools and 4 Private Secondary schools, 51 Govt. M.E. schools and 5 Private M.E. schools, 119 Govt. Pry schools and 9 Private Pry schools and 1 Govt. College.
- (iv) In health sector, Upper Subansiri district has 1 Community Health Centre, 6 Public Health Centres, 42 Health Sub-Centres, 29 Family welfare clinics/centres and 5 Lep/VD/STD/HP/TB etc.

- (v) In West Siang district, there are 5 Community Health Centre, 9 Public Health Centres, 46 Health Sub-Centres, 44 Family welfare clinics/centres and 6 Lep/VD/STD/HP/TB etc.
- (vi) In East Siang district, there are 4 Community Health Centre, 15 Public Health Centres, 42 Health Sub-Centres, 51 Family welfare clinics/centres and 4 Lep/VD/STD/HP/TB etc.
- (vii) Besides, there are 1 SBI branch, 2 AP Rural Banks and 1 AP Cooperative Apex Bank in Upper Subansiri district. In West Siang, there are 3 SBI branches, 2 other banks, 4 AP Rural Banks and 3 AP Cooperative Apex Banks and in East Siang district, there are 3 SBI branches, 1 other bank, 6 AP Rural Banks and 1 AP Cooperative Apex Banks.<sup>21</sup>

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **A STUDY OF MYTHS OF THE GALOS**

Myth serves many different functions in the Galo world, but all myths do not serve every function. Similarly, some myths serve just one function. It is also more expedient to look at the multiple roles that myth serves in every culture and society to see if the Galo myths fit this mold instead of looking at each individual myth and trying to deduce its

importance to society. It is found that there are *six* fundamental functions that Galo mythology can serve like the mythology of any other culture.

(1) The most important function of myths existing in the world is the explanation of facts, whether natural or cultural. Similarly, the Galo myths may also be taken as a kind of explanation of Galo oral history. It can be used to relate actual happenings from a time beyond memory. The example in this context may be made of genealogical history of each clans of Galo tribe beginning from Abo Tani as the first ancestor. Besides, Galo myths explain the origin of corn and agricultural practices, origin of death etc. Obviously, a myth such as this one functions as an explanation, but the narrative form distinguishes it from a straightforward answer to an intellectual question about causes. The function of explanation and the narrative form go together, since the imaginative power of the myth lends credibility to the explanation and crystallizes it into a memorable and enduring form. Hence, myths play an important part in many traditional systems of education.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Many myths explain rituals and cultic customs. Ritual sacrifices are typical of traditional peasant cultures. In most cases such customs are related to mythical events. With certain circularity frequent in mythology, the myth validates the very cultic celebration mentioned in the myth. The cult can be understood as a commemoration of those first events. Hence, the myth can be said to validate life itself together with the cultic celebration.<sup>2</sup> The Galo myths also explain and justify ritual sacrifices, myths relating the cult celebration of Mopin festivals etc.

(3) Creation myths play a significant role in healing the sick; they are recited (*e.g.*, among the Navajo Indians of North America) when an individual's world – that is to say, his life is in jeopardy. Thus, healing through recitation of a cosmogony is one

example of the use of myth as a magical incantation.<sup>3</sup> The Galo priest also invokes Donyi-Polo and recites creation myth while performing ritual to heal the sick.

- (4) In Galo society, myth serves to teach the people of the societal social norms and expectations as well as consequences of actions. Take for example, in the one version of myth of *Death, Abo Tani* disobeyed *Ane Donyi's* (Mother Sun) messages.
- (5) Myth functions to legitimize a claim to land, right to rule or to give importance to a city; these are sometimes called as founding myths. An example pertaining to Galo myth in this context is the claim of ownership of land between Tani and Yapom-Yaji.
- (6) Myths answer the question, "Where do we come from?" The creation myth of the Galo is not as complex and confusing as the Greek and other myths are.

Galo tribe has rich treasure of myths which is unaccountable but its availability is at stake because many of these are lost with the past generations due to its essential oral structure. However, we intend to focus our study on the myths which are available, relevant and continue in the present society.

#### **A. COSMOGONY MYTH AND MYTH OF ORIGIN OF MAN**

The term 'cosmogony' is derived from two Greek words '*cosmos*' which mean 'world' and '*gignesthai*' which mean 'to be born' and the literal meaning of these two words is 'world-birth'. In fact, man's endeavors to account for his existence and the world in which he lives are the most deeply interesting manifestations of human mental activity and progress.

The Galo myth of origin of the universe is partly cosmogony myth and partly a creation myth. Since there was nothing in the universe millions and millions of years ago, there was pin drop silence around the big vacuum. Then, slowly and gradually, the cloud and

fog formed in the atmosphere. From the union of cloud and fog, *Hichi/Hisi* (the Earth) and *Medo* (the Sky) formed. Again, out of the union of the Earth and the Sky and from their womb, the *Jimi Ane* (Mother creator) was born. It is also a creation myth because it was *Jimi* who had created all – Sun, moon, stars, all living beings, plants etc. and remains silent thereafter.

In this context, the role of Galo priest known as *Nyibo* and eminent orators known as *Nyikok* who possess knowledge and wisdom not only of adoration but also of the traditional rules and customs of Galo society are important because only they can recite the origin of universe, all beings and things. *Nyibo* while performing certain rites like *Ngyi-Tonam*, *Uyu-Gupak* etc. recites hymns and the sequence of events of the beginning of the universe and creation of all beings and things of earth to convince the spirits or deities that natural and supernatural beings originated from the same source of the universe.

Data, Badu and Ette have paraphrased a few hymns recited by *Nyibo* pertaining to creation of universe in the following ways.<sup>4</sup>

*Korum ogo cigo dogo ara sogo Kode, -  
Tale, Donyi-polo, Uyi, Tani, Aci-Amen,  
Taruk, Tapum, Nesin-Nemi, kamato.*

In the very beginning there was nothing, no shape or form. There was no soil, sky, Sun-Moon, Spirit, Man, animals, insects, worms and plants and trees.

*Cigo dogo ara sigi Pambu yigo Pamba -  
yigo be gila doto. Tudu name tolo-popi  
tubak name tolo-popi to.*

In the atmosphere there was full of Pambu (white cloud) Pamba (fog). When looks towards the northern part and the southern part was visible only the white cloud and fog was spread over the space of the atmosphere.

*Pambu kine-ge kine jugyi-re Pamba kine-ge kine jugyi-re Hichi bili-be pilen to, medo bolo-be jablento.*

*Hichi bili em pika name, sia gari, tarpi gari-go Medo bolo em jabka name yiru gari-go*

*Hichi dumbe, Medo dumbe aken nento Hichi keggi-e, Medo keggi-e aken nento. Hichi nyabe, Medo nyabe-e aken nento.*

*Hichi gambu-ge, Medo gambu-ge tubu kaname, Hichi koyu, Medo koyu em tubu kaname, ukci gari, jigi gari, ugar gari, jogo gari, jogo garito.*

*Hichi gumsi-ge gumsi jugchum-me Medo gumsi-ge, gumsi jugchum-me, jugchum jum-nyime Jimi-ane-be nedi tulento.*

*Jimi tuktem-me, garo-gari-be tuktem gari be Jimi chakpe Hikpo-gari-be, chakpe gari-be*

*Jimi morok-ge Dumbe gari morok-gari, Jimi hepo hopen gari, hepo gari, Jimi nyable Bega gari, nyab be gari.*

Out of the union of the pambu and pamba (cloud and fog) and from the kine (navel womb) of the cloud and fog the Hichi (the Earth) were born.

Then the Hichi (Earth) was born and the shape and size was like a tarpi (a jungle fruit papaya) and then Medo (sky) was born which was like an egg in shape and size.

The head of the Hichi and the Medo were same in size and shape when they appeared. The chest and the body of Hichi and Medo were same. Buttock portion of Hichi and Medo were also similar in shape and size.

When look into the inner part of the Hichi and the Medo a light emerged out like firefly from the darkness and territory boundary of the earth and the sky.

Out of the union of the Earth and the Sky and from the womb of them the Jimi Ane (Mother creator) was born

Jimi's head was like the head of the Hornbill. The Jimi's lower jaw was like the lower jaw of the Hikpo (male hornbill).

Jimi's forehead was like the forehead of Dumbo (male deer). The spinal cord of Jimi was like the nose of the monkey.

- Jimi dumpe-re Tango-gari, dumper-gari to.* - The hair/hair cutting of Jimi was like the young birds/chicken.
- Hichi kangkur, Medo kangkur do Hichi gambe-ge Gambe-gemi Gambe jukchum-me, Medo gambe-ge gambe jugchum-me 'Opo Tako' be nedi tulen to.* - The Hichi and the Medo have been created. And again out of their union 'Opo Tako' a very handsome young man was born.
- Opo Tako Hichi giku, Medo giku-ge Jimi Ane-ne, Jimi giru, mambu giru nento.* - Opo Tako a very handsome young man the son of the Hichi and Medo secretly had intercourse with Jimi Ane without her knowledge and consent.
- Jimi Ane Jimi kipe rende nento. Jimi ngidum-me babi nento.* - Now Jimi-Ane has felt surprised that she is carrying a child in her womb. Then her breast also started to develop and enlarged very fast.
- Jimi Apie pi repnamme, Nyite, Kate, Si, Mugli, Biro, Digi, Pote-Cikom-ne Jimi ape-be pilento.* - After a month together Jimi started giving birth. The offsprings were Nyite (the oldest son), Mugli (the spirit of woman), Cikom (a spirit of hunters), and the Digi (the owner of land).
- Ok tayalo Tani-Taki em, Hote-Honyo, Tapum, Taruk, Asi-Amen, Nesik-nemi, naru-em nedi tulen to.* - Thereafter the Jimi-Ane gave birth the Tani (the man), Taki (evil spirit), Hote-Honyo (the elephant and tiger), the Tapum (worms), Taruk (the insects and ants), Asi-Amen (the birds and animals) and Nesik-Nemi (plants and trees) etc.

*Jimi nedi-e 'Diko' Dibor-ne nedi tulen to. -  
Jimi nedi-e tulen name, Nesik abi-be Siki  
neme-ne, Nemi abi-be 'Karomotane',  
Ditak simi-ne, Nyido lobo-ne nedi tulen  
to.*

*Sonyo abi-be Aonyo-Tumro-ne Sotum -  
abi-de sotum Pirine Sore abi-ne Tapi-  
rabuk-ne Sodum abi-ne Sodum Ponyo  
Tapum abi-ne Nyido-keso Taruk abi-ne  
Cisup-denyup-ne nedi tulem to.*

*Jimi abi nem Jimi nedi-em tulen -  
kanamme-Nyite, Kate, Si, Mugli, Biro,  
Pote, Digi, Dibo-Kombo, Tani, Taki, Aci-  
Amen Jede-ko kamato.*

*Hichi kinik-ke ri-ekto Medo kinik-ke riek -  
to. Hichi giri-e goro jima; Medo giri-e  
goro jima.*

Then again Jimi-Ane gave birth to 'Diko' (the winter season) and 'Dibor' (the summer season). The first plant which Jimi-Ane gave birth were 'Sikeneme' and 'Kormatane (a thorny plant) and the tree which come out first from her body were the 'Ditak Simi' and Nyido-Lobo etc.

After that Jimi-Ane created many wild animals and they were mainly Sonyo-Tumro (the tiger), Sotum-piri (the first bear), Tapi-Rabuk (the first pig), the Sodum-Ponyo (the first deer), Nyido-keso (the first insect) and the Cisup-denyup (the first ant) etc.

After giving birth all living beings like Nyite (a powerful spirit of wild animals), Si (oldest son of Jimi), Mugli (the spirit of earthquake and volcano), Biro (the spirit of water), Digi (the spirit of land, hill and mountain), Dibo-Kombo (the God of archery), Tani (the first man), Taki (evil spirit) and Asi-Amen (the birds and animals) there was not much space and land for their living and existence.

The gap and space between the Hichi and the Medo were very limited and conjusted for the existence of Tani, Taki, many Gods and Goddesses and other animals. The area and territory of the Earth and the Sky were not expanded.

*Ogo Jimi-Ane, Anyi Mipu-ne nedi tulen -  
to. Jimi-Ane, Mipu-ne mento. Ane-ge  
Mipu-ah Hichi kinik-ke ri-ek, Medo nikik-  
ke ri-ek eba, kaboRabo-ge Jede-ko kama.*

*Mipu hitop-pe Hichi-Medo-ne tebro toka -  
mento. Mipu hitop-be teprep kuname,  
Hichi giri-e goro repto. Medo giri-e goro  
repto.*

*Mipu hitop-pe teprep kuname cinyo tepla, -  
Liku jeko-be, Ngurku jeko-be, puru jeko-  
be, Rapru jeko-be.*

*Ciko tepla Ciko jeko-be Kate-ge jeko-be, -  
Yute jeko-be, Jiku jeko-be, Jite jeko-be,  
Jiru jeko-be.*

*Dimir tepla, Mirma tepla, Dimir jeko, -  
Pingku jeko-be Pinte jeko-be.*

Then, Jimi-Ane created 'Mipu' (a very young full woman). She advised and told Mipu that my dear Mipu space and the territory between the Earth and the Sky were conjoined and very limited for the existence of 'Kabo-Rabo' (all offsprings of Jim-Ane).

Now Jimi-Ane ordered her daughter Mipu to make many expeditions for the expansion of the territory. Then Mipu started her first expedition and occupied a vast area of land by expanding the territory and gap between the Earth and the Sky.

Now again started her second expedition by flying towards Cinyo (the south pole) and covered the land for Liku (the God of War), Ngurku (the evilspirit of rat and mouse). Puru and Rapru (the spirit of headache).

In the third expedition she covered the land of Ciko (the meeting place for all spirits) for 'Kate' (a powerful spirit of wild animals), for Jiku Jite and Jiru (all benevolent spirit of the underworld).

In the fourth expedition Mipu flew towards Dimir-Mirma (name of place) and covered the land for Pinku and Pinte (the God and Goddess of Mopin festival and agriculture).

*Cibu tepla Liku, jeko-ne, Ngurku jeko-be, -  
Jirnu-Jirba jeko-be. Cia tepla-Pirku-  
Pirte, Pirlin-Pirba, tudi jeko-be.*

*Loku, Lote tepla, Loku-Pingku Lote- -  
Pinte-ge jeko-be, Dorum tepla-pirku-  
pirte, jabo-Rabo jeko-be.*

*Dori-Doji em Kate, Karo, gene Kale -  
jeko-be Yirku jeko-be, Yirto jeko-be,  
Donyi-ge jeko-be. Geku tepla, Muma,  
Maru jeko be.*

*Ok kokilo Citu Hobo, Dotu Hobo em pale -  
Hichi-Medo bunyi sor Abo em dobe sito.  
Okke Hichi-Medo-e adek sitoku.*

In the fifth expedition, she flew towards Cibu (name of a place where evil spirits gathers) and covered that land for Liku-Ngurku (the spirit of rat and mouse). After that she occupied Cia for Jirnu-Jirba (the who call back the soul of a person)

During the sixth expedition she covered the Loku-Lote (central place) area for Pinku and Pinte (the God and Goddess of Mopin). And then Mipu flew towards Dorum (an oldest place) and owned this place for Pirku-Pirte (the God of north pole and God of agriculture) and Jabo-Rabo (one of the Gods of Mopin).

Lastly, Mipu had occupied Dori-Doji area for Kate (a powerful spirit of wild animal), and for Karo, Gene, Yirku, Yirte (all are name of spirit), the Donyi and Kate (an evil spirit who kidnap the young boys). And at last, covered Giku (an unfertile land) for Mima-Maru (the evil spirit).

After that Hichi and Medo began to sacrifice the situ hobo and dotu hobo for a feast. And especially, the neck portion of the mithun was cooked and eaten by them. After the feast the Hichi and Medo were separated from each other.

*to Sor abo dona, rigi nyogo taka emto. -  
Rigi nyoge manam legabe Hichi Ane-ge  
gordu lo Miko miak nesik-nemi negi  
bukdu.*

*Rigi rinam legabe Medo Abo Medo lingo- -  
e tordu. Karbo biridu. Sok koki-lo Cigo  
dого engine nesik-neme, Asi-Amen-ne  
nenduku.*

As the neck portion of the mithun meat was eaten by Hichi and Medo and after the feast Hichi was advised by Medo to observe a taboo for a few days but Hichi did not pay any heed to it. As a result by curse so many creeper plants, thorny trees and many other things were breeding up over the Hichi's body.

Medo was sincere enough and he observed the taboo and as a blessing the sky was very bright and clear. So, in this way many living beings were created and emerged in this universe.

According to this hymn, there was nothing in the universe in the very beginning. There was no shape or form, Sun, Moon or any other animate and inanimate things. It was a complete vacuum. Nothing was visible in the space of the atmosphere except Pambu (cloud) and Pamba (fog). Slowly, out of the union of the only existing Pambu and Pamba and from their womb, both Hichi (Earth) and Medo (sky) were born. The shape and size of Hichi was like a papaya and that of Medo an egg. The head, chest and buttock of both Hichi and the Medo were identical in size and shape when they appeared. Then, again out of the union of the Earth and the Sky, it again conceived and Jimi or popularly known as Jimi Ane (Mother creator) was born. Jimi's head was like the head of a hornbill. Her lower jaw was like the lower jaw of the male hornbill, forehead was like the forehead of a male deer, her spinal cord was like the nose of a monkey and her hair was like that of a young birds or chick.

Again after sometime, *Opo Tako* a very handsome young man was born out of the union of *Hichi* and the *Medo*. *Opo Tako* secretly had an intercourse with *Jimi Ane*. *Jimi Ane* felt surprised because she was conceiving a child in her womb. Her breast started to develop

and enlarged very fast. After some months, *Jimi* started to give birth. Her children were Nyite (the eldest son), Mugli (the spirit of woman), Cikom (a spirit of hunters) and Digi (the owner of land). Subsequently, *Jimi Ane* gave birth to Tani (the man), Taki (evil spirit), Hote (elephant), Honyo (tiger), Tapum (worms), Taruk (the insects and ants), Asi-Amen (the birds and animals) and Nesein-Nemi (plants and trees) etc.

Then again *Jimi Ane* gave birth to 'Diko' (winter season) and 'Dibor' (summer season). The first plant which *Jimi Ane* gave birth were 'Sikeneme' and 'Kormatane (a thorny plant) and the tree which come out first from her body were the 'Ditak Simi' and Nyido-Lobo etc.

Thus, *Jimi Ane* had given birth to all living things but a problem arose since there was not much space and land for their living and existence. Moreover, the area and territory of the Earth and the Sky were not expanded so the gap and space between them were also very limited. As such, the existence of Tani, Taki, many Gods and Goddesses and other animals was very congested and overcrowded.

In view of that precarious situation, *Jimi Ane* created Mipu (a young woman) and ordered her to make expeditions for the expansion of the congested territory. Mipu started her first expedition and occupied a vast area of land by expanding the territory and gap between the Earth and the Sky. She made her second expedition by flying towards Cinyo (South Pole) and covered the land for Liku (the God of War), Ngurku (the evil spirit of rat) and Puru and Rapru (the spirits of headache). In the third expedition, she covered the land of Ciko (the meeting place of all spirits) for Kate (a powerful spirit of wild animals), for Jiku Jite and Jiru (all benevolent spirits of the underworld). In the fourth expedition, Mipu flew towards Dimir-Mirma (name of place) and covered the land for Pinku and Pinte (daughters of Ane Mopin). In the fifth expedition, she flew towards Cibu (name of a place where evil spirits gathers) and covered that land for Liku-Ngurku (the evil spirit of rat). After that she occupied Cia for Jirnu-Jirba (one who call back the soul of a person).

During the sixth expedition, she covered the Loku-Lote (central place) area for Pinku and Pinte (the God and Goddess of Mopin). And then she flew towards Dorum (an oldest place) and owned this place for Pirku-Pirte (the God of North Pole and agriculture) and Jabo-Rabo (one of the Gods of Mopin). Lastly, Mipu occupied Dori-Doji area for Kate and for Karo, Gene, Yirku, Yirte (names of spirits) and the Donyi. And she also covered Giku (an unfertile land) for Mima-Maru (the evil spirit).

With the accomplishment of the expedition by *Mipu*, *Hichi* and *Medo* sacrificed hobo (mithun) for a feast. The neck portion of the mithun was deliciously cooked and eaten by *Hichi* and *Medo*. After that feast both *Hichi* and *Medo* were separated from each other. *Medo* advised *Hichi* to observe a taboo for a few days as he had eaten the meat from the neck of the mithun but *Hichi* ignored it. As a result of his disobedience to the taboo, he was cursed with so many creeper plants, thorny trees and many other things over his whole body. Unlike *Hichi*, *Medo* was sincere enough and observed the taboo very carefully. So being blessed, the sky became very bright and clear. In this way all living and non-living things of this universe were created by *Jimi Ane*.

But there is another version of Galo myth on the creation of the universe and according to this, the *Jimi* is the creator of the Universe including the *Hichi/Hisi* (the Earth) and *Medo* (the Sky). Out of the union of the *Medo* and *Hisi*, all things and beings on earth and in the sky including the *Donyi* (the Sun) and *Polo* (the Moon) were born. And the sky was decorated with stars and clouds. The Sun and the Moon were created with super power to maintain peace and justice on earth. All other Gods and Goddesses were also created and sent to different places with different duties.

Although the name of *Donyi-Polo* (the Sun-Moon God) comes next to *Jimi*, the creator, because *Jimi* became obscure and silent after the creation so no sacrifice is offered to his/her name while the Galos give divine dignity to *Donyi-Polo*, the combined divine

figure of both Sun and Moon, who is regarded as the symbol of the creator and protector or savior of human beings on earth and is always with us.<sup>5</sup>

According to this version, *Jimi*, the creator, after completing the task of creation remains silent (*Jimi* in Galo language means silence). But *Donyi* and *Polo* remain with human being physically as well as spiritually. As such, people regard *Donyi-Polo* as the highest divine figure. In fact, Galos worship *Donyi* on several grounds. *Donyi* is the controller of the fate of men and giver of wife to *Tani*. *Donyi* is also saved *Tani* when *Taki* cheated and murdered *Tani* by engaging *Jiku-Miku* (the son of *Donyi*) to resurrected him. When *Tani* was revived *Donyi* assured to give sunshine, energy, favorable weather, animals for domestication etc.

*Donyi* is known with different names and characters in different spheres of Galo society. In the *Nyibo-Agom* (poetic language of priests) the *Donyi* is called *Iji Ane* (Mother Iji). She can manifest herself in different ways and all members of her family help her in various activities in different fields. *Donyi Jiku-Karku* said to have presided over the sessions in *Kargu-Kardi* (the heaven) and takes decision on the fates of human beings and animals with the help of *Yirku* and *Siri-Molo*. *Chiko Jiku-Jite* keeps the records of the deeds of men and women and regulates the life and death of human beings. *Jiru* reigns over the kingdom of dead and controls the men of bad character. *Jilen-Jiba* and *Jinyo-Jinyak* look after the various other spheres of the universe. While performing rituals, Galos make some made-belief images and offer different sacrifices to *Donyi*. Together with these, there are a number of benevolent and malevolent deities under *Jimi* and *Donyi-Polo*. Galos believed that a same deity may act as both benevolent and malevolent but a malevolent deity turns into benevolent one when it is properly propitiated and offered timely sacrifices. As per one of the myths, many of the *uyus* (spirits) are the descendants of *Taki* who was *Tani's* cruel brother and who took away *Tani's*

*Habro/Cheko* (supernatural power) by cheating. So *Taki* and his descendants have the supernatural power, they become spirits and can see man from anywhere but they cannot be seen by man. All these different deities or *uyus* are commanding different spheres of the earth such as *Yule-Uyu*, the guardian deity of the east, *Yury-Uyu*, that of the west, *Ahi* or *Kohi-Uyu* of the north or upstream, and of the south and the underworld are *Mopin*, *Pinku-Pinte*, *Ampir*, *Pirlin-Ngurin*, *Chikojite*, *Nyiku*, *Jiku* etc. There are also deities of house, village, neighboring forests, water and sky. House gods and goddesses are *Agam*, *Hitum-Jore*, *Ite-Bote*, *Chute-Gamte*, *Bote-Bome*, *Igo-Gamgo*, *Doli-Doga*, *Chukur-Gamkur*, *Ikur-Bokur* etc. while *Yapom*, *Doje-Yapom*, *Pomte-Sarte*, *Bute-Kamdu*, *Karu-Kate* and others are the gods and goddesses of the neighboring forests. *Biru-Biyek*, *Jeru-Poru*, *Lipe-Pompe*, *Kiru-Ramro* etc. are the deities of water and *Peka*, *Kate*, *Kale*, *Dote-Dori*, *Liru-Litum*, *Liru-Karu* and many others are the sky gods.<sup>6</sup>

#### MYTH OF ORIGIN OF MAN

Unlike the myth of origin of universe, the Galo myth of origin of man has a commonly accepted single version. According to this, the human being originated from the *Hichi/Hisi* (the Earth) and *Medo* (the Sky). From their union, *Jimi*, the mother creator was born and she in turn created all beings and things, *Donyi*, *Polo* etc. Genealogically, it is counted as *Hisi-Siji-Jimi-Miku-Kuram-Ramsap-Saptu-Turun-Runbuk-Buksin-Sintu-Turi-Reni* or *Tani* (*Abo Tani*) or *Hichi/Hisi-Sibuk-Buksin-Sintu-Turi-Rini* (*Tani*), *Riki* (*Taki*), *Rinyo* (*Tanyo*) and *Rite* (*Hote*). *Tani* was born along with three other brother viz. - *Riki* (*Taki*), *Rinyo* (*Tanyo*) and *Rite* (*Hote*).<sup>7</sup> *Riki* (*Taki*) became the evil spirit, *Rinyo* (*Tanyo*) became the tiger and left to stay in the jungles by promising *Tani* that he will kill wild animals for him when he comes for hunting expedition in the jungle and also asked *Tani* not to divulge to anybody anything about him and his whereabouts. *Rite* (*Hote*) was always sitting idly at home but one day decided to leave home for forest like *Rinyo* and

transformed himself into an elephant by using the *Chingi* to make his *Momi* (trunk), *Oop* as his *Nyeru* (ears), *Chipar* to make his *Arpo* (legs) and finally he used broom for purpose of making his *Nyebu* (tail). When his whole physical structure was thus changed, he left for forest and stays there ever since. Thus, it is seen that *Tani* was left alone by his brothers, though *Taki* was there but he was an epitome of evil spirit and was adversary of *Tani*. From *Tani* onwards, human race started and till today, all Galo clans claim their genealogy right from *Abo Tani*.<sup>8</sup>

## B. MYTH RELATING TO ABO TANI

There are various heroic myths performed by *Rini (Tani)*, foster son of *Jimi* and father of *Tani* groups of Arunachal Pradesh. *Tani* had four brother viz. *Riki (Taki)*, *the Uyu* (evil spirit), *Riro (Taro)*, *Rinyo (Tanyo)*, the tiger and *Rite (Hote)* the elephant. *Tani* and *Taro* lived in the open places, *Taki* choose to live invisible in the dense forest, high hills and mountains. *Tanyo* choose to live in the jungle on raw meat but in complete harmony with *Tani*. *Tanyo* took a vow from *Tani* that he would never mention about him (*Tanyo*) to anybody and die as thus. He in return promised to take care of *Tani* when the latter came to jungle for hunting. *Tani* breached this agreement in the last days of his life and was killed by *Tanyo*. *Rite* the elephant, owe allegiance to *Tani*. He lived both with *Tani* and in the jungle and preferred to remain herbivorous.<sup>9</sup>

*Tani* was confronted with various problems in the struggle for supremacy over the Earth and its other living beings. The myths of *Tani* differ in contents from place to place, group to group, village to village, individual to individual and so on and so forth. But the basic essence of the story is similar in all these myths. This is quite natural because it was carried on through the words of mouth. Hence there is no cause for worry on such differences.

Without going into the depth of these controversies following are some of the heroic myths relating to *Abo Tani*.

### **Donyi-Pinyi-Chanam (Rising of Two Suns)**

Immediately after the separation of the Earth and the Sky, two suns appeared one after the other in the sky. There was no night. There was day-light throughout and it was very hot. Because of the scorching heat of the sun the water and herbs began to dry. Waters receded behind the mountain rocks. All living beings, man, animals and God suffered. Everybody had a dry and sore throat except *Ajum-Bagi*, the rat. He had a very shrill voice. It surprised everyone. Later, it was discovered that he had been drinking water from behind the rock by entering through the crevices of rock. All beings came together to find ways to tackle the situation. It was decided to break the rock wall. They struck the rock with axe and spade, but all were blunted. There was no sign of breaking. Finally, *Debo-Kombo* (God of water) shot an arrow on the face of the rock. It broke and water gushed out. Then all creatures assembled and decided to destroy one of the Suns. They were not fully successful in their mission. Only one eye of a sun was blinded. The sun whose one eye was blinded became the Moon. Problem took a new dimension. The Suns got angry and did not rise. Darkness engulfed the whole universe. Life became impossible on the earth. A meeting of all beings was again convened. They resolved to persuade the Sun to rise again. They sent emissaries. Many went to her but none could convince the Sun. At last, the Bat and the *Apo-Jirjo*, a little bird with beautiful long-forked tail, were assigned the job. They went to *Donyi*. They danced and made merry around the Sun. The Bat displayed various styles of acrobatics. *Donyi* could not remain indifferent anymore. She smiled at the works of the Bat. She began to respond to them and was convinced to rise. She laid a condition that she would eat *Kiya*, the daughter of *Taki* before she rose. But Bat played a mischief and he informed *Tani* that *Donyi* wanted

Niya, the daughter of *Tani*. Accordingly, she was given in the interest of all. *Donyi* ate the daughter of *Tani*. Later on, she realized that it was *Tani*'s daughter that she had eaten. She was very remorseful for the mistake. She sent a message to *Tani* that he should not express his sadness in the open and shed tears when she rose lest bad luck should befall upon him and his progeny. The bat was the culprit for this mess. He was afraid that *Donyi* would know his mischief and punish him. When the Sun rose he went into a dark cave and hid himself till the Sun set. Till this day the bat would remain in the dark caves in the day time and comes out in search of food after the sun set.

*Donyi* rose with red hallow in the east. *Tani* could not resist himself. He remembered his daughter and was weeping at the sight of *Donyi*. *Donyi* was annoyed because *Tani* did not obey his instruction. Because of the disobedience of *Tani*, death came to humanity. A man dies when the sun rises every day.

When the sun rose, it was bright and hot. It was called day. On the setting of the sun, darkness fell on the earth it was called night. *Polo*, the moon appeared at night but it was not as bright and hot as the sun. Thus, the universe had the day and the night and became congenial for all living creatures to live in. It was the period when both animate and inanimate objects could communicate with each other. All creatures including the God lived together in complete harmony.<sup>10</sup>

### **Tani's marriage**

*Tani* was alone. He wanted a company. So, he decided to marry. He took *Pejek*, a bird, *Pekam* a fish eating water bird, *onyor*, a tree having thorny trunk whose seeds are poisonous, dry-wood, fire and many others as his wife. But no one could last long and left *Tani*. Amongst all, a few need special mention because of the individual performance and reason for desertion of *Tani*. *Pekam* was very good and doing well. She did cook very

delicious curry. *Tani* was highly impressed by her preparations and skill. But suspicious *Tani* wanted to know the secret behind such test. One day he hid himself in the house when *Pekam* was cooking vegetable. To his surprise, *Pekam* jumped on to the brim of the vegetable pot and defecating into it. It gave good flavour to vegetable as she was fish eater. One day *Tani* disclosed the secret. She felt embarrassed and ran away. Then *Onyor*, his next wife used to bring plenty of fishes, whenever she went to river for fishing. Her secret was that she used to urinate into the river and fishes were poisoned. *Tani* came to know about this which embarrassed *Onyor*. She too ran away into the jungle. *Tani* got very harrowing experiences when he married the Fire. She burnt the private area of *Tani*. *Tani* suffered a lot. All animals came to see him during this period of agony. Once a fly came to see *Tani*, he caught it and enslaved into a cage. Then he went to the village of fowls. He challenged them to a fight with his fly. Fowl fought and killed the fly. *Tani* blamed the fowls for the death of his fly and claimed compensation and managed to get one cock. He went to the village of the dogs. He challenged the dogs to a fight with his cock. Dogs killed the fowl. He claimed for compensation. He took a dog and went ahead to reach the village of the pigs. He threw challenge to the pigs to a fight with his dog. Pigs killed his dog. He took a pig then went to the village of the cows. On being challenged the cows killed the pig and he took one cow as compensation and then went to the village of the *Mithuns*. He challenged the *mithuns* to a fight with his cow; they fought and killed the cow. He took one *mithun* and went forward. It was the land of big forest. He challenged the trees to a fight with his *mithun* and he invoked the God of Storms to come. Storms came; the trees fell and killed his *mithun*. He blamed the trees for the death of his *mithun* and claimed for compensation. He was given a piece of wood of about ten feet long. With the wood he went to the land of the *Donyi-Polo*, the Sun and the Moon. A group of damsels accosted him. They thronged around *Tani* for it was the first time that they saw an alien in their land. Everyone was so beautiful that *Tani* looked on with his

mouth open and lost in thought for a while. Among them *Donyi's* daughter *Mumsi* popularly known as *Anyi Mumsi*, was the most beautiful. She charmed Tani at the first sight. He challenged the girls to break his wood. All tried but everyone failed. It was the turn of *Mumsi*. When she took over *Tani* invoked the help of God of *Tagik-Tacha* (microbes that eat woods to powder). *Tagik-Tacha* came and ate the wood unseen and unfelt. When *Mumsi* set her feet on the wood, it broke. *Tani's* intention was fulfilled. He began to claim for *Mumsi* for the loss of his wood. No reason could pacify him. At last, *Donyi* agreed to give *Mumsi* in marriage to *Tani*.

*Tani* came back to earth with *Mumsi*. *Donyi* gave seeds of all the domestic fowls and animals to *Mumsi*. On reaching the Earth she threw it on to the earth for fowls, for pigs, for dogs, for cows, for mithuns and so on and so forth and thus all domestic fowls and animals came to exist on earth. She had borne many children. *Nimur* was one of them.<sup>11</sup>

#### **Exit of Mumsi from Tani's life**

Ever since *Mumsi* came from the land of *Donyi*, she was not keeping good health. She became lean and thin day by day. *Tani* was worried. *Mumsi* told him to go to her parents. *Tani* went to *Donyi-Polo* and told them about the condition of *Mumsi's* health. They appreciated. Without saying anything they gave him a cane basket with lid. He was told not to check inside but to deliver the basket to *Mumsi*. Accordingly, *Tani* went homewards carrying the basket on his back. On the way *Tani* heard somebody echoing his voice each time from inside the basket. He tried to reason out. But he could not. At last he peeped into the basket to find a human inside. But he carried it to earth and placed it in the granary and informed *Mumsi*. Next day *Mumsi* went to the granary. *Tani* was eager to know as to what *Mumsi* was going to do with the man. He secretly followed her to the granary. To his utter surprise *Mumsi* was seen eating flesh of the man. *Tani*

returned home. He kept it to himself for a pretty long time. Meanwhile, *Mumsi's* health also improved. But one day they quarreled and *Tani* called her man-eater. *Mumsi* realized that *Tani* had seen her eating human flesh. She was greatly perturbed and felt humiliated. So she also went back to her parents never to come back. Thus, once again *Tani* lived without wife. <sup>12</sup>

### **Tani and Taki**

As already written, *Taki* and *Tani* were brothers. Both were intelligent and cunning. *Taki* aspired to have complete dominion over the universe. But *Tani* was his hurdle who used his *Habro* (a special device with which he could see *Taki*) and defeat *Taki* in any competitions. Be it in a competition to catch a bird sitting on the top of a tall live bamboo alive or the fish from the depth of the river water, *Tani* was the winner all the time. Both had had a number of other competitions where *Tani* would always emerge victorious. This enraged *Taki* and made him jealous of *Tani* and this grew into hatred. <sup>13</sup>

### **Tani's and Yapom-Yaji and his supremacy over Good land**

When *Tani* started to clear the jungle for cultivation both *Yapom* and *Yaji* appeared before him. They dissuaded him from clearing the jungle. *Tani* made a strong contention but they could not be persuaded. Disappointed, he again reached the land of *Mopin* and told her all about the interference from *Yapom* and *Yaji*. *Mopin* met both *Yapom* and *Yaji* and requested them to share a plot of land to *Tani*. But they disagreed, so finding no other options to convince, *Mopin* decided to play a trick on them. She asked *Yapom*, *Yaji* and *Tani* to cut down the trees in a portion of the forest and when the trees dried up, fire will be burn. All the three will be asked to stand in the midst of the burning forest and the one who can resist and survive from the raging fire will be declared the master and owner of the whole forest and the earth itself henceforth. Further, it was also informed that *Diya*

*Tami* would be allowed to set the fire. In the meantime, Mopin secretly instructed Tani to dig a pit in advance and hide beneath the pit when the fire catches. On the appointed day, all three gathered in the middle of the selected part of forest and *Diyi Tami* set the fire. Dried leaves and woods of the forest were immediately engulfed by the massive flames and both *Yapom* and *Yaji* could not resist the raging fire and thus fled away. But Tani meticulously did as instructed by Mopin and when the fire was over, he emerged out of the pit and stood firm in the encircling smoke in the middle of the forest. Mopin declared Tani as the master and owner of the earth. *Yapom* and *Yaji* accepted their defeat. Thus, Tani was declared the master of the earth and was freed from all hindrances. He sowed *Mili-Aml*i (maize). *Yapom-Yaji* and other deities requested Tani to honor Mopin with the celebration of ritual. Under the guidance of *Diyi Tami*, *Pinku-Pinte*, Tani prepared the image of Mopin and she gave ample seeds to Tani which facilitate the start of regular cultivation on earth. <sup>14</sup>

### **Tani lost his Habro**

*Taki* was all out to dispossess *Tani* of his *Habro*. One day he hit upon a plan. He invited *Tani* to a *Babo Reka-hinam* (swinging competition) on the conditions that whosoever could swing to the farthest would be the winner. *Tani* responded to the challenge for he was quite confident of his own might and ability. A day and the spot were fixed. A *Babo* of a huge size was erected. It was so big and powerful that it could sway to the end where *Medo* and *Hichi*, the Sky and Earth met. Both reached to the designated place and competition began. First *Taki* did his round. He had no intention of winning the competition for he knew that he was no match for *Tani*. *Tani*'s turn came. *Taki* advised him to keep back his *Habro* lest it should get entangled in the vines and bushes. *Tani* took off his *habro* and began to swing. When he swayed to the farthest *Taki* chopped off the rope of the *Babo* at one end. Alas!

*Tani* was thrown to “*Chilo-Dolo-Geko*” (the far end of the earth and the sky). *Tani* was struggling to get back through the rivers, through the valleys and through the thick jungles. The progress was slow because of the vines, shrubs and steep climbs of the hills, yet he did not give up. *Taki*, on the other hand, was happy to trap *Tani* to his evil design. He took the *Habro* and fled away from the place into the deep jungle. Meanwhile, *Tani* managed to reach back. Immediately, he ran to the place where he kept his *habro*. But it was missing. He knew that *Taki* had taken it. He went to *Taki* and asked him to return but the latter was in no mood to listen. Rather he lied that he no knowledge of the *habro*. Then *Tani* threaten to severe the nerve centre of the earth and thus destroy it so that no one including *Taki* could survive. *Taki* became panic and worried. He thought of returning the *habro* to *Tani*. But *tapen* (the bat) interfered. He advised *Taki* not to submit to *Tani* easily. He committed to verify and confirm the truth behind *Tani*'s threat. Without doing any verification he went to *Taki* and told him that he had gone around and there was nothing *Tani* could do to destroy the earth. *Tani* insisted upon *Taki* for returning his *habro*. Finally, *Taki* gave *Tani* a little pinch of the *habro* and asked him to put into his eyes. He further said that anytime if he remembers him, he could know his mind through that power. Thus, *Tani* managed to have a little power to know the whereabouts and the intension of *Taki* by means of *Roksin kanam* (Chicken liver examination). Whenever *Tani* or his children fell sick, he had to appease *Taki* by leaving live animals in the jungles as offerings. But it so happened that the animals did return to *Tani* alive under this system. It was decided that the animals be given in the form of sacrifice. Since then animals are sacrificed to propitiate *Taki*. Blood is smeared on the effigy of *Taki* believing that *Taki* had taken the animals. In this manner, *Tani* lost his *habro* to *Taki* and thus his superiority over him. As a result, their relationship also underwent a sea-change. Despite this happening, *Taki* was not contented with that and he was out to take to revenge on *Tani* further. <sup>15</sup>

## **Tani's Death and Restoration to life**

*Taki's* evil designs against *Tani* continued unabated. Once, he persuaded *Tani* to go rowing with him, took him to a waterfall and shoved him down it. He had already fixed a *taakom* (fish trap) further downstream and then body of *Tani* as it floated down got caught in it. *Taki* thought that none had seen it. But deity *Jiku-Miku* had seen it. The God knew that humanity would be born of *Tani* so he decided to bring *Tani* back to life. He made a 'labur' (talisman) tied it to a *Jirdibodi* (a thin piece of hollow bamboo) and addressed the 'labur' to guide to the place where *Tani's* body is. With this it was cast into the river water. It floated down the stream taking the course *Tani's* body had taken and stuck to the *taakom*. But in the meantime, *Taki* was already there and taken the *Tani's* body beyond the place where the Earth and Sky met and eaten it. He had saved only the two eyes which he put on the *rapko* (hanging shelf over the heart where the fish and meat are smoked and dried). After doing this, he came back to the *taakom* and rested as if he did not know anything.

*Jiku-Miku* up in the sky followed the *labur* but instead of finding *Tani's* body they found *Taki* taking rest. *Jiku-Miku* guessed what had happened and asked *Taki* straightforwardly if he had eaten *Tani*. But *Taki* denied. Thereupon *Jiku-Miku* made *Konyi-Koma* sigh the feathers of fowls over the fire and blew the smoke towards *Taki*. This made *Taki* sprang up and admitted of the offence of eating *Tani*. He brought two eyes of *Tani* and gave it to *Jiku-Miku*. *Jiku-Miku* took them and went to *Talo Tanya* in *Donyi Giri* (the land of Sun) to make an image of *Tani*. He wanted bee wax which was provided by *Donyi's* daughters. As directed by *Talo-Tanya*, *Jiku-Miku* made wax image of *Tani*. On it, he made a mould of *Kamsi-Kamya*, a special type of clay and dried it. When it was fully dried, the wax was drained out. He then fixed the *Tani's* eyes into the socket that he made in the clay image. There was difference of opinions as to the length of the time the caste should remain for maturity. Finally *Hitum-Jore* advised for 12 days which would be enough.

After twelve days, *Tani* was again restored to life. *Tani* grew up into fine young man to become the father of the humanity. <sup>16</sup>

### **Tani and Taro**

The relationship between *Tani* and *Taro* was fun packed. He opted to remain in the domain of *Tani*. He had no original concept, plan or ideas of his own but would always emulate *Tani* and wished to become one like him. *Tani* being intelligent made fun of him always. Simultaneously, he was annoyed for his eccentric behaviors.

One day, *Tani* took to tending a pig in his pigsty attached to his house. *Taro*, as usual, too brought one. *Tani* was annoyed and wanted to teach him a lesson. Early in the morning he screamed “*Tani Rigi-Rigi, Taro Makpo Rogo-Rogo*” from the bush near *Taro*’s house. *Taro* heard it for a few days and ignored. But it did not stop. He told *Tani* of the incident. *Tani* explained to him that it might be for his pig so he should kill his pig clean-shaved it and roll down towards the place from where voice is coming. Else some misfortune may befall his family. Unaware of *Tani*’s ulterior motive behind the advice, he did accordingly as told by *Tani*. The latter took the carcass of the pig and ate with his family. His family became fatty and *healthy*. *Taro* suspected *Tani* of some foul play for the loss of his pig. To retaliate, he thought of going the *Tani*’s way to take the *Tani*’s pig. He also started screaming “*Tani-Rigi Rigi Taro Makpo Rogo Rogo*” from the bush near *Tani*’s house. *Tani* understood the game plan of *Taro*. After some days, he told *Taro* about it. Without loosing any opportunity *Taro* told *Tani* to do as he did. *Tani* agreed. In one fine morning, *Taro* began to scream from the bush. *Tani* heated a stone almost of the size of his pig to its maximum and rolled down towards the bush. *Taro* mistook it for the carcass of pig, he grabbed to his bosom and it burnt. He suffered badly. He was ashamed and angry upon *Tani*.

Meanwhile, *Taro* was observing the dramatic change in the health of the *Tani*'s family. He asked *Tani* the secret behind the good health of his family. *Tani* was up to play another mischief with *Taro* for his irritating behaviour. He told that they were put inside a *pobum* (Funnel made of bamboo for brewing *opo*-wine) in large quantity and poured boiled hot water upon them. *Taro* was convinced and he coaxed his family members to get into a *pobum* made for the purpose and packed it and poured boiled-hot water. All cried out of hot-water burn but *Taro* was not to listen for he knew it was for their good health. He continued till the cries stopped. After five days the *pobum* was opened. To his utter dismay, he found all his family members dead and turned into a swarm of warms. *Taro* realized the evil design of *Tani*. He was completely heartbroken and became vengeful. One day, he brought some pieces of log from the jungle and curving it into a manger near a river. *Tani* came across *Taro* and wondered what he was doing. Out of curiosity he asked *Taro*. *Taro* said that it was for him to sleep as he was lone man. *Tani*'s ill luck had it; he wanted to try whether it was good for a man to lie. *Taro* immediately agreed. The moment *Tani* got into the manger and lied down he covered it with another one made ready and sealed it with *cherga* (sticky substance derived from small bees) then it was thrown to the river. The manger started drifting along the course of the river and *Tani* was helpless. He was crying for help from various spirit and creatures of the world. Meanwhile *Jirdi-bodi* (a tiny hollow bamboo) heard it and caught it with the help of its tip. It stopped from further drifting down. *Kachir-Kabe* (woodpecker bird) came to help. She cut it and finally opened. Unfortunately, her beak pierced one of the eyes of *Tani* by mistake. *Tani*'s one eye became blind. This is how blindness came to his descendants the Humanity.<sup>17</sup>

### **Tani and the Monkey**

*Tani* had a son called *Ninur* from his wife *Mumsi*, the daughter of *Donyi*, the Sun. Ever since *Tani's* heavenly wife *Mumsi* left him out of humiliation and went back to her parents for ever, *Ninur's* health began to deteriorate. All attempt on the part of *Tani* to restore his good health failed. Some well-wishers of *Tani* advised him to place *Ninur* under a tache tree (a variety of tall fern tree whose hard pulp is barked and the white soft portion inside can be eaten). Accordingly, *Ninur* was kept in a groove of tache. After a few days, *Tani* visited *Ninur* and found his health a bit better. Being satisfied he came back. In the next visit, *Tani* could not find *Ninur* in the place. He enquired around but alas! Nobody could give any clue. He searched several possible places where *Ninur* could be, but in vain. Frustration and helplessness gripped him. Meanwhile, he met *Tode-Rene* (a bird stripped white and black along the head to tail normally found in small streams in hilly areas) who knew whereabouts of *Ninur*. On *Tani's* request she agreed to show the place and asked for a pouch of rice powder. On the fixed day, *Tani* brought rice powder. *Tode-Rene* would eat the powder and go on defecating on the stone top to mark her way. *Tani* should follow her till they reached the spot. *Tode-Rene* started hopping from one stone to another towards the upstream and went on defecating on the stone tops. *Tani* was following. After traveling for quite a good distance *Tode-Rene* gave a big squeaking call and flew away. *Tani* was disheartened for a moment; but reached the spot. To his great joy *Ninur* was found. Tears rolled down out of happiness. He hugged him. By then *Ninur* had had a very good health and became expert in black smithy. He was making *Ame* (metal plates), *Dachi* (Metal tub) etc. *Tani* was extremely happy to find his son *Ninur*. He asked *Ninur* to go home with him. But *Ninur* was not ready. He wanted to stay there some more time. He persuaded his father not to insist upon taking him along. *Tani* was convinced. He alone left the place with some bows, arrows, swords, adam-ames made by his son. He was very proud of all these as well as of his son. On the way back home he met some monkeys. They were teasing *Tani*. *Tani* got angry and started scolding the

monkeys. He displayed the goods created by his son and challenged them for such art. The Monkeys felt insulted and resolved to avenge upon *Ninur* for the insult. Somehow, they located *Ninur*. The monkeys pierced *Tare-mamo* (thorny tip of wild cane) into *Ninur's* anus and killed him while he was sleeping. Thus, *Tani's* next visit to *Ninur* was of utter sadness and frustration as his son *Ninur* was no more. He knew that it was the handiwork of the monkeys and resolved to avenge the death of his son.

In a bid to avenge the death of his son he persuaded monkeys to a *Hibok-Penam* (catching fish by diverting the main course of the river). *Tani* took to do the diversion of the river from the upstream. The monkeys were asked to block the down end to prevent fishes from fleeing. Further, he advised them to put their bows and arrows behind at the bank of the river. The monkeys were not aware of what was going on in *Tani's* mind. They left their bows and arrows at the bank of the river and went down. *Tani* messed up the strings of the bows and the slings of the quivers of the monkeys. He placed some sticks around it. He had also brought a cage of *Komchi* (a kind of grasshopper which bites when contacted). Then *Tani* challenged the monkeys for a fight. The monkeys ran up and tried to take their bows and arrows but all were messed. They could not separate it for use. Meanwhile, *Tani* let loose the *Komchi* towards them. It started biting them at the nose. Each was trying to kill the *Komchi* on the nose of other and hit each other with the sticks ready to use at the site. Many died. At last some lucky monkeys could realize the folly of their efforts to challenge *Tani* and ran off the scene for life. This was the *Tani's* first avenge on his son's death.

After a long pause, *Tani* again made a plan to continue his avenge on the monkeys. He tied a red tread on the tip of the foreskin of his male organ. It surprised the monkeys and they became greatly fascinated. A monkey dared to ask *Tani* as to how he got that *Tani* told him that it was *Rili-Dumchi*. The monkeys were also eager to have it. *Tani* explained to them the procedure they had to go through. He instructed them to bring a bundle of dry

leaves of wild banana trees. On the appointed day the monkeys brought the leaves and got ready for the procedure. All were asked to get into a hollow tree trunk through a hole. They did enter. After that he stuffed dry banana leaves behind them. Then set fire on. Smoke started suffocating the monkeys. Everyone was crying for help. Some tried to bluff *Tani* saying that they had become *Rili-Dumchi*. But *Tani* was not to listen. He was furious on the death of his son. The cry of monkeys' stopped.

Silence reign in the tree trunk and the surrounding area. Now *Tani* was sure that it had been finished as he wanted. He withdrew the un-burnt leaves and pulled out dead monkeys one by one. All died. He was happy that he had completely annihilated the generations of monkeys. But suddenly, a little monkey who went first into the whole, somehow, survived and jumped out and then escaped to the treetop. *Tani* could not catch him. From this monkey the new generation of monkeys started again. <sup>18</sup>

### **Tanis's visit to the land of Donyi-Polo**

Once *Abo Tani* went for hunting and had killed a monkey. He sent a little monkey to bring fire from his house. The little monkey called *Tani's* mother who was in the house and asked for fire. But she pretended to be deaf and asked him to come nearer and nearer. When the monkey was close by she pierced a red hot iron sticks into his abdomen and killed the monkey. She was busy cooking.

*Tani* on the other hand had been waiting for the little monkey but he did not return. He bound the carcass carried it on his back and reached home. The staircase was removed. He called his mother to throw it down but she would not listen. She told him to climb up. *Tani* did as told. The door was strongly fastened and locked from inside. *Tani* requested his mother to open it. But she would not listen. *Tani* had no other alternative but to climb to the ceiling of the house and requested her to give him a staircase to come down but all in vain. *Tani* was very angry and tired. He threw the carcass carried behind him on to the

floor of the house. Unfortunately, it fell right upon the head of his mother. Thus, his mother died. *Tani* buried her in the ground and was observing taboos. He peeled the skin of the monkey and spread it over the burial ground of his mother. A strange thing happened everyday. The skin was always turned upside down. *Tani* wanted to know as to who was doing that? One day, he hid himself near the burial ground and saw a little boy in action. He caught hold of him and asked him what he was doing. The boy introduced himself as the messenger of the *Donyi-Polo*. He told *Tani* that he was being invited to *Donyi-Polo Moko* i.e., the land of Sun and Moon. Then he disappeared. Next day, *Tani* started his journey to the land of Sun and the Moon. When he reached, he was given warm reception and hospitality. "What stairs would you like to use to climb up?" they asked. "A simple one", *Tani* replied. *Tani* was given a stairs made of diamond. Again they asked, "What would you like to sit on?" "An ordinary one" *Tani* replied. They gave him a chair made of diamond. "What plate would you like to eat on?" they asked. "An ordinary plate," *Tani* Replied. He was given a gold plate. After a few days stay *Tani* was to return to earth. They offered him *Ame* (metal plates) and *Tadok* (beads) in a huge quantity. He was told that he would hear the call of *Mere-Hori* far in the mountains. He would hear the call of the *Yema-ketak* far in the mountain yet he should not reply. Finally, he would see a lion sleeping right in the middle of the path. He should not disturb him and pass by. As *Tani* proceeded quite a good distance, he heard the call of *Mere-Hori*. He ignored. After traveling farther, he heard the voice of the *Yema-Ketak*, but he did not reply. All went well. Finally, *Tani* found a lion sleeping on the middle of the road. He carefully passed by without disturbing the animal. Thus, *Tani* became very rich and affluent. He had so many things in his possession which others did not have. *Taro* was astonished at the sudden richness of *Tani*. One day he gathered courage to ask *Tani* about the secret of his riches. *Tani* without any reservation narrated the events beginning from the death of his mother.

*Taro* as usual planned to emulate *Tani*. He killed a monkey and threw it from the top of the ceiling upon his mother and killed her. She was buried. The skin of the monkey was peeled and spread on the burial ground. It too was turned upside down. *Taro*, as *Tani* told hid in the jungle and caught the boy from the land of *Donyi-Polo*. He too was invited as expected. He was beside himself with joy. He began his journey and reached the land of *Donyi-Polo*. He was also given warm reception and was asked, "By which stairs would you like to come up?" "By the diamond stairs" *Taro* replied. He was given an ordinary wooden stairs. "What chair would you like to sit on?" They asked. *Taro* replied, "Diamond chair". He was given an ordinary wooden chair. "What plate would you like to eat on?" they asked. "A plate made of gold," he replied. They gave him an ordinary plate. When the day of departure came, he too was given those ornaments given to *Tani* with the same advice. He was also cautioned against *Mere-Hori*, the *Yema-Ketak* and the sleeping lion. But he disobeyed the instructions. On the way back home he heard the call of the *Mere-Hori* and he immediately responded. His beads turned into charcoal. Then again after traveling some more miles he heard the call of the *Yema-Ketak*. He responded to it. Alas! All his *Ames* turned into earthen pot and broke. *Taro* was quite dejected, and embarrassed. Then he saw the Lion sleeping right in the middle of the path. Already frustrated and angry *Taro* got furious and shouted at the sleeping lion. The lion woke up, pounced upon him and killed him. This is the end of the days of *Taro*.<sup>19</sup>

### **Tani and Taje-Taro**

*Taji-Taro* performed *Hob-Dori Panam* (sacrificing of Ten Mithuns). He invited all the creatures to the function. Among them were *Koche* (low bred squirrel), deer, *Kipu* the *Abo Tani*'s dog, grasshoppers and assorted guests. *Pache* and *Rodo* were to be the *Nyibo*, the priest. Through the chanting of rhapsodies they abused each other. It was not palatable to everyone present. They decided to replace them. *Tani* was given the task.

*Tani* agreed on the condition that his mother performed the main ritual. *Taji-Taro* accepted the condition. *Papu-Ruli*, a small variety of rat was asked to bring *Tani*'s mother. *Tani* told him that her mother was hard of hearing and she should be pushed with a stick to draw her attention. He had already made an effigy of a woman kept it on a raft made of bamboo afloat on the river. *Papu-Ruli* went to call her and found as was told to by *Tani*. He pushed the effigy with the stick and it fell into the river and drowned. He returned with heavy heart. He broke the news that infuriated *Tani*. He made hue and cry and charged *Taji-Taro* for the loss of her mother. He claimed for the entire ten *mithuns* tied for sacrifice. Finally, they settled for nine *mihtuns*. *Taji-Taro* sacrificed only one *mithun*. But it was too little for the number of invitees. He gave different edible items to different invitees instead of meat. *Kipu* and the deer were given a packet of rotten beans. They quarreled over its distribution for they wanted to make each other the distributor expecting that the one who does the work might take less as a gesture of courtesy. Tired of argument the deer kicked the packet of beans to spill all over the ground. The smell of rotten-beans is still found between the cloven hoofs of deer. Infuriated *Tani*'s dog charged the deer. The deer ran for her life. The dog also chased her. On the way, he sought for shelter from *Paa-ke Hine* and *Bulum-Hine*, the trees whose fruits are eaten by deer. None gave shelter to the deer for the fear of the dog. Both reached the *Digo-Yao* or *Digo-Yamo*, the land of *Mopin Ampir*. They were branded as intruder and taken captives and shackled. *Tani* followed his dear dog. He too reached the place. He was also held captive and shackled. It was a difficult time for three of them. No reason could convince the inhabitant of their intention. Finding no option to free themselves from bondage of *Digo-Yao* inhabitants, *Tani* decided to play a trick. He killed a *Kirte-Pumpa* a smelling rat which passed by them and put it under his armpit. He began to stink. People of *Digo-Yao* thought that *Tani* would die soon. They decided not to take the blame upon themselves. *Tani* was released along with the deer and the dog. *Tani* explained to them the reason of

their coming to the place. They realized their mistake and were greatly moved. As compensation for the damage they caused to *Tani*'s image for wrong reason, they gave *Tani* the seeds of crops and other agricultural tools. They knew that *Tani* would be passing through the land of *Buu-chu* (the rats) so they put the seeds into the pocket of the dog's ear. *Digo-Ane*'s apprehension proved right. All the seeds they brought were eaten up by the rats. *Tani* went back to the land of *Digo-Ane* and requested to give seeds once again. But they refused and advised him to set fire on the house of *Buu-chu*. *Tani* did accordingly. From the place of the burnt house paddy grew. This is how paddy and other crops came in earth and agriculture commenced. *Tanis* still worships *Ane Mopin* in gratitude and for bestowing bumper harvest.<sup>20</sup>

### **Tani and Tanyo**

*Tani* and *Tanyo* (tiger) were brothers. *Tanyo* choose to live in the jungle and on raw meat. They made a covenant that *Tani* would never ever mention about *Tanyo* to anybody till his death while *Tanyo* would extend all help to *Tani* in the jungle whenever the latter needed it. Both lived in a complete harmony. Whenever *Tani* went to the jungle for hunting *Tanyo* would ready the prey for him. *Tani* too had been true to his promise. As time passed he grew old in age. One day he was sitting with his sons on the verandah of his house doing some cane works. The memory of his days with *Tanyo*, competition with *Taki*, homely relationship with *Rite* (Elephant), fight with the monkeys and fun packed relationship with *Taro* haunted him. He remembered the support given by his brother *Tanyo* when he went for hunting. For a moment, he got lost into reverie and felt sorry and dejected for loosing those days. Out of emotion, he mentioned to his children that he had a brother called *Tanyo* who had been very kind and helpful to him all through his life. Thus, he broke the covenant with *Tanyo*. *Tanyo* heard it. Suddenly, *Tani*'s working knife fell from his hand to the ground below. He sent his children one by one but nobody could

find it. But it was clearly visible to him from the housetop. When all his children failed he personally went down. The moment he reached the spot *Tanyo* who was hiding caught hold of him and lost into the jungle. Thus, *Tani's* life ended. The children of *Tani* were making hue and cry but they could do little because they had no tools to fight. *Peka*, the God of war heard it and came down and learnt the plight of *Tani's* children. He taught them how to prepare spear, sword, bow and arrow. This is how fighting tools came into world.<sup>21</sup>

*"Tani e Niku gola Nili goben na"* (There could be old *Tani* and New *Tani*), the occasional remarks from the village folklorists have been known. Indeed, from the stories, fables and folklores there are ample reasons to agree with this statement. As the stories go *Tani* seemed to have lived in the period when all living thing and non-living this could speak. *Tani* had married *Pekam* (a fish eating bird), *Onyor* (a tree having thorny trunk), dry-wood, fire, *Diyi-Tami* and finally *Anyi Mumsi* the daughter of *Donyi*, the Sun. When the world faced the situation of serious drought because of the rising of two suns, he mobilized all the beings on the earth and managed to blind one of the eyes of a sun which became the moon. His constant conflict with *Taki*, *Taro* and the monkeys speaks of situations which are not of a normal human life. Thus, it was not the life of our immediate ancestor *Rini*, the *Abo Tani*. For the ancestor of the *Galo*, *Adi*, *Nyishi*, *Tagin*, *Apatani* and *Mishing* of Assam etc. seemed to be a perfect human being and that he had married a number of wives from where the Tani tribes in Arunachal Pradesh listed above trace their origin to. It is also a fact that these stories are based on some *Doyi*, *Nyitom*, *Dello-Nyitom* and such other folklores and tales. Notwithstanding, the differences in the stories between person to person, group to group, village to village, clans to clans and the communities to communities, yet the basic essence of the stories about *Abo Tani* is same

which is indicate that Tani origin tribes of both Arunachal Pradesh and the state of Assam were one at some point of time in distance past.

### C. MYTH OF ORIGIN OF MOPIN FESTIVAL

Galos believed that the creation of universe is from *Jimi* only and all living beings, visible, invisible, human, evil spirits, tutelaries, animals, plants etc evolved out from *Jimi*.

<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the origin of Goddess Mopin is also from the same fountainhead of *Jimi* or the concourse of *Chite-Dote* (heaven and earth) that took place at *Chibu-Dogu* (last horizon of earth and sky). Genealogically it is interpreted as *Jimi-Mipir-Pirto-Todi-Dimo-Mopin* which implies that *Jimi* begets *Mipir*, *Mipir* begets *Pirto*, *Pirto* begets *Todi*, *Todi* begets *Dimo*, *Dimo* begets *Mopin* <sup>23</sup> From *Chibu-Dogu*, all living beings including Goddess Mopin migrated to *Loku-Lote* (the first sojourn place of all creatures) there Mopin took training for ten years and nine months from *Gute-Gamro* (the trainer). Basically in the training, all skills of *Dogin Runam* (migration/hauling) were taught. Many trainees failed to complete their course but Mopin faithfully accomplished that and therefore, Mopin was anointed as the Goddess of corn, affluence, prosperity etc. from that time onwards. After receiving the status of goddess, Mopin migrated to Digo Yamo.

According to myth, there was a time when all living creatures could speak and understand each other. During those days, Abo Tani was the only creature in human form. The Mopin festival originates from an incident of Abo Tani's life. One day, Abo Tani was walking in the river valley and met *Tode-Rene* (a small bird) who informed him that *Takar-Taji* (terrestrial being living separately) are going to perform a *Dori-Panam*, a big wedding ceremony sacrificing ten mithuns at a time. All living beings including Abo Tani were invited to the grand function. "As the first natural being of earth these mithuns belong to me. How come Takar-Taji kill my animals", Abo Tani soliloquized. Thus, he went to the area of Takar-Taji on the pretext of attending the *Togu Panam* (mithun

sacrifice). In the sacrificial ceremony, *Kojak* – a small rabbit and *Pase-Rodo* – a small rat were appointed as *Nyibo* and *Bo* respectively. But in the course of their chanting, both used abusive words against each other and refused to perform the duties of priest and follower. Since Abo Tani was the only being who could be a substitute, he was requested to act as *Nyibo*. He agreed to act as priest on the condition that all the images of *Murdom*, *Ponyo*, *Isi-Puksi* and *Monyi-Tage*; *Papum-pasak*, *Gui-pasak*, *Gui-gamyo* of the ceremony i.e. Takar-Taji's *Rindu-Kundu* preparation should be done by his mother. In fact, Abo Tani had a hidden motive to take all the ten mithuns fastened by Takar-Taji for sacrifice. According to Abo Tani's suggestion, Takar-Taji deputed *Kekopai* (squirrel) to invite Abo Tani's mother. Actually, Abo Tani did not have his mother as she was already died. He erected an image and kept it covered with cloth on a rock half merged in a river. He cautioned *Kekopai* that his mother is deaf and dumb and it is only with *Murte Kome* (a bamboo stick) which is kept nearby that can be used to awaken his mother. So she needs to be pushed with the *murte kome* to get her response. *Kekopai* went there and did as directed by Abo Tani but alas! The image of his mother fell down in deep water and was drowned. *Kekopai* returned back terror-stricken and narrated the unfortunate incident to Abo Tani. Abo Tani knew that it was his trick but he showed much anger against *Kekopai* and appeared to be grief-stricken. He threatened to destroy the whole world in anger. Abo Tani blamed Takar-Taji and claimed all ten mithuns as a compensation for his mother's death. Somehow Abo Tani could be consoled with the offer of nine mithuns by Takar-Taji and thus only one mithun was left which will be sacrificed for the marriage. As already stated, Takar-Taji had invited a large number of guests but he had only one mithun left to be sacrificed now. The marriage ceremony was organized as the greatest feast but one mithun was not sufficient. For the sake of prestige, he had to sacrifice *Pase Dorngo Rodo Dorngo* – five each of two types of small yellowish rats. Despite that, meat was not sufficient for all the invitees, so the guests were offered various other things.

*Komchi* (a grasshopper) as a host was assigned with the duty of preparing *Dumpo* but finding it insufficient, he added his own head too. Again *Hoji* (a wild lizard) while preparing an item from the heart of the mithun, tore out his heart and added it in view of inadequacy. So *Komchi* seems to be headless now and *Hoji* seems to lack heart as it wander about on the way in the jungle unmindful of the people around. All because of their sacrifices made for *Takar-Taji* during the *togu* ceremony. Among others, *Koche* (a squirrel) and *Pem* (a kite) were offered a packet of salt but they were quarreling over its distribution as none wanted to become the distributor. Helpless and finding no way out, *Pem* pick up the salt and flew up the topmost branch of a *Yabi* (tree) without sharing the salt with *Koche*. As a result, it is said that *Koche* is always found to climb up *Yabi* tree and eat its bark.<sup>24</sup>

Both *Dumpu* (Deer) and *Kipu* (Dog) were served *Agya Posum* (decayed packet of soya beans) and *Lote Posum* (a bundle of bones). *Dumpu* jokingly told *Kipu* that he seemed to be frowned and *Kipu* replied that *Dumpu* has a very bony cheek. Thus, both of them too quarreled with each other. Disgusted *Dumpu* destroyed *Agya Posum* and kicked up *Lote Posum* and ran away. Being enraged, *Kipu* chased *Dumpu* followed by Abo Tani. *Dumpu* requested for safety and shelter to *Kune Lamne* (a kind of tree) but in vain. In their run and chase, they crossed into *Digo Pine (Ampir Dolu)* – the domain of *Mopin Moji* and disturbed the natives who were performing rituals. On charges of encroachment in their rituals, both Abo Tani and his dog *Kipu* were taken captives and imprisoned but *Dumpu* was picked up and protected. Having stayed for some days in the prison, Abo Tani thought to escape and return home. So he played a trick for his release. He killed a rat and inserted it in his armpit. When the rat decomposed it started stinking. He called Mopin Ane and told her that he is not well and might die any time. He said –

*Tani Bedu Si, Tani Opo Si*

*Bedu Namsie, Yibi Yeke*

This body and soul of Tani

Has started stinking

*Opo Namba E Reya Yeku*

*Ngo Tani Pumsi Gibolo*

*Ngo Tani Romo Be Hibolo*

*Ngom Nyigo Be Gosa Dedo Ye*

*Ngom Hogo Be Gosa Dedo Ye*

And would decompose

If I, Tani die

If I, Tani perish as such,

Can you create me?

Can you compensate me? <sup>25</sup>

Hearing this Mopin Ane also realized that Abo Tani might die soon and she could not morally bear the risk of his death. Moreover, all beings of *Digo Yamo* were frightened to hear these words from Abo Tani and agreed that Abo Tani was really giving foul smell. So out of sympathy and to save the life of Abo Tani, Mopin ordered *Diyi Tami* to release Abo Tani and Kipu. He got up and stressed his body and observed that *Digo Yamo*, the world of Mopin has full of prosperity with abundant food and wealth. He earnestly approached Mopin and begged her to give him something to be taken to his own world since he has endured a lot in Mopin's captivity. Mopin gave Tani some seeds of maize which he puts in the ears of his *Kipu*. He returned to earth and unknowingly sowed the seeds in a barren place called *Abin Bindu* and *Poko Loto*. But wild birds ate up all the precious seeds. Tani again went to the world of *Mopin* and told the detail of what had happened with the seeds. Having heard that, Mopin gifted him *Digo Ge Higmen*, a knife and instructed him to select a patch of land and clean the jungle and loosen the soil and then put the seeds underneath. Tani did as instructed by Mopin but again this time cultivation process was disturbed by an animal called *Kada Ramyo*. Tani rushed back to Mopin for further instructions and advice. Back to earth, as per the guidance of Mopin, Tani constructed a *Komdu Pora* (trap) to catch *Kada Ramyo* (animal) whose skin could be used and exchanged for *Gitum Yokpak* (implements for cultivation) from *Nyiro Poro Komar* (dealer of implements). Thus, well-equipped with implements, Tani started to clear the jungle for cultivation.

Unfortunately, both *Yapom* and *Yaji* appeared before him. They dissuaded him from clearing the jungle. Tani made a strong contention but they could not be persuaded.

Disappointed, he again reached the land of Mopin and told her all about the interference from *Yapom* and *Yaji*. Mopin met both *Yapom* and *Yaji* and requested them to share a plot of land to Tani. But they disagreed, so finding no other options to convince, Mopin decided to play a trick on them. She asked *Yapom*, *Yaji* and Tani to cut down the trees in a portion of the forest and when the trees dried up, fire will be burn. All the three will be asked to stand in the midst of the burning forest and the one who can resist and survive from the raging fire will be declared the master and owner of the whole forest and the earth itself henceforth. Further, it was also informed that *Diyi Tami* would be allowed to set the fire. In the meantime, Mopin secretly instructed Tani to dig a pit in advance and hide beneath the pit when the fire catches. On the appointed day, all three gathered in the middle of the selected part of forest and *Diyi Tami* set the fire. Dried leaves and woods of the forest were immediately engulfed by the massive flames and both *Yapom* and *Yaji* could not resist the raging fire and thus fled away. But Tani meticulously did as instructed by Mopin and when the fire was over, he emerged out of the pit and stood firm in the encircling smoke in the middle of the forest. Mopin declared Tani as the master and owner of the earth. *Yapom* and *Yaji* accepted their defeat. Thus, Tani was freed from all hindrances. He sowed *Mili-Amlī* (maize). *Yapom-Yaji* and other deities requested Tani to honor Mopin with the celebration of ritual. Under the guidance of *Diyi Tami*, *Pinku-Pinte*, Tani prepared the image of Mopin and she gave ample seeds to Tani which facilitate the start of regular cultivation on earth.<sup>26</sup>

After some months, Tani went to meet Mopin but this time he has different purpose in his mind. He solemnly informed Mopin that he intends to tie a nuptial knot with *Diyi Tami* who was the daughter of Mopin. Mopin inquired *Diyi Tami* and she too consented to marry Tani. So Mopin also agreed the proposal of Tani in the best interest of her daughter. In this way, Tani's marriage with *Diyi Tami* was solemnized which was attended by Mopin and many other deities. Mopin, the presiding deity of wealth and

prosperity presented some agricultural implements, seeds and other precious stones as a token of love to the couple. *Diyi Tami* was also bestowed with a singular power to prepare a pot full of rice from one grain. Besides these, she was gifted with *Doke-Doak*, *Yari-Yapor* or *Doyi-Ginsi*. Thus, Tani and *Diyi Tami* began their conjugal life in complete peace and happiness on earth. They did not bother to cultivate and produce food stuffs but made use of the power of *Diyi Tami* who continued to get the rice from one grain to feed the entire family. They were rather contented in that way.

But after some months, Tani married *Rosi Tami* who was the daughter of *Diro* (famine). *Diyi Tami* was shaken and was not willing to share her as a co-wife because she was the daughter of *Diro*, the famine. So, one day *Diyi Tami* went back to *Digo Pene* her ancestral world. During her absence, *Rosi Tami* had to prepare rice but she did not know the method of *Diyi Tami* of using only one grain at a time. She put two grains which produced huge quantity of rice and that could not be consumed by both Tani and her. Without knowing what to do with the extra rice and being afraid of *Diyi Tami*, she fed *Dire-Kibo* (hungry dog). *Diyi Tami* did not return till then and again *Rosi Tami* had to prepare food, she again put two grains but it did not produce huge quantity but remained two grains only, because the famine had consumed the magical power also along with the left over food. Since that day, the famine broke out and Tani had to face a terrible situation. In spite of his efforts, he could not overcome it. The news of Tani's misery reached *Digo Pene* and Tani's wife *Diyi Tami* also came to know that. But she had decided not to return to Tani's house. However, on repeated appeal for return to his house, *Diyi Tami* expressed her willingness to return but on one condition that *Rosi Tami* should leave Tani forever and she should be thrown into the river and *Dire-kibo* should also be killed. After that Tani should pray to Mopin and other deities who would again provide him with agricultural implements and seeds. On knowing the wishes of *Diyi Tami*, Tani planned to kill *Rosi Tami* and she was drowned in the river and *Dire-Kibo*

was cut into pieces and thrown into the water-fall. In this task, he was assisted by *Litum* and *Liro* (Gods of War). Having completed all his tasks as wanted by *Diyi Tami*, Tani made images of Mopin and other Gods and Goddesses. He was guided by *Diyi Tami* in the making of images like *Losi-Lore*, *Lodo-Lore*, *Rilum-Tajum* and *Gare-Gapo* (Dress). Tani worshipped these images and invoked Mopin and other deities who came to Tani's place and brought *Diyi Tami* along with them. They restored all agricultural implements and seeds but did not gift the magical power of preparing large quantity of food from one single grain. But through the favor of Mopin, Tani got some powers to cultivate large areas. He was directed to remember and celebrate Mopin every year in future. Tani worked hard and prospered thereafter.<sup>27</sup>

As a result, since the days of Abo Tani, Galo people as descendants of Abo Tani invoke Ane Mopin to arrive on the occasion of Mopin celebration and bless them for bumper harvest and all-round prosperity of all human beings.

Regarding Tani marriage with *Diyi-Tami* and the start of cultivation by Tani, there is another version<sup>28</sup> with chronologically different plot structure from the earlier version made but as a whole the basic themes and events are almost similar. Hence, there is no point of argument to be carried forward since with oral literature and more precisely, with myths and other forms of oral literature, chronological accuracy, validity and veracity cannot be looked into since it does not have written records and belonged to the mysterious past. Hence, such variations in the plot structure and sequence of events as stated above may be overlooked to enjoy the grandeur and beauty of the myth under discussion.

When Tani was pretending to be seriously ill and about to die while under the captive of Mopin in *Digo-Yamo*, Mopin convened a meeting with her councilors for the prevailing condition of Tani and they resolved to release Tani and his Kipu with ponderous compensation. As an indemnity, Mopin's daughter *Diyi-Tami's* hand was given to Tani

for his conjugal life and Mopin accepted Tani as her son-in-law. The newly married bride *Diyi-Tami* requested her mother to provide her corn for agriculture and implements as gift known as *Rili-Bongo*. These seeds were carried in pouches of Kipu's ears and Mopin directed Tani not to halt at *Pako-Tai* and *Pache Rodhe's* (squirrel and rat) village. Tani forget to obey the instruction of Mopin and halted at *Pako-Tai* and *Pache Rodhe's* village and thus all their seeds were eaten up by them. Tani went back to Mopin and begged for seeds. Again, Mopin presented seeds but on reaching *Tani Momen* (earth), he failed to cultivate as the seeds were sowed in *Poko-Lote* (barren place) so the seeds were eaten up by birds. For such frequent foolish acts of Tani, *Diyi-Tami* felt disgusted and returned to her mother's place. Tani became lonely and he wanted to satiate his loneliness and married many types of things which he thought well for company such as *Tappek* (leach), onyor (a thorny and toxic tree), *Kohuk* (dry leaf), *Eme* (fire) and *Duri-Yari* or *Rosi-Tami* daughter of *Diro* etc. The entry of *Rosi-Tami* in the life of Tani was believed to be the inception of famine on earth. She did not know the mode of canniness and put two grains instead of one that augmented surplus quantity of rice which was excess for both of them. Out of fear, she commands *Diro-Kibo* to eat up all left over food. That careless attitude on the part of *Rosi-Tami* ruined the blessing that Tani had received from Goddess Mopin through *Diyi-Tami*. Thereafter, Tani went to Mopin again and made fervent supplication for the return of *Diyi-Tami* with him again. By knowing his pitiful condition, *Diyi-Tami* also agreed to unite with him again but on the conditions that *Rosi-Tami* should be dismissed from his life and *Diro-Kibo* should be annihilated. Tani consented to her demands and with the help of *Litum-Liro* executed *Rosi-Tami* and *Diro-Kibo*. After the execution of *Rosi-Tami* and *Diro-Kibo*, mother Mopin handed over *Diyi-Tami* to Tani for the second time and maneuvered him to clear the plot where he lost the seeds and set the fire. Accordingly, Tani came back to his *Tani Momen* and wanted to clear the same plot where he lost his seeds but *Yapom* and *Yaje* (deities of forest) impeded him from the

cultivation. Tani in baffled returned to Mopin and narrated the interference of *Yapom* and *Yaji*. On hearing that, Mopin advice Tani to cut down some trees and when it dried up, set the fire and *Yapom*, *Yaji* and Tani should stand in the middle of the burning fire. The one who can resist and survive from the fire shall be the master of the forest and earth. *Yapom* and *Yaji* also endorsed the boldness of Tani. Meanwhile, Mopin secretly instructed Tani to dig a pit in advance and slip into it when fire catches. Accordingly, it was done and when the fire was ignited *Yapom* and *Yaji* could not resist the fire and fled into deep forest. But Tani came out of the pit when the fire was over and stood firm amidst smokes as if he had really resisted the blazing fire. *Yapom* and *Yaji* accepted their defeat. Tani was declared as the master of the forest and earth. Thereafter, Abo Tani started the cultivation of crops and vegetables with the help of *Diyi-Tami's* guidance and began to prosper with bumper cropping. Mopin assured to continue to shower blessings on Tani with wealth, health and prosperity in days to come but in return she advised Tani to commemorate this event and invoke and greet her with symbolical materials especially *enchi*. So in remembrance and honor of Mopin goddess, Galos being the descendants of Abo Tani celebrate Mopin festival every year and beg boons (*Reli-Bongo*) for surplus crops, good health and prosperity of all human kind.<sup>29</sup>

From the above discussed two different versions relating to Tani and *Diyi-Tami*, it can be inferred that there are variations in the sequences of events. In the first version, it is mentioned that Tani and his Kipu were released by Mopin out of sympathy on Tani's health as well as to save Tani's life for continuation of human generation. Besides, Tani was endowed with the seeds and agricultural implements to start cultivation on earth and was yet to marry *Diyi-Tami*, Mopin's daughter. Secondly, after Tani was declared the master of earth and learnt the art of cultivation under the direct guidance of *Diyi-Tami*, *Pinku-Pinte* and Goddess Mopin and having started the cultivation on earth, Tani went to *Digo-Yamo* to meet Mopin to propose the hands of *Diyi-Tami* for marriage and the

marriage was commemorated. In addition to corns for agriculture and other implements as gifts, Diyi-Tami was also bestowed with a singular power to prepare a pot full of rice from one grain. But after sometime, Diyi-Tami left Tani and went to Digo-Yamo as he had married Rosi-Tami, daughter of famine as his second wife. Whereas in the second version, it is mentioned that Tani and Kipu were released from the custody of Goddess Mopin after seeing his melancholic state and the fear of his death in the kingdom of Digo-Yamo, fairyland of Goddess Mopin. As an indemnity, Diyi-Tami's hand was given to Tani along with corn for agriculture and other implements as gifts known as *Rili-Bongo*. Further, Diyi-Tami left Tani for her homeland Digo-Yamo because she was frustrated with the frequent foolish acts of Tani.<sup>30</sup>

#### **D. MYTH OF ORIGIN OF DEATH**

Death is a phenomenon that can never be known. The daily experience of death by human beings seems to light up some knowledge of its nature. In the beginning of human existence there was no death on earth and it is believed that death was not a part of the original order of creation as planned by *Jimi*. It is known to have come to man for his disobedience to the divine order, his greediness, wrong deeds, impatience, carelessness etc. which is similar to that of Christian Genesis where disobedience to the divine order by Adam and Eve brought miseries and death to the human lives on earth. There are a few different accounts of Galo myths of the origin of death. In the first account, *Nyori* in his "*History and Culture of the Adis*" has written:

It is said that once there was a great storm. Next morning Abo Tani went out to see how things were damaged by the storm. As he moved about, he heard a plaintive note, sad but sweet. He went the direction it came from and found that it was a *Lingo-Tango* (a bird) weeping for her children. He was deeply enchanted by the music and asked the bird to share him a part of her music. She said that it was

pleasant to the ear alright, but sore to the heart, because it was the burden of sorrow of a bereaved mother. “Do not ask for it because you will get the sorrow with the song”. But Abo Tani insisted that he should be shared with the music and prayed for it. At last, she yielded and gave him a drop of tears on it and advises him not to smear that on his children and others. But Tani went home and swallowed the tears when his mother *Risi Rijom* was changing her skin just as snake cast off its slough. She was in great pain and as soon as Tani swallowed the drop of tears his mother died. It was the first death among men and that is how death came to men.<sup>31</sup>

In the second account given by Moba Doye collected from Seren village during my field work, the story goes that once there lived a *Teri-Ane*, a beautiful damsel. All creatures on earth praised her beauty and her attractive physique. Among them was an evil spirit known as *Opo-Tako* (a kind of animal) who was extremely captivated by the beauty of *Teri-Ane* and he started to develop a strong passion towards her physical beauty but could not express his feelings to her. Finding no alternative to materialize his desire, one day he used his magical power and transformed himself into a *Tai-Tama* (a housefly). After assuming the shape of a housefly, somehow he secretly raped the virgin *Teri-Ane* who had no knowledge of her seduction at all as it was a tiny housefly. But after a passage of some months, *Teri-Ane* started conceiving and that was becoming prominent day by day and month by month. All living beings around were surprised to see the changing physical stature and more precisely the increasing size of her stomach. There were lot of discussions and gossips on the emerging situation of *Teri-Ane* as she seemed to be conceiving without marrying anyone but she was completely ignorant of their rumors. All living beings living in different parts of the world were inquired but nobody agreed that they had any sexual relation or had sex with *Teri-Ane*. Different rituals were performed by many *Nyibos* to ascertain the cause and different health experts were consulted but no

one could tell the reason or cause of the growing size of her stomach. Eventually, a dog was asked to check the stomach of *Teri-Ane* as it might be a *Nyibum-Tarum*. It was a practice among the Galo women to allow the dog to put his hand on *Nyibum-Tarum* because that used to cure such abnormalities of women. But dog also could not cure that and informed that *Teri-Ane* did not possessed any kind of *Nyibum-Tarum* in her stomach but hinted that it might be case of pregnancy. Thus, he advised *Teri-Ane* and others to wait till the completion of nine months because if *Teri-Ane* is really pregnant, she will deliver her child and the child will surely resemble her father. Thus, it was concluded that whomever the child resembles will be his father and therefore, identifying the person responsible for the pregnancy of *Teri-Ane* will not be a difficult task. Hence, it was decided that *Tapen* (bat) will inform all regarding the father of the child since *Tapen* can fly fast anywhere on earth. Thereafter, everyone departed to their own place of habitation to wait till the end of nine months. As predicted, with the end of nine months, *Teri-Ane* gave birth to a girl child and it resembles *Opo Tako*. *Tapen* carried out his entrusted work and fly fast everywhere and informed all that *Opo Tako* is the person who had seduced *Teri-Ane* and he is father of the child. *Opo Tako* also accepted and confessed that he is person responsible for pregnancy of *Teri-Ane*. But *Opo Tako* unmindful of his misdeed, cleared jungles and destroyed many *Kolu-Kodum* plants etc. and all these acts had deep impact on *Teri-Ane*. She could not feed her child with her milk because it dried with the dried plants of *Kolu-Kodum* plants etc which *Opo Tako* had destroyed. As a result, their new born baby died soon after birth as there was nothing to feed her for survival. With her death, everyone was grief-stricken but nobody was willing to share a portion of their land for the burial. At last finding no alternatives, it was decided that since *Teri-Ane* herself is very big and huge, the child should be buried on one of her thighs and that was done accordingly. But unfortunately, after a few months *Teri-Ane*'s thigh started to decay and rot on account of the burial on it. She begged help from all but nobody turned up to

extend support and rescue her because they had already been blamed for her pregnancy. Only *Yaduk-Yak* (tree), *Rib-Tapo* (fish) and other small variety of creatures who have not been blamed for her pregnancy, extended their help to rescue her but all in vain. With the passage of time, the wound on her thigh spread all over her body leading to her untimely death one night. During that night when she breathed her last, continuous thunder and storms occurred all around the earth that led to floods, landslides etc. and almost ravaged the whole earth. As a result, many birds, animals met their death and innumerable trees of the forests were destroyed.

Having experienced the fury of nature during the whole night, *Abo Tani* was searching for dead animals and birds in early next morning. He looked all around in the forest and heard a tune of a bird which attracted his attention. He walked towards that birds and found that it was a *Lingo-Tango/Choblu-Kabu* (a bird) who was crying lonely for the loss of her children on that stormy night. *Abo Tani* could not stop himself and requested the bird to share his plaintive note with him so that it could be used for various purposes like *Yaane*, *Nyitom-Doyi* (wisdom & tales) during *Nyin-Nyida*, *Pirne-Togu*, *Dig-Berji* etc. (marriage & other grand celebrations) in his lifetime. *Lingo-Tango* replied that it was not a melodious tune which she is singing rather it is a melancholic note that is forced to come out from his mouth in consequence of loss of all her children during the stormy night. Further, she told Tani that he would inherit her sadness if he shares her tune and she might be blamed for misfortunes that befall him and his family in future. But Tani insisted and even threatened to kill her with his arrows if she does not part him some of her tune. Having insisted by Tani, *Lingo-Tango* haplessly asked Tani to pluck a leaf of *Nejir-Popir* (leaf) which he did accordingly and she spit on that with certain precondition to be obeyed by Tani. She advised Tani to smear that spit only on the trunk of tree when it does not tremble. And most importantly that spit should not be smeared on his children and parents. Tani decided to do as suggested by *Lingo-Tango* and in return of his gift, he

also advised *Lingo-Tango* to stay away at the topmost branches of trees so that his arrow may not touch and kill her during his hunting.

Tani was very careful of the gift he had received from *Lingo-Tango* and kept that in a very safe custody. But one day, it happened that Tani unknowingly smeared that on her mother and as a result his mother died within a short time. Tani was quite remorseful and now he remembers the words of *Lingo-Tango*. Meanwhile, he was confused as he had no idea of death at all because that was the first death that occurred with human beings. He just buried the corpse of his mother taking the help of *Tai-Pakopalo*, *Taga* and *Tai-Tama*. But on the fifth night, Tani found that his mother came back home as if in a dream. He asked her the reason of her return and she told him that he had not performed the funeral rites in a proper and required manner. Besides that, he had not arranged *Doga-Onam* (provision of food & poka) for her and some of her belongings have not deposited or kept at her cemetery. So she advised Tani to carry out all the formalities required for the dead at funeral in future. Having told all necessary formalities as well as information with regard to a dead person, Tani's mother returned to her graveyard. In that way, death had occurred and started with all human beings which had been inherited indirectly from *Teri-Ane* that subsequently lead to death of *Lingo-Tango's* children and thereafter with that of Tani's mother.<sup>32</sup>

According to the third account given by Marpak Chiram, immediately after the separation of the Earth and the Sky, two suns appeared one after the other in the sky. There was no night. There was day-light throughout and it was hot. Because of the scorching heat of the sun the water and herbs began to dry. Waters receded behind the mountain rocks. All living beings man, animals and Gods suffered. Everybody had a dry and sore throat except *Ajum-Bagi*, the rat. He had very shrill voice. It surprised everyone. Later, it was discovered that he had been drinking water from behind the rock by entering through the crevices of rock. All beings came together to find ways to tackle the situation. It was

decided to break the rock wall. They struck the rock with axe and spade, but all were blunted. There was no sign of breaking. Finally, *Debo-Kombo* (God of water) shot an arrow on the face of the rock. It broke and water gushed out. Then all creatures assembled and decided to destroy one of the Suns. They were not fully successful in their mission. Only one eye of a sun was blinded. It is believed that the sun whose one eye was blinded became the Moon.

Now problem took a new dimension. The Sun got angry and would not rise. Darkness engulfed the whole universe. Existence became almost impossible on the earth. A meeting of all beings was again convened and all unanimously resolved to persuade the Sun to rise again. They sent many emissaries and agents to console as well as convince Sun but none could convince her. At last, the Bat and the *Apo-Jirjo*, a little bird with beautiful long-forked tail, were assigned the job. They went to *Donyi*. They danced to their best and made fun around the Sun. The Bat displayed various styles of acrobatics. *Donyi* could not remain indifferent anymore. She smiled at the works of the Bat. She began to respond to them and was convinced to rise. She put a condition that she would eat *Kiya*, the daughter of *Taki* before she rose. But Bat played a mischief; he informed *Tani* that *Donyi* wanted *Niya*, the daughter of *Tani*. Hearing that *Tani* was down in the mouth but he had to accept the condition in the interest of all and had to sacrifice his daughter. *Donyi* ate *Niya*, without knowing the fact that she was the daughter of *Tani*. Later on, she realized that it was *Tani's* daughter whom she had eaten. She was very remorseful for the gross mistake. Thus, *Donyi* sent a message to *Tani* that he should not express his sadness in presence of others. Further, *Tani* should not shed tears when she rose lest bad luck should befall upon him and his progeny. In fact, the culprit was the bat who was exclusively liable for the whole predicament. He was afraid that *Donyi* would know his mischief and punish him. So in order to escape punishment, he went into a dark cave when the Sun rose and hid himself till the Sun set.

In the morning when *Donyi* rose with red hallow in the east, *Tani* could not resist himself from his grief. He remembered his beloved daughter *Niya*. Thus, he started weeping at the sight of *Donyi*. At this *Donyi* got annoyed because he felt that *Tani* had disobeyed his instruction and forewarn. Out of anger, he decreed that death be there whenever she rose. A man dies whenever sun rises in the morning. Hence, Galos believe that because of the disobedience of their forefather *Tani* death came to humanity and exist with human beings on earth. <sup>33</sup>

Till today, all Galos maintain the funeral rite and observed all required formalities of death as suggested by *Tani*'s mother and started by *Tani*, although it has slightly changed under the influence of Christianity, Hinduism and modern science & education.

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