

LOKABRITTER **A**LOKE **K**OLOI **S**AMPRADAY

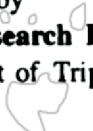
The KoloI-in the light of people's History

By
Shri Prodip Nath Bhattacharjee

English Version
Shri Ram Gopal Singh

Tribal Research Institute
Govt. of Tripura, Agartala

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FOREWORD

The book titled “LOKABRITTER ALOKE KOLOI SAMPRADAY” abled to create excessive demand among the research scholars, the 1st-edition of the book has already exhausted. Considering the demand of the book for the readers, educationists, researchers and administrators attempt for printing 2nd edition of the book has been made.

Dated, Agartala,
Dec/2002.

(J. C. Tripura),
Director,
Tribal Research Institute
Govt. of Tripura

GOVERNMENT OF TRIPURA DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

The Directorate of Research, Government of Tripura has a plan to publish a series of monographs discussing in details, the anthropological, Social, Economic, Cultural and other aspects of the different life styles of the various groups of tribal people living in Tripura. Some such monographs have already been published about the tribes Noatia, Kuki, Kaipeng etc.

“Lokabritter Alope Koloï Sampraday” is a book written by Sri Prodip Nath Bhattacharya. He has briefly discussed the history, traditional administration, religion, culture and people’s literature of the Koloï tribe residing in Tripura. The author deserves praise for the facts and data that he has collected with considerable labour.

The instant monograph is an English version of the Bengali monograph done by Sri Ram Gopal Singh. The idea behind publishing this English version is to make the facts more accessible to people who are not conversant with Bengali.

It is our hope that this monograph will be of help to researchers seeking knowledge or engaged in collecting information about the tribes of Tripura.

Agartala,
the 31st Jan. 1983

K. R. Bhattacharya.
Director of Research,
Govt. of Tripura.

PREFACE

It has been my long cherished desire to know about the Koloï Community. But my desire could not be fulfilled for want of anything in writing about this community. I did not venture to write about them with my meagre knowledge. Later I had the opportunity to mix with the Koloï at Amarpur where I spent a long time in course of my employment.

My long stay among them gave me the change to come into close contact with them, talk with their elders and headmen and interview them. Here in this book I have made just an attempt to present the experience I gathered thus about them.

It is not possible to depict a complete picture of the folk life of a community or tribe in the span of a small book like this. Moreover, as there is no books or earlier records in writing on the Koloï in existence, I had to depend entirely on their folk literature which survive in their oral tradition only, and on the materials I collected personally. I will consider my labour duly rewarded if the materials of this book is of any help to future research scholars in this field.

Shri Amulya Koloï and Shri Umakanta Koloï of Baishyamunipara, Shri Harendra Koloï, Shri Byasmuni Koloï, Shri Ganesh Koloï, of Jantranapara, and Shri Tarini Koloï, of Twychang actively helped me in the collection of the facts and other informations. I am grateful to them.

I am also grateful to Shri C. S. Chattapadhyay and Shri M. Ram Gopal Singh and their colleagues in the Directorate of Research, Tripura for the help and encouragement I received from them in writing this book.

My friend Shri Makhanlal Das looked into certain aspect of the language of this book. Shri Ramaprasad Dutta (Paltuda) and Shri M. K. Deb Barma also helped me in different ways in writing this book.

Prodip Nath Bhattacharjee,
Agartala.

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Chapter—1

THE KOLOI—UNDER THE SHADOW OF FOLK LIFE

KOLOI POPULATION :

Tripura is one of the states located in the North-East India. The area of Tripura is 10,477 sq. km. 60% of the area is hilly. There are 19 scheduled tribe communities in this state. They are living peacefully mixed with the rest vast number of non-tribal people in this state for a long time. The total population (*) of Tripura is 15,56,342 as per 1971-Census. Out of this, the tribal population is 450,544 which is 28.95% of the total population. The names of the 19 Sch. Tribes are 1) Tripuri 2) Rieng 3) Jamatia 4) Chakma 5) Halam 6) Noatia 7) Mogh 8) Lushai 9) Uchui 10) Kuki 11) Garo 12) Munda 13) Orang 14) Santal 15) Khasia 16) Bhil. 17) Chaimal 18) Bhutia and 19) Lepcha.

In different books, the Kolois are described as one of the sub-tribes of the Halam bearing Sl. No. 5 in the above-mentioned Sch. Tribe list. Though the number of the Kolois is much less in comparison with that of the Tripuri, Rieng, Jamatia etc. but they are significant among the other remaining sub-groups of the Halam. In the 1931-Census (1340 T. E. Census book), the Kolois, were 1698 out of which males were 870 and females were 828. The Haloama were shown 12054 (with 18 groups) out of which 6231 were males and 5823 were females. As such the Kolois population as per 1340. T. E. Census was 14% of the total Halam population.

The total Halam population as per 1971-Census is 19076 which is 4.23% of the total tribal population. At present the total Kolois population in Tripura is estimated to be 6,000 (private

(*) According to 1981 Census, the total population is 2,053,058, of which 583,920 i.e. 28.44% is tribal population.

source) and this is 30% of the total Halam population. Out of the three districts of Tripura, Kolois concentration is found in the South and West Tripura District. Now-a-days they are found in Kulai and Damchara area of North Tripura District. It is known that they have come and settled there from the West and South Districts due to economic instability. The Kolois are found concentrated in the villages Baishyamunipara, Jantranapara, Halua, Dhanlekha, Taichhang, Taidu, Jaksai, Palku etc. of Amarpur Sub-Division in South Tripura District and in the villages of Brahmachhera, Tuisindrai, Taikai of Khowai Sub-Division and Darkhai, Taichharangchak etc. of Sadar Sub-Division in West Tripura District. Though the Kolois are small in number, if we consider them from the point of education, culture and economic view, they are not less advanced than other communities of Sch. Tribes families of Tripura.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NOMENCLATURE :

As there is no standing opinion or historical evidence regarding the derivation of the name "Kolois", we are to depend mainly upon the traditional legends, hearsay and old stories prevailing among the Kolois community.

Many of the elders believe that "Kolois" is derived from the word "Kului" (soft). According to them "Kului" means soft minded or mild nature.

The Kolois are very gentle and mild in nature in comparison with other tribal people and they are not arrogant for which they are known as Kolois.

As per others the kings of Tripura controlled them by means of "Kol" (tricks) and so they are named as "Kolois". There is also a nice proverb in this regard. "Kolkhaoi romnani bagui Kolois hin jago." means, they are made obedient by taking the means of tricks.

Others are of the opinion that the word Kolois has been derived from the word Kol (spear). In any battle, the Kolois are very expert in using spear and so they are named as "Kolois". But there is no historical evidence of the abovementioned beliefs.

THE ORIGINAL HOMELAND OF THE KOLOI AND MIGRATION INTO TRIPURA :

There are different opinions regarding their homeland though it is the common belief of the Koloi that they have migrated into Tripura from outside.

Very little is known regarding the homeland of the Koloi as there is no historical evidence, we find for it, and so we are to depend upon the legendary tales and beliefs of the old people.

According to many of the old men it is said that as they are the sub-group of the Halam. Khurpuitabhum, the homeland of the Halam is their original homeland. As per 1340 T.E. (1941) Census it is found that Khurpuitabhum is the original homeland of the Halam. This is situated in the north hill area of Manipur. From there, they have migrated into different places of Tripura. (1340 T. E. Census pp 80).

Kailash Singh has also admitted this opinion in his Rajmala.

But this opinion is not acceptable to all of them. Because it is not universal that the original homeland of the Halam must be the homeland of the Koloi. If all the sub-groups of the Halam have come from the same homeland the sub-groups would not be named in different terms. Besides there is sufficient doubt in them whether they are actually a sub-tribe of Halams. Moreover the Koloi concentrated places are so situated that these would have any geographical relations with the north hills of Manipur.

Some of them believe that they are originally belonging to Kuki tribe and they have migrated from "Thanangchi", the homeland of the Kuki. But many of them, there is no similarity between the Kuki and the Koloi in the field of language, customs, rituals, social ceremonies etc.

An old man belonging to Wabplom group of Koloi community opined that they have migrated from "Nagen Pakuli Taisa" of Lalmai Hill and first they settled in Khumpuilong of Udaipur and Madhuban of Sadar. From there they have scattered gradually in Ampu, Teliamura, Taidu etc. areas in search of fertile jhumland.

There is no historical fact or evidence regarding their migra-

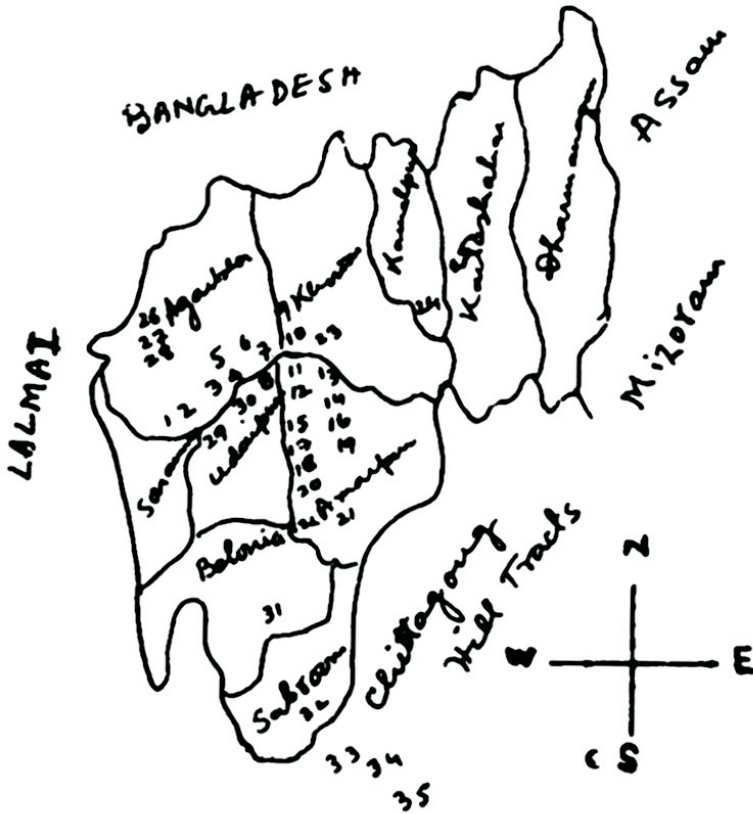
tion from Lalmai Hills. It is observed that the first Koloï Raj (Chief) was from Madhuban of Sadar sub-division.

Some old men of them believe that their original homeland was in Manipur. Lawgang, Tulsimura etc. area. They proceeded from Manipur to Koka of Udaipur for search of jhum land. At that time they were nomadic and had to depend mainly upon jhum cultivation. After many years, the kings of Tripura with the help of one of his intelligent officer subdued them by playing a trick. In this regard, there is a prevailing tale found in Koloï community in the name of "throwing about money". In this tale it is described that the Koloïs were a powerful nomadic tribes. The Kings of Tripura could not bring them under their control. They took the help of an intelligent officer. He scattered money around the hill places where the Koloïs lived. The Koloïs assembled there to collect the money in a body and they gradually became obedient to the Kings of Tripura.

The opinion of Shri Amulya Koloï of Baishyamunipara of Amarpur sub-division who has thirty years experience of chieftainship is that the Koloïs first came from Arakan to Chittangong Hill Tract. From there they spreaded over Doapathar, from Doapathar to Maiyamthonghaduk, from there to Udaipur area and afterwards in search of good jhum land scattered over Batiban, Madhuban, Kumpuïlong. Chhataria, Takarjala, Jampuijala, Pitra, Ampï, Taidu, Bahattarbari, Chhaimanura, Gangurai etc. are as follows The list of places where the Koloïs scattered gradually given by Shri Amulya Koloï is as follows :

Arakan
|
Chittangong Hill Tract
|
Doapathar
|
Maiyamthonghaduk
|

A FEW KOLOI CONCENTRATED VILLAGE OF TRIPURA



List of KoloI Ceoncentrated Village

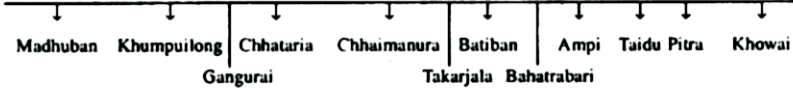
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|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Takerjala | 13. Laxmidhan Para. | 25. Dumcherra |
| 2. Bairagi Bazar | 14. Uttar Taidu | 26. Batiban |
| 3. Jampai jala | 15. Taidu Defa. | 27. Madhuban. |
| 4. Taicharangchak. | 16. Dakshin Taidu. | 28. Kunaban. |
| 5. Batapara. | 17. Dhanlekha. | 29. Chaimanruya. |
| 6. Darkai | 18. Haluya. | 30. Kupilong. |
| 7. Champashama. | 19. Jantrana Para. | 31. Laogong. |
| 8. Bahatur Para. | 20. Baishamuni para. | 32. Doya Pathar. |
| 9. Twishinral. | 21. Taichang | 33. Chattagram. |
| 10. Surdukarkari. | 22. Cherthum Para. | 34. Dhupa Paathar. |
| 11. Jaksai. | 23. Bramha Cherra. | 35. Arakan. |
| 12. Palku. | 24. Kulai. | |

Amarpur

|

Udaipur

|



There is similarity between the source given by Shri Amulya Koloï and the abovementioned opinions. Some believe that the Kolois have migrated from Manipur' Lawgang area. Now it is necessary to examine if the place manipur Mentioned here is the present Manipur State.

Regarding Manipur, "Rajmala" described that "it is situated on the eastern bank of Muhuri river of Belonia sub-division of Tripura State. At present it is under Jagatpur Tehasil within the Jamindari Easte of Tripura princes. There is a relic of a ruined forte on a tilla at Dharmapur, a mile north to Manipur. Samser Gaji fought with Tripura king at this place." (Rajmala—1st chapter, Middle part, pp 263.).

Besides, when Dangar Fa distributed his kingdom among his seventeen princes, one of his son received the place Manipur. It is mentioned in Rajmala. But there is no mention of the name of that son of Dangar Fa who received Manipur in Rajmala. It is quoted from Rajmala :

“আর এক পুত্রে দিল মণিপুর স্থানে।

সতের পুত্রে রাজ্য দিলেক প্রমাণে।।”

(রাজমালা ১ম লহর, ডাঙ্গর ফা খণ্ড রাজ্য বিভাগ, পৃ-৬২)

In view of the above this may be derived that Manipur is the place situated in the south-east border of Tripura. But some opined that manipur is the State of Manipur, the homeland of the Mekhli. But this may be concluded that the place Manipur mentioned here is situated within Tripura.

Moreover, we find the mention of Lawgang in Rajmala. Lawgang is also situated near Muhuri river of Belonia sub-divi-

sion. Maharaja Dangar Fa gave Lawgang to one of his sons. Rajmala mentioned like this :

“লোমাই নামেতে পুত্র বড় শিষ্ট ছিল।
মোহরী নদীর তীরে নৃপতি করিল॥
লাউগঙ্গা মোহরী গঙ্গা তথা নদী বসে।
আর ভ্রাতৃ সঙ্গে রাজা বসে সেই দেশে॥”

If we consider the facts mentioned above this may be concluded that the Kolois have entered into Tripura through her south-east border.

On the other hand, if we consult the list given by Shri Amulya Kolois, it is also clear that the Kolois have entered into Tripura from Chittagang Hill Tracts i.e. through the south-east border of Tripura.

This may also be mentioned here that the description made by Shri Amulya Kolois has some similarity with the story of the entrance of the Riangs into Tripura. It is known from the hearsay of the Riangs that they lived in Chittagong Hill area under an oppressive ruler named Kachakok before their migration into Tripura. Later on they have been driven out by the Mogh and entered into Tripura through the south-east border and began to settle at Belonia and Amarpur sub-divisions. (probably in the fourteenth century). Therefore, this may not be impossible that the Riangs have entered into Tripura through her south-east border like the Kolois.

Doapathar, the first settlement of the Kolois as described by Shri Amulya Kolois is also mentioned in Rajmala to be situated in the south-east border of Tripura. Rajmala described this place as “Dauchapathar” Regarding “Dauchapathar” Rajmala described “generally this place is called Dauchapathar”. It is situated in Dighi, Nala Thana of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Very old Dighi, ponds are found here at present. This place was the resting place of the Tripura Kings and this was treated as a sacred place of Gods. Every year the God was worshipped by offering many sacrifices of animals. Even human sacrifice was also made. Maharaja Dhanya Manikya limited human sacrifice in all the



Shri Amulya Koloj of Baishyamuni para.

temples under his rule. It was regulated that one or two enemies, if captured, may be sacrificed in this place.” (Kaliprasanna Sen. Rajmala—Second chapter, Middle part-pp 287).

Rajmala says :—

“তিন বৎসরে এক নর চতুর্দশ দেবে।
কালিকাতে এক নর পাইবেক যবে”
দৌচাপাথরে দুই নর শত্রু পাইলে হয়।
গোমতীর দুই বলি ঘটে যে সময় ॥”

(রাজমালায়, দ্বিতীয় লহর, ধন্যমাণিক্য খণ্ড : পৃঃ ২৯)

We find another place named “Dhopapathar in Rajmala. This is also situated on the border of Tripura and Chittagong Hill Tract. Danger Fa made one of his seventeen sons the chief of this place. This is supported by Rajmala. Amulya Koloï might have wrongly heard the corrupted form of “Dhopapathar” as “Doapathar” from the ancestors and so some lines regarding whereabouts of his place may be studied here. Rajmala mentioned regarding “Dhopapathar”;

“There is a place named Dhopapathar on the other bank of Karnafuli river. During the reign of Amar Manikya, the Tripura soldiers invaded Arakan. But they had been defeated by the Mogh soldiers (Arakanis) and were compelled to retreat. “It is quoted:—

“সেই স্থান ছাড়িয়া আইসে কর্ণফুলী।
মঘ সৈন্য পাছে পাছে আসিল সকলি ॥
ধোপাপাথরের পথে কর্ণফুলী পার
মঘ সৈন্য পাছে পাছে আসে মরিবার ॥

(রাজমালা প্রথম লহর, মধ্যমাণি, পৃঃ ২৫৯)

When Dangar Fa distributed his kingdom among his seventeen sons, it is described in Rajmala like this :

“তলাইরুঙ্গ স্থলে রাজা হৈল আরজন
ধোপাপাথরেতে রাজা আর একজন।”

(রাজমালা, ১ম লহর, ডাঙ্গর ফা খণ্ড, রাজ্য বিভাগ, পৃঃ ২৬)

While analysing the above mentioned facts and findings, we find some historical proofs in the opinion of Shri Amulya Koloï. At present the Kolois are mostly concentrated in the south district. Moreover, if we consult the bio-data of the first Koloï Rais (Chiefs), it may be found that most of them have come of Chhaimanrua, Erambari, Khumpuilong, Tentrikhor, etc. area of Udaipur. The Koloï families now residing at Ampî, Taidu, Baishyamunipara etc area, most of them have come from Udaipur. After considering all the abovementioned sources, this may be concluded that at least one of the seven sub-groups of the Koloï must have migrated from the southern region of Tripura. As there is no mention of the word "Koloï" in different old records containing Tripura, this may also be assumed that they have migrated from a place outside Tripura and they were not known as 'Koloï' then. Later on they have been termed as "Koloï."

THE IDENTITY OF THE KOLOI AND THE HALAM :

Kailash Singh in his Rajmala has placed the Koloï in serial six of the thirteen sub-groups of the Halam. Regarding the Halam, Rajmala by Kailash Singh has mentioned that "the Halam may generally be divided into thirteen sub-groups. Such as, (i) Rangkhôl, (ii) Kaipeng, (iii) Morsum, (iv) Rupini, (v) Dap, (vi) Kolois, (vii) Khulung, (viii) Charai, (ix) Mochhbang, (x) Sangai, (xi) Bongsel, (xii) Karbong, (xiii) Futilangls."

In 1340 T. E. (1931 A. D.) Census-book, the Koloï is headed in the list of 18 sub-groups of the Halam. The said Census-book has described the Koloï included in the sub-groups of the Halam. The sub-groups are, (i) Koloï (ii) Kulu or Khulung (iii) Korbong, (iv) Kaipeng, (v) Koireng, (vi) Charui, (vii) Chaimal, (viii) Gab (ix) Tangchep, (x) Sakchep, (xi) Nabin, (xii) Bongsel, (xiii) Morsum, (xiv) Muradhakang or Murasing, (xv) Rangkhal, (xvi) Rupini (xvii) Futilangls.

In the book "Rules" and customs of the Koloï Society, the Kolois are said to be one of the twelve sub-groups of the Halam. If we agree to the above mentioned opinions, we may conclude that the Kolois are one of the sub-groups of the Halam. But before

drawing any conclusion, it will be wise to consult the available records on the Halam.

As to the identity of the Halam, this may be mentioned here that in ancient times whole of Tripura was under the control of the Kirat or Kuki. Rajmala of Tripura has also support this. The kings of Tripura after defeating the Kirat had established the kingdom of Tripura. If we agree to it this may be said that there were only two aboriginal inhabitants in Tripura—one is the Tripuri and the other is the Kirat. The other communities found in Tripura may be the sub-group or sub-tribe of a particular community or tribe. Later on a large section of the Kukis were known as the Halam.

A question or a doubt may arise here that if the Kukis are the original inhabitants of Tripura and the Halam and the Kukis are identical, how the name of Halam was more predominant than the Kuki? This may be mentioned here that the Kuki Chiefs who were defeated by the Tripura Kings in a fight and became loyal to them had been called “Halam” as to identify them from others. And those Kuki Chiefs who remained undefeated and did not become allegiance to the kings, they had been called “Kuki”. The different names of the same community may also be found in Mizoram, the neighbouring state of Tripura. The Mizo of Jampui Hills in Tripura is known as “Lushai” while the same community who are living in Mizoram are called “Mizo”. Such dual name of the same community may also be found in Tripura. The Tripuris (Debbarmans) are called “Gudpai” by the Jamatia and the Kukis are known as “Chhikam” to the other tribal communities.

Considering the above facts, this may be said that to identify the defeated and loyal Kukis from others, the Tripura Princes called them “Halam” and so the name of Halam is more predominant than the Kuki.

Regarding the origin of the name of “Halam”, some opined that the Kukis were not so well acquainted with cultivation before the Tripuris settled in Tripura. They would move from one place to another and would lead a nomadic life. (Ha= Ground, Lama=Road.) i.e. travelling by road in the means of livelihood

and so they are known as Halam to the Tripura Princes. Others are in the opinion that the Kukis who were defeated by the Tripura kings had followed the process of cultivation demonstrated by the Tripuris and so they were called "Halam".

As to the Halams are the offsprings of the Kuki, the 1340 T. E. (1931) Census book described thus; "the Halams are offshoots of the Kukis. The Kukis who first came under the control of the Tripura Kings were called as "Halam. They are also called "Mila Kuki". They say themselves the son of God Shib. (1340 T. E. Census book, pp 40). Regarding the Halams are offsprings of Kuki racial stock, it is said in the book "Thirty years in Tripura State" by Brajendra Datta that "the hill subjects belonging to Halam community are called "Mila Koki". There are similarities between these two groups of tribes in their culture, customs etc. (Brajendra Datta, Thirty years in Tripura State Description of Dharmanagar, pp. 12)

If we analyse minutely the above mentioned opinions, it may be observed that the Halams are the offsprings of the Kuki and all the groups belonging to the Halam community are obviously of shoots of the Kuki.

ARE THE KOLOI THE HALAM?

According to the abovementioned observations if the Kolois are treated as Halams, this would also have to agree that the Kolois have come from the Kuki racial stock. Though the books mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have described the Kolois as the offsprings of the Kuki, this would not be rational to conclude the above, relying upon the records of a few books. Before drawing any conclusion, it is necessary to analyse critically the abovementioned books and also to see the similarity between the Kuki and the Kolois linguistically and culturally. First of all, Kailash Singh in his Rijmala described the Kolois in serial number six of the thirteen sub-groups of the Halam.

Secondly the Kolois are shown in serial number one of the eighteen sub-groups of the Halam in 1340 T. E. (1931) Census book.

In many other books the Halams are shown divided into twelve sub-groups (Dafas). In the book titled "Thirty years in Tripura State" (Dharmanagar) the Halams are divided into twelve groups". This is mentioned in the book "among the hill subjects, the Halams are great in number in Dharmanagar Sub-Division. The Halams are mainly divided into twelve sub-groups. Among them three classes of people like Uttam, Madhyam and Adham are fond." The book "Samalochana along Mimangsa published in Jaistha, 1289 B. S. an article regarding them may be found. They are generally residing in the place north of Gumati river and the southern and western valley of Longai river, at present, in Dharmanagar sub-division. They are called twelve 'Khil' Halams.

So it is seen that no one of the abovementioned books has described the real number of sub-groups of the Halam. Different writers mentioned different number of sub-groups as per their own opinion and hence some time the number of the sub-groups has increased and sometimes it has decribe. Therefore, it is very difficult to decide which one of the opinion is correct and which one is incorrect. It is so happened probably due to the ignorance of the writers about the community.

Besides, the number and name of the sub-groups mentioned in 1340 T. E. Census book, Chhaimal is listed in the sub-groups of the Halam. But later on it agreed that "practically Chhaimals are not Halams, they are Kukis". But in that book, they are included into Halam community.

Firstly the Murasing community was also described as a sub-group of the Halam community in that Census book. But they are not so. They are included into the subgroup of the Noatia community. They had been described as the Halam community.

Besides the seriality of the sub groups of the Halam community described in different books maintain no regularity. No specific system was followed. In the book Rajmala by Kailash Singh described the Rangkhal in serial number 1 (one) of the sub-group list. Again in the Tripura Census book the Kolois is described in serial number 1 (one) of the sub-group list.

It may also be mentioned here that when the different sub-group communities of the Halam are invited to attend the "Hasam Bhojan" (Royal Feast) and other royal affairs, the seats of the different sub-groups are serially arranged in the royal court. It is known that the seats of the Morsum community are placed first and the seats of the Koloï Rais (Chiefs) are fixed for the fourth seat. So it can not be concluded that the list of the sub-groups of the Halam Community described in different books is free from any incorrectness.

Moreover, during the regime of Tripura Maharajas, for different political reasons like special obedience to the kings or insurrection against the royal force etc. the different groups of the tribal communities are sometime included in different tribal community. It is seen in the history of Tripura that for their allegiance to the Maharaja, the Riangs are included in the Tripura kshatriya group. So this may also be considered that to achieve any political ends, the then Tripura Maharajas may also include the Koloï into the sub-group of the Halam. In this regard, before taking the Koloï as a sub-group of the Halam this may also be examined that how far there is similarity and dissimilarity between the two communities in regard to their language, culture, social customs etc.

The language and social customs of the Koloï go against the hypothesis of taking the Koloï as a sub-group of the Halam. Among the other sub-groups mentioned in the books, none but the Rupini group is found to have linguistically similar with the Koloï. Rather much linguistic similarity is found with other than the Halam groups like the Tripuri, the Jamatia and the Noatia etc. In this regard the opinion of Dr. Subhas Chattopadhyay may be mentioned. He described, as per 1961-Census two-third of the total population of Tripura is the Bengalees and one-third is tribal. Among the tribal communities, the Tripuri, the Riang, the Noatia, the Jamatia, the Jamatia, the Rupini, the Koloï, the Uchui, the Murasing these eight tribal groups belong to a single language family. The language they usually speak is called "Kok-Borok". Kok-Borok belongs to Bodo group of Tibeto-Burman family.

From the undernoted list of common words it will be clear

to understand how far there is similarity between the **Koloi** and the **Tripuri** and other sub-group family of the Halam like the **Morsum**, the **Kaipeng** etc.

English	Tripuri	Koloi	Kuki	Morsum	Kipeng
Air	Now-ba	Nakbar	Hill	Thairtyi	Thaiwa
Ant	Musurum	Muisram	Mirrick	Singmar	Singmar
Bird	Toksa	Tao	Saba	Arpuin	Wa
Boat	Rung	Rung	Loung	Molong	Long
Cow	Mussuk	Mussuk	Jsaw'pe	Sart	Sarat
Fire	Har	Har	Mui	Mui	Mui
Fish	A	A	naga	Ewga	Nga
Leaf	Blai	Blai	Hua	Anum	Abuia
		Bullai			
Mother	Ama	Ama	Anu	Kunu	Kunu
Tiger	Mosa	Mosa	Suk-Kai	Kui	Akuil
Good	Knham	Kaham	Ata	Atha	Adha
Night	Har	Har	Fama	Mui	Gen
Bad	Hamia	Hamia	Lia	Themak	Sanjaku
Where	Bura	Bura-Bra	Ko-Yo	Ethuku-ma	Tanma
Now	Tabok	Tobo	To-a-na	Atum	Athum

Secondly most of the families belonging to Kuki community reside in North Tripura . But the Kolois are initially inhabitants of the South and West Tripura Districts. The small Koloi families now found in North Tripura have come from the South and the West Tripura. So from demographical point of view, this may not be assumed that the Koloi and the Kuki belong to same racial stock. Besides the Kolois generally do not live on the top of the hills like the Kuki. They usually live on the plain valleys like the Tripuri.

There is less similarity between the folk-songs of the Koloi and those of the Kuki. Similarity may be found with the Morsum, and Tripuri though there is some variation in tuning.

Thirdly, if all the sub-groups contained into the Halam community are the offsprings of the Kuki, there would be no different names of the sub-groups and they all would commonly be called as 'Halam'. Some believed that probably the tribal communities

residing in the bordering places of Tripura have formed a separate community calling them as 'Halam' by the then Tripura Maharajas as to protect the kingdom from the invasion of the Kuki. According to their opinion the word 'Halam' is derived from two Kok-borok words, "Hab" and 'Lama'. 'Hab' means to enter and 'Lama' means the road. So, as per their opinion those who are settled in Tripura border areas with a view to prevent the entrance or invasion of the Kuki into this state are named as 'Halam'. Therefore, though the Kolois are not the offspring of the Kuki, they are known as 'Halam' due to their services in royal force posted on the border areas of Tripura.

Fourthly, if we examine the matrimonial relations of the Kolois with other remaining sub-groups of the Halam like the Kaipeng, the Bongsel etc, every few such relations may be found. Of course, there is an old matrimonial relations of the Kolois with the Morsum. There is no social bar also to settle any matrimonial relations of the Kolois with the Tripuri and such relation is found to be happening from the long past. Besides, much similarity is also found in their festivals and social customs with those of the Tripuri rather than those of the remaining sub-groups of the Halam. Moreover, the folk tales, proverbs, riddles prevailing in the Kolois community have much similarity with those of the Tripuri

To analyse the fact whether the Kolois may be included into the sub-group of the Halam, if we examine carefully the book "Udaipur Bibarani "(Udaipur description) by Brojendra Chandra Datta, it may be seen that Shri Datta has mentioned clearly the name of the tribe which may be included into the sub-groups of the Halam. Such as regarding Morsum, Shri Datta wrote, "they are the sub-group of the Halam. They can follow Kuki language. They feel themselves glad if they identify the kuki as their parents.

As to describe the Kaipeng he wrote "they reside in the upper area of Chhan gang, Taidu and Jambu of Udaipur Sub-Division. They are known as a group of the Kuki and belong to Halam community.

Regarding Bethu, Rupini, Rangkhali, Bongsi etc. communities, he wrote, "they are Kuki and are akin to the Halam community. So there is nothing to describe separately for them."

On the other hand, he did not mention the word 'Halam' to describe the Koloï community. So, it may be assumed that the writer himself was in a confusion to agree the Koloï as a sub-group of the Halam. Otherwise it is usual that he must have used the word Halam to describe the Koloï community. Regarding the Koloï, Shri Brojendra Chandra Datta described, "there are some paras of the Koloï in the area of Chhan gang. Previously the Koloï would live in Sing Mung, Tulsimura etc. places, The hill tribal subjects are gradually entering into the interior dense forest leaving contact of their neighbouring Bengali Muslim subjects. They would also appoint their chief like Rai Kanchan Galim Gabur after select recommendation of the Rai of their community. Their 'Michhip' also represent them in the royal court. The royal emblem (mohor) and other materials could be found in their community conferred by the royal court to them as per

Many of their community believe that they are one section of the aboriginal inhabitant of this state Morsum. So they are included into the sub-group of the Halam. Regarding their relations with the Morsum they say that in early days they would speak in Morsum language. Later they followed Tripuri. At present though they forgot themselves, some morsum words are still found in them. Much similarity of the tuning of Morsum folk. song is found in the old folk. songs of the Koloï.

Besides, there are many instances of matrimonial relations of the Koloï with the Morsum. Previously it was a convention of the Koloï to learn the Morsum language. Moreover, the Morsum villages may be found surrounding the Koloï concentrated areas all over Tripura. Above all, by identifying them as a sub-group of the Halam, a mental unity is found between them and the Morsum. If we examine the above facts, this may be found that there must be some blood relations of the Koloï with the Morsum.

This may be mentioned here that though the Koloï are not wholly offspring of the Halam, but there are some blood relations of them with the Kuki. This is known from different sources. Out of the seven internal sections of the Koloï, the 'Abel' section has

specially blood relations with the Kuki. People of this section are residing at Taidubari of Amarpur Sub-Division. This is described regarding "S'ri Parbamuni Koloï" belonging to Abel group. "it is said that Sri Parbamoni Koloï of Taidu Bazar of Amarpur Sub-Division, South Tripura was originally a Kuki. But his forefathers lived in a Koloï village and gradually their descendants have become Koloï group of the Halam community and now they are known as Kolois. "(The Kukis of Tripura—Ram Gopal Singh).

It is known that some admixture is made with the Koloï and the Riàng. There is similarity regarding the process of migration of the Koloï with the Riàng. Moreover the legend regarding the migration of the Riàng from Chittagong Hill Tract and entrance into Tripura which is prevailing has much identity with such story prevailing in the 'Wakbur' section of the Koloï. It is said in the story that failing to sustain the oppression of the Riàng Chief named 'Kakek' in Chittagong, six riàng sardars named Tuilongha, Tuiklaha, Somosoha, Taimosha, Iangsika and Paisika come to appeal to the court of Maharaja Gobinda Manikya of Tripura. At that time the roads were inaccessible and they came on a raft (vela-bur) through Deotamura range.

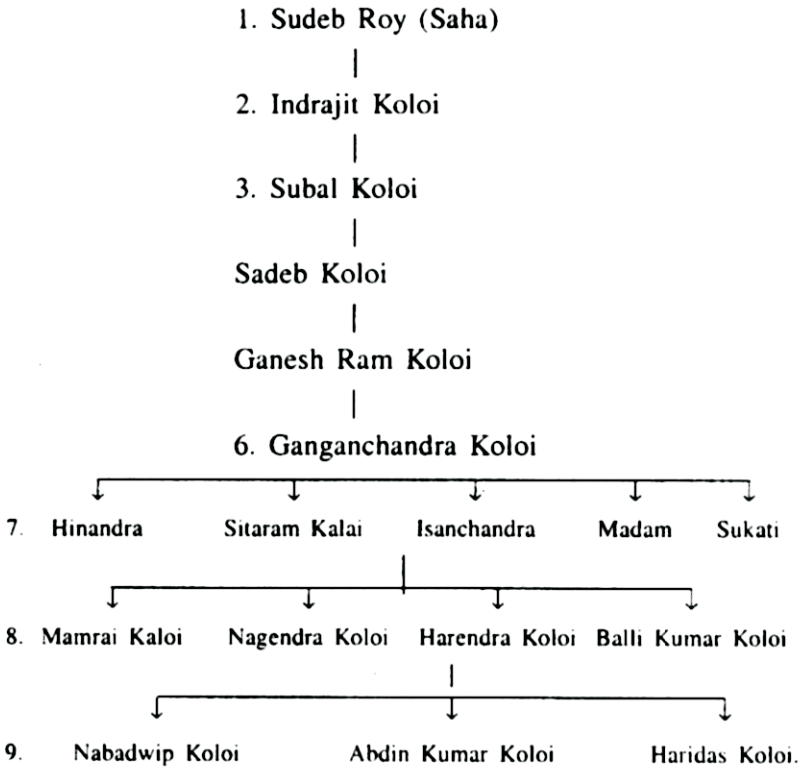
With the above tale there is similarity regarding the history and origin of the 'wakbur' section of the Koloï. It is learnt from the aged persons of the Koloï that the very word 'wakbur' is derived from the two words 'wa' means bamboo and 'bur' means the raft. They say that the people of this section are very fond of bamboo raft. They have entered into Tripura on the bamboo raft and so they are called wakbur. If we take the concept of this point, this may be assumed that there is some relation of the Koloï with the Riàng.

Besides, religious festivals, culture and folk-lore of the Koloï have similarity with those of the Riàng.

At present it is not possible to separate any caste or tribe from another neighbouring caste or tribe. In the early days the different tribal groups were engaged with inter-feuds for the reasons of their economic conditions (to occupy better jhum land) and to increase their dominance. The defeated groups have generally to go under the control of the conqueror chiefs or more powerful

tribal groups and would get themselves mixed up in the stream of their life in later days. In this way name of many tribal groups are changed.

Saving this, it is found that one tribal group has immersed into other group due to their matrimonial relations. So, it is obvious that there is social intercourse with the Koloï and others included and excluded sub-groups of the Halam. Even there is some instances of admixture of the Koloï and other non-tribal people Shri Harendra Koloï of Jantranapara under Amapur Sub-Division said that his father belonged to a non-tribal bengali "Saha" family. He married one Koloï woman and settled in a Koloï village. His descendants adopted the little village Jantranapara. Their generalogy was found from Shri Haridas Koloï, son of Shri Harendra Koloï. The genealogy is given below :



Moreover there is a custom in Koloï society that if anybody is willing to adopt Koloï tradition he may be allowed at the approval of the Koloï Raj (Chief) after observing some formalities performed by the Achai according to Koloï custom and he may take Koloï title. There is a morsum family at Mazumderbari near Ampî under Amarpur Sub-Division. The boys and girls of this family follow Koloï custom.

It is necessary to mention here that any outsider adopted Koloï tradition and custom, he or she enjoys the status as other Koloïs do. Even the present Koloï Rai, Shri Kamini Koloï belongs to Tripuri community. So, if we consider all the facts, it is seen that the present Koloï community is a mixed community of the Tripuri, Kuki, Morsum and the Riàng.

Though the Koloï belong to Mongoloid family, variation in individual body complexion, stature, height, nature is found. It is only due to the admixture of different tribal groups merged into Koloï community. As a result if we find kok-borok language prevailing in the Koloï society, some Halam words may be found from some elders and aged persons.

THE INNER GROUPS OF THE KOLOI :

The Koloï of Tripura are divided into seven groups or clans. If they are arranged according to their population this will be like under. 1) Waplom, 2) Wakbur, 3) Rujgui, 4) Bukang, 5) Abel, 6) Kuchhu, 7) Chorai. People of the first five groups are found in great number but the people of Kuchhu and Chorai is very few.

Short description of the groups is given below :

(1) **Waplom** :—The population of this group is largest. It is known from the old people that they are very neat and clean and their complexion is like the white portion of a rent bamboo. So they are called Waplom. The word 'Waplom' is derived from two kok-borok words, 'Wa' means bamboo and 'Boplom' means the white portion in a bamboo. Regarding 'Waplom' is it said in kok-borok, "Waboplom suk kufur hinoi hinjago". It means, they are called Waplom; for their body complexion was like the inner white portion of a bamboo.

(2) **Wakbur** : It is learnt from this community that they are very fond of travel by yacht (raft). And they entered into Tripura on bamboo raft. Due to the above they are called "Wakbur". The word 'Wakbur' is derived from two kok-borok words, 'wa' means bamboo and 'Bur' means raft.

(3) **Rujgui** :—Their place is third as per population. They are very expert to adjust themselves with other neighbouring people and so they are called 'Ruj gui'. According to many people 'Rujgui' is derived from the Kok-borok word 'Ruk thar' means to imitate. They can imitate others very easily. It is learnt that many outside tribal communities have merged into this group.

(4) **Bukang** :— It is a hearsay in the Koloï society that the people of this section are generally very strong and stout and they can consume much food. So they are also called 'Chakrak' means consumer of much food. One kind of pea vegetable locally known as 'Baikang' (mild intoxicating) is very fond to them and so they are also known as 'Bukang'. They would fry and eat this 'Baikang' vegetable seed and dry the peel for using it as 'Kharpani' (Alkali). Concentration of this section of people may be found at Baishyamunipara of Amarpur Sub-Division.

(5) **Abel** :—Most of this section have come from the Kuki community. 'Abel' is derived from the Kok-borok word "Abichha" means child. For the first time the number of this section was very little and they were compared with a child. The first Raj (Chief) of this section was Wanjui Rai of Batiban of Sadar Sub-Division. The Koloï call the people of this section as 'Betu' (Wild).

(6) **Kuchhu** :—The number of this section is very few.

(7) **Chorai** :—The number of this section is very few within the Koloï Community

THE ORDER CONFERRING THE TITLE "SINGH" TO THE KOLOI BY TRIPURA MAHARAJA.

At present many of the Koloï use the title "Singh". Though Maharaja has permitted to use this title by all of the groups of Halam community. Only the Koloï have started to use this title. Hereunder a copy of the order issued by Maharaja Bir Bikram

Kishore Dev Barma Bahadur regarding this is given :-

34 No. Order regarding the Halam

By order Sd/-Shri Bir Bikram Manikya

Subject of the Court : Samar Bijayee Mahamohodaya Pancha Shrijukta Tripuradhipati Lt. Lol. His Highness Maharaja Manikya—Sri Bir Bikram kishore Deb Barma Bahadur, O.B.E., K.C.S.I., Elake Swadhin Tripura, Rajdhani Agartala,

1356 T.E., Dated 10th Aswin.

As there is no use of any suitable title in vogue among the different sub-groups of the Halam as to identify themselves saving their clan names, it is, therefore, ordered that henceforth the people belonging to different sub-groups of the Halam may use "Singh" title. As for example, now the man who identify himself as "Ram Chandra Koloi", would identify himself as "Ram Chandra Singh" or more distinctly "Ram Chandra Singh Koloi" henceforth.

Office of the Mantri Parishad,
Pancha Chottaringsa (45) Section,
Special number,
30th Aswin, 1356 T.E.

Chapter—2

TRADITIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF KOLOI SOCIETY

To maintain social discipline and individual entity and characteristic of the Koloï society, the Koloï like the Jamatia and the Morsum have their own administrative and judiciary system. This administrative system is, on the one hand, the means to bring the whole community under a systematic administration and on the other hand, to make a separate arrangement for smooth administration of the Koloï villages. Every individual villages may have their own problem. As to solve this, there is one "Choudhury" and two "Khandals" in every Koloï village. Choudhury would do his best for the betterment of his village. If there is any representative of the Koloï society in a village, then there is no necessity of a Choudhury of that village.

The administrative and judiciary system of the Koloïs are divided into seven stages. The highest post of this society is called "Rai". He is the guardian of the whole community. None can hold the post of "Rai" according to his will. Because, to hold the post of Koloï Rai, he is to gather experience of the other lower six posts within the structure of their administrative system.

Besides, it is keenly observed that everyone of the internal seven sections or clans of the Koloï may represent in the administrative machinery.

At the beginning of introducing this administrative system, the Rais would hold their offices for life. But there was no scope of becoming "Rai" to the persons holding the lower posts in their life within such system. Moreover, if a "Rai" is elected from one section or clan of them, the other remaining sections do not get any scope of holding this post for a long time. As to remove such difficulties, at present they have made the tenure of a Rai for three

years. Such decision is suitable for the present. After every three years. On the full-moon day in the Month of Agrahayan the executive members of the administrative council assemble in a meeting and the Rai for the coming three years is elected in that meeting.

There are provisions for remedy in the system if a Rai has become anarchist. Even a Rai may be punished by imposing fines for any offence by the people. It is a convention of them that after every three years the post holders would resign from their posts voluntarily. Such convention is to facilitate the persons holding the lower posts may be promoted to the next higher posts. The relieved "Rai" has to hand over all the royal emblems and other royal gifts given to the community by the Maharaja which are remaining under his custody to the newly elected "Rai". If he contravenes this convention he may be imposed a fine of Rs. 15/- (Fifteen) according to their social custom. Every post holders has a stamp seal as to the proof of the authority and to maintain social discipline.

This may be noted here that such self-governing institution of the Koloï is functioning from the time immemorial facing much storm and stress in different times. This self-governing system is very significant to hold their social characteristics and management. Till now the prestige of the Koloï Rai is agreed to all. With the help of their self-governing system they still settle any social problem, internal disputes etc. They are against any interference in their own problem from outside society or community. As this organisation is non-political, persons of different idealists indifferently work together under this system. Due to such prevailing system they would generally not take any help of the court to settle their own disputes.

Though this age-old administrative system is prevailing within the Koloï Society, it is very difficult to understand when and from which regime of Mharaja this system has started for want of any genuine evidence. But after investigation it is known in this regard that for the first time the upper post holders would remain in their offices for life. Later on a tenure of period for holding the posts

has been fixed. Therefore, this may be said after observing the above facts that the self-governing system has been formed as to maintain discipline in their social life by themselves and is free from any outside influence . Of course, the present modified system is the result of the influence of the then Maharaja and other neighbouring tribal communities.

After consultation with many aged Koloï Sardars and investigations, so long names of thirty-six-Rais have been collected and the list is given below :

Name of Rai	Clan	Address
1. Taola Rai	Wakbur	Batiban
2. Wanjui Rai	Abel	Batibab
3. Banbir	Rujugui	Batiban
4. Charan Singh	Abel	Taidu
5. Ramchandra Koloï	Wakbur	Takarjala
6. Fuduram	Abel	Chhaimanrua (Udaipur)
7. Joleram	Rujugui	Singnala (Maharani)
8. Chhaichha Rai	Bukang	Khumpuilong
9. Dasarath Koloï	Rujugui	Bahattarbari (Udaipur)
10. Chanda Koloï	Rujugui	Takarjala
11. Khuchiram Koloï	Bukang	Erambari (Udaipur)
12. Kamalkanta	Kuchhu	Chhaimanrua (Udaipur)
13. Dolchandra Koloï	Chorai	Chhaimanrua (Udaipur)
14. Purna Chandra Koloï	Abel	Taidu
15. Achongrai Koloï	Waplom	Taidu
16. Gagan Chandra Koloï	Rujugui	Melchhimukha (Ampi)

17. Mahamuni Koloi	Bukang	Erambari (Udaipur)
18. Baikuntha Koloi	Chorai	Taidu
19. Satyaram Koloi	Waplom	Erambari (Udaipur)
20. Sumanta Koloi	Kuchhu	Erambari (Udaipur)
21. Bashya Koloi	Rujugui	Rupachhera (Khowai, Teliamura)
*22. Lal Bahadur Koloi	Kuchhu	(Tentaikhor Near Chhota Gongrai under Udaipur)
23. Sanjoymuni Koloi	Bukang	Baisyamunipara
24. Mangal Chandra Koloi	Abel	Halua
25. Indramuni Koloi	Chorai	Chhaimanrua
26. Taidu Rai	Wakbur	Polku
27. Radhakanta Koloi	Bukang	Brahmachhera
28. Rabi Chandra	Rujugui	Tieki (Teliamura)
29. Dhanmuni Koloi	Kuchhu	Brahmachhera (Teliamura)
30. Haricharan Koloi	Waplom	Brahmachhera
31. Milidhan Koloi	Wakbur	Brahmachhera
32. Padmamuni Koloi	Chorai	Khokhai (Kamalpur)
33. Mitra Koloi	Bukang	Baishyamunipara
34. Darkhasta Koloi	Ruhugui	Halua
35. Balaram Koloi	Abel	Halua
36. Kamani Koloi	Kuchhu	Polku

* This may be mentioned here that the twenty-second Koloi Rai named "Shri Lal Badadur Koloi" is mentioned in the book "Udaipur Bibaran" by Shri Brajendra Datta in the list of the names of some tribal Sardars. "Shri Lal Bahadur Koloi : Present Rai of the Koloi Dafa (Community). Appointed after election. An inhabitant of Til tui khar. The name the 'Kanchan' is Shri Bada Rai."

The Description of the post holders of administrative executives of the Kolois for the year 1978 is given below :

Name of the post	Name of the post holder	Name of the Hada kuchu	Address
1. Rai	Shri Kamini Kolo	Kuchu	Palku
2. Galaim	Shri Malidar Kolo	Oyakubum	Sardukari
3. Kanchan (Kamchikao)	Shri Tarani Kolo	Chari	Dinachari
4. Gabur	Shri Bindu Kolo	Oyakpalm	Dharkai
5. Jaksung	Shri Pabitrामohan Kolo	Bukang	Bahaturpara
6. Khuksung	Shri Tamari Kolo	Rujgai	Taichang
7. Senga	Bashudeb Kolai	Abel	Darkai

This elected administrators will hold office for three years.

The names of the posts as per rank and status in Kolo administrative system.

1. Senga
↓
2. Khuk Sung
↓
3. Jak Sung
↓
4. Abur
↓
5. Kanchan
↓
6. Galim
↓
7. Ria (Rai or Headman)

*** FUNCTIONS OF THE POST HOLDERS :**

(1) and (2) **Senga** and **Khuk Sung** :- The main functions of these persons are to serve the other senior post holders during any meeting for trial and other social functions. They would collect

subscriptions for any social ceremony and carry out and execute the orders of the seniors. Moreover, they would maintain the social discipline.

3. **Jaksung** :- The third upper rank in the administrative system is "Jaksung". The persons holding the posts of Senga and Khuksung are promoted to the post of "Jaksung". After holding the post, he is to arrange a function. In the function he is to arrange for a feast "Chatni Chartang" for the community as a rule. Liquor is served in the feast. The womenfolk also participate the function. Nobody is allowed to leave the function before completion of the feast "Chatni Chartang." Anybody may leave the function before completion after the Chatni Chartang" on permission of the seniors if he desires. If any person contravenes this custom, he may be imposed a fine of Rs. 5/.

This may be mentioned here that no womenfolk is allowed to enter in the area scheduled for the males in the feast and vice versa. Two "Kai thers" must attend in every feast and they will help to perform it smoothly.

4) **Gabur** :- The fourth upper rank in the administrative system is "Gabur". After holding the post "Jaksung" the person is promoted to the rank "Gabur".

After getting the post "Gabur", the person is to arrange a community feast. The person holding the post "Kanchan" has to attend the feast by wearing a garland of coins presented by Maharaja. If he breaks this custom, he may be imposed a fine of Rs. 15/-. Any participating person breaks the traditional custom in this feast, he may also be imposed a fine of Rs. 5/-

5) **Kanchan** :- The upper fifth rank of this institution is "Kanchan". A person holding the post of "Gabur" for three years is promoted to the rank of "Kanchan". After getting this post, the person has to arrange a community feast. Meat must be served in this feast. Other customs are like those of the abovementioned feasts.

(6) **Galim** :- The sixth upper rank of the Kolo administrative system is "Galim". The person holding the post of "Kanchan" for

three years is promoted to the rank "Galim" After getting this post. the person has also to arrange a community feast and meat is to serve in it. The other custom of the feast are like those of the abovementioned feasts.

(7) **Rai** :-A person holding the post of "Galim" for three years may be promoted to the rank of "Rai", the highest post in the community. A person having been remaining constant touch with the administration of the Koloï society for more than twenty years are generally elected for "Rai". So the person who holds this post is obviously honest, experienced in all respect. He is the highest authority of the administration and judiciary of the Koloï society.

After getting the post "Rai" he is to arrange a community feast in which meat is a must. The others are as like as those of the other feasts. In this merry making function, the persons holding the posts of "Senga" would sing their national song with music and dance.

There is also a second chamber or executive committee separately as to make developmental planning for the Koloï society and implementation thereof, to look after the smooth management of the society etc. This committee is responsible only for the development of the society and not related with any judiciary system. There are four members in the committee. They are also most experienced persons and are related with developmental works and various festivals and worships. The names of the four posts of the committee are (1) Kaither, (2) Bari Singh, (3) Mudi and (4) Muila. Among them, Mudi and Muila are the heads of the committee.

The tenure of these posts are also three years like that of the posts of administration. In this institution, a person has to hold the post of "Kaither" for three years and then he is promoted to "Bari Singh". After holding three years of the post of "Bari Singh", he is promoted to "Mudi". And so on after three years from "Mudi" to "Muila". "Muila" is the highest post of this executive committee. The duty of "Kaither" is that he is to do the work of "Bari Singh" at first.

After three years when "Kaither" is promoted to "Bari Singh", he is to subscribe and raise subscription for different social ceremonies and pujas.

The third upper stage of the executive committee is "Mudi". After getting the title of "Mudi", the person has to arrange a community feast "Chatni Chartang". In this feast liquor is consumed in limited quantity. The upper post-holders of the administration like "Rai", "Kanchan" etc. have to remain present. In this feast the silver pipe presented by the Maharaja is to use in consuming liquor and persons holding the posts "Senga" and "Kaither" are to attend.

Chapter—3

RELIGION

The traditional folk-religion of the Koloï is limited into traditional rituals. Little similarity is found with the traditional folk-religion of the Koloï and the philosophy of the other main international religious faiths. The main objects of religion is to get spiritual and mental relief of mankind without considering any result of the works done and to get blessings of the Almighty and Salvation (free from re-birth). Seeing from this point of view, such idealism can not be found in the religion of the Koloï (Wathopism). Their religious functions generally occur as to get rid of sudden danger, unknown accident, illness and influence of evil spirits. The worship is done for the time being and at the time of miseries. Temporary relief may get from this, but no permanent peace or relief can be expected.

Like other tribal communities of Tripura, the Koloï also believe the existence of many gods and goddesses. So, they would perform worship in different ways for different gods and goddesses on different occasions. The images of their gods and goddesses are made of bamboo in place of clay. This may be assumed that bamboo has a significant role in the life of the Koloï society from ancient days and so in the case of their religious faiths also. As a part of religious ceremony, the Koloï would worship "Wathop" in many cases. This "Wathop" is also made of bamboo. The name of this "Wathop" is also derived from two Kokborok words—"Wa" means bamboo and "Bothop" means nest. But "Thop" means here home of god (altar).

There is similarity with the religious rites of the Koloï and such rites of the Hindus. In Hinduism, there is prayer for unseen god (incarnation) and simultaneously there is a custom of worshipping regional gods and goddesses like 'Mongolchandi Puja',

'Trinather Puja', 'Garoi Puja', 'Topa Puja', 'Rupasi Puja' etc. There is less relations with this regional worshipping system and the Hinduism prevailing all over India. There is an important place of the tribal communities in establishing such regional worshipping system. In this regard, the quotation from J. H. Hutton may be mentioned here. Hutton wrote. : "It is difficult to draw a line of distinction between Hinduism and the Tribal religion and the latter presents a kind of surpuls material which has not been built into the temple of Hinduism. This material is very similar to that which was used in building up post-Vedic Hinduism. (Hutton J. H., Census of India 1931, India Report, Vol.I, Part I, page 391—98).

The Kolois are Hindu by religion. Many are of the opinion that like other tribal Communities of India, the Kolois are also Hinduized by the influence of other tribal communities. Before coming into this opinion, this should be examined that the pioneer preachers of the Hindu sect are not a particular individual person and they do not believe in monotheism and the process of worshipping of God is not also uniform. In their religion the traditional method of worshipping of God has a significant role. Therefore it may be said that the Kolois are not Hinduized rather they have enriched the Hinduism. There is less difference in this respect between the Kolois religion and the Hindu religion. T. A. Baines observed. "The distinction between the tribal people who were Hinduized and those that followed their tribal form of religion is futile." (Baines J. A. 1891 : Census of India 1891 Report, pages 158).

If we say that the Kolois have been hinduized by the influence of other non-tribal communities then it may be said that the other communities of India have also been Hinduized. As worshipping of wathop only or the traditional Kolois religion is not sufficient means to achieve the spiritual ends or religious knowledge, the Hindu tribals would study the Gita, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata etc. Scriptures. And likewise, besides worshipping the basil tree, rupasee tree, banyan, tree the marmelos tree etc tree, worshipping, the non-tribal Hindus also simultaneously read the

book on religion like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Gita etc.

The religious rituals of the Koloï are identical with those of the non-tribal Hindus. In many cases the non-tribal Hindus are influenced by them. The aims of many traditional religious festivals of the Koloï like Gariya Puja, Ker puja, Taibu-Suamani, Maikataclchamani, Mamita, Mailungma, Chuyak Khunmani etc. are more or less same with that of non-tribal Hindu pujas like Mahadev (Shib), Kalipuja, new rice taking festival, Ganga Puja, Ganesh Puja, Laxmi Puja, Yearly funeral ceremony etc. There is much contribution of the tribals in growing up the religious faiths of the non-tribals. In this respect the opinion of Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose is thus :

“The indigenous population of India might have contributed in the past generously to the building up of what is known as Hinduism.” (Bose, Nirmal Kumar, 1971, Tribal Life of India, Page-6).

Many are of the opinion that the “Shib” of the Hindu is the worshipping God of the Bodo. There is an old story in Bodo Society. This is thus :

“Obongloureë, the infinite God (or The Eternal became tired of his Formless existence and so, He desired to express Himself by taking a form of flesh and blood. He did as He desired and shaped himself into a lively human being and called Himself Jiw Bo`rai or Si Bo`rai.

This part of the story tells us about how Obongloureë of the Eternal God after taking a human form named himself Jiw-Bo`rai or Si-Bo`rai. In Bodo ‘Jiw’ and ‘Si’ means ‘life’ or ‘soul’, and so the Bo`rai (The first holy man) possessing the first human life of soul is Jiw Bo`rai or Si-Bo`rai. Probably the word ‘jiw’ later on led to the corruption ‘Siw’ and ‘Siw’ again led to the corruption of Siwa and then of sanskritised ‘Siva’ in the long run. In the context of this story the Bodos are aware of how the emergence of ‘Jiw Bo`rai or Siw Bo`rai whatever they say is related to the possession of first human soul. In Hindu philosophy also, the emergence of the great God ‘Siva’ has some relation to the

possession of first human life of soul which is asserted by the saying 'Joto, Jiwa toto Siva. If this analysis is somehow appreciated there is left little room to doubt the fact that he Bodo Jiwa Bo'ral or Si Bo'rat is the sanskritised Siwa or Siva. (Sri Ramdas Basumatary : Some ideas on 'Bathou' : Bodosa, page 29.

THE PUJA FESTIVALS OF THE KOLOIS :

Short descriptions of the worshipping festivals which are prevailing in the KoloI Society are given below :

GARIYA PUJA :

The Kolois would perform this puja unitedly in the house of 'Choudhury' or 'Kherpang' by raising subscriptions. Any individual may also perform this Puja in his house if he desires. If anybody performs this puja individually in his house, he has to continue for three or five consecutive years. From the first day of Baisakh this Puja will continue up to 'Sena Puja' i.e. for seven days. After immersion of Gariya, Sena puja and Mailuma Puja (Laxmi) are performed. Many folk songs and dances have grown up centering the Gariya Puja. This may be noted here that the Gariya Puja is performed gorgeously among the Jamatias.

On the immersion day of Gariya the family in which 'Naksu' and 'Mailungma' remain would perform the puja with the help of 'Achai' (priest).

KER PUJA :

According to usages of KoloI society, Ker Puja must be done once in a year at the house of KoloI Rai (chief). It is their belief that by performing this Puja all of them would get blessings. Due to uncertain circumstances if this Puja could not be performed at the premises of KoloI Rai, the place where the next Puja would be performed is settled after discussion.

At the end of Agrahayana on New moon day or on Saturday or Tuesday this Puja is performed. This Puja may be performed at the house of village Choudhuri (village headman) if not held at the house of Rai. This Puja is performed by raising subscriptions from all villagers. One bottle liquor or langi is contributed from every household for this Puja. On the day, all villagers

assemble at the premises of Choudhury. Goat is sacrificed in the river for this Puja. All villagers take their meal at the house of Choudhury. Achai (priest) built 'wathop' in the river at day time and goat is sacrificed there. Three nights from the day of this puja nobody residing in the village may spend the night outside the village. During Puja nobody is allowed to leave and to enter the village area. 'Khong' is built with bamboo on the village border one day before the Puja. At the night of Puja day some sanctified indigenous herbs (reciting magic words) placing in a bamboo pipe are implanted on the four corners of village boundary. They locally call it 'Mudra'.

Thereafter this pipe is fastened on bamboo tip with the thread spinned from jhum cotton (Khuleec). This Mudra puja is held at night. Generally two or three Achais (priest) are necessary to perform this puja. This puja is done in three places. At first in a lonely place of eastern or southern corner of the village, the Achai with the help of his assistants (Barma) perform the puja at 12 noon. In this puja prosperity of the village may be predicted. At the same time or a bit earlier, another Achai performs Ganga Puja at river. Animal sacrifice is done there. Then all assemble at the premises of village Choudhury and took their meal and make merriment. Generally three achais are required to perform the above Ker Puja. Ganga Puja and Mudra Puja. These Pujas are done for the Prosperity of the village and so it is not done by an individual person.

TWIBUSUYAMANANI : (Ganga Puja or Water God)

During the month of Ashar and Shrabana this puja is performed. At the time of this Puja 'wathop' is built with bamboo and offerings are paid. Somebody perform this puja by sacrificing a goat. But only offerings may be sufficient for it. This puja is done in a river by the Achai. The main object of this puja is to save probable dangers from river or water by appeasing the water god.

MAIKATAL CHAMANI (New rice taking) :-

During the month of Bhadra and Aswin after harvesting jhum crop new rice taking ceremony is performed. This ceremony is

called "Mai Katal Chamani." Wathop is prepared in river and this puja is performed there and in the house "Mailungma Puja" is done. This Puja is done by Achai. The household where there is "Mailungma". Maikatal Chamani is performed there.

In the month of Aswin when Durga Puja is over. Kojagari Laxmi Puja is held. This Laxmi Puja is called 'Hajagari Puja'. by the Kolois. At the time of this puja, Mailungma Puja is generally done. Mailungma Puja is held thrice in a year, first in the month of Baisakh in the form of Sena Puja; secondly in the month of Bhadra/Aswin in the form of Maikatal Chamani puja and thirdly in the month of Aswin in the form of Hojagari Laxmi Puja. Now-a-days the Kolois observe Maikatal Chamani festival twice in a year. Firstly in the month of Bhadra/Aswin or Agrahayana when crop is harvested. Generally the jhumias harvest their jhum crop in the month of Bhadra/Aswin and observe the Maikatal Chamani festival at that time. The plough cultivators harvest their crop in the month of Agrahayana and observe Maikatal Chamani festival. Hojagari Laxmi Puja is done with the help of Achai or personally by reciting 'Laxmi Panchali'.

NAKSU/LAGRI PUJA :

This Puja is done in the month of Chaitra. To save from evil spirit 'Naki' is engraved. (Lagri=post of bamboo, Kaimani=engrave). This puja is done by the Achai at dusk. Two cocks and one duck are necessary for this Puja. Animal sacrifice is a must for this Puja. This Puja is in vogue in every section or group of the Kolois. They believe, this puja is the means of getting rid from any evil spirit.

MAMITA :

All groups of Kolois community perform this Puja. An image is built with bamboo and the Puja is performed by Achai. The Achai must belong to Kolois community. They believe that by performing this puja their prosperity and heredity will be increased. This Puja is done personally and separate animal sacrifice is to be made in the name of each members belonging to a family. If Goat is sacrificed, one pigeon is to be followed it.

Again if pig is sacrificed, one cock or duck is to be followed with it. It means that one biped is to be sacrificed with a quadruped. If there is five members in a family and goat is to be sacrificed in the Puja, then he is to sacrifice five goats and five pigeons. This Puja may be done at any day time and all the members of the family are to remain present after taking baths. There is no hard and fast rule to present the 'Achai'. But the Achai is generally presented with Coins, Turbun, Cloth etc. This puja is performed in the courtyard and nobody from other family may remain present there. After the Puja, the neighbours are invited and fed. This Mamita Puja is Sangrama Puja. The headman of the family brings and offers old coins in this Puja. This Puja is said to be identical to Ganesh Puja.

CHUAK KHANMANI :

The Festival of Chuak Khanmani is held, in the month of Agrahayana. If any Kolois is dead, his relatives and neighbours go to the cremation ground and decorate the graveyard with flower etc. Then Chuak (Liquor) is poured on the burial place. Sufficient rice cake and fried "bini" paddy are distributed to the present persons there. Those who are addicted to chuak is offered with it. There they sing chorus song together and then return home. The woman folk may also participate in it. Certainly the wife or husband of the deceased person cries loudly. This rite is performed at day time on the full moon day of Agrahayana after one year of death of a person. This rite is observed by all.

SANI PUJA :

Most of the Kolois perform 'Sani Puja' at least once in a year. At the time of this puja, they place offerings and recite 'Sani Panchali'.

TRINATH PUJA :

The performance of Trinath Puja in the Kolois community is also found. At the time of this puja story of Trinath is told.

Moreover, they observe "Dol Purnima" festival, Saraswati Puja, Poush Sankranti, Rath Jatra etc. festivals. In these pujas the

following materials such as flowers, leaf of bael tree, durba, basil leaf etc. are required. The married Koloï women smear vermilion on the forehead and conch bangle on hand. The sound "ulu" may be heard from the Koloï houses at dusk.

VARIOUS IMAGES OF THE GODS AND GODDESS :

The images of the various traditional Gods and Goddesses are built with Bamboo instead of clay. In all ceremonies bamboo is a must. It may be mentioned here that the artistic mind of the Koloïis revealed in preparing the various images. The images contain much fine artistic works of bamboo. Different form of images are to be prepared for different gods and goddesses. The number of bamboo flowers smocked are different for different gods and goddess. The bamboo posts are also arranged in different way for different gods and goddess. In this matter the Achai is the main Artisan. These are prepared according to his instruction. The Koloïis prepare Wathop, Dip, LangK hang/Lang Khai/Chufang, Tharuma, Nakri, Langri, Khulwng, Chartangmani, Jakbar, Thapna, Mailaobar, Koinduk, Wakhar etc. Images with bamboo and various materials for worship. Description of some materials necessary for worshipping Gods and Goddesses are given below :-

(1) Wathap :- The altar for worship made with bamboo is called "Wathap". It is known that "Whathap" is derived from 'Wa' means bamboo and 'bathap' means nest. Due to making the altar of a god with bamboo, this is called Wathap. This Wathap is invariably necessary element for the worship and it is necessary for most of their worshipping of Gods. "Wathap" is required for Lampra Puja, Thunai Rao Bani Rao Puja, Balang Suogmano, Burachha etc. Pujas. Wathap is made with six equal length of green bamboo pieces. A pair of bamboo pieces are posted at an equal distance and a pair of bamboo pieces are tied on it. These six pieces are generally one and a half cubit in length. Bamboo leaves are placed in the hole on the tip of the bamboo posts. The posts are decorated with artistic works by smocking flowers on the bamboo pieces.

(2) Langthang or Chufang :-This "Langthang" or "Chufang" is required for every worship. By this means, water or chuak (liquor) is offered to God. The bamboo piece in which water is offered is called Langthang and in which Chuak is offered is called 'Chufang.'

(3) Dip :-A particular length of a bamboo piece is split perpendicularly and the two ends of the pieces are decorated by smocking flower with Takkal (Dao) in a most intricated manner. Different number of bamboo flowers are raised on this 'Dip' for different worshipping of Gods.

"Dip" are generally two kinds :-

(a) Except 'Sukaljuk matah puja' the number of bamboo flower on Dip are five.

(b) The number of bamboo flower or Bruirao Sukaljuk Matai Puja are nine.

(4) Khang : It is made by bending a bamboo cane like a bow after raising flower on its two ends. The two ends are fixed on the ground. "Khong" is required at the time of Sang Grang Puja, Ganga Puja, Ker Puja, Marriage etc. ceremony.

(5) Tharuma :- The lower half of a particular length of a bamboo piece is posted on the ground. The upperwholes are decorated with bamboo leaves.

(6) Khulwng : This is seen like a basket of a bamboo cane. This is necessary for Burachha Puja.

(7) Nagri (Lakri) :- This puja is performed for the prosperity of the village in the month of Chaitra. Nakri is worshipped by making the image in two shapes. Generally a bamboo piece artistically decorated is posted on the ground. Leaving some upper portion of it, cotton is fastened. There is a special usage of using the cotton thread. For Burachha puja white and black coloured yarn are used as a rule.

On the other hand, a branch of a tree locally called 'Dex ran' containing other side branches is taken and two bundles of cotton (jhum cotton) are fastened on the two branches and so "Nagri" is made. Here also white or black coloured thread is used.

(8) Chartangmani :- Chartangmani is made at the time of holding Ganga Puja as to appease 'Twi Khulumani' (Water God). To make this four bamboo pieces are posted on the ground and six thin bamboo canes are placed on it. A changri (platform) is made with bamboo cane at the middle of the posted bamboo pieces.

(9) Mailungma : This is placed in every Koloï family like the water pot (symbol of Laxmi). An earthen pitcher marking a conical symbol with vermilion on one side is placed at a particular place inside the house. This is Mailungma (the conical symbol marking on earthen pitcher). Rice is kept inside the pot. Every day fire, flower and incense are offered to it. The Kolois call the conical symbol "Mailungma Kaiya Maiya" (Kaiy-body, Maiya-mahamaya). If a joint family is split up, the split sharer families will prepare separate 'Mailungma' for each of them.

(10) Thapna : Two bamboo split pieces are posted on the two sides of the Chartangmani which is required for Twikhulumani Puja.

THE ROLE OF ACHAI IN THE KOLOI SOCIETY :

Like other tribal communities of Tripura the role of Achai in Koloï community is very significant. The Achai must belong to Koloï community. Achai creates religious faiths in them on the one hand and perform various traditional festivals. He is also a village physician on the other hand. He is very honourable person in the society. It is true that through the various evolution, the Achais are presenting the traditional usages and customs for which their role in maintaining the social unity and integrity is very important. This may be mentioned here that the Achias are very orthodox and are against to refrain from old aged customs, beliefs and superstitions. The young generations are to some extent against this principle and want some modifications. As a result, the Achais are not getting proper honour from some of them. If the Achais deviate to some extent from their traditional principle and pay attention properly in solving their social problems and lead the Koloï society by preserving their culture, it may be hoped that the Koloï society will be developed rapidly.

Chapter—4

MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Marriage in Koloï society is generally held within their own community. To settle a marriage, the opinion of both parents is to be obtained first by a middle man. When both are consented, then a date for the ceremony is fixed on negotiation. No marriage is usually held in the months of Chaitra and Pousa. During other months, their belief Agarhayana, Magh, and Phalgun are most auspicious months. They fix the marriage date by consulting 'almanac'. Marriage may be both in days and nights. But the marriage party from a distant hill area prefer day time.

Chhwnglai Mani :—This is like fixation date ceremony. On that day both parties settle the marriage date by negotiation sitting tog. ther. Moreover the mode of marriage whether it will be held in the way of 'marriage by service' (Chamani Tangmani) or 'marriage by negotiation' (Hamjuk Rahamani) and if marriage by service is settled then how many years will be the tenure of service etc. are also settled on that day. The dowry and others like arrangement of feast etc. are also settled. After obsdrving 'Chhwnglai mani' the date of marriage can not be deferred. If any party contravenes this contract, the other party may appeal to the Koloï Rai for settlement.

In old days, by offering 'Lampra Puja' the fortune of the marriage was predicted by the 'Achai' This is done before 'chhwnglai Mani'. At present the date is settled by consulting almanac.

The old two kinds of marriage system of the Koloïs are (1) Marriage by service (Chamani Tangmani) and Marriage by negotiation (Hamjuk Rahamani)

(1) Marriage by Service :—In this system the bridegroom is to serve in the family of potential father-in-law's house for a

certain period. After completion of the service period he may return home with his wife. If the bridegroom is willing, he may stay separately at the house of his father-in-law. This marriage is generally held at the premises of the bride's house.

When marriage is settled in this system, the bridegroom comes to the house of the bride one day before the marriage date. The bridegroom resides in a presettled neighbouring house with his friends and relatives. One day before his departure for bride's house the bridegroom invites his co-villagers in a feast. This feast is called 'Chalai Mani' in their tongue. This means that the bridegroom is not returning in his own village before completion of the service period.

On the marriage date the bridegroom cut his hair by calling a barber and then he takes bath. Thereafter 'Lampra Wathop' is worshipped by the 'Achai'. At that time a Brahmin priest also recites 'Mantra'. On the Marriage date the bridegroom has to fast, the 'Achai' escorting the bridegroom and two other 'Aiyajuk' and 'Aiyachala' are also to fast.

The 'Aiyachalas' would help the bridegroom at the marriage ceremony. They make bath of the bridegroom and look after other works. On the other hand the 'Aiyajuks' help the bride in the ceremony. The 'Aiyajuks' must be husband living married women. No widow or widower can participate in the works of the ceremony. One of the 'Aiyajuks' will hold a 'jhari' (a pot for containing water) on one hand and in that pot water, mango leaf, durba etc. are placed. Water is poured on the heads of the bridegroom and the bride from that pot. Another 'Aiyajuk' holds a 'beli' (brasa plate). In the plate, betel leaf, betel, nut, paddy, durba etc are placed by covering it with a new cloth. On the marriage date, the 'aiyajuks' alongwith other women following a band party, go to the house of village Choudhury and offer betel leaf and flower as a token of honour. This ceremony is called 'Khumfunu kamani' in their language. The Choudhury also offer Rs.5/- to the 'aiyajuks' in return. Before a few hours of the marriage ceremony, the bridegroom and the bride are bathed with water from mouth covered pitchers kept separately. The 'aiyajuks'

come and go between the houses where the bridegroom is residing and the bride's following the band party. They make sound of 'ulu' when they come and go thrice between the two houses. This ceremony is called 'aiyalai chhamani' in their tongue.

Thereafter the bridegroom is adorned with 'Dhuti' and 'panjabi' (Shirt) and brought at the bride's house. After reaching the bride's house the bridegroom is offered 'jamai baran' (dresses of the bridegroom) from the bride's house. Then the bridegroom is brought on the altar made for the ceremony. The altar is made of bamboo. It is a four cornered bamboo platform by posting bamboo posts. There are two open ways in the platform on the north and west sides. The father of the bride and the priest sit beside the platform. After reciting 'mantras' there, the bridegroom is brought in the marriage 'Kunja' (grooves). The 'kunja' is made of bamboo and plantain plant. The 'kunja' is circular in size and there are two open ways in it in the north and west sides. A chair is placed inside the 'kunja'. The bridegroom enters the 'kunja' through the way of the western side and the bride decorating with their traditional dresses and ornaments and following with the 'aiyajuks' enters the 'kunja' through the way of northern side. Then with the help of the 'aiyajuks' the bride goes round the bridegroom and garlands are exchanged between them, after throwing flower.

After exchanging the garlands the bridegroom and the bride go together in the 'bedi' (altar). There also the bridegroom enters the altar through the way of western side and the bride through the way of northern side. Then the 'achai' comes, and recites some 'mantras' and the clothes of the bridegroom and the bride are ties. Both of them go round the altar seven times. Thereafter they stand on the high place in the middle of the altar and sacred ware is poured on their heads. This sacred water is poured first by the 'achai' and his wife (achai must be married). This water is poured from a bamboo pipe (Tailangkhang). In the 'tailangkhang' bamboo leaf and basil are placed. Thereafter the two 'aiyachala' with wives and the two 'aiyajuks' with husbands pour water on their heads. Then the others pour water. The water pourers must be married. Some time the water pourers could not

reach the heads of the couple and so table or tub is placed there so that they may stand on it. After this ceremony, the bride is brought in the room. At this time the bride can not touch the ground for which the 'aiyajuks' carry the bride in the air to her room. In her room she changes her drenched dress. On the other hand the bridegroom is also brought in the room with the help of the 'aiyachalas' in the air-like way.

Then the 'aiyajuks', 'aiyachalas', achai, bride, bridegroom and their friends (boys and girls) sit together for taking their meal. Special variety of food are prepared for their meal. Among the foodstuff there are 'chakui' (the ashes water of green bamboo, dried stem of arum, ginger leaf, fungus plantain flower etc mixing prepared food). 'godhok' (dried fish mixex with vegetable and prepared by roasting in a bamboo pipe), Dal, sour, fish, meat etc. The variety depends on the prosperity of the family. After the meal, betel, leaf and tobacco are served. If there is arrangement of liquor in the house, the bridegroom does not take it on the marriage day. After the meal the bridegroom takes rest and then play game of dice.,

After the game of dice is over, the achai and the aiyajuks light a lamp of mustard oil in two different wicks in the names of the bride and bridegroom in the room where they will sleep. If the wick lighted in the name of the bridegroom puts off first, this means that the bride will be more courageous than the bridegroom and influence over her husband. On the other hand, if the wick of the bride puts off first this will mean that the bridegroom will be more courageous and influence over his wife. This testing is called 'chati chhaomani' or lighting 'chata' in their language.

On the second day of the marriage the followers of the bridegroom and aiyajuks, aiyachalas leave the house of the bride. In the system of marriage by service, only the bride and bridegroom remain in the bride's house and the others leave it. At the time of this farewell ceremony most of members of the bride's family consume liquor and make merriment by singing. Sometimes, the members of the bridegroom's house also sing a song at that time. In this way the members of the bride's house follow



Newly married Kolo Couple.

some distance to the members of the bridegroom's family. This is called 'nairugmani'.

MARRIAGE BY NEGOTIATION (Hamjuk Rahamani) :—

If the marriage is not settled by service then generally the ceremony is held at the premises of the bridegroom. This marriage is called 'hamjuk rahamani' (hamjuk=bride, rahamani=gift). In this system the bride is brought in the house of the bridegroom one day before the marriage date. Others are same as those of the marriage by service system. In this system, the bride is brought with her two 'aiyas' friends and relatives in a pre-selected neighbouring house one day before the marriage date. Achai performs 'Lampra wathop' puja by offering a cock on the marriage day. He fetches sacred water in 'Langthang' (bamboo pipe) from the river. Here the 'aiyajuks' of the bride offer flower and betel to the Choudhury. The 'naksar' is built in the bridegroom's house.

On the second day of marriage, farewell of 'aiyas' (mairug laio) is performed from the bridegroom's house. In this system the bride remains in her father-in-law's house and her friends, aiyajuks leave.

After a month the bridegroom and the bride go to the house of the bride with some friends and relatives as return journey. This ceremony is called 'thanger naimani' (thanger=house, naimani show.) This means that the bridegroom will see the house of his father-in-law.

In the system of marriage by service, the bridegroom also returns to his house with his wife for three days. This return journey is held after one or two months of the marriage. This is called 'thanger naimani' by them. When the service period is completed the bridegroom may return to his own house or he may reside in his father-in-law's house separately.

In old days marriage by service was most prevalent in Koli society. In this system the bridegroom had to go to the bride's house for marry. Later on marriage by negotiation is introduced. In this system the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom

one day before the date. A meeting of the bridegroom's village choudhury and members of the bride's party is arranged. This meeting is called *chalaimani*. Some male and female members of the bridegroom's house come forward to receive the bride when she is brought. This system is called *'hamjuk lamjuk mani'*. The followers of the bride are called *'hamjuk nawmani'*.

At present the system of marriage by service and negotiation are decreasing day by day. The marriage is now generally held at the house of the bride. This may be the influence of neighbouring non-tribal system. In earlier days marriage is held at the bride's house in respect of marriage by service. But now it is held there but for marriage by service. The bridegroom comes back with the bride after two days of the ceremony.

There was no age limit of the bride in old days. Sometimes the bride was elder than groom. But now they do not welcome this practice.

There was no dowry system in them. At that time the groom was presented some clothes, one *'batal'* (basket for keeping cloth), one *'dao'* (takkal) for work and a *'kuthuk'* (carrying basket with lid) from the bride's house as per their custom.

In earlier days marriage was performed by the *'achais'*. Later on the introduction of Brahmin priest has started. Though the influence of the *achai* is increased now, still necessity of Brahmin priest can not be ignored.

Though marriage is confined within their community, now-a-days marriage with the Tripuris, the Morsums, the Noatias, the Jamatias and the Riangs could be found. On the other hand matrimonial relations with the Bengalees has grown up. As result a mixed culture could be found in Koloi society.

Naksar : On the eastern side of the house where the marriage will be held (bridegroom or bride), a new house is constructed. This newly constructed house is called *'Naksar'* (Nak=house, Sar=new). This house is built for the Marriage purpose only and it is kept neat and clean.

On the marriage date only the Koloi Rai, other office bearers

of Koloï society, village choudhury and married persons sit in this 'naksar'. No women folk is permitted to enter in this house. By chance Rai fails to attend the ceremony, one representative from among the seven post holders will represent the Rai. Liquor vessels are kept in the 'naksar'. The 'Kaithers' will serve liquor to the honourable members as a custom. One of seven 'kaithers' must attend the ceremony. Nobody is allowed to leave the 'naksar' before the ceremony is over. Of course, one may be allowed to leave on special permission. Just after completion of the ceremony, the honourable members come out from 'naksar' and attend a feast in another room.

Chapter—5

FOLK LITERATURE

The love songs, lullabies, folk songs, tales, riddles, proverbs etc. of the Kolois are the valuable treasure of their folk literature. The Kolois also use these elements of literature in their conversations, comics etc. like others. But the younger groups are not preserving this valuable wealth. And so, it is going to be decaying. Only the elders in the villages are preserving these. If these are not collected and preserved presently, these will be extinct. The research mongers may come forward.

This also may be mentioned here that the elements of the Kolois folk literature are akin to those of the Tripuris by variation of annotation. Similarity may also be found with the Riangs.

Some specimen of Kolois folk tales, proverbs and riddles are described below :

MUKHRACHHANI KERENG KAKTOWMA :

(Story of monkey)

One day seven sisters went to collect brinjal from their old jhum field. On their returning way, they wished to take bath in rivulet. Then they kept their clothes on the bank and came down in the rivulet for bathing. A monkey was in a nearby jungle. Taking the chance, the monkey took away their clothes. After bathing when they got up, they could not find the clothes and looked round for searching it. They found a monkey on a tree top with their clothes. They requested the monkey to give back their clothes, but no result. As they did not get their clothes, they compelled to hide their private places with hands. Then the monkey said them to give him one hali (four) brinjal by each of the sisters by coming one step up the tree. and take their clothes one by one. At first the eldest sister gave him brinjal and got back

her cloth. So on, the six sisters got back their clothes by giving brinjal. When the youngest sister went up some steps for taking her cloth, the monkey told her to get up more and more steps. In this way, the youngest sister went up step by step to the top of the tree and when the monkey got her within his reach, he held her on the top.

She informed her condition to the sisters. Having no other means, her sisters advised to marry the monkey. She accepted the proposal with very sad and being helpless. After some time the youngest sister had been conceived due to living with the monkey. She wanted to take sour and said him to bring 'Latkan fruit' (a fruit which is sour). The monkey went in the jungle to bring that fruit. But he was very contempted to eat it. He ate the fruit very eagerly and forgot to bring it home. At dusk when he was ready to return home, he saw the basket and remembered his wife. So he filled the basket with the peals of the fruit and returned home. Seeing the peals, she scolded the monkey much.

Some days after she gave birth to a son. The son was named 'Tate'. A few days later the wife again sent the monkey to bring fruit from a distant jungle. In the meantime the youngest sister fled away availing this chance, to her father's house. At sun set when the monkey returned home with a basket full of 'Neora fruit', he could not find his wife and beloved son 'tate'. Seeing them nowhere the monkey set out with a musical instrument locally called 'khanjani' by singing the following song :

Dunidang durang dunidang anitatemala

Biyang thang.

Bwchha totemano bhate rui

Nokkhai sukhi thang harte rui

Dachha damaro twite rui.

(Meaning :—O darling and beloved son 'Tate' Where are you? Taking the child on your lap and a beautiful basket where have you gone?)

So singing and searching, the monkey one day reached his father-in-law's house. The people there wanted to kill the monkey.

But they made a beautiful plan for killing the monkey. Keeping the monkey under completely dark about the plan, he was fed nice and tasteful food. At night he was said to sleep in a broken platform. Under the platform, there were dogs and boars and the platform was full of holes. When the monkey went to sleep with his wife and son on the platform, the wife told him to sleep a bit away, so that their child would not be hurt in sleeping. The monkey drunk sufficient liquor before going to sleep. When the monkey wanted to move away, he fell from the platform through the hole and the dogs and pigs under the platform killed the monkey. The wife of the monkey went to sell dried monkey flesh but the child disclosed the fact and none purchased it.

**BURACHHA BAI BURUICHUK TAI MWUKHRARAGNI
KERENG KAKTWMA :**

(Story of the monkey and old man and woman) :—

A couple of old man lived in a 'tong' (piled house) in a hill. One day they were sowing potato seeds in their jhum field. Some monkeys from the nearby jungle came out and addressing them as grandfather and grandmother asked what they were sowing. They told them that potato seeds were sowing. The monkeys advised them to sow the seeds after boiling for better harvest. The old couple admitted the advice and sowed the seeds after boiling and covered with leaf. The monkeys helped them in the work. At the sun set when the old couple went back to their 'tong' for rest, the monkeys removed the boiled seeds and ate all. Then they sowed there wild potato seeds. Some days later when the old couple came to see their jhum field they saw that the potatoes were grown nicely. Then they harvested the field, one day the old woman prepared curry with that wild potato. When the old man took the curry his mouths began to itching. They understood that this is the work of the monkeys.

Since then, the couple planned how to punish the monkeys for their misdeeds. At last, they invented a plan. One day the old lady told her husband to pretend as dead and she would cry. When the monkeys came to enquire the latter, the old lady told them



The Newly married Couple with relatives after the marriage Ceremony.

that the old man is dead and requested them to pay a last visit. When the monkeys entered the room, the old lady closed the doors and windows. The old man suddenly roused up from bed and killed the monkeys. Being very pleased for killing the monkeys, the old woman began to cook food. When she went to take rice from the pitcher she found a monkey was hiding himself there. Having disclosed, the monkey requested very much to the old couple for his life and promised to work with them till death. However, the monkey was spared. Since then the monkey was working with the old couple. One day the old couple told the monkey to look after their child and they would go to a nearby jhum field for weeding. Getting the chance, the monkey killed the child. He prepared a curry of gourd with the flesh of that child and the head of the child was placed in the cradle by covering with cloth so that the child is sleeping in it. When the old couple came back home they saw their child was sleeping in the cradle. The monkey told the old lady that the child has slept just then and it should not be disturbed. He requested them to take their food. Also he informed that he got a tortoise from the nearby jungle a curry of flesh and and gourd had been prepared. He told them that he was going to bring water from the river. Going some distance, the monkey cried loudly addressing them "O old man and woman how taste is your child's flesh."

Saying so the monkey climbed up to a nearby tree. He again shouted, 'O old man and woman; how tasteful is your child's flesh.' Hearing these words, the couple hurried to see their child on the cradle. But alas! there was only the head covered with cloth. Being enraged, the old man came out with an axe and a dao and began to cut the tree where the monkey was sitting. In the mean time the monkey jumped to another tree. And so on the old man cut many trees. But stopped at last as he was tired. The monkey crossed the river. He advised the couple to cross the river by fastening a pitcher and 'gail', 'sekati' husking post on the waist. If they did so, they could catch him. The couple believed the words of the shrewd monkey. When they wanted to cross the river, the pitcher filled with water, the 'sekait' and 'gail' drew them down into the deep water.

At last, the old couple died of sinking and the monkey was saved by dint of his ready wit.

MEISLESANI KERENG KOKTWOMA :

(Story of python) :—There live an 'Achai' named Sardeng Singh. All called him 'Sardeng Achai'. He had two daughters. They worked with father in their jhum field. They would live in a 'tong' (piled house) nearby the jhum field. But their 'tong' house was not so good as others for want of proper maintenance. As their father was unable to repair it, water licked down from the roof during rainy season. So the sisters were in misery. One day when water licked down much during rainy day, the elder sister told that she would marry him who would repair their 'tong' house.

On the next day they found that somebody had repaired and constructed their 'tong' house nicely. They also found all necessary materials in their 'tong'. Beautiful baskets (for carrying crop from jhum) are also within it. All these materials had been prepared by a Python'. The elder sister had to marry the Python snake as per her vow. She told her younger sister to invite the snake in a feast. At first she declined the proposal for fear. But later on, she agreed to her request. When the cooking was over, the younger sister called her 'kumui' (brother-in-law), "kumui, kumui, kumui, mai chana faidi ba". The python came and ate rice.

So on the python would come everyday to take food.

One day the Achai came to see his daughters in the jhum field. The elder sister was absent. At that time, she was working in another jhum field in exchange. The father heard all from the younger daughter. He became very angry. Instantly he went in the jhum field with a 'takal' (dao) in hand and told his daughter to call the snake. The younger sister compelled to call her 'kumui', kumui kumui mai chana faidi ba". Hearing this call, the python as usual came and raised its head to take food. The father cut the head. The head was thrown in a 'lunga' (low land between two hills). He took the body in his house. The younger sister cooked

the flesh of the snake very nicely and they themselves took it and kept some for her sister.

On the other hand the elder sister came home and her mind was full of grief for unknown reason. Her ornaments like ear-ring, nose-ring etc. fell suddenly. The sisters did not inform her the fact. After a while, both sisters returned to the jhum field and asked her to call her brother-in-law. But the snake did not come. She was frightened and began to call herself."

"bhang ai bhang ai bhang aimai chana faidi ba

"bhang ai bhang ai bhangaimai chana faidi ba

"bhang ai bhang ai bhangaimai chana faidi ba.

In this way she began to call in a melancholic voice to her husband. Her melancoly voice echoed the hills but she did not get any trace of her husband.

Not seing her husband, she became very sad and began to search him hither and thither alongwith her sister like a mad. In this way of searching him they came near a stream. They found adundant 'khumpuri' (a kind of flower) blooming there. In that stream her father threw the head of the python The younger sister wore a 'khumpui' flower on the ear and instantly it faded away. The elder confused it. She again; plucked one flower and wore on her ear. But the flower found to be as fresh as before. Seeing this her confusion increased and thought that her husband must be remaining in that river. She began to sing for her husband; and stepped down into water :

"Dangwi dangwi nasing gurude

Dangwi tai ang taru raga

Khumpui bararuga nasing gurade dangwi."

So singing the elder sister went down into water more and more deep from knee to breast and gradually plunged into water. The younger sister began to cry and said how she would live alone except her sister. The elder sister said to her that after going ahead she would find a banyan tree containing six branches near a crossing road. After climbing upon it if she cried "there is none

as beautiful like her and she is fit for queen. She can do any work." Then she would be married with a king. Saying so she dipped into water. Beneath the water she found a beautiful palace and also found her husband there.

The younger sister as directed found a banian tree after going ahead near a crossing road point. She climbed upon it and cried as directed. At that time the 'bindias' (royal hill force) were passing by there. They found a beautiful girl on the tree. The king was also luckily there for hunting. The 'bindias' informed the matter to the king. The king brought the girl from the tree and married her.

After a few months she got pregnant. The king was very pleased to learn it. One day the king asked what she liked to eat. She wanted to eat meat. So the king went for hunting. After leaving the king, labour pain started. She asked the servants to inform the king. But nobody listened to her orders. The other queens made a conspiracy against her. They fastened her eyes with a seven folded cloth. The other queens did not give her place for delivery showing different excuses. At last she made delivery beside a stream. She gave birth to six sons and one daughter. The other queens threw the babies into the stream and informed the youngest queen that she gave birth to woods and stones. As her eyes were closed, the queen did not know anything. On the other hand after returning from hunting the king heard all the bad news. He thought that the youngest queen must be a witch. Only a witch gives birth to woods and stones. The king then ordered to cut the nose and ear of the queen and to keep her in the jungle for rearing goats. Thereafter the youngest queen passed her days in a great misery.

When the children were thrown into the stream the elder sister found them and brought up them with her. In this way the seven brothers and sister began to grow up. The village wives who came to draw water from that stream found that somebody broke their earthen pitchers under water. Being annoyed, they informed the king of the matter. To test the fact one day the king came

there for boat racing. The elder sister called the sons and daughter to see the boat racing.

“Raja bawnga bawngmi nakha uthi nai
Fai cherairag”.

The seven brothers and sister came to see the boat race. When the king went to touch the beautiful children, they told him that he was a monster and prevented to touch them. The king informed them that he was the king of the country. He also enquired who they were. They said that they were princes. The king then brought them in his palace and said them to address his queens as mother. They told that their mother was grazing goat by the river side. At first the king did not believe it. He told them that if their mother gave breast milk from the other bank and it falls on them here, that lady would be their mother. However, they passed this test. Then the king asked the real fact. They informed all facts how their mother was deceived and how they were brought up under the stream. The king repented much. The torned ear and nose were also there and connected on the body. The youngest queen became as before. The other queens were punished for their conspiracy. The seven brothers became kings of Tripura. Up till now the kings of Tripura regard the Gumati river as a sacred river as the elder sister of their queens is still remaining there. The ordinary tribals also regard Dombur the source of the river as a shrine (holy place).

CHETHWANG FANGNI KOKTWMA:

(Story of Chhatian tree)

In old days a widow lived in a Koloï village with a son and a daughter. The son was elder and the daughter was younger. There was a stream nearby their house and often they would go to their jhum field by crossing it. One day after going to jhum, a heavy rainfall occurred and the stream became full to the bream. With a head load they did not venture to cross the stream. The younger sister told her elder brother to cross it first. But he dared not. Then she told him that he was a male and so he should cross it first. She would follow. Even then he did not dare to cross and told his sister to cross it first.

In the meantime, the stream water grew more and more. At last the sister dared to cross it first. Seeing the beauty of his sister into the water, he loved her. He did not cross the stream and sat down there. She called her brother to follow but he did not return home. His mother came and told him to come home. But he did not. His mother thought that her son loved a girl and so he kept silent. Giving him words for his marriage his mother brought him home.

Returning home his mother asked him whom the girl he loved. But he made no answer. The mother recited the names of the girls residing in the area and asked whom he wanted. But he choiced none. At last when the name of his sister was told he tossed head and told 'yes'. His mother being shocked agreed to this marriage. But the younger sister knew nothing about it. Only the mother and grand-mother knew the matte. Mother of 'Abichhakanya' (the younger sister) and grand-mother sun the paddy for the marriage. But the cock ate all. Being raged, grand-mother told, "Marriage will be held between grandson and grand-daughter, but the cock ate all". Abichhakanya heard it and asked what she said. But she told her some other matter.

The younger sister heard from her friends that marriage would be held between her and her brother. To learn it she became very sad. The marriage date had been settled and it was drawing near. On the marriage date, Abichhakanya went to water the spinning-wheel with her friends to the nearby stream. Her friend was watering the wheel in another 'ghat'. After doing it, her friend called 'Abichhakanya' to return home. But she made no reply. She did not return home. There was a small 'Chhatian tree' nearby the stream. Ascending on the tree, she prayed to God, "O God! kindly save me from the hands of marriage with my brother. Such kind of marriage is not prevalent in any society. Let this 'chhatian tree' grew more and more and touch the heaven. I like to live in the heaven.

The chhatian tree became higher and higher. When the marriage time was going to over, her mother searched her and heard from her friends that she was staying on a 'chhatian tree'.



A Koloï belle.

The mother told her to come down from the tree and also told that the marriage would not be held. But she did not agree. She began to sing :—

Ano dada bai kaimani hinmani
 Lao chatayangfang lao lao.
 Ano dada bai kaimani hinmani
 Tar chathayang tar tar,
 Ano dada bai kaimani hinkhlai
 Jafanggumala ratharui rafadi.

Abichhakanya told that if they liked to get her married with her brother they should sacrifice one pig under the tree, one vessel of liquor should be placed under it, and a lump of new cloth should be offered. A big black dog was sacrificed in place of a pig, rotten dirty food of a vessel was placed in place of liquor. ragged and dirty cloth was offered in place of new cloth. Then the 'chhatian' tree grew more and more high.

Abichhakanya prayed to the god 'Jama' to give a gold ladder to climb up the heaven. She sang :

"Jama rajama Jama kaithoma
 Ano jakhilik rahdardi.
 Jama rajama Jama kaithoma
 Ano jakhilik rahardi."

Then Jama, sent gold ladder. She climbed up the heaven on the ladder. She threw the ladder from heaven on the top of the tree. The top of the tree had broken. Till now a broken top of chhatian tree may be found. As the symbol of her climbing up the heaven, still there is lightning. The lightning is the moving cloth of Abichhakanya. It is said by the old Kolois to their grandsons and daughter.

THE TRADITIONAL HEARSAY ABOUT THE EARTH-QUAKE :

The earthquake is locally called 'Banglai Raja'. Regarding earthquake the traditional belief of the Kolois is thus. A worm

called 'Khibuma' (a kind of worm that lives by eating stool) always informed to 'Bangali' Raja that mankind on the earth is no more. So it does not get any stool. Hearing 'Khibuma', Bangali Raja moved the earth to test if there is any human beings on the earth. When the earth is shaken, human beings made 'ulk' sound and hearing the sound Bangali king understood that there is still human beings on the earth.

THE TRADITIONAL FOLK TALE REGARDING THE HEIGHT OF THE SKY :

In the old days the sky was not so high. The man could touch it by raising hands. One monstress was husking paddy. But her husking pole touched it every time when she went to husk. She felt very difficulties. Being angry she pushed the sky up her pole and then the sky went up.

KAOLIKA BA KAOTANG (PROVERBS) :

1. Kaichhani paja kubangni latha :
Many a little makes a mickle.
2. Maiyung jakbrui jakchha kasle :
Elephants fell in a trap.
3. Watwi na ashai rignaio staiwung :
To spoil cloth for the hope of rain.
4. Huachenga mairang saru :
To cast pearls before swine.
5. Chhayukna frungmi, hamjuk runggu :
To teach the guilty a lesson by railing at the innocent.
6. Twi tukupai tiyari mairang :
To see a nice pond after a bath.
7. Thanchi kutung bakacha balcha :
Bad tempers do not live together.
8. Twi mabu nai-twi rignai-bu sutwi :
To kill two birds with one stone.

9. Tuk taguida subao tak-iyai tang :
A lid follows a vessel.
10. Bwini Bagui warai chaokhlai swaksiklai thuio :
To hoist with one's own petard.
11. Jaili kwang mai machaya :
Many relatives have little meal.
12. Mufu naya khlwi kerang fanu nadi, kerang naya khlwi
keranga fanu nadi :
To impose something by force.
13. Jak ani thatiya katar :
Losses are valuable.
14. Basu bai basu na khaio :
One nail drives out another.
15. Ramni slai Ramayana okra :
The Ramayana was composed before Rama.
16. Wak char hai khajana riya :
To get facilities from two parties.
17. Chanai taosi, bujak nai rijung :
One doth the scath and another hath the scorn.
18. Taoma twi than taola achai :
To master over another's work.
19. Dambra hak tang, chekhra mung thang :
One works; other honoured.
20. Khi nai lachiya nug nai lachio :
A spectator of bad deeds feels shame, but not the doer of
it.
21. Hacheng thanga teiwi lo :
To cast pearls before swine.
22. Khi mani khikrok suya, khupuimani sunai :
To work during rest and rest during work.

23. Thintroi lai mankanu twiya :
A ripe sour fruit is not sweet.
24. Chibuba thuina tui, latha baiya na twi :
To meet both ends.
25. Muchha bura kung bahai gnanng :
An old horse can not be taught.
26. Walnak gandharni muchhu sam chaya :
A begger gets nothing from own village or A
porphet is not honoured in his own country.
27. Chheler mai knrui thenta ha kurui :
No food for idles no place for xanthippe.
28. Bukha lanma hai, jak lan iya :
Speks much, does nothing.
29. Charle han kyaya :
A bone will never be a flesh.
30. Chana khelai sui, khubui na khelai soie :
Can not be eaten but be left.
31. Pal khelai sal :
Unity is strength.
32. Nakha nai nai khuktui musu khelai sag khelaiyu :
Whoever spits against the wind spits against his own face.
33. Nokha somasing watui faiya :
Much cry and little wool.
34. Lajman kurui bohok apango :
The Shameless fill this tomach.
35. Tui chhani slai arang klao :
The chip is tougher than the old block.
36. Chasi si rung thangu sungui sikao manu :
Word begets words.
37. Halang kucharo ni taatwi :
Horns of a dilemma.

38. Badyabai tatongdi, skal bai tongdi :
Which company is better than bad company.
39. Bol sitra thapna kwang, borok sitra kao kubang.
Bad person speaks much.
40. Buchha jakongo khio khunui bahan rakhak gui khiboi
maniya :
Bad son can not be left away.
41. Jaiti borogong mai machaya :
Many relatives, little share.
42. Sui karui bu mui kariya, mui karui bu sui kariya :
Hunter left, hunted does not, hunted left, hunter does not.
43. Akrakao thaichha bara, cherai mai faichha bara :
Words of the old is valuable, food of the youngs is valuable.
44. Gola tei pungiya tei pupakagu :
Empty vessel sounds much.
45. Borok kuthui tisao, kao khantai machao :
musu kuthui, tisao mai kaham machao :
Man forgets benefactor, animal does not.
46. Buini bagui oarai chao klai swaksi khelai thuio :
The bitter is some time bit.
47. Tiyari tui khreng chao, teikhreng tiyari chao :
Weal and woe come by turns as the wheel of fortune
moves.

KAOKUMAO MANI (RIDDLES) :-

1. Sagar kucharo pokhla kchao — tall.
Broken vessel in the sea — moon.
2. Tei rukung ma oya bubhu — simaluk.
Nest of worm near the water — cremation ground.
3. Tei bichhing bichhing abichha muthu
sarchengchangmani.
To bed a child under water — netting.

4. Bruima machha bokhorog thai tam—thapa.
A person having three heads—woven.
5. Paloi chati kaichha : Raja.
One lamp for all — king.
6. Kodom klik klik kodom klak klak kodom palki raja —
nokhaklik.
Once seen, once disappear — lightning.
7. Thong kokriya hakor kok — jadistan.
The post does not move, but the hole moves — ring.
8. Bruima machha tal khlaikha khilai; mai meimi.
9. Buma kapru ruk buchha tororuk — khulteilumi.
The more cry, the more child — spinning thread.
10. Kherang kuchu oakhi fran — thingoi.
Every house has a nest — bag.
11. Chlachha mahha kungchcha bacha bokcha khlaicha —
taokhei onangmani.
Bundle hangs with standing — trap for bird.
12. Rajani pukhiri konkhilai maniya — mokol.
No itching in the pond of king — eye.
13. Kajani pakuri soroi sorpaiya — lamp.
The turban of king is unlimited — road.
14. Rajani dulai franui ranaiya — buslai.
The quilt of king is not dried in the sun — tongue.
15. Jakung kurui, jak kurui, dunia berai chao — chithi.
No hand, no leg but moves the world —letter.
16. Nokha lai gurksho oatei faya — daba.
Roaring of cloud but no raining — tobacco pipe.
17. Nai nugchhaya tangui jaskgui — kopai.
Not seen, not touched — forehead.
18. Nai nugchhai tangui jasad iya — nokha.
Be seen but can not touch — sky.

19. Samlai-tangu bontonthoi chha bai
 Todu mayung lai-ongya.
 Kuthanglai-tongu-ani samubai.
 Kikungni ltha-kakiya—
 Dingi or Kheki.
 I work with tune but not elephant.
 I do good for all but kicked me — husking pedal.
20. Noga bichhington nok buchha — gundar.
 House within a house — mosquito net.
21. Bukho riglai — chaya, biyakhai chao — kapai.
 If given in the mouth does not eat, if removed eats — Hupa
 (a mouth cover of cattle).
22. Thang gigr-fai latung tong—khina thangmi.
 Go haste, return slow — to go to latrine.
23. Muipeng oachhongtong khoa kong khapchha — oaru
 khupuimani.
 To strike nose when the cilinder is turned — to leave air.
24. Punma duthuri khikrok lamchhini — sumul.
 A goat having seven holes — flute.

It is tradition of the Koloi society to sing during any marriage ceremony. The elements of the theme of the songs contain their day to day ways of life. The following song is sung at the time of giving farewell to the 'aiya' after marriage. It is collected from an old lady from Jantranapara of Amarpur Sub-Division.

No. 1—Song.

O—Aiya bidaini maichabu jaguikha
 O—Nakhasi gurumoing o gurum oi—
 Oade oaiya pasal thangano nokha o.
 O nokha somasing oatei poyakhlai,
 Prithibi tol chaoyano.
 O—Aiya bidaini maichabu jakha—

O—Tokhmasi—dokar—sojakliyana—
 O—Tokhmasirom jakliyana
 O—Dhorlai tokma romja—o—kha
 O—Nokha gurumlai—maikai laya,
 O—Maifang teioi tilok—ongkha—
 O—Dhonlai lai maiya
 O—Cherai fangchhini nokh nalaikhe,
 Bochhache tei tilok—pai khamung,
 O—Dhanle—o—maiole
 Tongmosi tongsojai tongu.

(Meaning :—Here the singer says that she has come taking last meal after the ceremony. As she is late to take meal, the cloud is roaring over the sky and it may rain. If it rain as much as the cloudy sky, the earth will be overflowed. As the meal is late, the door of the pound of coak can not be closed in the house. His child is not catcing them. As the clouds are roaring, paddy can not be plated. His beloved sons are not still drawing water in 'tilok' (a gourd pot). Here the singer (female) said that if she would marry in time her children will be grown up and can do domestic works. They are still childish).

No. 2—Song.

AIYA BIDAINI RUBHAPMUNG :

(Song of 'Aiya' farewell after marriage)

O—Nokhale gurum oanade oagurumoide
 O—Pasal thangno.
 O—Janbai piriti bo bai no
 Kena kagui mun golaknao bai
 Chikon sarenda jagbai bhuli tui
 Dhon bai chung bhuli na doi.
 Kiting kotangni baileng kshong
 Bai ba tomamai mungno kshui nai.

Kolauke kshui nai kiting de kshui nai
 Bhohtui mai mung no kshui nai.
 Chungle chhilaiya hori bibi naoni dharma ichha
 Kiting bohate mai tuk paiya
 Tukhuchha paiyoi ri di.
 Kiting bochhate tui khogui paiya
 Langichha paioi ri di.
 Nokha kosmoni oatui
 Taoma Kosmoni tao tui
 Kha bichhing bichhing kha oan sok khilai
 Chini mokol muktui.

(Meaning :—The pain of heart due to farewell of the 'aiyas' after marriage is revealed through this song. The leaving person sings that the sky is cloudy. It is roaring. But can not be told if it will rain or not Like that our heart is full of sad and palpitating by thinking if you will be left or not.

An expert 'Sarinda' player can produce a sweet tune from it and the sound reflects in the human heart for a long time, like that your memory will last sweet to our heart for a long time.

Addressing the newly married woman they sing, it is not known what is waiting for your fate. Only the almighty god can tell.

Addressing the groom it sings, if the tender aged bride fails to lift the rice vessel, kindly buy a small vessel for her.

Then the singer again says, as the sky is black due to covering by the black clouds, our mind is also covered with dark gloomy thought for leaving you all).

The love song of the Koloï youths are called "Chhiklaragni ruchapmung". The young girls still sing the love songs. Some specimen are given below :

No. 3—Song.

O—ma—O—ma mai tuk kutu—o
 O—kathi mothango

O—khapangno subachhe muthak,
 Nakha gurum o'oatei muthango.
 O—rajani dalan—delan bai paki.
 Dalan paki ba khelai nangbai nangbai.
 O—bo—khande nangbai.
 O—ma—O—ma—
 Mai tuk kutuo, o kathi mothago
 O—hapangno—subachhe muthak.

(Here the singtress addressing her mother sings that when the rice vessel is placed on fire, it boils and then only spoon can stop the boilling. But what can stop the mind. When the sky roars only the raining can stop. But who can stop the mind. The palace of the emperor can not stop the mind. O mother, only you can stop the mind. (stop = console)

The old traditional love songs are given below :

No. 4—Song.

O—Abbang—abbang—abbang,
 Abang—no moito manu
 Kumar ha takmani ha bara,
 Abangle hamani bara ba oi,
 Motaile takmani ha bara,
 Abang ha mani bara nado,
 Ghato toi khogmani toi tilok
 Toimot aba motom mani bara
 Toisani toi srai—srai.
 Abang nokhlai kha srai—srai.

(Here the lover addressing his darling sings himself (Monologue). his lover is remembered. A potter arts nicely with clay. Like that his lover looks beautiful. The idol of a god is built with clay. And the idol built with the remaining clay is also very beautiful. His lover looks so beautiful. The stream water is very clear and like that my mind becomes pure after seeing her.)

No. 5—Song.

Saving various love songs, there are melancholy songs. These songs are very painful. When a husband dies, his wife repents and reveals her grief in the song. These are "Buchhai thumani dukha khilai ruchhaphung."

Hai—Oma—ma—may sango,
 Mayungni ogo jonom nokhlai.
 Oma—mayungni ogo jonom na jagoi,
 Oma—obotar ferog manliya.
 O—mai songo—o—mai songo—
 Tokmani ogo—jonom Nakhlai onchar fero—o—
 Kha—mun.
 O—mai songo, o—kumarle tuk tago.
 O—na—mai songo teraote likhi.
 O—ma khapang boroi tongnai. o—mai songo—
 Ha—o tongkhilai orichaoano,
 O—na—mai songo—.
 Kuchu o tonkhilai taoleng no—borsi ton—sinai.
 O—na—mai songo, o—na-mai songo.
 Chmui uritei muikha—,
 Khapaang kobon urima—subasi—.
 O—nai songo—o,—mai songo—.
 Khapango holong rokhlai langkho o—.
 Holongsi ora. langchhido—.
 O—mai songo—o—mai songo—.
 O—na—mai songo—.
 Khapango—o—holong oraoiya—.
 Oma pasanchhi—khalangkha mong—.
 O—na—mai songo—.
 Khumule solongne dukhotontan jeoi.
 Masing siyari thakma khasia
 Khapango bhabe me thakiya.

(Meaning : —The aggrieved wife for husband's death addressing her friends she sings that, as her husband was born in the womb of an elephant) she did not get back her husband. (Here she compared her husband as big as an elephant) If he took birth from the womb of a cock, she must get back him. But now she will not get her husband. Her mind is very annoyed like a mad man. If the mind is placed upon the earth it would be eaten by earth-worm. If placed on a high place, it would be taken away by a kite. So where she would keep her restless mind, she is not getting, the place. She also says if it is covered by plantain leaf, the leaf will be torned. Where she will keep this restless mind. The white patches of clouds fly over the sky, her mind is also floating aimlessly. But who knows her grief. If stone is placed upon the breast, the mind will not be kept quiet. O my friends, my heart has become a stone though not placed upon it. If the poison leaf in the jungle is cut, it dies. Like that my husband is dead. It is not known when winter goes. Like that my husband has gone away. The sorrow of mind is endless.

No. 6—Song.

(Another song of sorrow)

O—ama—,o—ama—, —ama,
 Basmati na bahaichhe banaokha—
 Badin o banaokha—narayan.
 O—harbai—tei—bahaichhe banaokha, amaoi.
 Bodin o banao langkha narayan amaoi,
 O—amai oi mata pita tui jagat o kurui amaoi oi.
 O—amai oi rang kutui kiting kurui—amai oi.
 O—amai oi sajukle bangmasing sa laxmi kurui—
 O—amai oi khumsuk bangmasung chandanfang kurui
 amai oi.
 O—amai oi—bao oile rikhad maiyani sarok.
 O—Ama-chungtei dukhita bogon o—amai oi.
 Chungtei dukhita ago—tongmajh—o—amai oi.

Maitukle tukhubai—bao oi—cha khana—
 Chung kichha—jobor dukha onkhona—amai oi.

(Meaning :—Here the singer is saying in sorrow that there is none in this world like her parents. Little 'chandan' tree may be found among many trees in the forest, a good son is little among many people in the world. There is none as poor as she. This misery follows from her mother's womb. Rice is eaten by boiling in a vessel, like that she is boiled by the miseries.)

No. 7—Song.

Jhum cultivation is closely related with their way of living. There are many jhum centric songs. The songs sung during jhum cultivation are called "khul kholmani chipeng tonmani ruchapmung" (song for cotton and sesamum).

O—o—maio—
 O—haduk o kaio dago masinga
 O—ongkhar o mongo koirum koirum.
 O—jadusongo—
 O mayo—o—tinisi
 Dangdal o ri kufumuno
 O—pranle jadasongo hugfai khana nado.
 O—maisongo maisongo songo.
 O—na-maisongo.

The jhum songs are also called. "Huk haona thangmj ruchaplai mani". The specimen of these are :

O—agon huk haoide o chaitra huk chhaoide
 O—Bosor mai khopcha chano
 O—agonchhe haojoi chaitra huk chhaoa oarong
 Taokula baiya
 O—goljung muruichhe o—da hului mano
 Kunui kha bagckha khali
 O—loifangtan oi bo hor moioi mani

Kunui khapang kha bagchha khilai.
 Chung kunui kunui lama him khilai
 Chonde bui kunui hin o.
 Tuichha tui kolao kolao oanai
 Jong kolao taklai bosor kolao
 O—kunuima kaichha—rislai nani
 O—tobisa saj boya dui
 O kunuilai fa kaichha
 Rislai nani borat saj boadui
 O—kunui la jam kaichha
 Thuslai nani chhuinai kaithor de chhuiya.

(Meaning :— Here the young boy addressing young girl says, after Agrahayan when jhum harvesting will be over and after Chaitra when jhum burning will be over, they will get food for the year. But some incomplete works remain after Agrahayan when harvesting will be over and Chaitra when burning will also be over. If the two minds are united, any impossible works may be possible. As a 'garjan' tree is cut with a 'dao' and on that tree it is sharpened and a plantain tree may also be burnt, like that if they two work believing each other, they can do impossible works.

The year is not ending early. To reveal it the boy cites a comparison. Starting from the hill a stream flows down to the low lands being longer and longer. The knot of 'wanol' (a kind of long knot bamboo) is long. Like that the year seems to him very long. Then the boy says himself, will the god not allow them to work together and to live together? Would not they pray to the god in their earlier life for getting each other? He knows nothing of it.

Song of GARIYA PUJA :

Like other tribal communities of Tripura, the Kolois also perform Gariya Puja. During the Puja, the whole community make merriment by singing and dancing. The Gariya songs of the Kolois are found to be similar with those of the Tripuris, Noatias, the

Riangs. The image of Gariya is carried from door to door and the youths inform the family like this :

Ailamre—ailamre—

Gariya Raja deshe beray, ghor grihasthi hojag koro.

Gariya Raja desh berai, deshe deshe boito chai.

Tila tongkor bhangiya, chhapchhora sukaiya—

Gariya Raja dhol bajailo ujir nam.

Khorgo aichhe—banaiya.

Gariya Raja boite chai agun pani toiyer koro

Ailmre—ailamre

Gariya Raja boite chai

Ore khereng bai

Morog paile Gariyay de

Dim paile Gariyay de

Sona Rupa borboraiya

Dhanos ta borboraiya

Taka poisa badiya.

Then encircling they dance making different gesture.

Bhalore Bhalore bhalo

Thyang tuliya nacho.

With the rhythm of drum they sing.

Ma chaiya bo faiya

Ma nungya bo faiya

O baile naikhilai tongnay.

Bo no nai nachhe fai o

Bhalore bhalo bhalo.

Some joke songs centering Gariya songs :

Oi Gariya oi

O Garia oi

Chini parani—siklarog

Sitottoi lope pei
 Atuka bokhoro lope
 Atuka bokhoro lope
 Atuka bokhoro lope
 Chini parani siklkarogte
 Sitattor lope pei.

During Gariya dances and songs various rhythm are sounds of the Drum are found. In dancing the rhythm and sounds of drum are as follows:

1) Lash :

Gan ki ghaghan ghichon gan
 Chon gan gan ghichon ghichon
 Ghichon chugan ghichon gan
 Chon gan gan ghichon ghichon.

2) Tokma—mui krakmani—

Gani gani ghan chon chon
 Chugan gagan chon chon.

GARIYA RAUNI RUCHAPMUNG :

(Various songs of Gariya Puja)

O—maya chaitra thangka ba
 Baishak faifi kha bochherson firao fikha.
 O—khonoon thangka ba, tiliya faikha
 Bochhor son firao fikha.
 O—mai Jiknichhi da sora
 Toaching korong bai tangui chanani nang Nai.
 O—mai. o—tinile salchha chhi.
 O—rongo tamcha khonale mai chu chuchha.

(The song is sung from the starting date i.e. on the 1st day of Baishakh.)

(Meaning :— Addressing the Gariya god it is said here, at the end of the year as the 'khonjon' bird goes away and 'tiliya' birds comes. Baisakh will come after Chaitra. Likewise another year come after a year. To day is a very happy day. The joy is for today only. Tomorrow. we are to go the jhum field with a bundle of rice. Today will be lost on tomorrow. This means sorrow and happy revolves like a wheel.)

Song Gariya immersion :

O—sal bothang ru rug
 Mokol kai rurug
 Tini tongu lak na. dhu.
 O—golojung tan faioi
 Jakhurai badi mama jak tolui tuidi
 Jan koili song.

(Singing this song Gariya is immersed).

(Meaning : Addressing Gariya god it is said here, the day is passing slowly. Night comes after day. Gariya is also sleeping slowly. Gariya is preparing for taking leave. By cutting 'galjung fang' (a kind of tree) tree and building a bridge, Gariya will be taken. O my companions today Gariya god will be immersed.)

(Song after immersion)

O—jalai sao chadi
 Kherai bacha thun
 O—Kangal mui kutheing man thun
 O—jalai sao chadi
 O—therai bacha thun
 O—kangal mui kuthong man thun.

(The song is sung on returning way after immersion of Gariya)

'Therai' (a kind of tree) tree is burnt but grows every year on a 'jalai' (low land,) likewise we may get Gariya god every ear newly after immersion.

CHURAI MUTHUMANI RUCHAPMUNG :

(Lullaby)

O—he babule thuoichha

Mai ma chao thuai mai ma chaiya babu.

He babulei oayeng dhuk narnai duk kurui

Dhuk narnai begari kurui babule

Thu jadi do.

Babule dhuk narnai, dhuk begari kurui

Babule thuyadi do.

(Meaning : Addressing the child/baby it is said 'O' my beloved son if you sleep, you will get nice food. if not you will not get. there is none to draw your string of cradle. So you sleep very soon.)

Chapter—6

MODERN VIEW OF PRESENT KOLOI CULTURE :

The old customs, beliefs, traditional life etc. have been consulted in the foregoing chapters. These are changing every time by the influence and close contact with the neighbouring large number of people. Culture is dynamic. And so the cultural life of the Kolois is also changing by degrees. Of course, they have preserved the original elements of their traditional culture even now through these changes. Although these original elements also are deviated by dint of modernity. The changes of their culture, economy, religion and social life have occurred in two stages. The first stage has occurred due to the influence of environment, residing for a long time with neighbouring Tripuris, Morsums, Kukis, Riangs Jamatias etc communities. We may call it inter-tribal acculturation.

The second stream of acculturation has taken place due to the influence of plain living non-tribal people. This may be called tribal-non-tribal acculturation.

Moreover, modern education, urban life, cinema, other advanced culture and governmental development efforts have assisted to make an over an overall change in their life pattern. The main factor which helped such change are described below:

ECONOMIC :

Agriculture :—The economic life of the Kolois is mainly based on agriculture. They cultivate land by slash and burn method and by ploughing. The two methods are prevalent among them. For wet cultivation, though they follow traditional method, they are now acquainted with using fertilizer, insecticide, high yeiels variety crop etc. At present some of them have owned pump set for irrigation. They are getting themselves used with modern scientific method of agriculture gradually.

Pisciculture :—Pisciculture has become an important factor for the development of their economic life at present. Now they are re-excavating old tanks and artificial lakes are created by constructing dams. Fish seeds are cultivated there. For this work they constantly communicate with Fishery Department. A training course for pisciculture was held at Ampí in the year 1978 under the aegis of Fishery Department. 70% of the trainees belonged to Koloí community. 10% of the fish in Ampí and Taidu market are supplied from the surrounding Koloí villages.

Weaving :—In early days, the Kolois would produce their essential cloths by weaving in their traditional looms after spinning jhum cotton. For spinning yarn, they removed the seeds from the jhum cotton by means of their traditional methods. But at present, they purchase coloured yarn from market and weave cloth.

Trade and Commerce :—Now-a-days the Kolois are inclined to business. Some of them are engaged in timber business, dried fish business and petty grocery shop. Last year in 1978, Shri Madan Koloí of Baishyamunipara opened a Cinema Hall and started a rice mill. As a result some youths got employment there. Some are practicing homeopathic treatment. Shri Harendra Koloí and his son Shri Nabadwip Koloí of Jantranapara opened Homoeopathic dispensary at Taidu bazar and Ampí. I've acquired names as a good homoeo doctor.

Moreover, due to extension of Insurance programme in the villages, they do not go now to the village mahajans to get rid of any accident like sudden death of bullocks and cows. They are relieved from borrowing money on high rate of interest. The co-operative societies are purchasing jute on protected prices and so they are benefitted. They are now related with Gramin Bank and co-operative Societies. The low rate of interest and the process of taking loans are well-known to them. It is learnt, 66 shareholders in 1979 of Ampinagar Large Scale Multipurpose Co-operative Society belong to Koloí Community. Therefore, it is obvious that some changes have taken place in their economic life.

As a result Government service, the economy of the service

holders has become rigid. They are very frugal. Having been intelligent and sound economy, the leadership of the society is going to their hands. Some of the educated, service holders are now inclined to increase their individual property. And so a class of society has grown up in the old classless Koloï society from the economic point of viws.

The present economic change has widely influenced their individual and social life. For the encroachment of individualistic thoughts in the socialistic ideal of Koloï society, the unity of most of the joint families have split up into small pieces.

POLITICAL :

With the environmental changes, the political ideals of the Koloï have also changed. They are acquainted with the ideals of national and provincial political parties. They are now directly influenced by the Congress C. P. I. (M), Upajati Juba Samity etc. political parties. They receive the political informations of the country through radio, newspaper, meeting of different political parties.

CHANGES IN VILLAGE LEADERSHIP :

There is confrontation of ideals between a section of modern educated youths and conservative minded old, experienced section of people in regard to their social management. The youths are of the opinion to leave old superstitious traditional ideals and to adopt modern ideals. The elders are of the opinion to constitute a modified ideals not completely shaving their old traditional ideals by making adjustment with old and modern thoughts. But failing to stand against the reasonable ideals of the youths, the elders are going under a curtain leaving the leadership on the hands of the youths. The elders who once led and unified the community have become indifferent about their social matter and now they have confined themselves within religious activities. Though the youths have participated in social organisations with modern outlook, but sometimes they have to face much difficulties for want of past experience. As a result, the social unity is affected.

RELIGION :

The traditional Pujas and festivals of the Koloï have blended nicely with the provincial gods and goddesses of the large section of people (Bengalis), Besides performing their traditional Naksu Puja, Ker Puja, Ganga Puja, Gariya Puja, Lampra Puja, etc. they would perform Laxmi Puja, Saraswati Puja etc. of the plain living people. Both 'Achais' (belong to Koloï community) and Hindu Brahmins perform their pujas. Bengali influence may be found in their 'Sradha' (Funeral ceremony) and marriage ceremony. They settle dates of marriage, pujas etc. by consulting almanac.

Many old people read the Ramayana, the Mahabharata every day. Both 'Baisnabs' and 'Sukta' sects may be found among them. Most of their houses contain altar of god. Many of them wear basil plant garland. There are disciples of Anukul Thakur and Swarupananda Swami. They would go to kashi, Gaya, Brindaban, Calcutta for pilgrimage. Ignoring their economic hardship, they offer 'Pinda' at Gaya for their deceased parents as to set the soul free. They immerse 'asthi' (bone) in the ganges.

The influence of christian missionaries have oriented the manner and dealings of a section of the youths. Some adopted Christianity and taking a major part in preaching this religion. The Bible is translated into Kok-borik. The Kok-borok Bible has influenced much the common people. Besides due to extension of missionary activities and education, they have entered into their minds. As a result, the youths have come into close contact with other tribal Christians. They are now inclined towards western culture in respect of dress, song, music, dealings and manner etc. leaving their traditional ones. Due to the influence of christianity, some youths have underestimated their traditional pujas and festivals. As such christianity fails to influence the community as a whole. A change is taken place in the tribal society all over India due to influence of christianity. Such change is also applicable to the small number of Koloï christians. The opinion of L. P. Bidyarthi and B. K. Ray in this regard is as follows :

“From the point of view of changes occurring in the Social

Organization. Cultural contents and personality for nations among Tribal Christian. in general Christianity has provided the first model of Westernization in the tribals in the shape of 'Church Organization'. Western education and above all Western values and morals" (L. P. Vidyarthi, B. K. Rai : The Tribal Culture of India, page 460).

By the by it may be mentioned that the traditional pujas and festivals of the Kolois are closely related with their nature of social organisation. So, the old leaders think that the traditional pujas and festivals maintain their social unity. If these are broken down and extinct, the rigidity of their social organisation will break into pices. Their culture is also based on them. So, the elders are not so interested with the christianity.

DRESSES :

In early days like the Riang and Morsums, the Kolois would use garland of coins and beads silver bangle, garland of plantain seeds etc. But as result of changing in their society, economic conditions and influence of modernity, they have shaken away to use those old aged ornaments like the Jamatias. At present the Kolois women use earring, necklace, glass bangles from market following the Bengalis. Of course they still use their own made traditional dress like 'poachers', 'riyas', 'chaddar' etc. A change in the colour and specimen may be found now. Some time they also use 'Saris'. In early days, the Kolois women did not part their hair and so they could be identified easily from other tribal women. But present they part the hair on the the middle of forehead.

Now-a-days the dresses, of the malefolk are mostly changed. In old days, they would use short dhutis. But now mill made dhutis from market are used. The youngs use pat and shirt. Some initiated the ultra-modern fashion of dresses, dealings and manners due to coming contact with town life. As a result the family peaces are dangered in such cases. The male would use own make shirt locally called 'Kachlai barak' (a kind of traditional long lasting shirt) for working in the field. But now the use of this shirt is decreased.

MUSIC :

The Kolois have inherent attraction towards music like the Tripuris. Harmonium, Tobla, Dutara, Drum-etc. musical instruments may be found in every house of the artists. They can sing properly imitating Bengali and Hindi songs excepting kok-borok songs. Moreover, a tendency to imitate Hindi and Bengali tune in Kok-borok songs is growing. They are going to forget their traditional folk songs due to the influence of modern Hindi and Bengali songs. If those are not preserved, they will be nowhere in near future.

EDUCATION :

The importance of education is increasing day by day among them. At present at least one primary school may be found in every Kolois concentrated village. Many college students belong to Kolois community. Many students are carrying their studies residing in hostels in the cities. As a result they have accustomed with city life and a great change has come in their society. They are facing much trouble to adjust themselves with village life. Some of them believed that they would properly be advanced if they receive education from Shillong, Churachandpur, Nagaland, Mizoram etc. places. Believing this idea, some of them have gone to study there and some have returned. Those who returned are of the opinion to introduce the manner and ideals of those places into Kolois society. Some deviation in their outlook has also been found.

MIXED CULTURE :—

As a result of matrimonial relations with other tribals and non-tribals, some change in their society may be found. A mixed culture has grown up in them during the last ten years due to such relations.

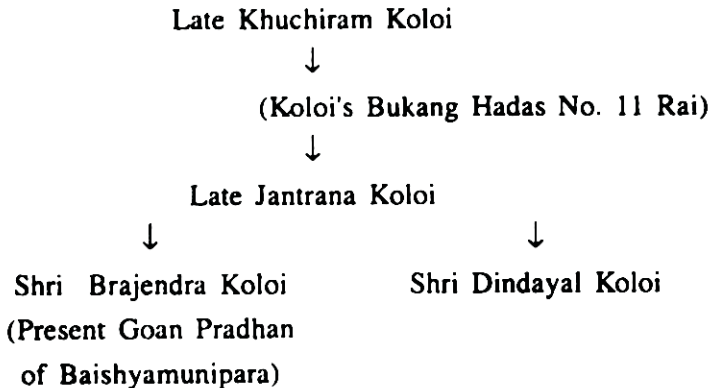
Besides the above facts, their society is mostly influenced by the modern civilization due to contact with town life and semi-urban markets. At present radios, watch, bi-cycle may be found in many Kolois families. Tea drinking arrangements may also be found. Most of them drink tea in the tea-stall at market. Drinking

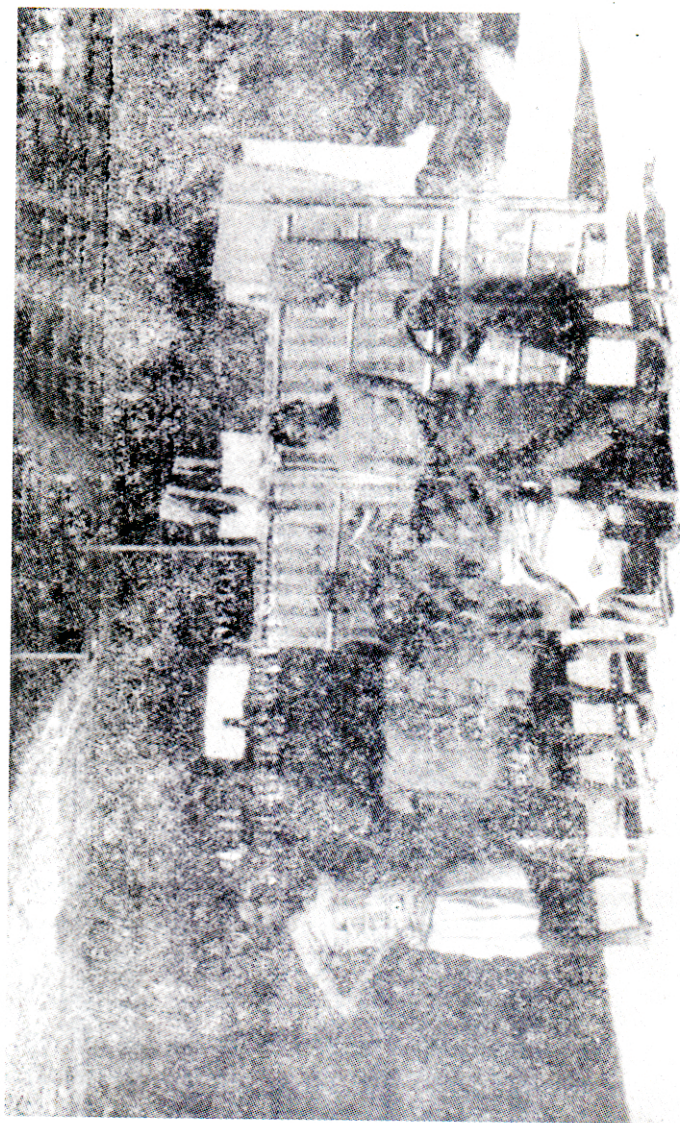
liquor is completely decreased. Moreover day to day use furniture, utensils, method of cooking, house pattern, outlook, food habit etc. are also changing. But within such changes, they have preserved their traditions. Advanced society can not totally digest any under-developed society and advanced community can not also ignore any backward community. The culture which has grown up by blending both is a mixed culture. A mixed culture always contains the elements of the developed and the under-developed culture.

**SHORT DESCRIPTION OF SOME KOLOI CONCEN-
TRATED VILLAGES**

JANTRANAPARA :

This village is situated in the north of Ampinagar of Amarpur Sub-Division. It is situated on the Western bank of Dhanlekha Chherra which flows on the western side of Teliamura to Amarpur Road. To enter into this village, the chherra Dhanlekhs has to be crossed. As there is no bridge on this chherra, the villagers face much trouble to cross it. This village looks like an isle. This village is about 23 K. M. Distant from Teliamura to the south and about 25 Km. distant from Aampur to the north. In one word, it is situated just at the middle from Teliamura to Amarpur. It is known after investigation that this village was called Dhanlekha in old days. At present a Koloï village named Dhanlekha may be seen to the north of it. After the name of a wealthy villager 'Jantrana Koloï' by name, the village is named as Jantranaapra. The son of Jantrana Koloï, named Shri Brajendra Koloï is the Gaon. Pradhan of Baishyamunipara Goan-Sabha. Khuchiram Koloï, the father of Jantrana Koloï was the 'Rai' of Koloï society. The genealogy of Jantrana Koloï is as under.





A view of Koloï hut.

There are about 24 families in the village and the population is 181. Out of it 91 are males and 90 are females. 22 families of them belong to Koloï community. One of the remaining two is Tripuri family and the other is Bengali family. After having matrimonial relations with the Koloï the two families are residing there.

All the villagers are agriculturists. Each family holds 2/3 kanis of land in average. Only one family is landless. Shri Nilmani Koloï of that village. Besides plough cultivation, most of them practice jhum cultivation.

Some of the families earn money by working under Forest Department. Every household possesses loom. They prepare their day to day use cloths in the loom. Their loom woven cloths look very beautiful

The villagers are not much interested with business. Some time back, two Koloïs opened one grocery shop and a tea stall. The condition of the shops are not so bad.

10. Government employees are there. One of them is female. The economic conditions of those families are very good. Most of them are related with cultivation and they are very conscious of their income and expenditure than others.

Moreover, they produce pine-apple, lemon, bael etc. from their orchard and sold them in the nearby Ampî market. They also earn money by selling Potato, brinjal, gourd, pepper, radish etc.

Most of their houses are built with mud wall and sun grass thatting. Some tin roofs may also be found. Modern furniture may be found in all houses.

There is a Junior basic and Social Education Centre in this village. The people are very eager to receive education. The social Centre was established in the year 1962. The enrolment is also satisfactory.

After completion of study in the Social Centre, the young boys and girls get admitted in the Junior Basic School in the same village. The number of Koloï Students is highest in that school and some non-tribal students from neighbouring villages come to

study there. Due to peaceful environment of the school, of the teachers, and co-operation of the guardians, the attendance of the students and standard of teaching are very high. Many students from this school secured good results in the nearby Ampu High School for the last two years. The students are very anxious for gardening, games and sports.

Total strength of student	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Total strength of student	70	76	87	109	147	180
2. Total male student	40	46	49	70	91	100
3. Total female student	30	30	38	39	56	80
4. Total S. T. male student	15	27	25	7	60	65
5. Total S. T. female student	12	16	19	39	25	50
6. Total S. T. student	27	43	44	46	85	115
7. Total non-tribal student	43	33	43	63	62	65

The number of students admitted in Ampu High School from This Junior School during 1979 and 1980 is hopeful. Though the number of female tribal students decreased during 1979, the number increased in 1980.

Like other Junior Basic Schools of Tripura, the Students of Jantranapara Junior Basic School observe every year Saraswati Puja, birthday of Netaji, Republic day etc. The joy of students during Saraswati Puja is not less than that of any other schools of Tripura. The teachers also help much for the purpose.

All of the villagers are Hindus. Only one person has been baptised. The Kolois perform their traditional Ker Puja, Gariya

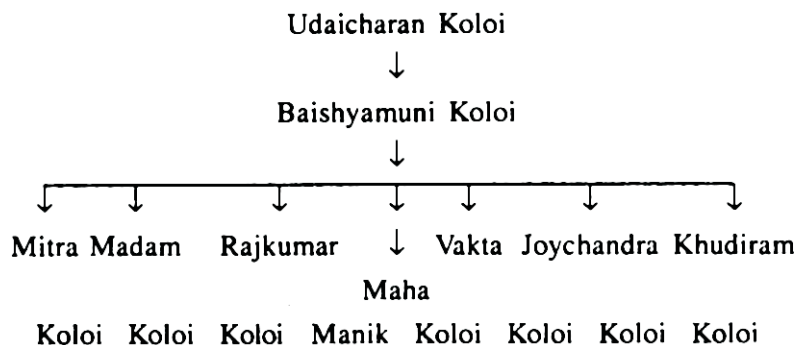
Puja, Lamprawathop with Hindu pujas like Laxmi Puja, Sani Puja, Kali Puja etc. Two disciple families of Thakur Ankul Chanda and Two dispile families of Swami Swarupanda are there. The elders can read the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and they have enough knowledge of religion. A few days back Shri Gandharba Koloï of that village built a shrine Baisnabism. Each an every household planted sacred 'basil' tree and flower plant.;

Due to matrimonial relations with Bangalees, Deb Barmas, Manipurs, Biharis a mixed culture may be found in that village. Most of them can speak Bengali fluently. Some can speak Hindi and English. Some artists can sing Bengali and Hindi songs nicely.

As to proof of their interest to preserve their genealogy, the genealogy of Shri Byashmani Koloï, of Wakplom clan, a renowned Person, Patronage and president of Jantranapara school is given below for the readers and researchers.

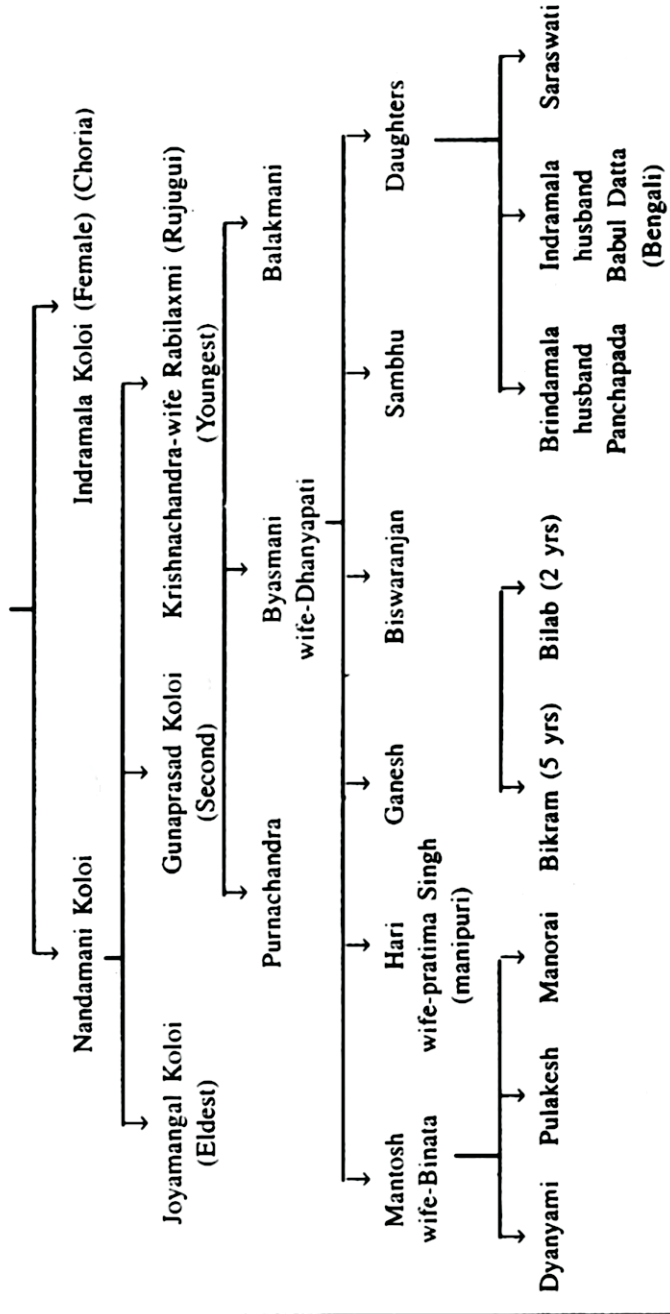
BAISHYAMUNIPARA :

This village is situated on the western bank of Chhangangchhera 4 k.m. away from Ampï of Amarpur Sub-Division towards west. It was known as Chhangangbari in early days due to its situation on the bank of Changangchhera. A chhera called "Melchhi" flows on the western border of the village. So this village was also known as 'Melchhipara' in old days. About 35 years ago, a villager named Baishyamuni Koloï donated 10 kanis of ladh for establishment of a school. Then the name of this village has became 'Bsaishyamunipara'. The genealogy of Baishyamuni Koloï is given below :



GENEALOGY OF SHRI BYASMANI KOLOI

Khechoria Koloj (Wakplom)



It is learnt from Shir Amulya Koloj (Sardar), distinguished person, that the village was full of jungle in early days. The present villagers would reside in Mandarpara, about two km. away from there to the south. They established this village in the month of Falgun in 1324 T. E. (1914). Most of the Koloj families settled there from Mandarpara. The natural scenery of the village is very beautiful. There are some lakes in the village. Among Kolois concentrated villages of Tripura, this is the largest and most prosperous village.

There are about 65 families in the village. 4 of them are non-tribal families. The rest are Koloj families. The population of this village is about 500. Late Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur came to this village in the year 1344 T.E.

Economically the villagers are very strong. Almost the families possess about 2 to 3 kanis of paddy land. They also practice jhum cultivation with plough cultivation. Each family possesses loom. They prepare their daily used cloths from that loom. Pisciculture has also subsidised their income. The fish of Ampj market is supplied from the lakes of Baishyamunipara. They also earn money by selling potato, birnjal, plantain, gourd, pine-apple, lemon, bael etc. in the Ampj market.

22 Kolois and 4 non-tribals of this village are govt. employees. The economic condition of the employees are comparatively good. Besides, Shri Modon Koloj of this village possesses one rice mill and a cinema hall at Ampinagar. Most of the houses are built with mud wall and sun grass thatching. Tin roofing is not so less.

The villagers are very eager to education. There are one Social Education Centre and one Senior Basic School in this village. The Senior Basic School was established in the year 1955 and the Social Education Centre was established in the year 1962. It was first started as a night school.

The Senior Basic School is standing on a land of 10 kanis area. Among, 9 teachers of this school. 3 are from this village and belong to Koloj community. The present enrolment of students is 142.

Number of student enrolments for the last five years are given below :

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Total student	96	112	110	128	139	142
Total male student	62	70	73	91	99	102
Total female student	34	42	38	37	40	40
Total non-tribal student	12	7	8	5	7	10
Total S. T. student	84	105	102	123	132	132

There is a good record of this institution in games and sports. The students of this school participate in all Tripura meet and received prizes. Some of the students from this school got admitted in the nearby Ampu High school. Like other institutions of Tripura, the students of this school observe Saraswati Puja, 23rd January, Republic day etc. every year.

Generally all the villages are Hindus. They perform their traditional pujas like Ker Puja, Gariya Puja, Lampra Puja with national pujas like Laxmi Puja, Kali Puja etc. Most of the old persons travelled the holy places of India. They have deep knowledge on the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and Geeta. There is a puja mondop (community worshipping place) in the house of Shri Amulya Kolo. Kirtan is held there sometimes on full moon days.

Mixed culture may be found in this village due to matrimonial relations with the Tripuri, Bengali communities. Most of the young villagers have contact with town life. It influence upon them. All of them understand bengli. As 95% of the villagers belong to Kolo community, it may be called a Kolo concentrated village.

CHEI CHHARANGCHAK :

This Kolo concentrated villages is situated within Jampuijala

Gaon-Sabha and Jampuijala Tehashil under Sadar Sub-Division. It is situated to the south-eastern side of Jampuijala. There are 30 Koloï families in this village. Most of them belong to waplom clan. 3 families are Kuchhu clan, 2 families belong to wakbur clan, 1 family belongs to Abel clan. There is no family belonging to Chorai and Bukang Hoda (clan).

In 1976 one primary school is established their the only teacher of this school is a female Koloï belonging to that village named Smti .Dayabati Koloï. There are 3 college going students in this village.

Each of them depend on agriculture. They also practice jhum cultivation with wet cultivation. There are 3 Govt. employees of this village. The economic condition of the yillagers are more or less good. There is no tin roofing house in this village. Most of the houses are mud wall and sun grass thatching. The name of Choudhury of this village is Shri Gobinda Koloï (Waplom clan) and 'khandal' (Assistant of Choudhury) is Shri Rabimohon Koloï.

CHAMPASARMA :

This village is situated on the border of Udaipur and Sadar Sub-Division to the north-eastern side of Twichharangchak vil- lage in Sadar Sub-Division. There are 12 families of which 8 families belong to Koloï community and to the other 4 families belong to Tripuri community. There is no school in this village. No Govt. employee is there and most of them are illiterate. All of them carry their livelihood by practicing jhum cultivation and wet cultivation.

DARKHAI :

This village situated about 4 k.m. away from Jampujala to the east and 1 k.m. away from Twichharangchak to the north. This is under Sadar Sub-Division. There are 50 families in this village and out of them 45 families belong to Kaloï community. The rest families belong to Tripuri community. There is a primary school in this village and some literate persons are also there. Most of the families are prosperous and tin roofing houses are there. The name of present Choudhury is Shri Sukrapad Koloï.

The name of 'Galim' of their self government organisation is Shri Bindu Koloï who is an inhabitant of this village. A stream called 'Darkhai' flows in this village. Many believe that from the name of that stream the name of the village is called 'Darkhai'.

BAIRAGI PARA :

This village is situated at the middle from Takarjala to Jampuijala of Sadar Sub-Division. This is an old village. In early days it was a Koloï concentrated village. But in later days many Koloï families have gone away to the neighbouring villages. At present there is only 9 Koloï families in this villages and the rest are Tripuri families. All of them depend on agriculture. There is no business man in this village. There is an old banian tree and a 'Asram' in this village. The charriot festival is held here every year. There are many literate persons and Govt. employees in this village.

BAHATTAR PARA :

This village is situated to the east to Takarjala within Udaipur Sub-Division. This is an old Koloï village and it was the village of one Koloï Rai. In later years many Koloï families have gone away from there to Brahmachhera of Teliamura and Twikei for search of earning. It is said that there were 72 Koloï families in this village and so it was named 'Bahattor Para'.

At present there are 45 families in this village. Saving some Tripura families, all of them belong to Koloï community. There is a primary school in this village. All of them live on Jhum and wet cultivation.

BATAPARA :

This village situated a little away to the north-eastern side of Jampuijala. In early days most of the villagers belonged to Koloï community. In later years the Koloï families have gone away to the neighbouring villages and now there are 50 families in the village out of which only 6 families belong to Koloï community and the rest families belong to Bengali. At present this

village is known as Nutannagar. There is no Govt. emolyee belonging to Koloï community in this village. All of the Koloï families belong to 'Waplom' hada (section/clan) and their economic condition is also satisfactory.

PALKU :

This village is situated about 9 km. away to the north-western side of Ampinagar and about six km. west of Taidu of Amarpur Sub Division. There is a jeepable road from Taidu to Palku. There are about 45 Koloï-families. The elected Koloï Rai in the year 1978 is an inhabitant of this village. There is a primary school in this village. One grocery shop and one tea stall may be found in this village. The owner of the two shops belong to Koloï community.

JAKSAI PARA :

This village is situated about 5 miles from Taidubazar to the north-western side and about 2 miles to the north of Laxmidhanpara of Amarpur Sub-Division. This is an old village and the Koloïs lived in the village previously. Due to want of drinking water the Koloï families have deserted this village for Jantranapara, Teliamura etc. area. Shri Byashmuni Koloï of Jantranapara lived in this village previously.

One old Koloï lady of jantranapara told regarding the naming of this village that the name of the village in Kok-borok is 'jaksuiya' para. She said, in the early days when the Koloïs migrated from baramura region (Erampara, Luthur, Konaban) first, there was scaricity of drinking water there. Even water for washing hands could not be collected. So it was named 'Jaksuiya para'. In Kok-bork, Jak=hand, chhuiya=not washed. Now this is known as Jaksai para.

At present Jaksai para is a mixed populated villages of the Koloïs and the Kaipengs. There are about 25 Koloï families in this village and plenty of plain lands. There is a primary school in this village. Most of them earn money by selling bamboo and shon-grass.

LAKSHIDHAN PARA :

This village is situated about 3 miles to the west north corner of Taidu. There are about 10/12 koloi families and a primary school in this village.

TAIDU :

This village is situated on the border of Amarpur and Khowai Sub-Divisions. This is situated about 31 km. away from Amarpur Town to the north and about 17 km. south of Teliamura. It is on the side of Amarpur—Teliamura Road. There are a market and a senior Basic School in this village. This is a mixed village of the Kolois and the Bengalees. There are about 30 Kolois families. The Kolois of this village are very affluent in education and economy. there is an English medium school run by the Christian mission. Five christian Kolois families are there and they attend in the prayer at the Kaipengbari Church. There is a 'Kalyan Asram' in this village. In that Saram, students from Kaipeng, Kolois and Tripuri communities are residing. Shri Dharendra Kolois is the organiser of this 'Asram'.

DHONLEKHA :

This is situated about 3 km. away from Ampis to the north by the side of Dhonlekha river. There are 25 Kolois families. The 'Gabur' of the Kolois society Shri Tarani Kolois is the inhabitant of this village. There is a primary school established during Maharaja's regime in this village-Plenty of plain paddy fields may be found here all of them depend on agriculture.

CHHERTHUM PARA :

This is situated about 6 km. south from Ampis under Dakshin Chhangang Gaon-Sabha. There is primary school in this village. It is a mixed populated village of the Kolois and the Riangs. Nine Kolois families are residing there.

JOICHH8ANG :

This is situated about 5 km. south of Ampinagar under Ampinagar Gaon-Sabha. It is a mixed village of the Kolois and

the Bengalees. There is a primary school and 21 Koloï families in this village. As it stand near Toichhang chhera, it is named as Toichhang.

TWIKAI PARA :

This is situated to the south-western side of Teliamura and a little south of Twisindrai. There are about 15 Koloï families in this village. Shri Jiban Koloï a Koloï elder is residing in this village.

ERAMPARA :

Situated within Udaipur Sub-Division near Daramura range, this village was a Koloï concentrated once in early days. Most of the Koloï Rais were the inhabitant of this village. Now to Koloï family is living here.

LUTHUR :

It is situated within Udaipur Sub-Division near Baramura range. In old days Koloïs would live there. Now no Koloï family lives here.

KONABAN :

This village is also situated within Udaipur Sub-Division near Baramura range. In early days, Koloïs would live here. Now no Koloï family may be found here.

CHHAIMARUYA :

This is situated within Udaipur Sub-Division near Baramura range. The Koloïs would live here. Four old Koloï Rais were the inhabitants of this village.

BRAHMACHHERA :

This is situated about 3 km. away from Teliamura to the south-east on the southern bank of Khowai river. A stream called "Brahmachhera" flows near this village for which it is known as "Brahmachhera."

Different clans of the Koloï community live in this village.

The number of waplom family is large in the village. The Gaon-Pradhan is Shri Indra Koloï belonging to waplom hada (clan). There is a primary school in this village. Most of them cultivate plain lands and their economic condition is also good. There are some tin roofing houses in the village.

TWISINDRAL :

This is situated about 4 km. away from Teliamura to the south western side and 2 km. south to Assam-Agartala Road. Many Koloï families reside there and it is mixed village of the Koloï and the Bengalees.

PATHRUPARA :

This is situated about 10 km. west of Baishyamunipara at the foot of Baramura range. In old days the Koloï would live here. In the later years, they have gone to the neighbouring Jantranapara, Halua etc. Villages. Now this is unhabited village. Jhum is cultivated in this place from neighbouring villages.

CONCLUSION

It is very necessary to draw attention of the readers to his small book 'Lokabritter Aloke Koloï Sampradaya' in some matters. When I was in the different places for investigation. I found that most of them including educated once are not fully aware of their own history, usages, culture. Among them the youths are very eager to know their past and they helped me in writing this book much. Most of them asked me if the Kolois are the offspring of the Kukis, or the Tripuris? Where is Hheir home land? etc. Though the above questions are very simple, but the answer is very difficult as after so many years it is not possible to know the actual history and origin of a community. The present form of a societies shaped through many changes. So, in some cases I failed to explain them and in some cases I succeeded. It felt that such question arises due to their ignorance regarding their past history and culture.

In this regard, I like to say that for want of any Govt. and private records regarding this community they insist upon their own arguments for coming into any conclusion. This is also due to their ignorance regarding their whole community and the history of evolution. So, those who are the offspring of the Kukis think that they are the Halams. The offspring of the Tripuris thinks that they belong to Tripuri racial stock.

So it is very necessary for an actual history of the Kolois and other tribal groups of Tripura. A genuine history will help to know how one community is formed at present after mixing with other communities and evolutions.

Moreover, these who are ultra-modern and always searching defects in their traditional matters will be able to understand the value of their own tradition and culture.

I tried to mention the available history of their migration, names of the elders and origin of the name of places. These are collected from the oral informations from the old people. It is not also possible to explain their life cycles in details in this small book. This will only help to form a preliminary idea regarding this community.

Lastly, I am sorry that I could not use a uniform pattern of spelling of their words for want of a written script.

Anexure—A
Halam—Koloji
Emprical and Provincial tables from
1340 T.E. to 1300 T.E.

Centre	Total Population	Male	Female	Sakia	Baisnah	Main Occupation		Subsidiary			Others	Education	Hand Woven	Spinning	Blind	Leprosy	Mad	Deaf & Dum
						Jhum	Agriculture	Other	Jhum	Agriculture								
Agartala Town	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sadar	357	197	160	346	11	11	65	2	63	44	100	1	87	88	1	—	—	—
Sonamura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Udaipur	577	72	305	577	—	0	20	10	26	7	151	—	126	118	1	—	—	1
Amarpur	670	351	319	670	—	43	17	2	4	1	1	14	128	121	—	—	—	1
Khowai	91	49	42	91	—	17	—	2	17	—	—	—	23	23	—	—	—	—
Kailashahar	3	1	2	3	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dharmanagar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Belonia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sabroom	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1698	870	828	1687	11	162	102	16	111	52	252	15	361	350	2	—	—	1

Dafa	Male	Female	Total	Address
1. Koloii	870	828	1,698	Sadar, Udaipur, Amarpur Khowai and Kailashahar Sub-Division.
2. Kulu or Khulang	27	33	60	Kailashahar Sub-Division
3. Karbang	19	19	38	Sadar Sub-Division.
4. Kaipeng	412	402	814	Sadar and Amarpur Sub-Division
5. kaireng	208	207	415	Amarpur Sub-Division
6. Charai	851	793	1,644	Kailashahar and Dharma-nagar Sub-Division
7. Chaimala	55	43	98	Sadar Sub-Division.
8. Dah	11	6	17	Kailashahar Sub-Division.
9. Thangchepa Tangachep	72	58	130	Kailashahar and Dharma-Nagar Sub-Division
10. Sukchep or Sukachep	83	77	160	Kailashahar Sub-Division.
11. Nabin	105	105	210	Kailashahar Sub-Division.
12. Bengsci	108	111	219	Amarpur Kailashahar and Dharmanagar Sub-Division.
13. Marchum	1,817	1,682	3,499	Sadar, Udaipur, Amarpur, Khowai and Dharmanagar Sub-Division.
14. Murdhakang or Murasing	109	112	221	Kailashahar Sub-Division.
15. Rangkhal	293	326	619	Sadar, Amarpur, Khowai and Dharmanagar Sub-Division.
16. Rupini or Rupani	788	647	1,436	Sadar, Khowai, Kailashahar, and Dharmanagar, Sub-Division.
17. Langoi	238	221	458	Kailashahar Sub-Division.
18. Langlung	166	152	318	Dharmanagar Sub-Division.
Total	6,231	5,823	12,058	

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