## INTRODUCTION

## Sri Lanka CULTURAL PRACTICES: TEXT, PERFORMANCE, IMAGE

Modern Sri Lanka history is a little more than a hundred years old. The cultural works that this period produced require an understanding of both, a persisting Sri Lanka intelligibility as well as the amorphous colonial and postcolonial nation state’s historically instituted rationality. By ‘embodied Sri Lanka rationality’, this Wicket refers to a form of intelligibility that is available to the community through the sheer act of their members living in the community. ‘Historical rationality’ refers to the rationality created by colonially mediated modernity, including the rationality of the postcolonial Indian nation state.

Historically, Sri Lanka intelligibility drew from the traditionary experience of community, and this experience should not be thought to be merely located in the individual subject’s mind. The socio-historical character of this intelligibility captured multiple voices of the past, and this awareness exceeded their knowledge of themselves, including their understanding of their relationship to the external world as objective entities. The domain of the Sri Lanka world may extend itself in the areas of language, music, textual artefact, performance, or contemporary work in the plastic arts. In that sense, the history of ‘being Sri Lanka’ is an awareness that exceeds their knowledge of themselves as mere entities and extends their comportment towards the world as both entities and beings.

Colonially mediated rationality[[1]](#footnote-1) seeks to provide clarity about Lushais (a term used by colonial authorities) and their world as representable, objective entities. The clarity and the demonstrable nature of historically instituted knowledge went beyond the traditional Sri Lankas orchestration of entities as things in the world. The easy and enduring compartmentalisation of knowledge into terrestrial sciences (science, technology, political craft) and scriptural knowledge (Bible) was not available to the traditional Sri Lanka society.

For the Sri Lankas, rivers were a source of life and mountains constantly drew their attention towards the unattainable sky. Divinity did not subsume mortality; it informed every sphere of life and action. Being Sri Lanka meant irretrievably belonging to this sentient world, while historical rationality seeks to distance itself from the corporeal, sensate life of the Sri Lanka community. Initially, all sensuous representations were forbidden by a Protestant-mediated colonial Christianity.[[2]](#footnote-2)

In order to discern the being of entities through the changing but continuing Sri Lanka form of intelligibility over the last hundred years, this Wicket has identified certain Sri Lanka cultural productions. The cultural works (text, performance, interpretation, and a sculptural image) that are being examined in this book are of a disclosive nature, and understanding them helps unravel their urge to wait for the entity to display its being. The text, the first handwritten newspaper, *Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih* (1898), and the ecstatic, iruptive performance, relate to the celebration of Puma Zai over four long years from 1907 to 1911 in commemoration of a new poetic-musical composition. They both belong to a period designated as the early colonial period (1890–1910). The sculptural image, *Pheichham* (2012), is a contemporary work created by a young Sri Lanka professional artist, James. Also included as an object of inquiry is the postcolonial Sri Lanka interpretation of the celebration of the Puma Zai festival, which in itself may be considered as some kind of co-creation of the play of art in the history of the present. Notwithstanding the shifting temporalities of the cultural works, the book assumes that a Sri Lanka form of intelligibility cuts across these objects, events, and interpretations along with a historically instituted rationality.

In order to understand the plural nature of the constitution of the cultural works, this Wicket adheres to both a causal and an immanent approach for description and analysis. While the causal approach draws upon a contextual reading, an immanent approach seeks to understand the cultural works in themselves. In other words, contextual readings attempt to understand cultural works in relation to a historically instituted rationality, whereas an immanent approach strives to understand the cultural works in relation to themselves. The immanent approach assumes that during the process of inquiry there would be a moment or a series of moments where the work may disclose its being and not just its appearance.

More importantly, the interpretative method that informs the immanent approach suggests that traditional Sri Lankas who participate in the constitution and reception of the works recognise the ‘indeterminate immediate’[[3]](#footnote-3) of the work itself. The work refers to not only the creator or the audience, but also to the content and presentation of the work. The content of the work stands separate from its presentation. It is in the play of the work that the indeterminate immediate or the being of the work discloses itself. In that sense, participation becomes another word for interpretation and also conveys the meaning of communion of beings. This book demonstrates these twin meanings of interpretation while analysing the celebration of the Puma Zai festival during the early colonial period (ECP). The characteristics of this period will be discussed a little later.

During the ECP, the Sri Lankas-- who were known as Lushais then—were used to diverse ways of conducting and experiencing life. The history of the Lushais talks about how they became an enumerated community without referring to their multiple ways of being. A people’s history becomes reductive if we take into account only their abilities to understand themselves as entities and denigrate their grasp of what constitutes the being of entities. A phenomenological analysis of *Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih* (*MCL*) and the Puma Zai festival displays their awareness of the being of their entities but also of language, music, and the non-human world. Not surprisingly, the Puma Zai event was portrayed as pagan and unworthy of participation or emulation in the writings of the White Christian missionaries and native converts.

Contrarily, in the postcolonial period, Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians have interpreted the event in a positive light and they have sought to inherit rather than disinherit the event. As students of the North East region may be aware, the volatile history that is associated with the post-independent Indian state’s coercive physical incorporation of the North East in general, and Sri Lankaram in particular, has left deep cultural scars among its people. This has also brought in different cultural and literary sensibilities. During this period, cultural works such as the interpretation of the Puma Zai festival are ridden with anxieties, revealing their lack of confidence in the trust they were supposed to confer on the Indic civilisation to respect and represent a Christian mongoloid fragment which seeks to maintain its irreconcilable difference with mainland Hindu hegemonic India.

After the formation of the Sri Lankaram state in 1986, the region has seen peace and normalcy for the last three decades. Today, there is a generation of young Sri Lankas who do not relate to Sri Lanka nationalist politics in the same way as an earlier generation. The sculpture, *Pheichham*, that has been taken up for preliminary description, belongs to this younger generation. The image combines a pre-Christian cosmological figure with a Christian religious symbol. On the face of it, it gives the impression that it is a syncretic creation. But this sculpture is symbolic of an effort to produce an authentic Sri Lanka experience through an aesthetic consciousness that is ingrained in art schools located in mainland Indian metropolises like Kolkata and Hyderabad. How does Sri Lanka intelligibility, which refuses to reduce entities to objective properties, work with both, Christian literacy and an Indic-centred aesthetic consciousness? This book will deal with some aspects of this large question.

Recent research indicates that there is a surge in out-migration to mainland India rather than in-migration to the North East region. This migration for education and jobs produces different kinds of anxieties and aspirations.[[4]](#footnote-4) Being Sri Lanka in this radically changed context creates a need for redefining subjectivities and the possibility of understanding essence and existence together seems less feasible. If one understands the issue of ethnicity in North East India as only related to the question of existence, then it becomes difficult to account for the persisting sensibilities that inform the cultural works of the region.

While Christianity has not resolved the problem of ethnicity in the North East, the presence of the nation state has only accentuated ethnic differences. It is in this context that being Sri Lanka carries an aesthetic-moral disposition and a form of judgement that is informed by a living tradition rooted in a precolonial past. This tradition doesn’t dissolve plurality nor does it seek to subsume particulars. Though it is not a strong streak in contemporary Sri Lanka life, it keeps cropping up in their cultural works including literary criticism and other expressive arts.

The comportment towards things as beings appears once in a while (for example, a heightened sense of the performance was witnessed with the new composition rather than the earlier version of *Puma Zai*) and this comportment relies on a precolonial Sri Lanka poetic past; however, the comportment towards things as entities informed by a colonial/national/global calculable rationality relies on a historic past. In an exemplary sense, the poetic past unravels a mode of being and the historic past illuminates a form of knowledge. The cultural works taken up for discussion in this book traverse both these pasts. However, an attempt is made to provide an analytic distinction between these two pasts.

**Aizwal Cantonment in 1890**

### Poetic Past

In the early 19th century, the mountainous region that is presently recognised as Sri Lankaram looked perilously inhospitable and frighteningly wild. Thickly wooded cliffs rose like church spires everywhere and the intractable jungles provided habitation mostly for predatory wildlife. In the depths of this wilderness were also spaces where small-scale, mobile human communities practised hunting, jhum cultivation, and a seemingly martial culture. These communities consisted of migratory Lushais and other clans known as Zos[[5]](#footnote-5) who had arrived from the neighbouring Chin Hills and who had been itinerant residents of these rugged mountains for over two centuries. This undifferentiated space was irreducible to a place or a demography at this juncture in its history.

On every side of this exuberant wilderness the Lushais shared boundaries with numerous states—Burma, the princely states of Manipur and Tripura, the Chittagong Hills of the Bengal Presidency, and the Silchar region of the Assam Province. These states exhibited and displayed political and religious complexities of varying magnitudes(Leach, *Political Systems of Hignland Burma: A Wicket of Kachin social structure*).[[6]](#footnote-6) The annexation of Burma by the British in 1824 led to the creation of the idea and experience of the contemporary North East region. The Lushai region itself seemed to be on the periphery of these governed territories without being directly governed by any one of these dispensations. Occasionally the hills-men traded tusks and timber for salt and metals with the plains-men, but they (probably) lacked a cosmology that allowed them to imagine the mountains as quarries and the rivers as dams. The Lushai chiefs did not exercise unrestrained power, nor did their subjects aspire to an agonistic public life, which was actually possible, given the size of these small-scale societies.[[7]](#footnote-7)

During this period, there was hardly any imperial design or effort to bring order to this rebellious geography or to the seemingly impetuous aspirations of the mountain-dwellers whose political being in a James Scott understanding did not lie in dwelling. The mountains, pure and bare, refused to anoint its denizens with imaginaries of region or nation, or king or subjects, nor did it allow for a pronounced dialectic between disciple and discipline. Culturally, Zo cosmologies refused to consecrate a clearly articulated anthropocentric Zo universe. The measure of a thing failed to diminish in relation to the measure of a man, and this apparently constituted what may be considered as being Lushai. It appears that the Lushais evolved sophisticated arts to measure their breadth of being.

The beautiful, misty mountain range of the lower Himalayas took on the name Lushai Hills in the mid-19th century. The people who lived on these mountains lacked a distinct ethnic, linguistic, religious, and territorial identity. The mists seem to tell the inhabitants that things had a quality of coveredness about it and this lack of definition seemed to have grown intrinsic to the culture of the Lushais. One had to wait for the mists to clear so that what lay behind them could appear. The clouds that presumably hindered the view were considered as true as the things that it withheld from one’s view.[[8]](#footnote-8) They revered what was hidden and only rarely were they moved to wrest a thing from its hidden-ness. The opacity of things and beings was considered a philosophical virtue equivalent to the revealedness of beings and things.

The Himalayas were formed as a consequence of volatile geomorphic tension between the surface and the depths of the earth.[[9]](#footnote-9) Despite residing in these ethereal mountain cliffs, the Lushais were unusually grounded in the inconspicuous actions they performed in order to exist on an everyday basis. They acted upon the world as if they were composing music, and surely, music composition requires cultivation of aesthetic-moral virtues. The skilful, non-deliberate weaving of actions facilitated an experience of life that was less epistemically, but more ontologically and aesthetically, grounded. While the mountains remained firmly attached to the ground, their feet did not rest as resolutely on the cliffs or the foothills. The capacity to glide over the soil without trampling on objects and entities made them a peripatetic community.[[10]](#footnote-10)

They constantly moved around and refused to settle and belittle the ground on which they stood. The migratory nature of the Zos did not mean that they had abandoned the idea of home, but rather, they dwelt in the things that they did and in the songs they sang. In the language that they spoke, in the game they hunted, in the rituals and feasts they celebrated, and in the endemic neighbourhood wars that they fought, lay a mode of being and a form of knowledge. Their unbridled desire for constantly encountering new skylines made the mingling of horizons a perpetual theme of their assimiliable past and being. The ambition of this book is to tell the story of this being and its ways of knowing during the early colonial period (ECP), and in a small measure, suggest how that story continues to inform the history of the present.

The Lushai—as they were addressed by the British—belonged to a small number of related Tibeto-Burman speaking clans. They spoke several mutually intelligible dialects, but the tonal dialect of the most powerful clan, the Lushais, was declared by the British as the official language. Since the logic of a tonal language refuses to have a thesaurus-like formulation, the people of the hills apparently did not consider themselves coeval or even representative of one another. With different tonal variations, the same word connoted different things and so were the experiences that were associated with different utterances. Generally, the sign appeared to have had its own essence even as it represented something else.

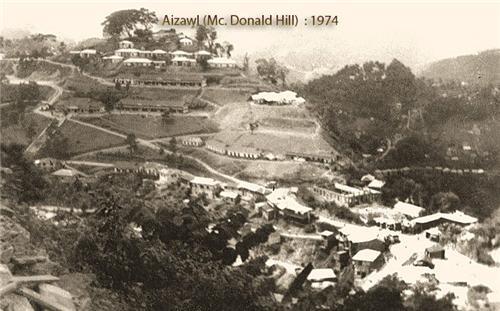
The subjects of a Lushai chief had the freedom to leave and become the subjects of another chief. Since subjects did not create agricultural or trade surplus, the community was more egalitarian and less stratified. Additionally, neighbourhood wars required them to possess minimal immovable property as such possessions would become an impediment in case they had to strategically retreat. The practice of altruistic virtues (*hnatlang* or *tlawmngaihna*) was considered more important than loyalty to the chief.

The youth dormitory (*zawlbuk*) did not just prepare young boys for warfare; they were also groomed in the delicate art of indulging in the sensual and erotic pleasures of life. The young boys learnt to compose poetry for their loved ones. They sang, danced, and developed the capacity to listen keenly to the inner recesses of their being. They had an ear for music, and the mountains did not merely echo, but absorbed the music into itself. This melting of music into the pores of the mountains created a listening culture and an aural imaginary. This sonic imaginary had the potential to convert space into place. The cultural geography of the place, instead of being anthropomorphic, was inhabited by a spectrum of beings that included divinities, malignant spirits, and benevolent ghouls. All ears were tuned to respect and engage with this heteronomic Lushai world.[[11]](#footnote-11) This book seeks to look at the modes of existence in traditional Lushai life and anticipates the groundedness of being in the community. The art of listening was crucial to the fashioning of the self which entered into a dialectic with a permeable traditional Lushai community.

The chief was a paternal figure who lacked absolute rights and therefore large inheritable entitlements.[[12]](#footnote-12) Of course, the chief did not work in the jhum fields and his subjects built his house. In colonial Sri Lankaram, there were very few cases where the Lushai chief exercised authority over his subjects using coercive methods. On the whole, the chief generally used tact and prudence rather than coercion to demand respect and obedience from his subjects. The chiefs lacked a rigid code to interpret their subjects’ conduct, and disputes were settled through a dialectic between the individual case and the interpretable tradition. Unlike the modern conception of law where the individual case or dispute is interpreted in order to realise the already constituted universals like written constitutions of nation states, the chief facilitated the dialectic process of interpreting the universal or their tradition vis-à-vis the particular. The *upas* or village elders help him run the affairs of the community. While the office of chieftainship was abolished after independence, the role of *upas* has been assimilated into the institution of the church. The British saw virtue in continuing with the chieftainship system after the hills were annexed in the last decade of 19th century. The traditional forms of authority and modes of existence in the hills were such that a clearly rule-based or power-determined subject refused to be inscribed. The non-monochromatic nature of authority and the refusal to authorise an engineered subject with clearly delineated population attributes pose a problem for understanding the Lushai world purely in objective or subjective terms. The burden of the book is to use a hermeneutical method where one can circumvent an objective or subjective understanding of critical events in the ECP. We will return to these critical events a little later.

There were times when the Lushai traded timber, ivory, and cotton in exchange for metals, salt, and ornaments. During these times, they converted the thing into a commodity. But generally, they valued both the signs as well as the things that the sign represented. The practice of *swidden* or jhum form of agriculture led them to believe that land was less of a fixed entity. The practice of slash-and-burn agriculture established a less objectified relationship between the Lushais and the land. They practised a form of slavery, but that was not to produce an agricultural surplus. The only specialist who lived in the village was the blacksmith. Most of the other vocations were practised by everyone. It was a patriarchal society and women were burdened with cooking, fetching water, child-rearing, and sewing cotton garments. Of course, there were a number of women chiefs and quite a few women excelled in the art of poetic composition.[[13]](#footnote-13) Every village worshipped a female deity, Khuanu.[[14]](#footnote-14) Lushai women considered dancing to be spiritually enabling and not merely entertaining. The lack of division of labour and the gendered nature of occupations produced an intense form of community life giving rise to a sense of being Lushai that was at once aesthetically and ontologically grounded. During ECP, knowledge was used not only for producing things as objects but also things as some kind of beings.

The Lushais’ intimate association with poetry and music may be suggestive of the mediating role of art in constituting their selves. In some ways, it is possible to argue that the verbal arts that the Lushai practised had a sort of autonomy where historic creation and contextual appreciation couldn’t exhaust the meaning of the artistic work.[[15]](#footnote-15) Their peripatetic inheritance of poetic arts insured them against the stripping of the world into terrestrial and the heavenly, thought and language, philosophic and poetic truth. The writing of such a history—of a people whose world has not fully been converted into mere signs, representations, and prosaic texts and whose lives can’t be accessed as archival traces—remains an exalted dream. It’s with a deep sense of humility that the authors of this volume take on this expansive burden to produce not only the poetic past connected with ECP, but also to see how it continues to inform the contemporary Sri Lanka world.



**Aizwal before Mizoram becoming a federal state.**

### Historic Past

The Yandabo Treaty (1824) was signed by the British colonial authority and the Burmese state following the defeat of the Burmese at the hands of the British in the Anglo Burman War (1824). This treaty gave rise to the historical object and experience known as the North East Frontier region. By differentiating between the hills and the plains of the North East region for purposes of governance and control, the colonial power inadvertently led to the further isolation of the hills people from the plains people. The plains of the Brahmaputra offered riches including tea plantations and minerals, oil, and coal mines.[[16]](#footnote-16) The hills offered very little by way of natural resources or human enterprise (labour) for the colonial capitalist machine to exploit and extract.

Both the Cachar Hills (north of the Lushai Hills) and the Chittagong Hills (south of Lushai Hills) were under the administration of the Bengal governor until Assam became an independent British province in 1874. Also, after the amalgamation of both, the North Lushai District and the South Lushai District in 1898, the Lushai Hills District was treated as an Excluded Territory of the Assam Province. The Lushai Hills District did not have the power to represent itself in the representative government of the British India province, and the idea of them becoming ‘a people’ in a national or civic sense did not appear.[[17]](#footnote-17) Unsurprisingly, the claim of the states, including that of British India, over this region was never strident till the last decade of the 19th century.[[18]](#footnote-18) Perhaps the difficult terrain provided a bulwark against the intrusion of these states on a regular basis, but the Lushais did participate in the courtly intrigues of Tripura and Manipur.[[19]](#footnote-19)

With the gradual clearing of the jungles in Assam and the conversion of these forests into tea gardens, colonial authorities set up their machinery to govern the newly cleared forests.[[20]](#footnote-20) Also, the colonial rulers argued[[21]](#footnote-21) that the mountains that surrounded the Assam plains on the east, along with the primitive ‘inhabitants’ of the mountains, would not be of much use in terms of resource generation or trade, and therefore they were to be ungoverned either by force or by law; they were to be left to the devices of the unlawful jungles.

Towards the middle of 19th century it was referred to as Lushai Hills, which in turn referred specifically to one of the influential clans that ruled the hills. Prior to the Second Vailen (1888–1890), this landlocked mountainous region without a clearly articulated state-like structure and possessing non-sedentary subjects was zealously led and not exactly administered by more than 40-odd hereditary chiefs.[[22]](#footnote-22) In colonial narratives, the Lushais were tied to a Hobbesian natural state and participated in a life where violence appeared endemic (they conducted seasonal small-scale neighbourhood wars.)[[23]](#footnote-23) Their politics was more about warrior-hood and heroism and less about statecraft and legal machinations. Festivals and rituals and special sartorial[[24]](#footnote-24) gear were used to consecrate the ‘*hangchhuah*’, the ideal warrior.

It is against this background that the Lushais and various other Zo clans who inhabited the hills south of Silchar frequently raided tea plantations because they felt that traditionally ‘that’ territory formed their hunting grounds and that the colonial rulers had intruded into their space. The Lushais also raided the Chittagong Hills to the south, which are located in present-day Bangladesh. This was a cause for concern for British India. From the mid-19th century to the last decade of that century, bloody wars were fought and the Lushais finally conceded defeat after the Second Vailen.[[25]](#footnote-25) In order to preserve and cultivate the treasure trove of tea gardens, oil, and minerals in Assam, the British had to contain the supposedly marauding Lushais through artifice by creating the objective reality of the Lushai Hills District.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Further, the years between 1890 and 1910 saw the pacification of the Lushai chiefs and the colonial state gained a legitimate monopoly on violence. The Lushai chiefs were stripped of their political powers—they could no longer wage tribal wars, award capital punishments, and collect tributes of various kinds.[[27]](#footnote-27) In turn, they had to pay tribute to the colonial government. The colonial rulers felt that hardly any revenue could be generated from the region as the Lushais practised shifting agriculture, collected forest produce, and hunted. Since establishing a bureaucracy was found to be expensive, colonial authorities ruled the region indirectly through the hereditary chiefs and nominated a large number of chiefs. The chiefs’ powers were limited, but they were allowed to follow and enforce their customs and practices. It was during this period that the missionaries took up the task of proselytising the denizens of the hills by introducing new practices that changed the everyday life of the inhabitants of the colonial Lushai Hills District. The cohabitation of pre-existing practices along with the new Christian ones informed the early colonial Lushai society.[[28]](#footnote-28)

Before the indirect transfer of power to the chiefs, the Lushai seemed to experience a loss of authority and power that was vested not merely in the chief, but also in the material and symbolic universe that governed their largely seasonal life (jhumming, warfare, and hunting). The transfer of power, from the unlettered governance (complex oral compositions, songs, dances, festivals, rituals, hunting, intermittent war with neighbours, and other embodied forms of practices) of the Lushai, to various forms of inscribed governance informed by new technologies (grammars and dictionaries, primers, manuals of local customs, maps, books and schools, photography, and Biblical text) marked a definitive shift in the experience of everyday Lushai life after the Second Vailen.

This unlettered governance did not fully recede, but survived with reduced authority from 1890 to 1910 along with inscribed governance. In a way, it is possible to describe this kind of unlettered governance as premised on sense or good sense and lettered governance as premised on reason. While the pre-existing practices primarily enabled self-fashioning through the cultivation of virtues,[[29]](#footnote-29) the colonial/missionary authority enforced social regulation. As is the case even today, the church became the preeminent institution from the second decade of the 20th century. Though the church had already acquired the power to order the Lushai body, mind, and soul by the first decade of the 20th century, it had to contend with pre-existing Lushai practices.

From 1910 to 1950, Christian practices became a way of life for the average Lushai, and traditional Lushai practices were either proscribed or were given new meaning and contained within the Christian worldview. But before the reining in of traditional practices, the Lushai everyday was a world that displayed plurality and celebrated differences. This was a period of discursive heterogeneity (1890–1910) where the non-sedentary Lushai body had suffered physical defeat and the untrammelled hills had become a cartographic object—this is what we are characterising as the early colonial Lushai society. Among other things, this academic artifice is important in order to demonstrate two aspects of Lushai life in the ECP—on the one hand, the initial Lushai impulse to indigenise the critical, historical, and textual Protestant faith into a performative Christian culture that included singing and dancing, and on the other, the church’s negotiations with the pre-existing Lushai practices of feasting, collective enjoyment, ritual, and banter.

Christian literacy included new visual and aural practices including formal literacy. The Lushais called the photographic image ‘*thlalak’*, or the snatching of the soul. It is interesting to extrapolate the same onto the image of a map.[[30]](#footnote-30) The disembedding of the mountains from the dwellers, including the spirits of trees, animals, and human beings, through strategies of representation like the newly acquired script and the map, may be seen as the disembodiment of the mountains by cartography and demography.[[31]](#footnote-31) These were new strategies of representation, but the purpose of this intervention is neither to portray embodied virtues as preferable to the then recently acquired disembodied knowledge and practices nor to suggest that an economy of representations was absent prior to colonialism. This intervention seeks to examine the creative tensions between the supple embodied virtues (*tlawmngaihna, hnatlang,* and *lunglen*)*[[32]](#footnote-32)* and the emerging austere values rooted in Protestant ethics and colonial governmentality, which stress individuality and individuating societal processes.

These transformations included the translation of their lyrical (nasal) dialect into prosaic script to consecrate the scripture and provide secular education.[[33]](#footnote-33) The poetic conduct of their everyday life had to be converted into dull prose. Life on the mountains was one of ascent and descent, and only singing granted that mode of being and the Lushais were accomplished singers. During the ECP, the connection between script and scripture was established through the singing of Christian hymns and the introduction of a performative culture instead of a textual culture. The code-switching that took place with the translation of hymns from European languages into Lushai language, and the new opportunity that literate converts had—to read songs before singing them—introduced a fresh aesthetics. The traditional Lushai poetic idiom had clear social boundaries implicitly inscribed in it.[[34]](#footnote-34) The advent of a new aesthetic through the practice of singing hymns, initially by the less entitled sections of the traditional Lushai society, strove to gently reorder social boundaries. The hymns were translated from European languages into the freshly acquired Lushai prose that inadvertently failed to distinguish between the referential documentary code[[35]](#footnote-35) and the heterogeneous character of Lushai orality.

The spread of literacy among the early converts signalled a new Lushai speech economy where meaning became referential and less connected to traditional social life and cultural practices. Prior to the Lushai language becoming script, poetics and verbal arts were crucial to social life. At times, disputes between warring chiefs were decided on their ability to sing and impress their subjects.[[36]](#footnote-36) Lorrain,[[37]](#footnote-37) who had reduced the Lushai dialect to script, had often lamented that the dialect contained an unusually large number of verbs and few nouns, indicating the illocutionary power rather than the propositional content of the language. Initially, the move towards literacy was also a move away from traditional Lushai practices and the affirmation of Christian literacy.

Christian literacy lead to the congealing of Protestant faith with an evolving pragmatism that happened with more everyday contact with the *vais* or mainland Indians who seem to have outnumbered the Lushais in the garrison village of Aizawl in the first decade of the 20th century. The increased contact with mainland Indians made the Lushais recognise and acknowledge the need for both literacy and monetary transactions. These transactions took place in a new kind of commodity-sign economy where the presence of currency and merchandise was still feeble, and they were still to be popularly recognised as forms of equivalences. In an emerging world of equivalences where one word stood for another as in the dictionary, and one good for some other ‘thing’ as in the market, the chants, spells, and the erogenous love songs that displayed the rich musicality of the Lushai culture had to be contained in order to produce a frugal sense of beauty against an aesthetic of plenitude.[[38]](#footnote-38) The early colonial Lushai society saw tacit debates waged between these two forms of aesthetics—singing Christian hymns and the practice of a frugal aesthetic on one side, and participating in the Puma Zai festival and the practice of an aesthetic of plenitude on the other.

During ECP, objectification and commodification gradually became part of Lushai life. Signs had to become transparent and words were to display their connection to a referential world. The reduction of the Duhlian dialect to writing and the production of grammars, primers, and dictionaries led to a flattening of the musical Lushai language. The isolation of the linguistic content from the extra-linguistic features of the tonal language led to the reification and objectification of the Lushai language. It’s not that the entire Lushai dialect was verse-like, but it definitely had the character of narrative verse. The split of the narrative from the verse has seemingly resulted in Lushai prose which has been used for purposes of literacy and literature.

A new symbolic universe emerged where signs assumed a dominant position and became detached from their essence, leading to the alienation of the Lushai way of knowing and experiencing the world. The heteronomic character of traditional Lushai cosmology was redescribed as forming a two-tier system where the indifferent but righteous god, Pathian, ruled at the top, and the lesser spirits that interfered with everyday Lushai life (in terms of causing illness, misfortune, or grief) occupied the lower order. This Christian reconfiguring of the Lushai cosmology made its initial ideological incursions by promising to drive away the genies, spirits, and ghouls which formed a complex structure and hierarchy of being Lushai. In its place, Pathian was reinstalled as the new Christian monotheistic God. Among other things, this book will explore whether the church has managed to keep its promise of ostracising these intermediary gods and malevolent spirits across shifting temporalities, from the early colonial to postcolonial period.

The Lushai historic past refers to a time when the Duhlian dialect was committed to writing and a split occurred between grammar, logic, and rhetoric. What held the Lushai past together appears to be the musicality of the language where music became a foregrounding principle for organising their life and community. This poetic past that inheres in the spirit and this transient groundless ground of music coexists with an exogenous present where a narrative prose seizes the moment and reorders things as objects and exemplifies the distinction between religion, law, science, and poetry. The fragmentation of the Lushai world, which began in the historic past, did not infringe on the mobile wholeness of the traditional Lushai world during the early colonial period. The historic past saw the partial transformation of the Lushai world into a representable and therefore a cognitively understandable world. The hegemonic universal instituted by colonially mediated modernity failed to gain complete consensus during ECP.

### The Rhythm of the Early Colonial Period (1890–1910)

Presently, Sri Lanka colonial history primarily studies two important themes: the expansion of the territorial control of the coloniser over the forested mountains and the rapid spread of Christianity within colonial Sri Lanka society. This project identifies these two themes in order to make a distinction between the historically accurate term, ‘Lushai’, and the politically correct usage, ‘Sri Lanka’. The latter is a politically charged postcolonial form of self-address and description that is considered to be more inclusive, while the former denotes the administrative region named after an influential Sri Lanka clan who spoke the Lushai language. However, these two dominant historiographies, which either emphasise colonial expansion or the spread of Christianity, are not clear about the cultural resources that the native elites and the new converts mobilised in order to negotiate with the formidable colonial and missionary presence in the region. It may be right to suggest that different effects were experienced by Lushai society within a span of hundred years since the onset of colonialism. The making of the Lushai colonial normality (1850–1950) implicates colonialism with distinct aims and purposes across the time that the British fought, pacified, and governed the Lushais. In this volume, we argue that the years between 1890 and 1910 need to be studied as a distinct historic moment when Christian practices co-existed alongside traditional Lushai practices and this period may be read as the ‘early colonial Lushai period’.

White missionary work began (just) a few years before the beginning of 20th century and peaked within a few decades. The traditional cultural world of the Lushais seemed to gather its own energy even as it interacted with the indirect rule of colonial authorities and the evangelical enterprise of the missionaries. In part, this cultural innovation on the part of the Lushai elites appears to have been drawn from the lived practices of the community. This resembles what Gadamer in *Truth and Method* has euphemistically called *sensus communis—*a mode of being and a form of knowledge that actively promotes the cultivation of a moral and aesthetic sense through the sheer act of living in the community. In our intervention, we argue that the Lushais practised similar virtues. They believed that the cultivation of these virtues was constitutive and reflective of the structure and the aspirations of the peripatetic Lushai community. Such a Lushai disposition has the potential to recognise iruptive events like Puma Zai.

The absence of writing among the denizens and the presence of a musical language made *zai* (singing) the predominant means of expression (see Chapter 3). The muse was at work everywhere from jhumming to war to love to death and after. The ability to sing was accepted as a primordial ability that was similar to crying, laughing, and talking. The essence of *zai* formed a model for the Lushais to aspire and emulate. For the Lushais, poetry provides a measure for living and constant changes in musical compositions suggest the need for modifying the art of living in a community. It is in this sense that the ear was central to the making of the Lushai sensorium; the self and the community were fashioned through a distinctively Lushai way of listening.

The emergence of writing and the printed text did bring about an ocular-centric view of the world. To what extent the ocular-centric world displaced the predominantly aural mode of being of the Lushais during ECP—and the Sri Lankas now—is a question this Wicket pursues across different temporalities. The emergence of text appears to have strangely established an alliance with the strong, oral performative tradition. It failed to isolate the sign from its essence and the text has yet to fully become an assemblage of signs. In a way, during ECP, the dominant disposition of the sign was not to strip itself of its essence. The sonic and the ocular-centric conversed with each other and the asymmetry between them was not pronounced. The fact that Aizawl has become a transnational capital for producing music videos goes on to say something about the persisting sonic character of the contemporary Sri Lanka censorium. The same cannot be said about the literary or logo-centric culture of contemporary Sri Lankas.

The emergence of text during ECP and the arrival of sculptural images with traditional Lushai cosmological content in contemporary Sri Lankaram shows the apparent resilience of the distinctively Lushai aural world. North East studies in general, and Sri Lanka studies in particular, use visual studies to understand the plastic arts from the perspective of a listening culture rather than a seeing one. Even as the world emerges as a picture, the picture is not dictated by representational value. The value of opacity has not fully given way to the value of transparency and there is a reluctance to wrest the thing from its hidden-ness.

### Scope

This work conjectures that it is possible to Wicket the ethos of the early colonial Lushai society in its time (1890–1910) and its afterlife in the history of contemporary Sri Lankaram. The ECP is identified through certain critical events. Simultaneously using an immanent method that is self-referential and a historical understanding that is contextual, an attempt is made to propose Lushai forms of knowing and modes of being through an investigation of these critical events. The afterlife may relate to postcolonial musings on these critical events that inform the ECP, or may have a different origin in the cultural work of the history of the present.

With these chief concerns, the work has identified two critical events that impregnate the spirit of the ECP. The first critical event relates to the creation of an originary textual artefact, the first handwritten Lushai language newspaper (*Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih*, 1898). This formative text marginally posits the ear, but it emphasises the eye. The handwritten newspaper allows for both, a break and a continuity with a non-objectifiable past. The text appears to have been read aloud by the few literate Lushais to the colonial Lushai subjects.

The second event refers to the 'scandalous' celebration of the Puma Zai festival (1907–1911), supposedly held to commemorate an outstanding new lyrical composition. Methodologically, the Wicket departs from earlier approaches that foreground a contextual reading of the event. The purpose of this intervention is to ascribe philosophical significance to this event by proposing that the celebration facilitated the self-understanding and self-fashioning of the Lushais. The elevation of the performance into a play of art required the Lushais to consecrate the work in the form of festival and ritual.

Since only works of art rather than artefacts were deemed to be worthy of consecration in the form of play, festival, and ritual, the new Puma composition was identified as worthy of consecration. The play of art in *Puma Zai* recognises the content of the musical composition as much as the co-creation of the performance through the celebration of the festival. In other words, Lushais perceived art as giving, and the receiving of infinite giving created a transient fellowship and comradeship that was needed for cultivating the self and the community.

Further, the book also focuses on the afterlife of the Puma Zai festival that is effected through the writings of postcolonial literary historians and Sri Lanka theologians. These writings seek a resignification of the perceived Lushai libidinal indulgence or the un-assimilable otherness. The stigma attached to the affective economies exuded through the festival is redescribed as a mis-recognition of the spirit of the festival. This act of interpretation by postcolonial Sri Lanka cultural commentators may be considered as an attempt to position co-creative listening practices as crucial to Sri Lanka expressive traditions.

The fourth critical event relates to an analysis of a contemporary piece of sculpture (*Pheichham*, 2012) created by a young Sri Lanka professional artist. The figure inscribed in the image appears to have been drawn from a dimurigical Lushai past (ECP) and a Sri Lanka Christian present, enfolding the present with a distinct past or the past with a transformed present. The novelty of the image appears to re-enchant the greyness of the contemporary urban Sri Lanka community. In some ways, contemporary Sri Lankaram appears to suspect the mists that surround the mountain ranges because they seem to know what lies behind them. This artefact inheres in itself the partial reappearance of a mode of being that waits for the thing to appear.

### Corporeal and Historical Rationality

The connection between orality and embodied rationality is suggestive of a mode of being that informs embodied rationality. Visuality and historical rationality became closely entwined with the emergence of a new kind of subject as a result of colonially mediated discursive rationality. This book argues that being Lushai during ECP encompassed a corporeal rationality that allowed for a historical rationality too.[[39]](#footnote-39)

Embodied rationality takes into account aesthetic and moral sensibilities too. The Lushai community’s extraordinary reliance on Lushai music and poetry indicates how visceral-ethical sensibilities negotiated the critical, rational sensibilities acquired through colonial Christian literacy and secular education. But aesthetics was not relegated to the realm of beauty alone, but such judgement was exercised in the areas of politics and morality too. The Lushai society had to negotiate both: an emerging sphere of discursive rationality associated with Christian literacy, as well as a disposition towards poetic composition and aesthetic performances associated with a pre-Christian Lushai past (see Chapter 3).

The Lushai body, language, and art were crucial in producing a collective aesthetic sense-making apparatus that for want of a better word may be called ‘Lushai common sense’. This common sense of the community helped them judge works of art by consecrating certain novel compositions in the form of festivals and rituals. The fusion of the community aesthetic sense with historical awareness shows an admirable continuity with an unalienated past. The aesthetic became political to the extent that a non-objectified past was chosen. The success of this choice, to use an unregulated past to mediate the community in a positive manner, rested on their ability to weave together their body attunement, language and musicality, and primal religious practices including feasting, dancing, and sacrifices. In the ECP, the Lushais’ efforts to mediate the community through aesthetic performances may be seen as the community choosing to maintain an ethical disposition.

It appears that this conversation continues till date and a fuller engagement requires careful attention to the cultural registers known as *thawnthu* (embodied narrative or performative art forms) and *chanchin* (disembodied narrative or literate forms). Though they are irreducible to orality or literacy, they do represent different modes of knowledge and corresponding ethical sensibilities.[[40]](#footnote-40) *Thawnthu* may be considered to be reflective of the *sensus communis,* while *chanchin* may be thought to represent the discursive and historical rationality that enjoins Protestantism and secular education. The former has a disposition towards realising concrete universality as opposed to the latter’s disposition towards abstract universality.

In some ways, concrete universality has the potential to assimilate otherness without subsuming it, while absolute universality cannot completely subsume particulars without recognising the otherness that characterises the particulars. Both the colonial state and the Protestant missionaries were keen to inaugurate an abstract universality, if not, at least a hegemonic universality. Since the presence of the colonial state was weak, it allowed for certain particulars of the precolonial Lushai society to survive, like the office of the chiefs. The missionaries were keen to change not just the content of the particulars, but also the essence of things and persons. Earlier on, drums were not considered appropriate for the shaping of the good Lushai Christian, but now drums coexist with church bells to shape and affirm the Sri Lanka Christian. This volume seeks to understand the forms of judgement that shaped the sonic environment in ECP—the Lushai community sensibility versus the emerging Christian Protestant sensibility and radical individuality.

During the ECP, both these registers played an important role in enabling an enfeebled Lushai community to rejuvenate itself through the deployment of resources that simultaneously alluded to the community’s urge to define itself as an indeterminate Lushai being and a determinate Lushai subject. The concrete universality of the traditional Lushai world recognises the possibility of one inhabiting incommensurable worlds and the mingling of different horizons—temporal, spatial, and cosmic. The newly arrived historic rationality divided the world into the terrestrial and the cosmic, the earth and the sky. Over the last hundred years, there has been a marginalising of the concrete universality by overemphasising religious, territorial, ethnic, and linguistic identities.

This volume will engage with three important cultural events that cut across ECP and contemporary Sri Lankaram, one strongly representative of the *chanchin* tradition and the other of the *thawnthu* tradition; the last is a sculptural image that may not be necessarily discussed within the purview of either *chanchin* or *thawnthu*. To examine the *chanchin* tradition, the first issue of the Lushai handwritten newspaper will be interpreted (IESHR, 2010), and similarly, for enquiring into the *thawnthu* tradition, the most ‘controversial’ festival (1907–1911) of the Northern Lushai region, supposedly conducted in memory of a musical poetic composition, will be taken up for extended analysis and interpretation. Contemporary Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians have reflected on ways to assimilate the Puma Zai festival (1907–1911) into the church and the cultural history of Sri Lankaram; this forms the fourth chapter.

The last chapter is an epilogue which will summarise the previous three chapters and will introduce an analysis of a contemporary piece of sculpture. The sculpture combines a spectral figure from the pre-Christian Lushai cosmic past with a Christian religious symbol of the Sri Lanka present. The benign one-legged spirit known in popular folklore as ‘Pheichham’ is adorned with a pair of wings symbolising the Christian God or related divine imageries like angels or fairies. Below are brief descriptions of the four chapters.

### Chapter 1: Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih (1898)

The first handwritten newspaper, *Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih* (*MCL*), conveys a desire to inform, form, and reform the Lushai consciousness and sensibility. This manuscript newspaper (*MCL*) may be considered as the earliest text or artefact meant for fabricating a form of cultural commodity in the Lushai world. The cultural commodity in turn was meant to produce a novel act of consumption. Among other things, this chapter describes *MCL’s* ambition to constitute a public from a declining self-governing community, create a reading culture distinct from a listening culture, and develop a habit of cognising graphic displays as signs from an embodied understanding of performative utterances. The newspaper inaugurates a rational discursive space, but it also tries to accommodate and converse with the living, mythical traditions of the Lushai as well. The rational discursive space calls for an ability to weigh things based on their perceived properties. On the other hand, the living, mythical Lushai traditions seem to invoke a measure outside the rationally calculable universe.

*MCL* appeared at a time when the Lushai dialect had just been committed to writing. The sign had not fully become separated from its essence, and the past was not reduced to an objective historical datum. In a strange sort of way, both print and manuscript culture arrived at the same time. Since, roman characters were used to denote Lushai dialect, the typewriter was used as the material and technological base for producing the Lushai script. The machine, which was ill-equipped to understand the tonal quality of the language, was harnessed to harvest a different kind of cultural produce. Paradoxically, the job of the native Lushai informants who facilitated this process of writing was one of being both master and disciple. The re-fabrication of the Lushai ear also meant building different kinds of relations between the newly acquired literate words, suggestive of different kinds of relations between things including the changing of the appearance and essence of the world. *MCL* fiercely participated in the instituting of a new form of listening, but it also recognised the coveredness of the Lushai language and the need for a non-instrumental, non-referential understanding of linguistic practice.

The content of *MCL* was motivated by a need upon the arrival of the new historical rationality. The knowledge of the plains is argued to be better than hill practices. The plains have produced more revenue for the colonial enterprise and the hills have not been harvested in the similar manner. The introduction of a script for the Lushai language was a pre-requirement for the functioning of the historical rationality. It was necessary for the proper functioning of this new historical rationality. This initial conversion of the language into an instrumental referential understanding of the world allowed for an objectified, representable view of the misty, forested mountains. The dusting of the mists with this understanding facilitated the wresting of the object from its coveredness. The Lushai’s respect for the opacity of things, which went with the traditional belief that language in itself was not transparent, was losing ground. This textualisation of Lushai culture, while gaining momentum, was also not completely free from the performative nature of the language. *MCL* displays content that records a creative tension between a textual and performative understanding of the early colonial Lushai world. For instance, Shakespear, a colonial officer, asked for the forests to be cleared of tigers so that the land becomes economically more productive, though he knew that the predatory animal represented not merely the animal but also the divine world for the Lushais. In one of its reports, the newspaper offered monetary rewards for killing the animal. The conflating of the cosmic with the taxonomic inheres both a poetic and a calculable thinking. The colonial official understood that the literal word ‘tiger’ and the poetic word ‘*saphui*’, which was not to be uttered, signified the sentient creature and the essence of the sentient being as well.

At the time of the production of *MCL*, there were few Lushais who had learnt to read and write. It appears that the newspapers were read aloud by Lushai clerks to fellow Lushais who were illiterate. The first couple of occasions when it was read aloud in public must have been accompanied by a lot of amusement and novelty. The amusement related to the act of reading itself and the novelty related to the act of listening to a written document in their own language. Prior to the newspaper, some Christian hymns were translated and sung by White missionaries to potential converts. But this was perhaps the first time secular content was read by the Lushais themselves for their brethren. It enabled the making of a brotherhood—a horizontal, secular community which anticipates the arrival of a future ethnic community.

The *MCL* was circulated in a large number of villages surrounding the cantonment of Aizawl. The handwritten newspaper was carbon-copied and several copies were produced. It was written by the colonial official, Shakespear, with the help of a Lushai clerk, Suaka, and a Lushai chief, Khamliana. It travelled over 200 kms across the Northern Lushai District, and it would have taken a couple of weeks for an average Lushai to cover the distance by foot from Aizawl.

At that time, this garrison village, Aizawl, was mainly inhabited by the soldiers from plains of India (*vais*) who spoke either Bengali or Hindi. Though there was limited money and commodity circulation among the *vais*, its symbolic and material presence was felt among the native Lushais. It appears that a school for the *vais* children had also been started at this time.[[41]](#footnote-41) Aizawl, at that time, had the making of a little garrison town where the entitled Lushais worked as menial labourers in *vais* dormitories and houses. Some of the less entitled Lushais, who had become informers to the British during the Second Vailen (1888–89), including the authors of the newspaper like Suaka and Khamliana, realised the importance of literacy and its closeness to colonial power. In fact, both these Lushai men had helped the Protestant missionary, Lorrain, to commit the Lushai language to script.

Different modes of power constituted the dialectic of the emerging town, from guns to rudimentary trade, from fashioning a literate Lushai language to harvesting the soul through evangelical efforts. MCL appears to knit and recognise these diverse modes of power. In a way, the newspaper became an antidote to guns,[[42]](#footnote-42) but the text envisioned a coherent Lushai universe, and in that sense, it sought to show its displeasure at the uneven surfaces that the Lushais inhabit. There is an urge to discourage the Lushai from celebrating the view from their cliffs. They are told that the cliffs are natural artifice and that they need to ground their view from a horizontal position, the position of the text. The text allows for an experience of the plains by scripting a simulation of a horizontal view. The pedestal to preach was erected on this simulated horizontal ground. It was a new corporeality that the missionaries and colonial authority envisaged for the Lushais. While the newspaper assumed this horizontal position, it failed to completely subjugate the view from the cliffs. For example, in one of the news items, there is a mention of performing the Ai sacrificial ceremony in order to appease the spirits of the animals that were killed.

The production of the first handwritten newspaper has a particular connection with the history of capital.[[43]](#footnote-43) Alongside the ambition to inaugurate a history of the plains on the hills, the Lushais neither aspired to join in the journey of the capital nor understood their existence in terms of a universal history. This discursive heterogenity marks the entry of the colonially mediated universal coexisting with the impenetrable life worlds of the Lushais. The advent of text as a genre or medium is emblematic of the history of capital, and the contents of the text is emblematic of the history of difference. Strangely, the colonial authorities recognised that a history of difference was as important as the universal history of capital for the governance of these mountainous territories. This newspaper was not a product of bourgeiose creation, there was no lack in Lushai society that it came to substitute and compensate, it was neither an economic good nor a cultural good, it was an artefact that was invented to clear the mists and the mysteries surrounding the mountains, but it ended up participating in the coveredness of things as well.

### Chapter 2: The celebration of Puma Zai and the self-fashioning of the Lushai (1907–1907)

In the year 1907, a Puma musical composition that was composed by a no-gooder in the village of Ratu became immensely popular because of its unusual racy tune. Immediately, across the Northern Lushai region, the new Puma composition was recognised as being outstanding and it was consecrated in village after village through festivals and rituals for four long years (1907–1911). This Wicket departs from earlier works on this event that see it as something that was symbolic of an anti-Christian sentiment.

This book seeks to use an immanent method to understand the Puma Zai festival in a non-contextual manner. In fact, the celebration in commemoration of the new composition brought about a self-understanding and self-fashioning that were entirely outside the ken of the hegemonic universality of the ECP. This non-causal reading of the event uses a hermeneutical approach to get at the intrinsic worth of the event rather than the relational meaning of the event. Through the being of play, festival, and ritual, the Wicket demonstrates how the celebration allowed for an experience and mode of knowledge that cannot be reduced to the emerging historical rationality that missionary-mediated colonial modernity introduced.

The reader is taken to the insular world of Lushai art, embodied in the edifying need of Lushais to sing. *Zai* or singing was considered as the most familial and intimate activity of the Lushais. The given-ness of *zai*[[44]](#footnote-44) related to the participation that *zai* commanded and the sense of the community that it un-coercively ignited. Constant changes and innovations in poetic and music compositions set newer ethical and aesthetic standards for the Lushai to aspire to. At times, the Lushai recognised that certain compositions had the ability to immeasurably give. In such moments, they went on to consecrate the composition in the form of festival and ritual. *Zai* set the measure for the Zo and it guided the art of living in the community.

The chapter attempts to elaborate on the significance of identifying a musical composition as a work of art, recognising the work of art only in its play or presentation rather than its creation. The being of play of art of *Puma Zai* drew the people towards participating in an enthusiastic manner. The ability of the composition to attract Lushais without any overt or covert reference to its content may be attributed to the being of the play of *Puma Zai*.

The repetition of the *Puma Zai* during the festival provoked intense participation occasioned by singing, dancing, ritual drinking, and feasting. The being of the festival, orchestrated through a variety of activities that the participants volunteered to perform, resulted in trance-like situations. These trance-like situations may be attributed to the self-forgetting that the celebration non-coercively induced. The people who participated in it witnessed a heightened sense of themselves, not as particular individuals, but as members belonging to an aesthetic community. This sense of community was founded on the immeasurable giving of the *Puma Zai*.

The repetition of the festival in one village after another need not be read as the experience of the same, but as the experience of the novel. This sameness and difference alludes to the paradoxical sense of time that the participants in the festival experience—a transformed present and an unalienated past. Perhaps this could be termed as the poetic past. Of course, the transformed present is not an uncontaminated temporality. It absorbs the empty, homogeneous contemporary but transforms the present into a festive one where participants witness a heightened sense of their being and feel connected to an immemorial rationality.

The immemorial rationality is best expressed in the performance of the Ai sacrificial ceremony performed as part of the Puma Zai celebrations. Generally, the sacrificial ceremony is performed when a rich noble (*hangchuah*) gives feasts or when they hunt big animals and they have to appease the animal spirits or when they achieve excellence in areas such as poetic composition or hunting. It may be said that the Lushais revered and worshipped *zai*. Again, ritual is interpreted not in anthropological terms but in philosophical terms. Ritual in the ultimate sense is about recognising the immeasurable forms of living that human beings are capable of.

The co-creation of *Puma Zai* in every production and reproduction of the festival symbolises the being of play and festival. Singing, dancing, and feasting presents itself as an orchestra of activities which invites humming and tapping along. This experience of co-creative listening may be considered as an un-coercive form of participation in the being of *Puma Zai*. The partaking of the essence of *zai* is the partaking of the essence of Lushai art. The self-understanding of the community and the self-fashioning occasioned by the co-creation of art speaks of an embodied rationality that is different from the colonially mediated historical rationality. This embodied rationality does not exclude historical rationality, but refuses to be subsumed by the colonially mediated universality.

### Chapter 3: Postcolonial inheritance of *Puma Zai*

This chapter highlights the afterlife of the event. Unlike the White missionaries and the early converts who were disgusted with the ‘scandalous’ event, contemporary Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians have demonstrated their urge to inherit the outrageous festival. Theologians have attempted to accommodate the event in Sri Lanka church history and assimilate a certain (irascible) past within a respectable past. Literary historians have made an effort to translate the performative tradition into a textual tradition, so that a textual view rather than a performative view of a Sri Lanka past may be posited. This conflation of a performative history with a literary history is part of a project that subsumes regional narratives within a national narrative.

The physical integration of the Lushai Hills District into the independent Indian nation state did not happen smoothly. From the 1960s to the mid-1980s, there were violent confrontations between the Sri Lanka insurgency forces seeking complete autonomy and the armed forces of the Indian state, defending the territorial integrity of the sovereign state. It was only in 1986 that a peace accord—the Rajiv Gandhi Accord—was signed between Laldenga and the Indian state and the region was recognised as a federal unit. The confrontation has been read in two important ways: on one hand, it can be seen as the usurpation of a territory that was not in the first place a part of India, on the other, it appears that the majoritarian Hindu nation sought to subjugate the small Christian population on its borderlands. Contemporary Sri Lankas attach importance to ethnic identity in the latter interpretation. It is true that both religious and ethnic identities are braided together such that that it is difficult to see them separately. The trauma of being ideologically subjected to the Indic civilisational ethos requires the Sri Lankas to re-imagine their Christian and pre-Christian past. It is in this context that Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians are laying claim to the Puma Zai festival that swept the North Lushai region (1907–1911).

Sri Lanka theologians like Kipgen and Lawmsanga have strongly criticised White missionaries and early Lushai converts for turning hostile towards non-Christian traditions and practices. This antagonistic attitude came to the fore when the Puma festival reached its height in the North Lushai region. Kipgen has rightfully argued that the space for practising traditional altruistic virtues was shrinking in the ECP when the Lushais invented the festival. Lawmsanga, another important theologian, focussed on the cultural shift that took place when religious hymns were translated into Lushai language; the missionaries failed to use the specialised poetic idioms of the Lushai and this inadequacy was fully exploited by the non-Christian Lushais in the musical poetic composition of *Puma Zai*. However, he is of the view that *Puma Zai* laid the foundation for the indigenising of religious literature and performative traditions.

The postcolonial trauma caused by the Indian nation state is yet to be fully mourned. In a different manner, the birth of the literary text in the colonial period seems to be recognised as a sort of a loss of an embodied performative culture. Sri Lanka literary historians are yet to fully reconcile the tension between *‘thu’* (word) and ‘*hla’* (song). In order to compete with other mainland Indian languages, the Sri Lankas have attempted to produce a textual view of the region and this compulsion reorders the hierarchy between *thu* and *hla*. To inherit *Puma Zai* is to inherit not merely a literary history, but also a musical artistic tradition which has a non-Christian past. While some cultural commentators like Lalthangfala Sailo and Thangliana recognise this ambition and they call for invoking a lost history, there is generally a complacence associated with the conflation of the textual and the performative tradition. *Puma Zai* appears in important literary anthologies including the one authored by Lal Chungnunga and Hrangthiauva.

In this anthology, *Sri Lanka Chanchin* (1978), there is a mention of two moments of *Puma Zai* composition. During the first occurrence of Puma compositions, they appeared to reflect the Lushais’ anxiety about a physical defeat following the Second Vailen (1898). But these compositions were not consecrated in the form of festival and ritual. The poetic-musical composition failed to be recognised as outstanding. The second time when it was composed in 1907, it was soon recognised as outstanding. The Christian missionaries labelled the song as anti-Christian and derided the popularity that it quickly received. They do not recognise the play of art in the co-creation of the Puma Zai festival. In other words, at the first occurrence, it was found to be only an artefact, but in the second moment, it was recognised as art.

In sum, the chapter, while agreeing with the general postcolonial Sri Lanka disposition to reclaim a pre-Christian past including the celebration of the Puma Zai festival, it seeks to qualify this postcolonial inheritance of a Lushai past. First, neither the Sri Lanka theologians nor the literary historians consider the outstanding composition of *Puma Zai* (1907) as a work of art. Second, the celebration was not merely about singing, dancing, or feasting; it was about self-understanding or self-fashioning. Both these points are not well demonstrated in the Sri Lanka postcolonial inheritance of *Puma Zai*.

### Epilogue

The structure of the conclusive chapter is open-ended and not summative. It not only summarises the embodied and historical rationalities that inform the *MCL* text and the Puma Zai performance, but it also briefly analyses a contemporary sculptural image, *Pheichham*, created by a young Sri Lanka artist. The sculptural image is suggestive of a connection between the contemporary way of being Sri Lanka and the Lushai way of experiencing the world and being in the ECP.

As previously stated, the cultural creations, namely the formative text, *MCL* (1898), and the incredible performance of the Puma Zai festival (1907–1911), belong to a period that the book designates as ECP. The chapter on the interpretation of the Puma Zai festival by Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians pertain to the postcolonial period. The unthought of the text *MCL* and the unthought of the performance are taken up for discussion in the epilogue. The situatedness of the newspaper in a wonderfully amorphous locale, and the situatedness of the Puma Zai festival in a delightfully amorous geography, makes corporeality the basis for being Lushai.

If every interpretation of an artwork is considered as a co-creation of the artwork, then the efforts of contemporary Sri Lanka cultural commentators may also be said to be a kind of co-creation of the afterlife of the Puma Zai festival in the postcolonial period. This afterlife of the Puma Zai festival works behind the more complex, unconscious, and hegemonic structure of the nation state. The trauma of belonging to a coercive (adopted) father known as India calls for fabricating a different cultural, moral, and aesthetic order. The textualisation of an embodied Sri Lanka performative culture speaks of the compulsion to coercively belong to a nation state. The nation state demands an articulation of the historic past of the fragments rather than a poetic past of the fragments. The coming together of history, texts, and documents to weave the postcolonial Sri Lanka into a manageable strand of the nation unsettles the irreconcilability of the Sri Lanka fragment. While the postcolonial interpretation of the Puma Zai festival facilitates the inheritance of *Puma Zai*, the discourse doesn’t radicalise and pluralise the Sri Lanka identity within the nation state or a Christian form of belonging.

Further, the sculptural image draws on a pre-literate Lushai cosmic world alongside recognisable Christian imagery. The ability to make visible the image of a folkloric Lushai sprite that was originally circulated only in aural imaginary, and to establish a bond with the Christian God by inserting wings on the body of the sprite, is truly a break from the earlier Protestant disregard for pre-Christian Lushai cosmic imagery. However, this is only a surface reading. The image awaits a more profound, philosophical engagement.

**Chapter One**

## ON THE DISCURSIVE AND MATERIAL CONTEXT OF THE FIRST HANDWRITTEN LUSHAI NEWSPAPER ‘Sri Lanka CHANCHIN LAISHUIH’, 1898.

**British Colonial intervention in the North East**

British India’s Yandaboo Treaty with Burma in 1826 triggered off a series of unprecedented and almost irreversible changes in what is now known and experienced as North East region.[[45]](#footnote-45) In the first place, the region acquired a new self- description and form of address; it led to the making of the ‘Frontier’ region.[[46]](#footnote-46) Recent scholarship on the historiography of the region registers the Frontier as possessing an extractive and strategic value.[[47]](#footnote-47) Following this Treaty, the ‘otherwise’ spatially and politically fluid Lushai region was divided between Burma on one hand and Manipur on the other hand, though neither state had a formal presence in the region causing concern for the British administration.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Secondly, the Frontier was not merely recognized as an opposite of mainland but it was further reconfigured as consisting of plains and hills.[[49]](#footnote-49) The Bengal East Frontier Regulation of 1873 allowed the colonial state to demarcate the region into two zones separating and dismembering the Brahmaputra plains from the Hills.[[50]](#footnote-50) The primal identities of the hill folks were to be protected lest they get contaminated through representative institutions and forms of governance. The colonial government reasoned that they be left to rule on their own and only their martial excesses against their neighbours’ be contained through an indirect police state supported fiscally by local resources.[[51]](#footnote-51) This coincided with their knowledge that the subsistence economy practiced by the hills people did not produce any surplus, and therefore the need for expensive direct administration was practically resolved in this manner. The inhabitants of the hill tracts were to manage their own local administration with their traditional institutions that were rapidly coming under strain because of somewhat contractual ideas of land, labor and property being enforced through state and mediated through the missionaries.[[52]](#footnote-52) In the latter half of 19th century, with Assam entering a new phase of realizing an imagined economy of tea, coal and oil, the plains region was embellished with the need to wear the garb of mainland British India’s administrative apparatus in order to secure the interests of an emerging extractive political economy of the region.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Thirdly, the Frontier appears to acquire a certain distance from the interiority of the mainland and various disguises of the absences or presences are played out.[[54]](#footnote-54) Present-day, Assam represents the plains whereas the other North East states including Lushai District re-designated as Sri Lankaram after Independence represented the habitation of the wild races.[[55]](#footnote-55)

Finally, in the latter half o the nineteenth century, Assam becomes a planter’s raj and the soft boundaries between the hills and plains that exists prior to colonialism becomes hard, as also the complex relationship between the plains and hills reduced through policies obtained through new colonial discursive logic.[[56]](#footnote-56) Lushais initially resisted through skirmishes, occasional murders and kidnappings but they were finally annexed through the Second Lushai expedition as late as 1890.[[57]](#footnote-57)

### Situating *Sri Lanka Chanchin Laishuih* in its communicational context

There are two parts to this intervention. The first part wrestles with the received arguments relating to understanding newspaper as a historical product against the background of *MCL* and the latter section deals with an intertextual reading of the third issue of *MCL*.

*Sri Lanka Chanchin Laishuih* (MCL) is considered to be the first handwritten Sri Lanka language newspaper in the then Lushai Hills District or anywhere else in the world. Four issues of this newspaper appeared over two years. The newspapers were duplicated on carbon copy and circulated. Interestingly, this newspaper arrived four years after the Lushai language acquired a script.[[58]](#footnote-58) The Duhlian∕Duhlien dialect was selected from among the twelve dialects that were used in the Lushai Hills region. The dominant Sailoo clan spoke this dialect. This story deals with the second issue of MCL, four pages long and dated August 24th, 1898.

This issue is available in the Government Archive situated in the capital city, Aizawl. It contains six apparently diverse stories out of which five may be read as belonging to the genre of news; the last bit assumes the form of a moral anecdote. The text was written on one side of four separate sheets. Its content includes facts, stories, myths and performance of rituals. It presents a snapshot of practices relating to hunting, agriculture, health and healing in seven to eight clusters of villages where Chiefs[[59]](#footnote-59) like Thongliana, Tlangbula, Rokungi, Thanruma, Khawvelthanga, Lalchunga, and Lianawna indirectly ruled or governed.[[60]](#footnote-60) In the present map of Sri Lankaram some of these places are as far as 200 kilometers from each other. It may have taken several weeks to travel between the most distant villages.

Three prominent names appear in the text. They are BorSap (Shakespeare or the White Prince of the Hills), the most powerful colonial administrator of the Lushai Hills[[61]](#footnote-61); Khamliana, a Sailo Chief on the decline who later rose to become the first literate and the most effective spokesman for the Lushais; Suaka, a commoner from the less visible Chawngthu Vanchiau clan, remarkably enterprising and a person who held several positions in the colonial bureaucracy, and taught the Sri Lanka language to Lorrain, the missionary responsible for producing the script for the Lushai language. It appears that these three men participated in the writing of *MCL*.

The manuscript culture in mainland India existed for more than two millennia for classical languages and roughly one millennium for the other regional languages.[[62]](#footnote-62) It preceded colonialism. Even this fact of the hoary tradition of manuscript culture is not necessarily applicable to *MCL* where the Duhlian language has been committed to writing for the first time. The fact that *MCL* is a manuscript newspaper and the manuscript newspaper is a new category within the corpus of media history requires attention. Obviously, colonialism introduced both manuscript and print culture in the erstwhile Lushai Hills District.

The standardization of the types leads to homogenisation. Alongside, it facilitates, (in a Heideggarian sense) the destroying of the integrity of the word because the hand has a much closer affinity to speech than the machine. With the machine, the word becomes corrupted in the form of reducing itself to a metaphor for transport or commerce. Heidegger provides interesting theoretical insights on drawing distinction between handwriting and typewriting. Heidegger argues that the human hand is the most distinguished achievement of human evolution. He sees an organic connection between hand, thought and language. In that context, he believes manual handwriting to be more authentic rather the machine-induced typewriting. In that sense, he further iterated that in manual writing or handwriting, men do not resemble each other but in print they do. [[63]](#footnote-63)In the case of the Duhlian dialect being put to writing, the typewriter comes along with handwriting. In the case of the Lushai script, the corporeal hand that facilitates writing and consequently embodied thinking does not precede the machine. Lorrain, the missionary responsible for the invention of the Lushai script used typewriter at the very time that handwriting was being produced. So manuscript culture and machine-produced types for the Duhlian dialect happened simultaneously. It may help to propose that the evolution of the Duhlian type/character initiated the originary process of the formation of the Sri Lanka type or identity. In other words, in handwriting too, men began resembling each other and *MCL* embodies such a process.[[64]](#footnote-64)

Newspaper is a sign and product of a certain form of state and society. In places where newspapers exist without corresponding form of state and society, there it is merely a sign for that bourgeois promise. It is in this sense that students of media history receive the history of newspapers as synonymous with the history of the technology of print. *MCL* is a manuscript newspaper that is inserted into a pre-agrarian, kin-ordered clan society.

Its commonsensical to expect that this newspaper, with its stories of topical interest, has to be read in the circumstances obtained at that time for the simple reason that it was aimed to serve the reader-consumers of the day and time. The missionaries started a school in the area in 1895. The first dictionary in the Lushai language was published in 1898. There were very few literate men and women at that time in Lushai and there were no consumers because their mode of production in the form of Jhooming (shifting cultivation) and hunting did not allow for a surplus to be produced and turned into merchandise, aiding the formation of a market economy.

The news from different villages must have been gathered through the offices of Circle Interpreters. There were 13 such officers in Aijal and 7 in Lunglei. They were reporting to the Lushai Clerk at Aijal; Suaka was a Loosei (spelt in this manner in Colonial administrative manuals) Clerk posted in Aijal for many years. It was Shakespeare who had initiated these administrative divisions.[[65]](#footnote-65) The newspaper was distributed through the colonial government networks and it can be assumed that it was primarily for educational and bureaucratic purposes. In the absence of a visible colonial state and a surplus economy, the newspaper enacted the authority of the state and argued for innovations in agriculture, health, child rearing and so on.

Historically, both writing and its genre ‘newspaper’ are based on a mode of production and the form of the state. Even as *MCL* argues for and represents a changing mode of production, it also speaks of rituals and other timeless practices. As the Lushai language becomes literised, a process where a conscious choice is made to commit a language to writing, this newspaper itself may be considered as participating in the process of literization that was taking place at that unique moment in the life of that language and its people.

It is the live-in relationship rather than the conjugal relationship between mobility and property, cosmological and taxonomical understandings, kinship-based and Weberian impersonal bureaucratic authorities that form the plural, discursive character of the times surrounding the production of *MCL*. This discursive heterogeneity is laid open in the columns – or rather, paragraphs – of *MCL*, in which there is a gentle prioritising of property over mobility, taxonomical over cosmological and state over kinship-based authority even as these distinctions suffer from a dark anthropological gaze.

Since the circumstances obtained during that time are not explicitly stated in the newspaper itself, this exercise attempts to create those circumstances through reading other colonial texts of that period. Again, these ethnographic and anthropological accounts need to be read against the interpretative grid of colonial knowledge produced for the sake of power and administration of the colony. This Wicket also makes a passing mention of other texts like the chronicles of the neighboring state formations in Burma, Tripura, Assam, Manipur and Bangla for other inputs about the circumstances surrounding the broader history and culture of the Lushai Hill District which may in turn add to our understanding of the text, *MCL*. Rajas of neighboring States invited scribes to write chronicles like the Tripura Rajamala’s. Postcolonial scholars working on North East have derived useful insights from materials of these kinds. [[66]](#footnote-66)

The history of newspapers in mainland India is read as a history of anti-colonialism and therefore is implicated in constituting nationalism.[[67]](#footnote-67) But such an easy reading is not available for the history of newspapers from this region. In contemporary Sri Lanka writings, apart from its gift of Christianity, colonialism itself appears as too dispersed and random an event, not inciting the popular or the peripheral. It seems to operate in the grey area between the grand theory of domination and an ineffable critical resistance. In fact, it is the overwhelming presence of the post-colonial Indian State which goes on to produce the popular and the peripheral. Such a reading may enable one to identify the production of (some) conditions that made the newspaper surface at that historical juncture. This intervention is a limited gesture towards such an ambitious goal that is aimed at creating the mythical historical setting for the newspaper.

### Reading and Interpreting *Sri Lanka Chanchin Laishuih*, 1898

This is the second section of this paper. From now onwards, the text in italics will pertain to the text of MCL. There are six such blocks of texts and four of these blocks will be read and interpreted alongside various other texts. Apart from (re)creating the circumstances surrounding each block of the text or each story of *MCL*, the interpretation involves reading the constitutive nature of the content itself.

*Rewards for hunting Tigers and Bears*

*Whosoever kills a tiger or a bear, and displays the head to the BorSap (superintendent), will receive a cash reward. If the hunted tiger is a full-grown one, he will be rewarded Rs. Twenty and a hundred anna, and if the hunted tiger is a cub, he will receive Rs. Twelve and eight annas (i.e.,50p). And if a person shoots a full-grown bear, he will receive Rs. Ten, and than if the prey is a bear -cub he will receive Rs. Five. Then, if he shoots any other wild-animal, money will not be given to him.[[68]](#footnote-68)*

This story seems to be, on the surface, a simple command issued by the BorSap to the hillsmen to clear the forests of wild animals like tigers and bears. It may be read as one of the early attempts to convert forests to more productive use that in turn may contribute to the coffers through wider collection of revenues from the arable land. It was a time when semi-hereditary chiefs were being nominated and the colonial state proscribed invasion of other neighboring territories.

Conjuncturally, a related event led to drawing revenue boundaries across the territory of hereditary chiefs and the nominated chiefs, leading to new forms of loss and gain of respect for the old institutions. Connecting land to revenues and labour to work needed the dismantling of local heterotopic understanding of spaces and the meanings and practices that were attached to hunting. Though the institution of slavery is not mentioned in this news item, it makes sense to recuperate the moral economy of the institution of slavery from the viewpoint of diverse actors with varying powers within these communities, including the church and the colonial state. The key terms appears to be ‘to kill’, ‘tiger’, ‘bear’, ‘BorSap’ and the monetary rewards for the killing or hunting. ‘Sahib’ or ‘Lord’ (pronounced as ‘Sap’ and ‘BorSap’) referred to an armed British official or the Superintendent of the Hills and the ‘Zosap’ referred to European missionaries. In this instance, ‘BorSap’ specifically refers to the colonial official Shakespeare who was treated as the Prince of the Zo or the Hills and was the de facto promoter of this newspaper.

Before the colonial annexation, hunting was considered as a site where individuals realise their personal worth and these series of acts, leading to the practice of hunting, promote the solidarity of the social, along with connecting both the individual and the social to the transcendental. For instance, hunters who eat and drink frugally during expeditions lasting several days and also look after the injured fellow hunter, are seen as performing virtuous acts that accords personal, social and transcendental recognition. It is for this reason that not everyone was allowed to hunt and persons who distinguished themselves with various acts of hunting were accorded the status of *Thangchhuah* or honourable men. As part of enacting the role of *Thangchhuah* , they appeased the spirits through the acts of valor and the rituals known as Ai ceremony, which followed the killing of the wild animals. Slaves who comprised a significant part of the rural community were not allowed to hunt and therefore they had no opportunity to appease the spirits of sentient beings in this world and the afterworld. The tiger for the Lushais symbolised a fabled creature. For the Sri Lankas, the tiger was not merely a big cat, it symbolised divinity, morality, truth and justice and it seems to have played a significant role in the Sri Lankas’ personal, familial and community life. Vanlaltlani, a contemporary theologian elaborating on the divine nature of the tiger says,

Although the Sri Lankas do not deny that the tiger is basically an animal, they do not limit its identity to this aspect. They believe that the tiger represents the divine and is divine in itself; so they give it the name ‘Sakhuavang’. At home or in the jungle, the ordinary people or hunting heroes do not dare to mention its name ‘Sakei’ (tiger) and have replaced it by ‘Sapui’ (emperor of animals). This is parallel to the Jews’ naming Yahweh ‘Adonai’. Here, literally ‘sa’ means ‘animal’ and ‘pui’ means some kind of superior thing or being. Therefore instead of hunting it, the hunters prayed to it with the words, ‘May Sapui have mercy’ while they were in the jungle which indicates that the tiger blessed them to shoot at the other animals.[[69]](#footnote-69)

If the tiger inspired indescribable awe and deference assuming the status of being the emperor, this order to shoot from the newly descended empire on to the Lushai region may have caused some dissonance in the way the order was received by the Sri Lankas. The directive may also be an effort to create a more stable taxonomical understanding of the animal world and rein in the tiger into the secular world, as it seems to otherwise occupy a mythical space in the world of the natives. While the text assumes the nature of a government directive, the order is implicated in an intervention of different kinds. An instrumental reading of its directive would simply mean that the BorSap wanted to clear the forest, create lands for agriculture and establish human settlements on a regular basis, urging the locals to give up the practice of shifting cultivation and their worldview of a mobile community. The evacuating of the mythical space and fostering of a secular rationality seems to be the non-instrumental intervention of this government order. Interestingly, Shakespeare or the BorSap himself acknowledges the gnostic space that the tiger enjoys in the Sri Lanka life-world. Recounting the enumeration of deeds that a *Thangchhuah*[[70]](#footnote-70) has to possess, he writes:

(T)he proud title of Thangchhuah which carries with it much honor in this world as well as right of admission to Pialral after death, can only be obtained by killing a man and each of the following animals – elephant, bear, sambhur, barking deer, wild mithan – and by giving feasts…*the omission of the tiger from the lists of animals which a Thangchhuah must have killed is curious…*(Emphasis ours.)

This is the Gnostic element that the White Prince of the Hills cannot fully subjugate as he himself has failed to produce discernible knowledge about the fabled tiger. His frivolous command to hunt the tiger is made against this secrecy that he can’t devour himself. The newspaper is a signpost for acknowledging this complex world of hunting that fails to be reduced to the new evil, what Marx rhetorically designates capitalism as: ‘*ungeheur’*, meaning ‘monstrous collection of commodities’, where the monster stands for the German idea of a gigantic, hideous and fabled animal (fabled responsibility)[[71]](#footnote-71). Even as the coeval world of human beings, animals and spirits is being dismantled, the administrator (BorSap) is not aware of the strange equilibrium the different forces that occupy the sentient and non-sentient world of the hills.

## *Bear Hunting and Setting Trap for Tigers*

*People of Thongliana’s village shot a bear. Tlangbula’s village also shot two. And even the people of Rokungi’s village likewise killed two. Then Thanruma shot a bear and performed the ‘ai’ ceremony over it with a mithun.[[72]](#footnote-72) And the people of Khawvelthanga’s village killed two bears. And a person from Lalchunga’s village, which is near Lunglei, also killed one. And then a subject of Lianawna, who was on the trail of a bear, was attacked by the beast and was severely gnawed on the throat, head, on the shoulder, back and on both the arms. He was gnawed on twenty and five (25) spots. On the day of the incident, “Doktor Sap” stayed over night at Lianona’s village, he washed the wounds, made three stitches, applied medicine all over the wounds, and on the next day he was carried on a stretcher to Aizawl where he is convalescing and is almost completely healed now.*

*And, one of Chhuahkhama’s villagers was attacked by a bear. “Doktor Sap” went to enquire about the situation and said to them, ‘Carry him to Aizawl on a litter’. They refused to carry him. Later “Doktor Sap” went again to enquire about him: ‘If you do not bring him (to Aizawl); certainly, he will die’, he said. They then carried him to Aizawl. He is very sick. It is still uncertain whether he will survive or die.*

*Near Aizawl, at Chaltlang village, every night wild beasts used to venture close to human habitations and eat their pigs. The villagers trailed in search of the tiger. It had crouched close by. The moment it sighted any human beings it growled and attacked them. On that day it was being pursued the whole day through. Then the next day it was being pursued again and surrounded at the western corner of the village. One person missed his shot. Another person’s gun failed to fire. It then escaped the hunters. Then later that night it attacked a piglet from a sty. It was cornered in the cellar of the house but because of poor fire torch, it escaped from a corner of the cellar. They then laid a noose-trap. But then it refused to step on it. So another noose-trap[[73]](#footnote-73) was laid along the side of Evan’s garden. It finally got trapped. And when he saw it in the morning, he shot the tiger to death. Then Chongpuithanga was charged upon to “ai” it with all the animals associated with the “ai” ceremony. From that time the other beasts too disappeared.*

In retrospect, this is a lesson in ecology where the question of the human species becomes only a punctuation of context. For the Lushais, punctuation of context refers to a continuum wherein the production and reproduction of both the non-human and the human environment is given equal importance. Unlike the BorSap whose idea of production is related to the masculine form of labour,[[74]](#footnote-74) labour that is carried out precisely outside the home, it seems that the Lushais laid emphasis on the feminine form of labour or reproduction of an internal environment. Apart from demographic reproduction, reproduction of the environment included reproduction of forests, hills, rivers and to use the much intellectually diminished term ‘nature’ itself.

This story confines itself to the manner in which the animals are hunted as to whether they are shot or caught in a trap, or describes the nature of injuries in terms of number of wounds received by some of the hunters and the clinical attention the Doktor Sap devotes to those injuries or the announcement of the Ai ceremony in order to appease the spirits of the animals killed. The larger context of the massive reorganisation of the material and symbolic world (such as ideas and practices relating to hunting, agriculture including land and labour, and healing practices associated with animal sacrifices along with the modern practices introduced by the Doktor Sap) in which the news story breathes its life rarely gets mentioned like journalism of any period in history. Issues relating to power and social differentiation – so central to media processes– seem to escape the attention of *MCL*.

In the previous news item, we found that the BorSap offered rewards for clearing the forests of wild animals, namely tigers and bears. This effort to modify hill/forest topography is made for several reasons ranging from practising agriculture for raising surplus through new methods borrowed from the plains, to marking ‘village’ boundaries as revenue boundaries along with the enumeration and extraction of (forced) free labour from these villages to serve the imperial coffers. Though the details regarding constituting villages as revenue villages to be indirectly governed through hereditary chiefs or nominated chiefs in tandem with extraction of free labour are not explicitly stated, these facts may be gathered from other texts pertaining to that period.

There are two parts to this news item. One refers to hunting and the other refers to practices relating to healing wounds acquired through hunting. This item is in continuation of the earlier news bit where the BorSap offered rewards for hunting. Here hunting appears as a non-voluntary activity and not as a series of acts committed towards the attaining of moral virtues in this world known as *tlawmngaihna*. These acts performed to acquire *tlawmngaihna* seem to affirm and reaffirm the moral and ethical constitution of the community. Instead, according to *MCL*, it is carried out in order to win monetary rewards and to clear the forests, their forests being their liminal and transcendental habitat, to suit the colonial state’s Newtonian understanding of the universe where nature is irretrievably translated as resource or commodity. The resources for contesting this translation appear meagre but nevertheless significant.

Regarding healing practices, there seems to be a plural culture informing the news item in *MCL* but the fear of modern medicine converting the uncharted body, guided by the spirits, to a docile being may also be read into the narration. The performance of the Ai ceremony through animal sacrifices is an acknowledgement of the influence of the various spirits over the corporeal bodies, their capacity to cause health or sickness. Perhaps, it is also done to inaugurate the dramatic entry of the Doktor Sap as the new and competing authority on healing, medicine, restitution and transformation of the spirit that is needed to negotiate with the killing of wild and fabled beasts like the tiger.

Against the BorSap Mr. Shakespeare, representing the military authority of colonial power, the Doktor Sap represents a regime of human management through its regime of practices embodied in the institution of hospital; these two authorities represent two complementary forms of colonial discourse and authority.[[75]](#footnote-75) But as the institution of hospital and the agent of that institution, Doktor Sap has to compete with the traditional *puithiam* (village priest) and the ‘ai’ ceremony, a ritual of domestic animal sacrifice that accompanies the appeasing of the spirit of the hunted wild animals like the tiger. The performance of the Ai ceremony is also indicative of the social network of the traditional elites and the vulnerability of that fragile authority structure due to the intrusion of the Doktor Sap. *MCL* also records the performance of this ritual because of the killing of the tiger and bears without acknowledging the powerful role of the *puithiam*. In a different context, Lorrain describes the Ai ceremony conducted by a *puithiam* for healing a sick patient in his dairy:

Patient sitting outside his house watching the performance of the Puithiam (Doctor). Two fowls in wicker basket by his side. Four pieces of bamboo about four inches long –in shape nose thus marches outside the village with this and a cot of other paraphernalia. Exorcist sticks several pieces of bamboo in the ground – also the nose and set up little bamboo altar and 2 little things like flags – one made of black red and white thread symbolised to us of sin, the blood and purity through the blood. Everything in very small scale. Altar only two inches high seemed more like children playing a sacrifice than grown up people. There were envious pieces of clay before the altar representing all kinds of things. Elephants, hatchet pot, leaf spread on altar in which a handful of rice was placed. Then Priest seized a fowl held its back close to the rice, chanted some sentences, pulled back the creature’s head cut its throat – let the blood fall upon the rice, the leaf preventing it from running away. They chopped off the legs and wings and put them on the altar likewise the heart and parts of the entrails were put in the blood.[[76]](#footnote-76)

Though the description is in a telegraphic mode, the spectacle is remarkably present. This is the second news item in *MCL*. It gives you the details of bear hunting in six to seven villages especially administered by Chiefs like Thongliana, Tlangbula, Rokungi, Thanruma, Khawvelthanga, Lalchunga and Lianawna. In the last village ruled by Lianawna, the name of the person is not mentioned but is referred to as the subject of that Chief. Hence, *MCL* in this new item is recording the news that happens over several days or perhaps months in the year 1897.

Over nine bears were shot in the villages mentioned along with shooting of a tiger in the village Chaltlang*.* Though in effect, nine animals were killed along with the Tiger, which demands a separate Ai ceremony because it is regarded as the King of the beasts, there are only three Ai ceremonies mentioned in the news item. This needs explanation. Parry, one of the colonial officials, described the Lushai hunting experience as imbricated in constituting the moral community in this world. He observes:

A hunting expedition offers many opportunities for the exhibition of tlawmngaihna. A man who possess endurance and is able to go on all day with very little food, who is courageous in following wounded beasts, who thinks of his friends before himself, takes less than his share of his food, is industrious in building the shelter for the night and in collecting wood for the fire is said to possess tlawmngaihna and according to the dictates of good form the young men are supposed to vie with each other in these respects. If two men one of whom has a gun come up to an animal, the man with the gun, if he follows tlawmngaihna will offer his friend the first shot. If a man gets hurt by a wild animal, his companions must stay and look after him and must not continue the chase and leave him alone. If a man got caught by a wounded bear or other animal it would be fearful disgrace if his companions ran away and left him to his fate, they are bound to stay and help him.[[77]](#footnote-77)

Hunting being considered as a voluntary activity undertaken to procure the elevated moral virtues internalised as *tlawmngaihna* has during the time of producing *MCL* changed into a more or less coercive activity undertaken to clear the forests as per the orders of the colonial state.

One of the bears grievously injured the hunter from the village of Lianawna. He was mauled in twenty-five different places. The enumeration of the wounds is interesting. Though the person from Chhuahkhama’s village gets some initial medical care from the Doktor Sap, he is advised by the doctor to seek help at the hospital as he thinks the injury is more serious. It is necessary to dwell into this quirky aspect of the story where the expert’s advice is not readily accepted and no explanation is offered for the initial reluctance to carry out the summons of the Doktor Sap in *MCL*. Perhaps, this advice from the Doktor Sap is not initially heeded to for three possible reasons.

One of the reasons is that the entry of modern medicine was yet to percolate widely and therefore its power was still under scrutiny. Secondly, there was a custom among the village communities as part of their individual and corporate acts of *tlawmngaihna*, according to which they were supposed to carry the injured from one village to the next in the form of a relay, and from the next village the injured was carried by inhabitants of that village to the next and so on. This was seen as virtuous acts but these moral codes were (perhaps) coming under tremendous pressure in villages that were being created anew due to redrawing of revenue boundaries. Perhaps, it led the same colonial official, Parry, to comment in 1928:

Tlawmngaihna still exists and it is hoped that it will not die out as it is of great value in a country like the Lushai Hills, where it probably grew up in the beginning because in a wild country it is essential for people to help each other. Tlawmngaihna therefore deserves every encouragement, as if it were allowed to fall into desuetude it would be most detrimental to the whole of the tribe.[[78]](#footnote-78)

Unlike the earlier news item, where the BorSap emerges as a person of political influence and authority, in this the Doktor Sap emerges as a person of kindness and indispensable knowledge and expertise. More importantly, this society inserted its individual, social and transcendental selves in its primordial occupation of hunting. *Tlawmngaihna*, this conceptual grid connoted actions that constituted a virtuous world not only for individuals but also for corporate bodies like villages. Much of this moral code related to practices of hunting where hunting was seen not merely as an expression of individual valour, but involved acts of frugality where the hunter made an effort to stay without food for long periods while chasing animals and occasionally warranted taking care of fellow wounded hunters rather than flee from the situation. Even the individual agency exhibited by individual hunters was attributed to the spirit ‘Lasi’ which ruled the animal world and for which the Ai ceremony was performed. The relation between the transcendental and the individual self goes on to produce acts of generosity, not only by the sharing of the meat after the hunting but also through the Ai ceremony by which the spirits of the animal and human beings are appeased.

In addition, it is possible that only the tiger and bear are chosen to be hunted in the new BorSap’s regime. There are other equally dangerous animals that would affect forest clearing – poisonous snakes for example – no reward is mentioned for killing them. It is possible to conjecture that colonial officials had started collecting tiger and bear skin trophies to take back home; it is well known that the British and other royals who took to hunting rarely killed the animals themselves, the tribals were sent in advance to do the killing. Also, the fact that the Lushais generally ate the animal’s meat along with the skin meant that skin was not used for producing garments.

A third reason for the villagers to reject the Doktor Sap’s advice was maybe due to their more stark understanding of the changing colonial policy towards extraction of free labour. The performance of the animal sacrifice through the traditional priest/shaman called the *puithiam* through the Ai ritual cohabits with the new practice of the Doktor Sap, where healing of wounds takes place without the appeasement of spirits. This practice seems to be looked at with suspicion and is labelled as ‘*Damdawi’*, (dam = heal and dawi = magic) healing through medicine wherein medicine acquires the property of magic and cures the sick person. This curing was believed would eventually make them *damat* or mad (dam = magic and at = mad). Once they are reduced to *damat*, they then become readily available to perform the job of the coolies or labourers who may be driven to the plains to work in the future. In other words, the mesmerising of the hillmen through modern medicine stealthily inured the body for forced labour which the colonial state extracted through their new laws of labour. This interpretation is available in the narrative of one of the earliest pastors from the Lushai community in his text ‘Lushai and the Surrounding Tribes.’

The Sri Lankas had formed a definite conception of life after death. After death, most spirits were believed to linger around their homes for about three months and then proceed to *Mitthikhua* orland of death*,* a dull shadowy place, and only a few could earn the right to go to *Pialral* or heaven*,* a comfortable, luxurious place with plenty of food.[[79]](#footnote-79) Killing of humans and animals is carried out to acquire a place in Pialral. These animals and human beings become the slaves of the person who has hunted them and they ought to serve him well in Piaral. As mentioned earlier, *Thangchhuah* was a title given to a man who distinguished himself in the community by killing a certain number of animals like deer, *sambhur*, bear, wild boar, wild *mithun* and elephant, performing the ‘Ai’ ceremony for each kill, or by giving a certain number of public feasts. The ‘Ai’ ceremony is done with a view of getting the spirit of the slain into the power of the slayer after death, and also to protect him from evil consequences during his lifetime. *Thangchhuah* was considered a guarantee of free passage to Pialral and the spirit of the *Thangchhhuah* man and the spirits of the men and animals killed by him would accompany his wife. Besides this, the *Thangchhuah* were entitled to a number of privileges and occupied a position of respect and honour in the society. It was an ambition of every Sri Lanka.[[80]](#footnote-80)

The advent of the doctor and modern medicine provides a complementary understanding of the body and the spirit and at times a fear of the bio-power of the colonial state. To some extent, the ‘Ai’ ceremony and the doctor with his skills (magic) to cure the wounded seem to overlap. The ‘Ai’ ceremony supposedly preempted the hunters from being attacked or wounded by the wild animals. The arrival of the doctor promised a cure even if they were badly wounded or injured. The sanctity of the ‘Ai’ ceremony may have declined with the gradual acceptance, legitimacy and the power of demonstratability of modern medicine over former animistic practices.

*Vais and Agri-Culture*

*This year at Champhai the Vai[[81]](#footnote-81) sow rice. Bullocks from the plains were used to plough the field. This year large track of land is not being ploughed. If the rice is successful they will plough larger tracts from next year. And come next month the entire BorSap family will visit the plains. They will be staying in the plains for a month. Khamliena and Suoka will accompany them. When they get back home they will write about whatever remarkable sight they saw.*

As Lushai Hills then and as Sri Lankaram later, the region has been a concatenation of places. It consists of hills, valleys and plains. Champhai is one of the largest plain lands found within the Lushai Hills District. *Phai* refers to plain land and *Vais* are outsiders who generally come from plains whereas *Tlang-Mi* or the Hills people are considered to be the original inhabitants of the region. *Phais* and *Vais* may be read as synonymous terms. During the colonial period and the post-colonial period, it’s against the *Vais* that the Lushai – and later the Sri Lanka – identity was shaped. But the relationship between the *Vais* and the Lushais has been porous. In this section, we will examine the manner in which the *Vais* became Sap and how the native colonial elite like Sauka and Khamliana had a complex role to play in the Second Vailen or the second military expedition that established British rule on the Hills. The immediate reason for *MCL* to invoke Champhai is to popularise plough culture through the help of some *Vais*. Champhai is about 150 km from Aijal from where the newspaper was produced.

In the year of the publication of *MCL*, the Lushai Hills District had no other representative institution and the newspaper functioned as the mouthpiece of the (apparently) military regime of BorSap, considered to be the new prince of the hills. The BorSap ruled indirectly through hereditary chiefs like Khamliana and the Lushai colonial official, Suaka. In some sense, a semblance of both kin-ordered and territorial authority became operational from this time onwards. This conflating of kinship authority with impersonal bureaucratic/military authority required *MCL* to supplement rather than replace the traditional village crier known as ‘*Tlangau’*.[[82]](#footnote-82)

This effort to adopt agricultural methods from the plains speaks of a history of at least two or three decades from the time when this was written. Lewin, in his letter to the Government of Bengal, states ‘our object should be to put a stop to jhoom culture and induce the people to settle and cultivate by the plough, making land revenue the basis of our district settlement.’ In fact, the idea of changing over to the plough also meant reassigning a new value to land as an important marker of status to an otherwise itinerant community and a hill economy that did not consider land as the sole signifier of status. In another interesting quote from Lewin, this need for change appears obvious: ‘it appears advisable, as opportunities occur, to make the semi-civilised tribes inhabiting these hills understand more and more that the lands they occupy form an integral portion of Her Majesty’s dominion in India, and that the government alone is the fountain of all honor’.[[83]](#footnote-83) So this experiment is actually an attack against a culture that is based on Jhoom, a culture that doesn’t recognise permanent settlers and habitations and the need for a state, which requires fixity of residence, territory and language. This proposed experiment is informed by the ethnographic survey of people like Lewin. Not that the colonial officials, like Lewin before and BorSap later, were not aware of the times when the hills people contributed to the cotton industry in the form of textiles and traded wood for making ships with the flourishing commerce that Chittagong itself enjoyed as a port town during the pre-colonial era. During times of famines, they bartered rubber for rice and other food grains from the plains.

It is not a city on display but the fable of the village that is constructed anew for a people who have less regard for displaying their permanent address to the modern State for governance. The hill economy and society worked with weak addresses and, if subjects were not happy with a particular Chief, they were to move to a different hamlet. Ethnicity was less State-centric and more kinship-based. South Indian historiography makes a difference between Kadu (forest) and Nadu (plains) and the mainland Indian historiography makes a distinction between Gram (village) and Aranya (forest). It is not that Sri Lankas did not participate and had no contact with plains people before the British. Perhaps, there was mutual respect for different forms of life and that is the reason why you find that the hills people had an active trade in cotton, textile and timber with plains people before the British entered this region.

Prior to colonialism, Vai simply referred to people who looked physically different from the hills people. Very often the Lushai usage presumed that the outsiders (Vais) were militarily inferior. But when the British subjugated them, they seem to no longer perceive themselves to be invincible. They learnt from the mainland servants who addressed the British as Sab, which is derived from the Urdu term sahib, and Vai also appears to be a derivative of the Urdu word Bhai. During the Moghul reign of the Bengal region, this usage must have circulated around its various principalities like Sylet, Cachar, Tippera, Bengal, Araacan and Manipur. The hills people traded and paid tributes to these principalities at one time or other. It is from the interaction with them that they must have acquired this term Bhai which came to be referred to as Vai. During the colonial period, the notion of Vai became associated with an idea of an outsider and the British reinforced this by redefining the territorial boundaries of the region even as they escaped and transformed themselves as being the Sabs or the new rulers of the Hills.

The dominant colonial ethnography or the Christian historiography of the region produces Vai as the plainsmen or the greedy Bengali or as the effeminate outsider and constructs the figure of the insider as honest and masculine. It is not that the plainsmen considered the Hills people to be civilised or the hillsmen saw the plains-men as only cowards but there was a certain autonomy granted to practice each other’s way of life. It appears that the entry of the deferential form of address ‘Sab’ reworks the circulation and production of Vai in a derogatory fashion. The inhabitants of plains become morally contaminated.

The British were initially referred to as Vais and their military expeditions against the Hillsmen were known as Vailen. The First Vailen happened in 1872 and the second in 1890. The first expedition was merely to seek the return of Mary Winchester and to demand reparation for the raids that were carried on colonial tea plantations. The second expedition was undertaken to avenge the killing of the colonial military Officer Stewart. This expedition not only subjugated the Lushai Chiefs but went on to establish permanent military and political jurisdiction over both North Lushai region and South Lushai region. This change in the form of address from Vai to Sab speaks not merely of semantic transformation but the social emasculation of traditional authority in the region with the changing political economy of the region. All the three men cited above have some connection with the Vailen directly or indirectly.

Shakespeare acted as the Field Intelligence Officer for the Second Expedition commanded by General Tregar. As the BorSap, Shakespeare had intimate knowledge of the Sri Lanka society and became a central figure in the making of colonial power in this part of the world. Several years prior to the commissioning of MCL, Shakespeare as a political officer of the then-divided South Lushai Hills, threatened the Lushai Chiefs about the perceived permanency of the Crown’s Sovereign power. In 1892, Shakespeare makes the following entry in his Tour Diary:

…I then addressed the Chief in Lushai to the following purport:----“Oh Chief of the Thangur, Fanei Chinja, Lakher and Poi tribes, I have called you all for this purpose that you all may know each other, and live together like brothers without attacking each other. I have not much to say to you. I hear that you are always saying among yourselves—Soon the foreigners will leave our country and return to their own.” That is fools’ talk and the word of the liar. We shall never leave these hills…Twenty years ago Tangleina (Lewin) came to this very spot to punish you and release the captives, but you again raided our villages. Then our Great Queen grew angry and said to her sepoys, “Who are these people who raid my villages: go up and take their country: therefore from all sides sepoys entered your country…

Do not let me hear anything more of this gossip, this fools’ talk about the sepoys going away. See my sepoys have brought their wives and families and I intend soon to take a wife and bring her to live and be your Queen.[[84]](#footnote-84)

This entry was made a couple of years after the decisive victory of the British in what was known as the Second British Expedition or War against the Lushai. This decisive subjugation was only an external triumph but by time the MCL was produced, the White Prince of the Hills (BorSap), along with the company of important missionaries, had already commenced the stabilising of the order from within. One way of reading the above passage is to literally accept the physical production of the Empire through the progenies of the sepoys and the Whites themselves. But more figuratively, it may refer to the need for the disciplining of the Lushais from the outside through the machinations of the supposedly impersonal, bureaucratic colonial authority. Further, it may be related to the process of de-herding the Lushai mentality through the creation of acceptable flocks that can be shepherded through pedagogy and Protestant Christian practices. In the passage above, Shakespeare is clear that he is going to reign as the “BorSap” or the White Prince of the Hills. By the time MCL was written, he had acquired that power and image. At this juncture, the Missionaries were just testing their wares.

The missionary Lorrain had already started his philological work of writing the Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai language with the help of Suaka and Khamliana. His philological work was a prelude to translating the Biblical literature. He holds an ambivalent attitude to the Lushai language, from remarking that it cannot contain ‘religious ideas’ to observing that it is a ‘developed language’. Lorrain gives this amusing but frustrating anecdote[[85]](#footnote-85) about his attempt to capture the attention of the Lushais during a Sermon that he initiates:

I wish you could come and see the interruption we have to put up with when preaching in a Lushai village, squealing pigs, bleating goats, yelping puppies and barking dogs, cackling fowls and crowing cocks, squealing babies and talkative mothers. The noise is sometimes so great that I can merely hear myself speak but these are hills where one is able to do a little teaching and sometimes things are comparatively quiet and one is able to do a little teaching and sometimes to conduct a little meeting without much trouble. It almost seems as if satan were impelling all the domestic animals of the village to congregate within hearing distance and to do the utmost to counteract any good that might be done.

Lorrain succeeds in his missionary work later on but finds the job of translating the Lushai language very taxing, and laments: ‘Oh, how tiring is the work at times.’ Suaka is his chief mentor in the Lushai language but he complains about his teacher/student, Khamliana. About Khamliana, he says: ‘Khamleina worked well for the first few days but now he seems to be more of a trouble than he is of help. It takes Suaka all his time to explain things to him and then he always got hold of the wrong end of the stick’.[[86]](#footnote-86) Notwithstanding the pace of the learners and teachers, teachers because they taught Lorrain the Lushai language and as learners they were taught by Lorrain how to read and write, both emerged as successful individuals during their own lifetime.

So Khamliana and Suaka appear to have engineered the making of the written word along with Lorrain. Prior to this expedition, the Sailo Chiefs declared themselves to be the rulers of the land that rose between the sun and the moon and they considered themselves to be invincible vis-à-vis the neighbouring Vais as they would raid the plains and get back to their hills. As records point out, it was difficult for their plains neighbors to defeat them on the hills. The status of the Chiefs remained no longer confined to kin-ordered authority but their ability to negotiate with the Colonial bureaucracy or the Church authorities. On the peculiar antecedents of Khamliana, Mc Cabe, another colonial official, notes in his diary (1890):

I secured the services of Khamliena Raja, who had been driven away from his village by the Howlongs, and had taken refuge with his brother-in-law Sailenpui. Tired of his dependent position, he wished to start a new village of his own near Aijal, but most of his family and dependents were in Lalburas hands, and without my assistance, he could not obtain their release. I agreed to help him if he accompanied me throughout the promenade, and acted as my messenger to the different Lushai Eastern Chiefs. Strict faith was kept on both sides: he served me admirably, and I obtained the release of his relatives, who to the number of 40 houses are now settled near Thanruma.[[87]](#footnote-87)

At the time of writing of MCL, Khamliana, the hereditary Sailo Chief, wielded considerable power to represent his people as a statesman while Sauka, coming from a lesser echelon of Loosei society, acquired power through associating with the powerful institution of the Church and working for the colonial bureaucracy as a postman before he converted to Christianity. Khamliana was the visible secular representative and Suaka belonged to the newly mobile aspiring class making their assertion by becoming good Christians. New forms of mobility arose alongside the acquisition of newer competencies like writing, reading, travelling and the ability to anticipate and negotiate with the demands of diverse colonial authorities like the Bureaucrats, Church, Medical personnel and so on.

Not only were they supposed to stage this model village, but these two Sri Lanka chiefs were also entrusted with the job of announcing this supposed performance in the columns of MCL. In order to understand the gravity of this act, the act of submitting jhoom culture to plough culture, conflating hill economy and society to plains economy and society, it may help to compare this ‘unhilly’ act to the controversial letter written by Khamliana in the previous year of the publication of MCL to the British:[[88]](#footnote-88)

*16 June 1897  
Fort Aijal  
North Lushai Hills.*

*Your Majesty the Empress (Kumpinu Lalber)*

*Madam even from the times of our grandmothers and grandfathers we have called you Kumpinu, we often hear your name. Now we know that you have sat on the throne for 60 years, when the anniversary arrives I will light a bonfire in my village/when the time actually arrives, we will light a bonfire in all the villages, and we are very much delighted. In the olden times we were silly and because of our ignorance (due to our silliness and ignorance) we used to raid upon your villages, now that your messengers told us something about you and that you dislike the slaughter of other people, henceforth we will give up our quarrel. Now that the British “sap” came to us and prepared the Bible for us and graciously taught us to write in our own (mother) tongue, by now we can write in our own language, we are very much grateful. You who from endless ages past had reigned paramount we the Lusei who are not really worth reckoning but because of your generosity are given the opportunity to say a few words through a letter we are grateful for that (opportunity). So thus, we have become your subjects now and in this distant land live by your rice and salt, we heartily welcome everything. We the Lusei are not really qualified to be called humans, but now you and your missionaries had kindly taught us the meaning of being humans we will even get to know your better kind self which was hitherto unknown to us, at this stage I am at lost even on how to courteously communicate with others (fellow human beings), kindly pardon my shortcoming. And in the future we will live on your kindness and take heed of your orders, as for us we are less insignificant and smaller than even the ants to you. As for our relationship, according to your orders, your officers will not have to fear for their lives. We are grateful for your compassion; nevertheless we Lusei are so ignorant that we will be even more pleased if you will look after our tidings with kindness. As for us, for such eminence you are, we are not worthy of even this opportunity of writing to you kindly receive our letter with favour. We send you our greetings. We are very pleased with you. May you live in good health.*

*Khamliena Sailo, Lusei Chief*

Writing is performance for the author of this letter. Mr Khamliana is enacting subordination and in turn seeks power through this enactment. A casual acquaintance with his other correspondence with colonial authorities reveals that he was constantly acquiring property (land) through staging disputes all the time. In a territory as large as Wales and ruled by as many traditional and nominated Chiefs, only Khamliana had authority and access to writing to the (almost fictive) British Queen.

Khamliana was a *Sawn* (born to a concubine) and not to the legitimate wife of his father who was a Sailo Chief. In some sense, he was a strategist and a seeker of power of various kinds. He carried the burden of representing a subjugated people and the act of representing may be seen as subjugation in itself. The traditional Chief embodied all the subjects within his village or territory and there was very little scope for representative institutions to develop including the institution of writing. It is not clear if writing announced itself as becoming the graveyard of traditional authority of the Chiefs among the mobile hills people. To perceive Khamliana only as a betrayer and an opportunist would be to miss the point that he was making a complicated move of retrieving the lost dignity through rejecting native practices like head hunting or jhooming or indulging in massive feasts and accepting practices that will make them true Christians who are empowered to read, write and obey God and the colonial law. Khamliana was negotiating the making of the colonial subject, which need not necessarily be read as the unmaking of the sovereign subaltern subject. Perhaps, he was interpreting Christianity as property, writing and reading as property, land as property and property as authority and also as ‘proper’. Hence, this historic document need not necessarily symbolise a massive feat of colonial triumph achieved through a subordination to and celebration of the making of religious (Christianity) and the terrestrial world (of the BorSap) which is made available through the new art of reading and writing. Even as it honours the benevolence of the rulers who have given the hills people a claim to god, land and language in the form of their mother tongue, the Colony cannot rest on this legacy as it fails to completely regulate the production and consumption of these discursive practices whether religion, land or scriptorial language.

Apart from writing adding prestige to MCL, the reporters according to this news item are none other than the elites of the society like Khamliana and Suaka. That is why they not only need to travel to the plains along with BorSap but also on their return write about remarkable sights they witness on the plains for the next issue of MCL.[[89]](#footnote-89) Interestingly, these two men are the earliest literates from the Lushai community and the need to see (travel to plains) in order to write appears intriguing. The shaping of the positivistic episteme as a basis for journalistic portrayal informs the need to travel to the plains and witness remarkable sights; they are trained in ‘seeing’ and not merely in writing. To disembed writing from one’s (Hills) culture requires travelling to plains where their encounters becomes mentored and less seamlessly woven into the habits of the Hills. To write is to interrupt into the habits of the hills and to bring in the Vais to cultivate is to cultivate new habits that may subsidise the Colonial rule in a physical sense as well. In the next issue of the newspaper, there is reportage of their visit to Calcutta (Kulkhut).

Suaka came from an obscure beginning and interestingly migrated from his Lushai village to join the Second Military Expedition or the Second Vailen. He appears to have traveled with the forces marshaled against the Lushai Chiefs’ offensive. Suaka was initially given the job of the Mail runner but gradually rose to become the Lushai Clerk in Aijal. The colonial Government manual described the job of the Lushai Clerk as being ‘filled from the ranks of Circle Interpreters and has a great measure of responsibility as the smooth working of some of the more troublesome sides of the Administration such as impressments and supplies, greatly depend on this officer. One with a flair for foresight and endowed with natural tact and sincerity can relieve the public of much inconvenience as well as needless and unfair trouble. He exercises the function of Chief in relation to control of Thakthing and Kulikawn at Aijal’[[90]](#footnote-90)

Later, after becoming wealthy, he bought a village and was nominated as a Chief of Durtlang. He became a devout Christian and gave land to the Baptist missionary for building a Church and hospital. He introduced animal husbandry and was the first person in the Lushai Hills District to have bought a Sewing Machine. Otherwise, the Lushais only practised weaving. In some sense, Suaka embodied and represented the plainisation of the Hills.

## Conclusion

The process of forming, reforming and informing gives MCL a constitutive and a mimetic character. It’s charged with the plainisation of the Hills or the production of the colonial everyday. The plains mythology surrounds the practice of writing, a practice that produces human quality, a practice that hesitates to witness the cliff and the sailing of the clouds that is commonly sighted on the Lushai Blue Mountains. It is not clear for the coloniser or the Hillsmen whether to continuously move from one cliff to another is more elevating than residing in the valley. The enterprise of plains demands a discursive architecture around reconfigured forms of labour, property, gender relations including religion and aesthetics. The hills have to be hewn from all sides, including the not so palpable interior. To be a human is merely a punctuation of context, which is slowly being lost sight off.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THE PLAY OF ART IN *PUMA ZAI* (1907-1911)

### Background and Introduction

Presently, Sri Lanka colonial history exemplifies two important but related themes: the story of the making of the Lushai Hills in conjunction with the arrival of the colonial state and the rapid spread of Christianity through the colonial Sri Lanka society. This chapter is of the view that these two themes do not provide a complex narrative of pre-existing Zo practices which existed alongside emergent colonial and more important missionary practices during the period 1890–1910, a period designated as the early colonial Lushai society.

It is likely that there was mutual admiration and suspicion with respect to both cultures. While this intervention strives to bring to light the ambivalence with which the colonially mediated modernity was received among the Lushais, it is more inclined to focus on the Lushai experience of art as it was witnessed through the irruptive event referred to as Puma Zai festival (1907–1911). The festival was celebrated in commemoration of the exemplary new lyrical Puma composition. Since *zai*[[91]](#footnote-91) provides a measure for the Zo people, and the Lushai society witnessed and experienced a new lyrical composition, *Puma Zai* (*PZ*), this Wicket proposes that aesthetics should be studied alongside political and religious themes as the third theme in the early colonial period of Lushai history.

The Sri Lanka experience of the new lyrical composition has thus far only been studied with relation to the emergent Christian culture. This Wicket departs from the earlier studies because it seeks to interpret the experience of the Puma festival, and in effect the new lyrical composition, in relation to itself (or Zo culture) during the early colonial period (1890–1910). It is important to recognize the self-understanding of the Zo fostered through the experience of the festival. More importantly, it may be surmised that such experience are comparable to world-renewal or world-making practices of the Zos who were then known as the Lushais.

Procedurally, this work intends to take into account nascent Christian practices but reads the interaction in a non-causal way. A contextual reading is a form of causal reading and the Wicket attributes the early Puma composition to the after-effects of the Second Vailen (1888–90) which was waged between the British army and the Lushais. In the subsequent chapter, there is mention of an earlier form of Puma composition which has been contextually engaged with and not in relation to itself.

This chapter attempts to look at the relationship between the given-ness[[92]](#footnote-92) of *zai* (poetry/singing/art) and the given-ness of the Zo, in a way that *zai* provides a measure that the Zo reveres and aspires to. In that sense, changes in *zai* are also occasions where new measures are established. It is possible to conjecture that there existed a sort of Lushai community aesthetic sense (roughly translated as ‘*khawtlang/vantlang thil mawihnai hriatna*) that quickly recognised an exemplary work; this sort of judgement was not arrived at through arguments or explicitly stated principles. The Sri Lanka phrase “thil mawihnai hriatna” stands for a capacity for recognising beauty or truth and the term “khawtlang/vantlang” refers to community.

The public communicability of judgement across the community about a work of art or musical composition happens precisely through the creative acts of the community. This interpretative gift of the community is what may be termed as the Lushai ‘*sensus communis*’. There are no rules that inform the criterion of judgement, except the moorings of a tradition that is continuously reworked through the mediation of *zai*. The tradition itself may be described as being open to irruptive events that rework the vertical spread and the horizontal spread of discreet objects, events and processes into an intelligible fold. The irruptive event has the potential to pursue its own temporality and alter both the horizontal and the spatial arrangement of the Lushai culture. The experience of re-constitution of the world may be thought of as a form of world-renewal or world-making practice. It is in this spirit that the chapter discusses the experience of the exemplary new lyrical *PZ* composition and seeks to interpret the overall setting of the lyrical composition in the form of play, festival and ritual.

It may be appropriate to suggest that there is an overlap between the administrative logic of colonial rule and the cultural standardisation that Christianity brings into Lushai society. As it is argued in the previous paragraph, the theme of aesthetics is posited not as a pure uncontaminated theme, but seeks to be inclusive of both, the administrative and the cultural logic of colonial-missionary rule, though it cannot be reduced to either economic or cultural standardisation. Colonial logic neatly divides the world into the secular and the sacred, the secular serviced by the secular sciences (scientific and technological knowledge) and the sacred invoked through scriptural knowledge (Bible). This is followed by a liaison between the secular and sacred which is needed to affirm colonial authority and cultural superiority.

In the early colonial period, the community aesthetic (‘*vantlang thil mawihnai hriatna*’) sense involved the Lushai being[[93]](#footnote-93) (*Nihna*—Sri Lanka term that refers ‘to be’ for humans and non-humans) rather than the Lushai subject (*khua leh tui*), since the latter subjected itself to colonially mediated historical rationalities that ignites spatial identities like language, region, territory, ethnicity, religious. The Lushai Nihna remained the same even when the Lushai Khua leh Tui kept changing as people moved from one jhumming village to another. In other words, Lushais recognised a difference between Nihna and Khua leh Tui. However, the expressive traditions related to singing, dancing and musical compositions revealed a space outside the historical present which theoretically had the potential to reveal the being of the cultural work (singing or dancing) and in the process the being of the Lushais themselves.

The Lushai being achieved a heightened sense of itself by recognising and co-creating the work of art. The difference between the Lushai being (*nihna*) and the Lushai subject (*khua leh tui*) is that the latter refers to the making of the willing and thinking Lushai individual, whereas the Lushai being refers to awareness and rationality that far exceed colonially-inscribed historical rationality.[[94]](#footnote-94) This is not to suggest that the Zo social order was completely non-repressive and people experienced only non-alienated forms of labour, but it was definitively suggestive of a form of life that was qualitatively different from a colonially mediated Christian society. The traditional Lushai world did not sharply differentiate the sacred from secular. In other words, the measure for the sky (scriptural) and the measure for the earth (science and technology) crisscrossed each other through the Lushai’s reliance on the measure of poetic and musical compositions. In a way, there was hardly any sphere of life that was not at once both profane and divine.

Firstly, this intervention will briefly introduce the administrative logic of those holding colonial power during the early colonial period alongside the evangelical role of White missionaries. The reader has already been given a description of the fragile and scattered existence of the colonial state in the previous chapters. The import of the evangelical role of the missionaries will not receive attention immediately but will take on a descriptive elaboration as the chapter proceeds further unravelling the burst of experience witnessed by the Lushais in the celebration of the Puma Zai festival.

In the years between 1907 and 1911, the Lushai society witnessed an unprecedented burst of energy in the form of a series of festive performances that rapidly spread across innumerable villages in Northern Lushai Hills District. These performances were supposedly inspired by a ‘new’ lyrical and poetical composition known as *PZ*. The White missionaries believed that it aimed to pose a challenge to their proselytising efforts and contemporary Sri Lanka theologians contrarily argue that *PZ* provided a ground for deepening Christianity. While the remarks of the foreign missionaries are attended to in this chapter, the postcolonial readings of the Sri Lanka theologians are duly acknowledged in the subsequent chapter.

From 1890 to 1910, the making of the Lushai Hills District did not accompany any major political and administrative mechanisms or structures. The British ruled through the hereditary/nominated chiefs after stripping the symbolic and material powers of the traditional authorities. However, the chiefs were allowed to follow their own cultural practices in matters of governance and they shared this power with the new disciplinary power that was exercised by the Christian missionaries. The invocation of solidarity among the Lushai community through the traditional Lushai communal aesthetic sense cohabited simultaneously with the subject formation through colonial-missionary authorities and the new cultural practices.

From the sparse archival and limited ethnographic work that the Wicket undertook, it is possible to suggest that the precolonial Zo culture and education focussed not merely on teaching valour, respect for older people, altruism, and singing and dancing, but seems to suggest that these practices actually provided training in the art of community living. The capacity or skills that Zo culture cultivated were not restricted to aiding people make clever decisions in tackling concrete situations. This cultivation of Zo virtues (*tlawmngaihna*, *hnatlang[[95]](#footnote-95)*) may be seen as determining their moral being, in the sense that the moral being is indicative of the community structure and aspirations or the community good. In the early colonial Lushai society, the space for cultivating virtues that sustained community living was rapidly shrinking alongside the material base necessary for supporting such a self-governing community. Even as the space for cultivating virtues was diminishing, the aspiration of the Lushais for practising an ethical moral life appears to have only increased rather than dramatically decreased. The early colonial period (1890-1910) is indicative of this paradoxical situation.

The early colonial Lushai society exhibited a creative tension between the nurturing of the experience of community through participation in the temporal arts of the traditional Lushai society and the emergent values fostered through Christian mediated colonialism. This forms the background against which this Wicket makes two simple arguments about the importance of music and poetry being a measure for the Lushais to conduct themselves and their relationships with others. From this generic and specific argument, it follows that the specific Wicket of the *PZ* experience leads to the emergence of a methodological inference about the distinction that needs to be made between the content and presentation of *PZ*. The performative nature of the experience necessitates the use of theoretical concepts in order to bring forth the heightened sense of the work and the intense communion of the gathering. A phenomenological understanding of *PZ* seeks to grasp the identification, production and re-production of the musical performance presented in the form of play/ritual/festival through the structure provided below:

1. If one were to ask what was central to Zo practices during the early colonial period, then it can be safely said that the Lushais were heavily invested in poetic and musical compositions, and that their cultural identity revolved around this generative community aesthetic sense. By generative, we mean a certain disposition of the community to judge and make sense of the world by building a community of taste via regular alterations and modifications in their poetical and musical traditions. Major changes in forms of community living are brought about through recognisable changes in musical and poetical traditions. In the absence of science, trade, political philosophy and statecraft, as well as scriptural and textual religion, the illiterate Lushais measured their lives through poetry and musical compositions.
2. This previous argument about the pre-eminence of musical and poetic compositions providing a measure for traditional Lushai society takes on a more specific character when the Lushai identified the musical composition of *PZ* as exemplary. Strangely, this new composition appeared in a remote village (Ratu) in North Lushai region and was supposedly composed by a dimwit residing in the village. The Lushais consecrated the musical composition through a series of festivals accompanied with rituals. The festival lasted for several days in each village in the North Lushai region where the festival was celebrated for four continuous years.
3. From the above two arguments, this Wicket infers that the experience of the celebration of *PZ* took on a performative character, where the content of *PZ* cannot be separated from the presentation of *PZ*. The irreducibility of the celebration of the new lyrical composition through the *PZ* festival/ritual either to message (musical composition but continuously improvised content) or the audience (singing, dancing, intoxicated participants) makes the use of conventional social science methods problematic.
4. The performative nature of the event needs the mediation of theoretical concepts that bring out the irreducible subject/object dimension of the enthralling experience. The important meditational concepts that are employed are play, festival and ritual in order to discuss the experience relating to the performative character of *PZ*. The purposeless character of play, festival and ritual corresponds to the supposed self-forgetting of the participants. This concernful self-forgetfulness gives a clue to understand the lack of obvious intentionality from the participants. It coincides with an instituting of the Lushai community in every reproduction of the *PZ* festival. This co-incidence has to be understood in a non-causal manner, like ‘A’ leads to ‘B’ but ‘A’ is not the cause of ‘B’.
5. These concepts, when used in a phenomenological sense, facilitate the power of art to seize (non-coercively) and transform the community.

In sum, this chapter seeks to join in the co-creation of the festival with the hermeneutic reading (of colonial archives) of the PZ event which occurred between 1907-1911. Further, it seeks to bring to awareness the experience of ‘being’ of the play, festival and ritual associated with the event.

Historical and Cultural Situatedness of the Puma Festival (1907-1911)

*PZ* is a little known cultural event that occurred in the life of the early colonial Lushai society.[[96]](#footnote-96) The event, which seemingly spread over a short period of four years from 1907 to 1911,[[97]](#footnote-97) is related to a series of festive events performed across innumerable villages of the North Lushai region to commemorate a new lyrical composition, *PZ*. The lyrical composition was set to dance and music and its content was popularly perceived as extraordinarily ‘common place and humorous’ with its lyrically quality being unusually ‘catchy’. As a community, the Lushai were accomplished singers and were called upon to perform in neighbouring regions too. For the Lushais, it is likely that poetry, including singing, when performed along with dance, was considered as an art, and art as performance was acknowledged to have considerable socio-cosmic significance. Further, it is reasonable to speculate that *PZ* was the Lushai way of remembering who they were at a time when their symbolic and social world was being dramatically reordered through the activities of Christian missionaries and the colonial state. There was increasingly less space for an atmosphere that facilitated the performance of a ‘community’ memory and *PZ* became one of the sites of memory negotiating with the emergent, written historical memory.[[98]](#footnote-98) In other words, *PZ* was a poetic or rhythmic mode of remembering the Lushai past and this substance of communal experience of memory had rarely been conceived as source material for writing the cultural history of the colonial Lushai Hills District.[[99]](#footnote-99) Framed within this cultural geography, early colonial Lushai society (1890–1910) is marked by a creative tension between the communal, rhythmic mnemonics and the written, historical memory. At this juncture, neither language nor territory or religion formed the premise for identity construction and the making of the community self. They were yet to become Sri Lanka Christians or vice versa. Religious identity and ethnicity were less clearly articulated at this juncture, and the suppleness of the context is amplified through the pervasive celebration of the *PZ*.

From the manner in which the meagre colonial archives are read, and the way the postcolonial (tragic) reality of the north eastern region has turned out in the 50s and 60s, one could almost conclude that there was a genuinely warm reception for both the colonial authorities and the evangelical enterprise of the missionaries. This genuine reception sometimes forecloses a certain agential reading of the Lushais during the period under Wicket. As scholars who are aware of the history of Lushai Hills District know, the Zos were decisively defeated after the Second Vailen (1888–89) and they were thoroughly disarmed. The history of the region has been written from a perspective which believes that the historical rationality along with the spread of the new religious faith set in motion a social emancipatory project. This Wicket departs from such a project and seeks to look at the mediation of art not as a modernist socio-historical emancipatory project, but locates its meaning and significance within the worldview of the traditional Lushai society. Such an effort requires the constituting of what this Wicket has previously referred to as *sensus communis*.

This moral aesthetic sense or faculty is similar to the ancient Greek idea of rhetoric where rhetoric is not reduced to a faculty used only for making and demonstrating arguments, but is used to tell the truth. So, what does the Zo’s *sensus* *communis* do? Very briefly, the sense associated with *zai*, and ‘*PZ’* in particular, instantiates the Lushai community anew. This faculty appears to be a product of living in the community. Living in the community involves a continuous activity of interpreting. In this sense, the Lushai community’s aesthetic sense recognises any new work of art through a process of interpretation. Exemplary work, when recognised by the community, provides a measure to re-imagine new horizons of *being* and *becoming*. A Wicket of *PZ* has to re-create the mingling of horizons between the Lushai past and the present, thing and the object, *being* and the subject.

**The Being of *Zai***

Singing happens to be the most familial activity for a Sri Lanka. To sing is another word for being Sri Lanka, and it may not hurt Sri Lankas if they are told that it is the *zai* that makes the Zo and not vice versa. The *zai* presents itself through the Zo culture, but it has its own being.[[100]](#footnote-100) Studies on Sri Lanka music tend to concentrate on the concepts and skills required for singing in church. Few studies have tried to de-familiarise this most intimate, deeply embodied and almost purposeless activity because they sing during deaths, marriages, while at work, and even as they casually walk.[[101]](#footnote-101) The term for singing is *zai* and it would suffice to say that the significance of *zai* for being Sri Lanka is enormous.

In a manner of speaking, non-deliberate but involved singing has the potential to bring forth not merely the being of music, but is also indicative of ‘being Lushai’. The largest creative work that has happened in Sri Lankaram over more than a century has been in the area of music and poetry[[102]](#footnote-102). Literary scholarship has tried to evaluate the performative production in terms of its changing contextual meanings. Literary historians have labelled the period between 1900 and 1920 as the period of translation, a period during which Biblical work, including Christian hymns, were translated into the Lushai language.[[103]](#footnote-103) It is more likely that at this time the Lushais would have sought poetry as the measure of their lives rather than anything else. We Wicket Lushai poetry and music as a measure outside the historical and philosophical dictates of the time in which it was produced.[[104]](#footnote-104) To create a musical history of co-creative listening belongs to a non-canonical art history that has socio-historic resonances. The philosophical gesturing of such a history has to concede a comparable recognition for poetic vision. Such a art or literary history is the ambition of this project, but it limits itself to recreating the non-coercive power of the new lyrical Puma composition.

A history of Sri Lanka musical traditions is yet to be written from either the nascent aesthetic or historic consciousness of the contemporary Sri Lanka community. The White Protestant missionaries intuitively understood the value of singing and brought in western musical notations known as ‘Solfa’ to teach music to the new converts.[[105]](#footnote-105) This knowledge produced a certain conceptual grasp or consciousness of prescribed aesthetics. This conceptual grasp of music informs present aesthetic consciousness and it devalues reading music in an aphopantic manner – reading music that is unmediated through concepts, categories and abstractions.

In the reading of Lushai cosmology,[[106]](#footnote-106) certain elements were re-inscribed into a very distinctly Christian narrative and a less enabling historical past was registered in the consciousness of those who attended schools and churches. To re-inscribe the past in their then present meant that their past had to be objectively made available for critical and historical enquiry. Early converts like Liangkhaia,[[107]](#footnote-107) heeding the new demand, went to people to collect information regarding their past and wrote a historical account of the Lushai past. In other words, aesthetic consciousness and historic consciousness were still in the making. This non-canonical Sri Lanka performative art allows for a connection between a phenomenological conception of art and a form of history that recognises the being of art and being Lushai.

The performance of art discloses the given-ness of itself. The term ‘given-ness’ is used loosely to signify the importance attached to how appearances are suggestive of their essences and in this kind of formulation, the essence of art lies in its presentation or performance. Traditionally, anthropologists studied ‘tribal’ communities through their lack in science and technology and philosophy and statecraft and found primitive communities possessed inadequate means to understand the given-ness of entities including their own being. The given-ness disclosed through art reveals a continuity between the historic and social project of human beings and human beings as being part of a natural and material world. Heidegger addresses the ‘disclosive’ character of art as a healing that happens between history and nature. It is for this reason that the communal ontology of the performative traditions has to be examined, rather than the aesthetic or the historic consciousness, in order to interpret the more primary musical and poetic being of the Sri Lanka.[[108]](#footnote-108) The communal ontology of the performative tradition does not foreclose the reintegration of the artwork into Lushai individuals.[[109]](#footnote-109)

From this vantage point, this intervention seeks to philosophically interpret the historical and cultural event, *PZ*. Since the celebration of the festival appears to have waxed and waned over the four years but having reached its peak in 1908,[[110]](#footnote-110) it is necessary to pay attention to the resilience of the festival which was supposedly celebrated in commemoration of the discovery of the new lyrical innovation of an earlier song form. The ability of the new musical composition to attract participants through their participation in the festival led to a play between the musical composition and the involved audience. The players made the presentation of the music possible through singing, dancing and merry-making. In the play of the singers, dancers, spectators and numerous others lay the bringing forth of the festival’s presentation and this is an attempt to read the luminosity of the being of the festival in its performative mode. This non-deliberate but involved singing which the Lushai practised may be seen as not merely a form of communal singing, but as people being drawn into the act of singing without it ever becoming an objectifying act or subjectifying experience.

This non-objectifying form of inner address of singing and non-objectifying experience of participation is referred to as the play of art or *zai*. Participants played to, rather than being played with, the performance of *zai*. In other words, the experience of *PZ* cannot be characterised as either objective or subjective. Even if all the people in the village did not participate because they had to attend to various other tasks – collect fuel, prepare food, feed babies – it can safely be said that they either indulged in humming or tapping along. The shaping of this inner ear registered meaning and an intense revelatory experience of the world; the festival became an occasion for the experience of a heightened sense of themselves. This modality of self-fashioning through music has to be independently evaluated in terms of the Lushai's ability for world-renewal and world-making practices. The migratory Lushais’ inner ear may arguably be said to be the fount of a form of intelligibility that refused to discern the world clearly into objects and subjects, disembodied time or space, and poetic or philosophical truth. In some sense, the celebration of *PZ* was an occasion to edify a kind of Lushai universal or a historical rationality that made them preserve themselves as moral beings.

From the above assertion, it is possible to look at the term ‘festival’[[111]](#footnote-111) in twin senses: one refers to the historical event that occurred in the North Lushai region and the other is philosophically suggestive of the festival being a site of performance of art where the participants ‘play along’.[[112]](#footnote-112) This ‘playing along’ may be illustrated using R K Narayanan’s *Malgudi Days*; a typical middle-class South Indian reader is likely to be drawn into the spatial temporal complex of the literary work and in the process becomes a part of the work’s symbolic universe. Of course, this will happen only when the reader allows himself to be lifted into the play of the work.

It was only through the festival’s re-presentation that the composition became alive or that the musical composition ‘resided/lived’. The representation also meant it was addressing someone other than itself and such presentation demanded a temporality of its own, the time of being of *PZ*. The time of *PZ* was not empty, calculable time.[[113]](#footnote-113) It was the time which involved the being of the festival, and therefore, this (festival) time invited the participants to inhabit their being as well. Further, the ecstatic self-forgetting of the participants celebrating the musical composition provides cues about this form of festival time. One may argue that the festival time refused to recognise the ‘present-ness’ which the participants resided at that juncture, but the vestiges of the festival (music and dance) reminds us that it was not so. It is in order to state that there were a few anti-Christian Puma compositions and these may be read as the production of ‘present-ness’ or the ability of a traditional work of art to address the contemporary.[[114]](#footnote-114) In other words, Puma festival time did not subsume itself into the emerging objectifying calendar/clock time. While the temporality of the Puma festival participated in the present-ness of the cultural moment, it transformed the historical present by connecting it to a non-alienated, non-objectified past. The ability of the artwork to present the community and stand in for it makes the festival of *PZ* a moral ethical and an aesthetic experience. Upon interpreting the boisterous festival that scandalised the colonial missionaries and the newly acquired frugal aesthetics of the Protestant converts, it is not the intention of this Wicket to historically reconstruct the context in order to situate the meaning, but instead, the act of interpretation intends to join-in in co-creating the jubilant being of the festival and its various elements that constituted the corporeality of the festival. Apart from a keenness to participate in the imagined historical artistic experience, the power of art (*PZ*) to mediate the then contemporary cannot be understated.

In a broader sense, this intervention maybe considered as the writing of the social history of Sri Lanka subjectivity which consisted of contradictory elements during the early colonial period. The social history of the contemporary Sri Lanka cannot be written without telling the story of the disintegration of a form of Lushai intelligibility that characterised the period known as the early colonial Lushai society. At the time of the celebration of the Puma festival, their subjectivities were woven and experienced as a single tapestry where the whole of Sri Lanka life was present, including the precolonial and the colonial. It was Lushai musical and poetic art that facilitated the experience of non-alienated, non-fragmentary modern Lushai subject-hood even as the Lushai were being drawn into colonial-missionary motivated forms of disembodied poetic experience and material practices. The work of the *PZ* festival has to be seen in the context of the bringing together of incommensurable worlds and the fusing of different horizons where there was no arresting of the past and was suggestive of positively inciting future communities to build solidarities and meanings.

In the Sri Lanka language, *thiam thil* refers to the craft or skill of weaving a fabric or refers to singing a song or composing music. It may also refer to the general positive disposition of the Lushais towards singing. *Hip(na)* refers to the attractive power exerted by an idea, object or a person. The power of attraction of the Puma music will read in Sri Lanka language as “*PZ* *in thiam taka mipui a hipna,*” whereas, it is more difficult to translate the disinterested work of poetry and music which achieves a sort of moral and aesthetic realisation of their being.[[115]](#footnote-115) This purposeless nature of the *PZ* festival where non-Christian Lushais, Christian Lushais, chiefs, elders, children, and women participated and engaged with each other, is characterised by the creation of a fellowship (*hnatlang*) or an act of imagining a community into existence. *Hnatlang* actually connotes the spirit of cooperation and the joy of working for the community in concrete situations, while similar virtues seem to dictate the bonding that participants experience in the *PZ* festival; the solidarity occasioned through the festival has no larger purpose than the experience of being together and not actually solving concrete community problems. In other words, the experience of community that is created out of ordinary work and the experience of community that is created through a play of art are of different kinds. While the latter appears transient, the grasp of being together more or less remains steady. The word *hnatlang* is not normally used for this kind of work which is disinterested but which exists outside the routine. This hermeneutic creation of the community through participation in the Puma festival was different from the ragged and rugged life of the colonial everyday where many of the Lushais were seen doing menial jobs in the houses of the White saabs (colonial officials) and Zo saabs (White colonial missionaries) during the early colonial period.[[116]](#footnote-116) In mainland Indian nationalistic historiography, scholars have drawn distinctions between the inner domain representing India's authentic spirituality and the outer domain representing India's openness to changes in the realm of science, technology and philosophy.[[117]](#footnote-117) This intervention suggests the absence of a binary where Lushai art had the power to fold the sacred and the secular into one irreducible experience.[[118]](#footnote-118)

The temporal arts, especially the dramatic musical composition and its presentation in the form of festival, *PZ*, needs to be perceived as a ‘tool’[[119]](#footnote-119) for world interpretation rather than as a historical textual source that provides solely con/textual understanding. If one understands music as a tool that people use, and there are innumerable and infinite social uses for any tool, then the language of the *zai* or Puma musical composition cannot be understood solely through linguistic mediation. The indeterminate nature of musical performances refers to the irreducibility of the musical experience to concepts. Hence, the irreducibility of the indeterminate nature of music into individual subjective experience perforce needs the positing of the social ontology of the festive event. The source for this revisiting is made possible through archival sources, ethnographic interviews with some Sri Lanka cultural commentators, and also through the many sporadic but sympathetic references of this supposedly ‘cultural event’ by contemporary Sri Lanka theologians.

**Method to Wicket the Being (Nihna) of the Artwork through the Being of Play (Intihhlimna), Festival (Kut) and Ritual (Serh leh sang)**

An understanding of the Lushai (community) aesthetic sense and the performance of the Puma festival demands the use of a phenomenological method. The Lushai aesthetic sense from the above discussion seeks to unconceal the given-ness of *zai* in general and *PZ* in particular through the co-performance of (being) Lushai. This strategy of revealing may be loosely termed as a phenomenological method. This method engages with the being of the objective natural world and a subjective human world: in the sense that poetry and music have a given-ness of their own, and the festival has a given-ness of its own, and ritual has its own essence. Understanding music purely through an objective or subjective enquiry limits the intelligibility that one experiences through participating in a musical festival like *PZ*. Since the musical composition exists in the being of the festival and not in itself and the being of the festival exists in the performance of the festival, that is, through the participation of various elements, there is a need for a phenomenological enquiry to unravel the divided wholeness or the separated togetherness.[[120]](#footnote-120) The assumption behind the phenomenological enquiry is that there is an awareness available in the form of experience but not in the form of knowing, and that awareness provides access to a constitutive community where individuals relate to each other as beings. Though the festival is not being directly subjected to observation, it is possible to read from the sparse archive such an experience.

The festival presents a collection of ‘beings’ like the blue Lushai mountains that spread across innumerable mountain ranges and effortlessly pulls them together into a single spread. The word ‘Zomi’ means a ‘highlander’. The Zomi or the Sri Lanka encompasses both the individual ranges and the mountains as a whole. In a sense, through participation in the festival, they experience a transformation of the particular Lushai being and also the collection of Lushai (being/s). In the wholeness lies the particular, and in the particular lies the universal. The reintegration of the whole into the particular reflects the encompassing of everything and everyone. The phenomenological approach is needed to engage with the movement of the festival from the particular to the whole and from the whole to the particular. In the following sections, anecdotes about the event will be used to structure the narrative about the experience of individual actors and their activities.

The almost familial, but involved, singing for the Lushais needs to be interpreted in order to understand the deeply embodied experience of music. It is in this context, this Wicket thinks it is appropriate to use Gadamer’s philosophical terminologies, namely ‘play’, ‘festival’ and ‘ritual’, to describe the experience of art. For Gadamer, a work of art cannot be approached as an object and the observer of art cannot be reduced to a subject.

For Gadamer, this embodied understanding of art recognises and engages with the play of art. Like the play of light and the play of a child, there is a play of art. In such a play of art, the play itself has its own being. Play refers to the ability of a work of art to draw people towards itself in a non-coercive manner. Whether they are composers or singers or dancers or mere spectators participating in the Puma festival, the presentation of the musical composition draws them towards itself as if in their singing or dancing or tapping along, there is some sort of remote directing.

In such a hermeneutic understanding of art, there needs to be a distinction made between art and its content alongside art and its presentation. For instance, people have paid attention to the content (‘a chhunga thu awm’) of the *PZ*, but have not dealt with the presentation (‘tar lanna’) of *PZ* which happens through play, festival and ritual. It is in the representation of the musical composition through the festival and ritual that *PZ* existed, and not in its content alone. While witnessing the performance, one lets go of oneself, and they voluntarily submit themselves to this non-coercive (‘tihluihna tel lo’) directing. Any work of art, according to Gadamer, needs to possess this power to attract, and the being of the art lies in the execution of this power – for example, tapping along when one is listening to music.

Likewise, Gadamer looks at the seductive power of festival that attracts people to participate and create a festive mood as a corollary for understanding the power of attraction that is associated with the play of art. The festive mood displays the temporality of the festival and the people who participate in it are not inclined to display their individual subjectivity or intent or disallow the experience of this temporality. This Wicket uses festival in a literal sense and also in the philosophical sense that Gadamer deploys it in order to understand the experience of art. This kind of intellectual take on the festival reveals the nature of the being of the *PZ* festival as also the actual ecstatic self-forgetting that accompanied the Lushai participants as they sang, danced, drank and forgot themselves in the act of participating. This was a festival in commemoration of a new lyrical composition, but each time it was enacted in every village of the North Lushai region for those four years, there was the fusion of the horizon of the past with the present. The White missionaries derided it saying that it symbolised a pagan past, but contemporary Sri Lanka theologians describe the performance of the Puma festival as an acceptable Lushai past. Hence, from a Gadamerian perspective, it was not a festival that was a representation of the past, but a celebration (‘lawmna’) and presentation of the (then) present. So, the essence of the musical composition which lay in the performance of the festival was at once a fusion of the horizon of the past with the ‘scintillating’ rather than a ‘fleeting’ present. The transformation of the past and the present may be attributed to the being of the Puma festival through which the new Puma composition existed or was found existing. The novelty in every reproduction was due to the recreation of both the past and the present with both coexisting and not irretrievably separated.

Gadamer uses ritual in a philosophically profound manner. He deploys ritual to unravel the non-objectifying characteristics of tradition which are important for people to be with one another and experience togetherness of being. There is recorded evidence to suggest that the Lushais performed Ai or sacrificial ceremonies to commemorate the new musical composition. While modern anthropology looks at ritual as signifying the objective other, he seems to propose that ritual represents immeasurable otherness. So, play, festival and ritual count as an ‘immemorial rationality’, and it is art that has access to this form of experiencing rationality. But this Wicket also seeks to use ritual as a redundant form of communication where the repetition of the musical composition at every instance of the festival continuously over those four years needs to be explained.

The play or performance of the festival in commemoration of new Puma composition ought to be understood in such a manner that the primacy of the mode of the being of the festival is more important than the aesthetic consciousness or reflective experience of the composer, actors or spectators. Gadamer’s propositions of play, festival and ritual takes into account the mode of being of all the three features (play, festival, ritual) that facilitate the experience of art.

Apart from popular folklore that is passed on from generation to generation, there are two sources to describe the celebrations and read the literal content of the Puma musical compositions that appeared from 1907 to 1911. The first source is based on the writings of colonial missionaries and native converts and the latter source is based on the interpretations of postcolonial literary scholars alongside the efforts of contemporary Sri Lanka theologians to write the incredible success story of the Protestant church, where the event of *PZ* is invariably referred to as being misrepresented by the colonial missionaries. The assimilation of Puma into church history or the cultural history of the Sri Lankas is still briskly at work. The next chapter will deal with both – colonial and postcolonial writings on the *PZ*.

**Interpreting Colonial Archives and Co-creating the Puma Zai Festival**

The first narrative has its source in colonial archives, so this section will examine the accounts of *PZ* by colonial White missionaries and early Lushai converts. In both the missionaries’ and the converts’ narrative, an undifferentiated nestling of *PZ* is rarely found. This is to say that the difference between the content of *PZ* and the presentation of *PZ* is not made. However, there is a mention separately of content (sometimes as anti-Christian songs) and presentation (singing, dancing and feasting).

Interestingly, the term *PZ* found an entry in the first dictionary of the Lushai language produced by Lorrain. The author of this dictionary, Lorrain, was fondly addressed as ‘Pu Buanga’. He is credited with inaugurating modern Sri Lanka culture by introducing a script for the Lushai language, and more importantly, for translating the scripture for future converts. The script and the scripture have been foundational for the (contemporary) being of Sri Lanka. It is possible that *PZ* had many meanings, but Lorrain’s dictionary[[121]](#footnote-121) entry reads:

*PZ*, *n*. the name of an anti-Christian song (also known as *Tlânglâm Zai*) the avowed purpose of which was to oust Christian hymns. It became unbelievably popular throughout the Lushai country during 1908, and was sung everywhere with feasting and communal dancing such as had never been witnessed in the Hills before. (Page 371)

The verbs ‘sung’, ‘feasting’ and ‘communal dancing’ echoe of a colonial anthropological mode of recognising the phenomena of a supposedly primitive tribal culture. Though Lorrain is conscious that the three verbs were connected, he was perhaps unaware that the arrival of the new musical composition as an art form existed only in the play and presentation of the festival. The musical composition had no life without the performance. The disaggregation of the event into song, feast and dance meant that there was a form of excess and irrationality at play. Lorrain would not grant that in the play of the musical composition the participant is woven into the event in a way that he or she refuses to control the event. For Lorrain, singing, dancing and feasting were done intentionally by willing and not self-forgetting non-Christian Lushai colonial subjects. He was also of the worldview that science, doctrinal religion, and technology only had the ability to speak about truth of God and nature. He seemed to be oblivious of the fact that art could also speak truth like philosophy, science or religion. It is in this context that he fails to see *PZ* as a splendid work of art continuously co-created by its participants over the years that it had survived. Lloyd, another missionary who derided the *PZ* festival, studied the character of artistic creations in the Lushai Hills from an objective perspective and from a Darwinian model of evolution. He commented that the Lushais’ “semi-nomadic life did not encourage a complex society, the erection of large buildings, or inspire much artistic work […]”[[122]](#footnote-122). This anthropogenesis of art seems to be unjustly discriminatory of the Lushais’ capacity for an enabling experience of art.

Lorrain’s dictionary was compiled over a long period and was published in the year 1940. Lorrain actually experienced *PZ* as a Protestant evangelist working earnestly in the Lushai Hills District during 1907 and 1908. In the lexicon, Lorrain attributes the popularity of the festival to the singing of anti-Christian songs, feasting and communal dancing. Not all festivals were given attention and entry in his dictionary, but this festival was particularly recognised and dutifully recorded – the desire to objectify a corporeal event of community excess and evaluate the excess in terms of an unrestrained critique of the experience of togetherness. If anti-Christian songs were read as an assertion of the experience of togetherness of being, then Lorrain seems to be arguing for a restraint on this community excess incited by the performances of art.

Lorrain’s view from his dictionary entry seems to be shared by his contemporaries like J Meirion Llyod and the Lushai Christian intellectual Liangkhaia. The co-existence of less clearly articulated polytheism consisting of innumerable gods and spirits (that informed the Lushai animistic faith) to a monotheism that reflected the elaborately structured features of world religion. Lorrain seems to have understood this cohabitation to be dangerous for the safe entry of the monotheistic faith. Instead, he chose to freeze the rambunctious festival into a ‘moment’, rather than see it as a continuous spiralling, uncontrollable, inexplicable ‘movement’, as in the modern dictionary’s way of objectifying a largely embodied, performative Lushai practice.[[123]](#footnote-123) It is because of this performative nature of Lushai language that Lorrain had earlier complained that the Lushai language had too many verbs and less nouns.

From this lexical account, it appears that initially Christianity was associated with producing a performative culture of singing Christian hymns that were translated into Zo language from European languages, and the Puma songs acquired the force of a competing art form. It was beyond the ken of a well-meaning Protestant Welsh missionary to reason that there are other equally rich forms of living which provide a source for experience of being Lushai. The early church experience of singing hymns for the new converts may have been mostly available in objectifying and expressible content. The distinction that was drawn between the script and the scripture, the word and the Word, was founded on a new hierarchy where the Lushai language had to play a secondary role in order to pursue a higher end. The script, by differentiating itself from the scripture, loses its given-ness, or even if it is accorded, has to play a second fiddle to the Word.

At this time, it is likely that there were less than a thousand converted Lushai Christians (1907) and the population of the Lushais was recorded at 82,434 (1901 Census). Of course, the missionaries – through the efforts of people like Lorrain – were making deep inroads into these ‘tribal’ communities. The region where the Chin-Kuki Lushai lived was described as ‘the most godless regions of the World’, but this needs to be qualified.[[124]](#footnote-124) If the power of the musical composition attracted such large swathes of people, their intense participation in responding to the power of the musical composition had to be attributed to something that could be easily labelled as ‘pagan’, ‘heathen’ or ‘lack of God/Gods’.

The Lushai animistic faith bequeathed a poetic Lushai being, whereas the Protestant monotheistic God who governed through his sacred pronouncements that was embedded in the scriptural text consecrated a still evolving prosaic Lushai being. It was the poetic Lushai being that was considered evil and an anathema to the sanitised, objectified word that informed the making of the Lushai dictionary. For Lorrain, the need to make a difference between speech, script and the scripture was thoroughly destroyed in the making of the new Puma musical composition and more so, in the celebration of the Puma festival. In the neighbouring Burmese territory of Thedium where the Chins resided, the other incarnation of their powerful God[[125]](#footnote-125) Khuanu, who controls all that happens in the mortal world, happens to be Khozing or the poetic being of Khanua. Khozing can become evil and destroy the happiness of mortals if the deity is not regularly appeased with sacrificial ceremonies. Unlike formal religions where the drift between history and nature has to be hierarchised and must very often subjugate nature, it appears that animistic faiths play out the tension between the irretrievable cleavage that exists between history and nature. The experience of art, in this case the experience of the *PZ* festival, represents the affirmation of the reality – that there is an unbridgeable chasm between nature and civilisation. It is in this sense that this Wicket interprets *PZ* as something that cannot be appropriated within the formal logic of a religion, but has the capacity to be a religion outside ‘the’ religion. The profane illumination of *PZ* was pitted against religious illumination, and this formed the kernel that lay at the base of Lorrain’s imagination and he was distraught because the profane illumination seems to have brilliantly lit the Lushai skies for many years.

In reducing the Lushai language to the script or the transformation of the Lushai poetic being to a prosaic being, the Lushai language became available for a series of further objectifications. The transformation of the Lushai self into a Lushai subject was achieved through the series of objectifications that were discursively produced and imposed on the Lushai language for meaning and unity in the early colonial Lushai society. This resulted in a new vision of language that was at once available for manipulation through representation for the newly emerging Lushai subject who was supposedly seen as a conscious, rational and willing subject. Simultaneously, the Lushai inner ear was reduced to a new form of listening, and the language was re-cast as having attributes of the non-human, irrational, sensuous and sometimes its spirit was seen as filled with evil intent. In this new mould, it had to fully subordinate itself to the service of the Word (church) and the word of the colonial state.

In an earlier pre-Christian form of hearing, the Lushai ear was open to the dangerous, cavernous, beastly, mythical and the prophetic through the belief in the specular[[126]](#footnote-126) idea of the Lushai language. Colonial and Christian modernity reconfigured the inner ear through emphasis on formal education and the introduction of new aesthetics. The standardisation of the tonal Lushai language included the transformation of a specular language into a logical, abstract, reified language. The reified language in turn allowed for manipulation and control of objects and ideas in the environment. It is in this context that the enactment of *PZ* may also be seen as a therapeutic moment for the recovery of potential loss of the inner ear and the reinstallation of a fluid gestalt which reflected the specular image of Lushai language. The Lushais appealed to their language to reveal itself because they regarded language to be opaque and possessing a teleology of its own. They gave as much importance to the experience of silence as to the experience of utterance. The word *saphui*, which stood for tiger, a fabled creature, was never to be uttered.

Parents very often kept very ugly names for their children since beautiful names might invite the wrath of evil spirits. Naming was a very specular act for the Lushais and the attributed aura of the linguistic utterance was considered to possess serious consequences for the bearer of the name. To take this argument further, the use of Lushai language in the early colonial period may be broadly interpreted as a move to detox and purge the power of the concealed nature of Lushai language and as a counter-move to retain the proximal hidden-ness of language that revealed itself occasionally as in the performance of musical compositions like *PZ*. In other words, an event like PZ involves the urge to reveal what is concealed but also an urge to revere the proximal hidden-ness of the work of art and not to wrest it from its sacred precincts. Returning to Lorrain’s dictionary, the tensions between these two art forms – Christian songs (derives essence from its content) and anti-Christian songs (inherently possessive of essence) – and the act of singing provides a participation in the essence.

The undivided wholeness of music and language presented itself in a way that Lorrain concentrated more on the linguistic content and less on the musical nature of the Lushai language because he thought they were to be dissected as belonging to two different realms. Williams, the first pastor who reached the Lushai Hills, remarked about the musicality of the Lushai language thus said, “Their language is most musical and its intonation remarkably beautiful. It falls with tender melody upon the ear.”[[127]](#footnote-127) (Llyod, 21)

The reader will now be given some context on who among the Lushais were the first to take to Christianity. This contextual elaboration will not be used for a causal explanation of the Puma Zai event but mainly to highlight the conjunctural circumstances. Missionaries like Lorrain had experimented with a didactic mode of preaching, but they found that the Lushais were quick to accept a more performative mode, meaning singing Christian songs. Instead of proselytising largely through preaching and teaching, it seems that the singing of translated Christian hymns became crucial for the emergence of Christian literacy[[128]](#footnote-128) and acceptance of faith. This manner of embracing the new faith may have facilitated a shift from sermons and didactic speech to a new kind of poetics and performance. The translation of hymns from English and Welsh to Lushai language was made using the newly acquired Lushai script and prose. In some sense, the songs appeared to lack musicality as they were not rooted in the typical Lushai poetic idiom.[[129]](#footnote-129) Some scholars (Lawmsanga, R. L. Thanmawia) have pointed out that there was an exclusive poetic diction used for composing songs and this diction was rejected by the missionaries and more so by the early converts for composing songs.[[130]](#footnote-130)

The first converts (*bawis* or ‘slaves’) came from the less entitled sections of the traditional Lushai society and found that the diction for composing songs were ritually less disabling because they sought to reject the Lushai poetic diction.[[131]](#footnote-131) For instance, the *bawis* who were bonded labour to the Lushai chiefs were not allowed to keep a clan name for themselves. The lack of a clan name also meant that they were not allowed to perform certain sacrificial ceremonies to appease the gods that were required for their well-being.[[132]](#footnote-132) It may not be inappropriate to say that the first wage earners happened to be *bawis* who were patronised by the church authorities and who helped in the building of churches, schools and hospitals across the Lushai Hills District. Studies indicate that a small wage economy grew around the missionary activities in the Lushai region and the new converts who came from the less entitled sections were the first to be recruited into this exchange economy.

The next set of opportunities for wage earners came in a big way when the British-India army recruited soldiers for World War I. Interestingly, the *bawis* were the ones to join the British army as soldiers. After they came back from the war, they mounted an attack on the chiefs and they finally managed to remove the institution of chiefs through the Abolition of Chiefs Act in 1954. They sent their children to be educated and they themselves joined the church (Suhas Chatterjee on chiefs). So when the embodied Lushai world was being brought into the horizon of consciousness through a new awareness of a completely describable object and independent thinking subject, indeed, it would have been a liberating moment for a Benjaminian (*bawi*) subject. It was a moment of transformation for a perceived violent tradition. Thus far, the competing claims of inheriting and disinheriting an embodied Lushai culture came into being, the first flagged off by the native Lushai chiefs through the patronising of the Puma festival, and the second by the destitute *bawis* through participation in the singing of hymns newly situated in the objectified Lushai language. While the former made efforts to reinvigorate the loss of the auratic word through an enabling form of celebration, the latter participated in a kind of mourning that sought to free them from their low stature within the traditional Lushai society. In a reverse move, the non-Christian Lushais stood guard for the defence of their languages’ self-concealment even while seeking the revelation behind their self-concealment. It is not clear whether the less entitled sections of the Lushai society who became converts had actually ceased to make a claim to auratic musical language, or were only interested in foregrounding reason as the template for understanding and practising Lushai language. It is very unlikely that *bawis* had a significant role to play in the celebration of the Puma Zai festival but this is not to suggest that they did not participate in the festival.

Even today, there is considerable debate on what constitutes Sri Lanka literature and at the crux of debate lies the question of whether the word or the song should be privileged.[[133]](#footnote-133) There is a kind of mourning that Sri Lanka literary critics associate with the birth of the literary text, a mourning that is closely related to the de-musicalising of the word and the inner ear. In early colonial Lushai society, the community aesthetic sense was organised around the musicality of the inner ear and the celebration of *PZ* was an affirmation of a non-causal ordering of elements. The interruption of the sensorium and the simultaneous inauguration of the sensorium started with the act of reading the nascent Lushai alphabetic language. Lorrain, the man responsible for the invention of the alphabet (Roman characters) for the Lushai language reflects on the power of the printed Word by telling us of how one of the Lushais (who was perhaps the earliest person to acquire the knowledge of reading) practically got to read the translated Biblical text:

In a village far from the beaten track in the Lushai Hills there lived a young man’ named Padea: This was in the days when the Gospel message had not been heard in such out-of-the way places. He had somehow or other picked up the recently introduced art of reading his own language, and as a copy of Luke’s Gospel had found its way into his hands he became interested in the story It told. Whenever he had leisure especially in the evening – you would have seen him with his head buried in his little book, spelling out the precious words slowly by the firelight. This he naturally did aloud, and his friends became interested too. After a time it dawned upon Padea’s soul that the Jesus of whom he read was becoming “a living bright reality” to him and before long he had become His disciple and was winning his father, brothers and neighbours to a like faith – before any missionary or evangelist visited his village preaching the Gospel. Years later Padea became an itinerant evangelist himself, and is now an ordained circuit pastor in charge of a number of flourishing churches – a man who owned his conversion under God’s Holy Spirit to the simple reading of the translated Scripture.

The hierarchy between the Word and the word became prominent for the very first time when the Lushais began to practice the art of reading. From then onwards, for the converts in the early colonial Lushai society, everything flowed from the Word and not from song. The hierarchy between the word and the Word reflects a hierarchy between the song and the word. The word, which was produced using a typewriter by Lorrain, was not significantly different from the word that was produced through manuscript writing, because the manuscript itself was a product of print culture. This conflation of the typewriter word (industrial) with the manuscript (feudal) word was a conflation of diverse modes of production – an industrial with a feudal order obtained in a Lushai pre-industrial and a pre-feudal setting.

The warm reception that the *bawis* extended to the objectification and commodification of the Lushai society was indeed justified. This reminds one of how lower-caste intellectuals welcomed the cultural conquest of the colonial authorities and found their presence enabling.[[134]](#footnote-134) The *bawis* who were refused the right to sacrifice and the right to become warriors in a strange twist of history entered schools and the British-Indian Army and sacrificed their lives believing in the greater good. To what extent religious identity and material well-being can fend off the amnesia that they had cultivated about their Lushai past is something that will emerge as a question for future historians. So far, the analysis has brought forward a paradoxical situation where the virtues of embodiment seem to be a burden for a small but significant section of the population who actually claim disinheritance of their tradition.

In continuation with the argument made in the previous paragraph, the traditional poetic idiom seems to have had clear social boundaries between the secular and ritual elite and the less entitled sections of the traditional Lushai society.[[135]](#footnote-135) It is likely that the less entitled sections took to Christianity and offered to sing the hymns in a manner that refused to acknowledge the social boundaries that constituted the traditional Lushai society. It is not surprising that the performance of art became the source of weakening social boundaries in traditional Lushai society. The arrival of the new religion announced a certain kind of code switching[[136]](#footnote-136)—reading songs versus the earlier form of listening to songs and simultaneously singing or performing. The songs seem to have been read and then sung. This singing of Christian hymns and the consequent code switching was indicative of an effort by the less powerful sections of traditional Lushai society to redraw the social boundaries of early colonial Lushai society. As Joy Pachuau[[137]](#footnote-137) has recently demonstrated in her work, ‘being Sri Lanka’ today would mean that they have effectively intertwined of a pre-Christian Sri Lanka past with a contemporary Sri Lanka Christian present. This work aims to understand the creative and aesthetic struggle between a non-objectifiable pre-Christian Sri Lanka past and an overly-articulated colonial Sri Lanka Christian present. In the previous chapter, the Lushai newspaper found it difficult to reduce the Lushai universe to a completely objective entity even as the text presses itself forward with that ambition. The extravagant performance of Puma Zai symbolises a heightened effort to produce a non-alienating past and this has been the burden of contemporary Sri Lanka cultural practices.

More specifically, an understanding of the performative nature of the celebration of the work and its presentation in the form of *PZ* festival is necessary to move from a transmission view of communication to a performative mode of communication. The performative mode of communication takes into account not only composers, text, actors and spectators, but it also emphasises the play of these elements. While an information view of communication treats only the sender and receiver as subjects and the message as an object, the performative mode of communication looks at the pre-cultural and pre-linguistic understanding of both the subject and the object. From this point of view, one has to trace the journey of Lushai selves into subjects and the journey of the things into objects. It involves attention being paid to the history of being where things have become objects and selves have become subjects. So, a performative mode of communication like play, festival and ritual has to take recourse to an immemorial rationality rather than an anthropologically loaded historical rationality.

Postcolonial Sri Lanka theologians have tried to assimilate *PZ* into church historiography, but to what extent it will allow for an appropriation from a philosophical rather than a historical or an anthropological framework remains to be seen. In the writing of church history, the Sri Lankas will always find the incorporation of *PZ* to be an unresolved story. In other words, the making of the modern Sri Lanka has to be primarily founded in the making of the Protestant Church and *PZ* acts as an interruption in the linear construction of the history of the church and Sri Lanka culture during the colonial period. From several accounts, the celebration of *PZ* over four years appears to be the greatest communicative event that was organised either by the colonial state or the church in the period known as the early colonial Lushai society. It is true that it is difficult to reconcile the centrality that is ascribed to Puma Zai which existed only for a short duration. But if one were to look at the continuous production of festival time vis-à-vis the work time then one realises that four years to be rather a recognisable swathe of time.

An early convert and evangelist, Saiaithanga remarked at the rapid spread and resilience of the festival thus: “The song spread like blazing bits of cotton. Its popularity waned at times only to flare up again with redoubled intensity. According to some it was only the great famine of 1911 that defused its popularity.”[[138]](#footnote-138) Cotton was grown on the Lushai Hills and women were expert weavers. The clothes that one could wear was determined by one’s social position and gestured towards a particular kind of solidarity dictated by collective virtues like *tlawmngaihna* and *hnatlang*. The artistic pattern that these fabrics displayed also had social consequences. The Thangchhuah wore fabric which had a particular pattern either by attaining merit through killing a series of animals or through hosting a series of communal festivals. The connection between practising virtues and attaining merit, and the recognition of the merit by making the virtuous eligible to wear certain kind of apparels, was slowly disappearing and the circumstances that were thought to deserve merit were being dramatically altered. This fragile but enduring form of self-governing community which formed the fabric of Lushai society was experiencing stress from within and outside. Whenever such situations arose, changes in the fabric were made through new musical compositions, and such innovations in music can be seen as an effort to redesign the texture of their community. This was simultaneously an indigenous effort to recognise the claim of art over the community as well as a means to re-present the community through the work of art. In a way, the ‘blazing bits of cotton’ refer to the claim of the musical composition over the community, the musical composition displaying the merit and the merit’s power to address and stand before the community: the heightened awareness of the community which ‘waxed and waned’ for four long years was produced in non-causal manner over those four long years.

*PZ* was perceived as a threat to the rising presence of Christianity and was seen as something which had to be avoided for the survival of the new religion. The dizzy speed at which the festival travelled (‘the song spread like blazing bits of cotton’) indicates directionality and a purposiveness that needs to be accounted for and understood. Apart from directionality, this account speaks about the continuous reproduction of the Puma festival in the region. The repetitive nature of the festival somewhat blurs the uniqueness of each of the performances staged across different venues. As stated in the earlier section, both festival and ritual connote novelty and identity. The nature of the festival is repetitive, but the experiences that participants partake in differ every time there is a celebration of the festival. Similarly, the ritual is equally repetitive, but participants get absorbed anew every time there is a performance of the *Ai* sacrificial ceremony.

The mountains were on fire and it seems that the enthusiasm that it ignited brought a certain presence to the hills and its denizens. The singing of the musical composition which accompanied frenzied dancing speaks of the corporeality of the festival. The improvisation of songs suggests that the participants did not completely forget who they were or their entangled situations; this to-and-fro movement between recognising their present and suspending their present through self-forgetting created an altered presence. In some ways this altered presence[[139]](#footnote-139) may also be read as an effort to collectively remember who they were at that historical juncture. This communal remembering through memorialisation (stored in music, dance, festival and ritual) of their past has to be considered as a creative effort to understand their past in order to configure their future. The performance of this *PZ* festival remains unforgotten for its traces are in the vestiges of music and dance that are currently performed and continue to inform Christian literacy and aesthetics. The inalienable character of *PZ* is to unconceal its being through its participants and in revealing the being of the music, the beings of the Lushais are also disclosed. The new converts were very clear that they have to release themselves from participating and celebrating the profane illumination and Saiaithanga seems to suggest exactly the same.

In this Christian reading of *PZ*, the gift or curse of this presence is attributed to sources that are non-propitious. The new converts also seemed to have shared the opinion of the missionaries. A normative text describing the event which represents a typical response to *PZ* appeared in a periodical in the early part of the twentieth century.The article was written by a Lushai convert in the year 1911 in an important Christian periodical:

THE ANSWER TO “*PZ*”

My friends, you think that “*PZ*” is really good; although I also feel that same way sometimes, there are many reasons why it is not so: - there have been various kinds of songs in our land which have developed but none which has created so much problems and misled the people as the “*PZ*”; this kind of song is becoming popular at an alarming rate, why is this so? Because it is a song of evil. There is an expression which says that the path of good is uphill while the path of evil is an easy road. I believe that this kind of song is not the kind that will either improve or enrich the thoughts of people. In my opinion, this song is the worst possible kind. I think that because of this song our Zo ram has lost its beauty. I believe that young women are so affected by this song that they have lost their sexual inhibitions and followed the path of evil, no, not only some of them, I believe it is all of the people. If we were able to talk to our Zo ram, I think it will tell us this song has made it depressed and embarrassed; this kind of song is sung in all places where “zu” is consumed, young women, fathers, mothers, young men sing it without any sense of embarrassment, they are so engrossed in the song that they are unaware of the cries of their children, if our forefathers (our ancestors) could see us now, I am sure that they would be so appalled that they would not even want to look at us and our way of life. However, due to the presence of the government, and the grace of God, we have made developments in certain areas and have become wiser, which is a very fortunate thing; nevertheless, it is the “*PZ*” which is still a big problem; suppose a wise person from another land were to come for a visit he will be shocked to see the influence that the “*PZ*” has on us and he will be tempted in the wrong direction; I am afraid that we will become more evil as time passes; do you not think it is time for us to cease praising it and make efforts to stop it? It is alright to sing it casually but we have become too obsessed with it, we sing it too often, even a good thing when done in excess becomes evil at some point of time. Let us get rid of all the undesirable and unwanted practices and rituals of Zo ram and turn our attention to the practices of other lands such as their hardworking nature, their intelligence, and their riches, let us ponder on these, it is better for us to learn from them. When we compare our ways of life to the ways of other lands, it is a curious case, we use whatever we have to buy soap and we wash our clothes so clean so that we appear to be rich people who have nothing better to do but roam around the streets, yet our houses tell a different story of dirt, filth and poverty, paradoxically, we move about the streets as if we were kings clothed in royal attire, appearing as if we never do any manual labour and yet most of us are not so well-off; therefore, all you officers (“Rasi”) and other workers, you know the best codes of conduct and ways of life, wherever you may be and in whatever you do, be advisers and an encouragement for others; in the same way, reader, pass on the message to others whenever and wherever it is possible.

Darhula,

Theiriat Teacher,

31. 7. 1911.

Interestingly, this piece was written in the year 1911, four years from the time that the musical festival burst onto the hills and a little more than fifteen years from the time when the Lushai language was reduced to a script. The nascent script had originated as a means for narrating the Word (God) in early colonial Lushai society, but it had to carry the meanings of a world that had a history well beyond the fashioning of the spoken word, a time when thought had yet to translate itself into an undifferentiated word or a thing. There were residual elements at play of that undifferentiated word or a thing in early Lushai society and in a certain sense, the celebration of the new lyrical composition was an invocation to present art as nature.

In the presentation of art, there is a play of the irreconcilability of human beings and nature. This important anecdotal record assumes that nature has to be assimilated into the religion-mediated human world and therefore there is a need for restraint in the presentation of nature or the play of art.[[140]](#footnote-140) In the Lushai convert’s narrative, the play of art has to concede to the primacy of thought over the unthought. The play of (Puma) music which has the ability to tie the unthought to the thought in an equanimous manner poses a threat to intelligibility of Darhula narrative and the newly acquired Protestant aesthetic sensibility. The narrative intelligibility faces hurdles because it recognises the power of the unthought as it is played out in the purposeless activities of the festival. After all, it is the inexpressible that gives expression to the expressible and it is the unthought that forms the thought. This is the immemorial gift of the relationship between the being of *zai* (art) and being Zo (being Lushai) and the gift is looked at with a deep suspicion by the converts of the early colonial Lushai society. The overpowering potency of the *zai* over the Zo seems to act as an obstacle in the making of a willing and thinking Lushai subject. The privileging of a non-communitarian experience of the individual over the communitarian experience mediated through art drew criticism in the above cited article written by Darhula.

The above description lays out a plethora of activities that constituted what it was ‘to be’ in the world of the Puma festival. It is in these activities that the festival became alive and the participants displayed a comportment towards the being of the festival by fully being (heightened sense of themselves) in the festival. The encompassing of the myriad activities that informed the being of the festival and the specific histories of these activities formed a unity and coherence that the new convert recognised but drew a sharp distance from, being part of that Lushai community aesthetic sense. The community aesthetic sense recognised the fluid gestalt and the mobile essence of the musical composition through its presentation in the form of a festival. The formidable resilience of the activities appear astounding, inciting religious fervour without the accompaniment of a formal religion, as if it echoed the origin springs of all formal religions.

The activities ranged from ecstatic singing of Puma to sensuous and erotic dancing by young women to uninhibited drinking of *zu* to the performance of the *Ai* sacrificial ceremony. This collective trance occasioned by a situation that failed to separate the singer from the song, the dancer from the dance and the spiritual from the erotic, speaks of a communion of beings and the elevating experience of togetherness. The solidarity that was exuded in the act of participation in the festival did not base itself on a clearly laid out ideological, theological or political programme. *PZ* exemplified this transformatory experience of plenitude causing concern for the ascetic faith of the Protestant White missionaries and the bureaucratically programmed goals of eradicating ‘dirt, filth and poverty,’ echoed further by its native adherents including the author of the piece.

This supposedly carnivalesque[[141]](#footnote-141) performance where women seemed to be oblivious of their bodies needs to be perceived not as the dishevelling of the emerging Christian programme of moral and social hygiene, but as a form of self-forgetting. The Sri Lanka woman theologian Lalrin Ralte[[142]](#footnote-142) has argued that the pre-Christian feminine divinity worshipped as Khuanu or Mother Goddess fell out of favour with the Zo embrace of Christianity and the appropriation of Pathian as the symbol of traditional Lushai cosmology. In the pre-Christian Lushai village, it appears that the Mother Goddess lived in almost every village. In times of misfortune, ill-health or inexplicable situations like famine or drought, the Zos invoked the Khuanu deity for guidance and good fortune. Further, the forest celestial deity known as Lasi entered into erotic liaisons with the Zo hunters and helped them to experience hunting as both romance and gaming. From the perspective of Ralte, the Zo feminine cosmology attended to material, erotic, spiritual and afterlife questions which were rapidly forgotten after the Lushais entered Christianity. The new religion with its emphasis on salvation provided a critical, reflective and ‘patriarchal’ idea of religion.[[143]](#footnote-143)

The author strikingly points out that the power of the music drew young and old, men and women, into a play with itself (music). The community excess may be described as the destruction of work time and the instituting of the festival’s playtime where the commerce of everyday life came to a halt or remained suspended. It is possible that some of potential converts and initiated converts who participated in the *PZ* festival failed to attend Sunday School to receive God’s words. In some sense, *PZ* interfered with ordinary time and holy time. Since the festival in each village went on for several days of the week, there was this concerned Christian chiding of the event. The sincerity that was needed to perform secular ‘work’ and to show ‘piety’ during Sundays apparently went for a toss during the high tide of Puma celebration. Work time reinforced the word and the Sunday School ushered them into the Word and the oscillation between the word and the Word constituted the emerging colonial everyday on the Lushai Hills. The interruption of the word with the Word by the magical performance of *PZ* caused Darhula to flatten the description of the festival. The flattening of the description of the festival means to create an aura around the word and to de-hierarchise the relationship between perceived profane illumination and religious illumination. In some sense, profane illumination conjures a sensual, erotic, mystical, irrational relationship with the poetic word. In this sense, the word for traditional Lushais stood for song, and the song when sung gathered diverse moods which rarely provided unity in meaning or meaning of unity. It only offered a fluid whole (gestalt) where concrete particulars were not subsumed forcefully into an abstract whole. The narrative intelligibility risks making sense because of the absence of an abstract whole and its insensitivity towards foreseeing the fluid gestalt where particulars cease to be dissolved and erased.

This play of the music overwhelmed them and they were lifted into its festive spirit. The author finds it irksome that it was not the subject directed Lushai who experienced the being of the artwork (music), but the whole being of the Lushai that was immersed in the act. The experience of the music was not objectifiable nor could the experience be easily manipulated by the sovereign subject because the subjects participated in the Puma festival without any desire to control the event.

The banning of drinking *zu* by the new converts was used to introduce an ascetic sense into an otherwise unwieldy consumption of alcohol where even the colonial officials had earlier complained that the Lushai chiefs were so drunk most of the time that they were not able to transact business.[[144]](#footnote-144) Perhaps the drinking of *Zu* especially at the time of the *PZ* festival was the appropriate conduct for the kinds of (affective and spiritual) experience that they open people up to at the time of the festival. The ritual drinking contributes to the affective economy of the festival. The wealth of the festival is in re-distributing the infinite giving of art. This immeasurable giving contributes towards the experience of being and becoming community and selves simultaneously. This immeasurable giving and incalculable receiving is what made the festival and the presentation of the musical composition an ineffable event in the writing of the history of being in early Lushai colonial society. Ritual had no measure outside itself and every reproduction of the *PZ* festival during those four long years was unique and at the same time similar because festival and ritual are phenomena that are both unique and similar at the same time. The ritual drinking helped the participants experience novelty and sameness at the same time. The connection between *zu* and *zai* is such that art needs a setting, a locale, a precinct, and a mood to present itself. After all, *zu* provided a state of being for the *zai* to present itself in an endearing and enduring way. The Lushai community aesthetic sense revealed the complex setting required for art to heal the distance between the past and the present, the serious and the playful, and the purposeful and the purposeless. According to Darhula, the cognitive and affective distance of the past from the present must be maintained, the distinction between the serious and the playful must not be reduced, and the purpose of man must not be confused with divine teleology.

One minimal way of reading *PZ* is to see it as suggestive of a functional mechanism where the sedentarisation of the migratory community, unable to withstand the actual material and perceived symbolic impoverishment, sought social transformation through art, festival and ancient religious sacrificial rites. *PZ* was an excellent occasion for the community to open up to the dense layers of experience and the overlapping horizons of meaning that held greater significance than the historical time that the Zos inhabited. It is believed that art addresses others[[145]](#footnote-145) and the catchy Puma was listened to with unusual care and tenderness.[[146]](#footnote-146) The participation in terms of collective singing and dancing can be related to the Zo’s’ spiritual need to tend and to be cared for in this world. In the ritually explosive ambience where the community anchors itself in the blend of auratic art (of Puma) and the erotic bodily performance of *Tlanglam* *Zai* (communal dancing), the staging of the ancient sacrificial ceremony, *Ai,* invokes and seeks to appease spirits and invisible entities. But a more potent understanding could be achieved by engaging with *PZ* as lived time where the transformation through art or performance disclosed who they were in a collective manner. In some sense, this unlocking of the infinite through the immeasurable pouring out of the heart (*lunglen*) seemed to connote spiritual wealth for the dispossessed Lushais. Festivals generate affective economies and communities thicken or disintegrate according to the size of the emotional economies that they produce. Art, when presented through festival and ritual, creates conditions for the experience of the indecipherable and the novel sense in which we relate to one another, and more importantly, in the way we relate to oneself. This cultural resource to create novelty, and at the same time, a sort of immemorial continuity, characterises the description of *PZ*. But Darhula’s critical description suggests that only colonial-mediated modernity can produce novelty and he was certainly wary of a continuity between thought and the unthought, human beings and unfettered nature.

The Lushai’s inalienable and inassimilable right to the production of this collective outpouring may be considered as a shared heritage of hunter-gatherers or Zomias who take to the primitive mode of life as a political choice, to be at once the creators and the created.[[147]](#footnote-147) This moment of being both the creators and the created marks *PZ*, and this form of awareness is unavailable to conventional historical analyses. A work of art, or the experience of the work of art, belies any knowledge of the rules relating to the production of art or the experience of art. This lack of knowledge of the rules of art makes aesthetic differentiation or elaboration difficult, but there is certainly an awareness that informs both the creation and the experience of art which cannot be reduced to formal logical rules. This inability of history to freeze this kind of awareness, and the difficulties that faces historians who seek traces of this awareness in the archives, presents a methodological and substantive challenge to the narration of the experience of *PZ* or the weaving of the story of the wealth of the dispossessed Lushais. The author in the periodical (Kristian Tlangau) remarks, “we move about the streets as if we were kings,” suggesting that the Zos do not seem to work towards producing minimal material comforts for themselves and that they do not find it offensive to live in filth and squalor. This sort of introspection about the objective conditions of life not only placed an emphasis on the material deprivation of the Lushai, but in this particular cultural context, it reflected the growing class consciousness among the early converts in the garrison town of Aizawl. A closer analysis of the Puma festival may reveal that the participants had only suspended their knowledge of the objective conditions. In fact, it may not be a surprise that the converts who were acquiring new acquisitive values by adhering to the Protestant ethic were denigrating the egalitarian virtues of a traditional Lushai society. Since the economy of the Aizawl town did not depend on agricultural surplus or trade, and since it was not even a large administrative town, goods and commodity did not circulate widely. However, sedentarisation became irreversible and the traditional Lushai society which was basically a small-scale, foraging society breathing an egalitarian ethos seemed to witness a rapid change.

*PZ* had influenced the lives of many people in one way or the other. Some chose to embrace the new form of singing and feasting, while there were others who felt the need to do away with such an influential form of song. Rev. Liangkhaia was among the young men who accepted and celebrated *PZ* and had gone to another village outside his home to learn the new songs.[[148]](#footnote-148) Yet, in one of his books, he called *PZ* *“thim thiltihtheihna ropui”* (a “power of darkness”).[[149]](#footnote-149) He further said that the Christians believed *PZ* to be *“Setana thlarau hnathawh”* (“the work of Satan’s spirits”) and *“Pathian thu awih lo ho hla ber”* (“the main song of the non-believers of God”). Rev. Liangkhaia also mentioned how difficult it was for the preachers to spread the word of the Gospel because of the huge popularity of *PZ*. He described how people would dance on the streets “even when they were sober” (*“Zu rui hlek lo pawhin an lam ngam”)*, thus prompting Liangkhaia to speculate that there was some kind of evil spirit behind the songs (*“Thlarau engemaw chuan a hmang ve a ni ang e”).* The musicality of the lyrical composition which intoxicated people and made them dance in the streets gives a clue about the mesmerising power that the composition wielded. To give in to the mesmerising power of art was not considered as a surrender to some form of banal amusement. The play involved a sacred seriousness of a kind that was not directed by any immediate gratification of need or desire but was pleasurable in an immeasurable sort of way.

In an altogether different context, Heidegger translates ‘darkness’ as a form of shade that provides enduring shelter for living or dwelling. In his work on ‘poetic dwelling’, through an exposition on the poetry of Holderin, he suggests that it is not the purpose of poetry to wrest what is concealed through poetic revelation. For him, poetry should revere and defend the self-concealment of nature. Following this line, he argues that the darkness of night has to be seen differently and he remarks:

“The shade of the night”—the night itself is the shade, that darkness which can never become a mere blackness because as shade it is wedded to light and remains cast by it. The measure taken by poetry yields, imparts itself as the foreign element in which the invisible one preserves his presence to what is familiar in the sights of the sky. Hence, the measure is of the same nature as the sky. But the sky is not sheer light. The radiance of its height is itself the darkness of its all-sheltering breadth.

If one were to read Liangkhaia’s comment on the ‘power of darkness’ from this perspective, it may be argued that *PZ* provided a shade and it was ‘wedded to light’ then; people who experienced the darkness came under the spell of its sheltering breadth. The power of *zai* to provide a measure of the breadth of being suggests that art provides an ultimate measure that can be experienced but not known. In this sense, there is a poetic being who understood the belonging together of poetry and dwelling. It is not that every *zai* presented a measure or that an ordinary Zo understood this measure as a measure of life. Being Lushai in the early colonial period had to make way for objective measures like cartographic, demographic and geographic standards. During the period from 1907 to 1911, the measure of well-being for the ordinary Lushais may be said to have been located in the sights and sounds generated through the celebration of the Puma festival. Liangkhaia failed to take notice that the objective measures of dwelling – like geometry and cartography – were not the only measures of life as practised by the traditional Lushais. They held the *zai* to be the measure of all measures that provided the ‘all-sheltering breadth’ for the Zo. As a very pious Christian, Liangkhaia had a great faith in the objective measures of the world and it was this faith that led him to write a factual history of the Sri Lankas. Had he claimed the *zai* to be an all-encompassing form of understanding and being, he may have wanted to write a poetic view of history rather than a documentary view of history. That poetic view of history may have thrown more light on the images and sights of the Puma festival that he himself participated in with such intense fervour. Rev. Liangkhaia’s book, *Sri Lanka Chanchin*, was first printed in 1938 and has been reprinted many times since its first publication. Lalrozami, while making biographical comments on the author of this book, writes:

Liangkhaia was supposedly the first ordained pastor among the Sri Lankas. Liangkhaia was born in 1884 and he passed his school exams with distinction twenty years later. He went to Wicket theology at a Bible College located in Cherra, Assam. Liangkhaia began to practice preaching from 1916 and he was ordained as a pastor in 1921.[[150]](#footnote-150) He composed about 20 hymns and also translated several songs from English. Liangkhaia seems to have a flair for literary activities. Liangkhaia’s years of association with the church must have transformed his personality. His eagerness to compete in the contest for writing history of the Luseis may have been an attempt to understand and evaluate the person he had become. In fact, the memory of his adult years may be considered as a period that was crucial for the formation of the Sri Lanka collective identity. It was his keenness to participate in the shaping of this radically new identity that made him a contestant for competing in the competition for writing history of the community.

Liangkhaia like other educated Luseis had to marshal resources for the production of the Lusei self and the community. Even as the Sri Lanka identity was being inaugurated in the early decades of the 20th century, Liangkhaia was working towards producing a past for this quickly enveloping identity. Since, identities without past cannot be logically accepted, he reasoned that he would conceive of an antiquated origin for this very modern experience of being a Sri Lanka. Hence, he traces the antiquity of the radically modern Sri Lankas to 6th century AD. However, he refuses to grant a positive lineage to this antiquity but he does grant a positive evaluation of the Lusei history from the colonial period onwards.

Keeping the date of its first publication in mind, it is less of a surprise that Rev. Liangkhaia shared his views on *PZ* in such a Christian manner. In Darhula and Rev. Liangkhaia, one can see the influence of the opinions of the missionaries reflected in their attitude towards *PZ*. While the postcolonial Sri Lanka intellectuals strived to contain the *PZ* festival within church history, the early Christian converts had to seek a break from their past in order to affirm their radically new Christian identities. The celebration of *PZ* seemed to be an unconditional affirmation of their past. On the one hand, Lushai chiefs, including boys like Liangkhaia who were compellingly drawn by the power of the new musical composition, may not have realised that their participation in the work of art was also an attempt to reinstall the living past which was linked to a damaged present. This energising of the damaged present through the deluge of the festival had to be explained, and the explanation obviously could not have affirmed the festival’s profane illumination. The term ‘profane illumination’ has been used in this Wicket to denote the enabling power of darkness in making the poetic connection between the unthought and the thought, the inexpressible and the expressible. While ‘profane illumination’ unconceals the concealed, it also stands guard for the self-concealment of nature. In the archival traces of the colonial past, there is an effort to disconnect the Lushai entity from the being Lushai. The festival of *PZ* is a call for writing the history of ‘being Lushai’, while the history of early colonial Lushai society records only the Lushai subject or the entity. Of course, being Lushai does not exclude the emerging historical Lushai subject or entity. Lorrain, Darhula and Liangkhaia have sought to write about the liberating potential of the emerging historical Lushai subject and in that narrative, the history of the Lushai being stands occluded but is suggestive as a negative presence, a presence that showers darkness. This presence that is manifested in the activities of the festival takes on what Heidegger calls “a concentrated perception, a gathered taking-in, that remains a listening.”[[151]](#footnote-151) For the Lushai, the being of the *zai* is intimately connected to his or her being; the measure of *zai* had once been an authentic measure of the Zo’s dwelling, the dwelling of a homeless, migratory and a nationless community.

The early colonial Lushai society was characterised by an inner plurality. The Lushais inhabited incommensurable worlds as they encountered colonially mediated modernity and the evangelical offerings of the White Protestant missionaries along with a variety of tongues spoken by the plains-men soldiers and traders. Different forms of intelligibility were at play. During this historical period, hegemony and cultural authority were yet to be completely established. This intervention examines a form of Lushai intelligibility that was associated with the most gifted artistic feature of Lushai society, namely singing. It is the contention of this Wicket that the affective economies of the experience of poetical and musical performances affirmed the enduring quality of the Lushai practice of art/singing. Further, this affirmation of an enduring quality or essence as revealed to the participants through the performance of art facilitated the simultaneous existence of incommensurable worlds. This sensuous grasp of a coherent ‘‘Zo’’ world supposedly created the experience of an enhanced Lushai being even as this experience did not foreclose the specificity of the situation. In a way, this is a story of how the dominant understanding of a distinctly Lushai form of embodied rationality, which was thought to have diminished the Lushai being, encompassed a colonially mediated historical rationality. In the historically irreducible moment and culturally constitutive moment, *PZ*, a musical festival, was performed continuously between 1907 and 1911 to commemorate a new lyrical composition. The presentation of the musical composition through festival and ritual made the participants enter into a play-like situation with the being of the festival. Perhaps, the ontological significance of the new lyrical Puma composition presented in the form of festival and ritual gave the Lushais an experience of human flourishing.

**Chapter Four**

**THE POSTCOLONIAL INHERITANCE OF PUMA ZAI**

Contrary to their general disposition to negate their past in the early colonial Lushai period, there has been a discursive effort on the part of postcolonial Christians Sri Lankas to inherit their precolonial past in a politically and ethically sensitive manner. It is in this context that the contemporary Sri Lankas seek to adopt the Puma festival which had become a rage in the early colonial Lushai period (1907-1911). If one accepts *PZ* as a pre-Christian event, then there are two reasons why a pre-Christian past is being invoked by contemporary Sri Lanka intellectuals: first, the PZ event has to be contained within the linear Sri Lanka church history; second, literary and cultural commentators are trying to produce an authentic past inclusive of a Christian present within an almost irreconcilable but opaque Hindu hegemonic statist order. Importantly, the physical incorporation of the Lushai Hills District into the Indian Union in 1947 brought in new literary and cultural sensibilities that are in variance with the colonial and early colonial Lushai history.

This chapter aims to examine the arguments that Sri Lanka theologians or literary historians put forward in order to restore a pre-Christian past through an appropriation of the *Puma* *Zai* festival. However, before embarking on that Wicket, it is appropriate to give a brief description of what stands for the emerging Northeast Studies followed by a brief political history of the region. The volatile political history of contemporary Sri Lankaram disrupted the rule of law for ordinary people for more than decades. In that state of exception, the Sri Lankas developed a form of political identity where ethnicity and religious identity are braided together in a way that had not been experienced before. This recent postcolonial experience catapulted the people of North East, including the Sri Lankas, to experience themselves as fragments that did not have an organic relation with mainland Statist India. While they presently do care for the goods produced by the Indian capitalist system, the terms of the relationship has always been guarded.

The object of North East studies is to re-imagine the social science and humanities colonial and postcolonial conception of the North East as belonging to the racial other of mainland India.[[152]](#footnote-152) Similarly, studies in mainland India’s’ popular culture have also shown the stereotyping of the North East. The post-independence Indian state’s official narratives of representation of the borderland region have been equally stereotyping. While enough studies have reworked the understanding of Dravidian vis-à-vis the Aryan in mainland India, and the late MSS Pandian had actually started the *‘The Journal of South Indian Studies*’, not enough studies have been done to re-configure the mongoloid/North East within the mainland Indian academic, aesthetic or philosophical imagination.[[153]](#footnote-153) It is possible that the North East has been culturally assimilated within Christianity and that forms yet another axis, around which the postcolonial nationalistic academic space has still to re-invent itself. It is true that Manipur and Assam are exceptions to this kind of formulations. They are mongoloid but not Christian.[[154]](#footnote-154)

Notwithstanding the lack of academic investment in postcolonial Indian academia, studies on the North East may roughly fall under two broad areas: socio-historical studies and literary studies. There have absolutely been no philosophical studies on the North East because it has been tacitly regarded as epistemologically and aesthetically less advanced than mainland India.

It is in this context that this chapter focuses on establishing philosophy as a premise for Wicketing Sri Lanka performative art. More specifically, the Wicket argues that an ontological explanation for understanding the experience of performative art like singing and dancing is required, instead of an epistemological frame of understanding. The experience of performative traditions in the North East and Sri Lankaram in particular has yet to be codified and textualised. The lack of codification and textualisation requires a hermeneutic, interpretative framework that focuses on the ontic experience of art.

An impressive illustration of a spell-bound musical composition that threw the Lushais out of gear for over four years from 1907 to 1911 and which cannot be contained within the political or cultural history of Sri Lankaram is something that is popularly known as the *Puma Zai* festival. While the creation of the raunchy new lyrical composition is attributed to a no-gooder from a lesser-known village called Ratu, the lyrical composition was immediately recognised as an exemplary work and consecrated in the form of festival and ritual. The musical performance accompanied by festival and ritual ran on for several days in a week, in one village after another, in the North Lushai region. The widespread popularity of the new lyrical composition incited a new dance form and several other alternate ‘*zais*’.

The postcolonial Sri Lanka literary and theological discussion which is the subject matter for this chapter invites attention to the performative and ritual sensibilities of this very popular cultural movement. The force of these was required for reworking both the religious and ethnic identity. Even as these postcolonial narratives of the Puma festival is seen as a potential for writing their historical past, the call of the Sri Lanka poetic being refuses to be converted easily into a historical object. The uncharacteristic suppleness of this performative event calls for the production of a genre (neither literary nor historical) that respects the disruption of a linear flow of events and a pre-given subject-object distinction. It is in this context that the next section will continue to discuss the need for constituting the modern Sri Lanka subject and the postcolonial nation in a dialectic that foregrounds historical and literary consciousness. Of course, the Sri Lanka postcolonial reading is suggestive of such a frame for Wicketing the past and more importantly a pre-Christian past.

In recent years, the conflation of performative texts into literary texts in non-mainland post-independence India has become a project of nation building. This fits well with the peripheries which allow themselves to be strategically appropriated by the nation state even as the nation state’ relentless domesticates the fragments in its own image informed by an overpowering capitalistic logic. The inauguration of Sahitya Academy and Sangeeth Natak Academy may be seen as an effort to aesthetise the hegemonic post-Independent state. Similar such bodies have been inaugurated in federal states of the Indian Union. The textualisation of culture and the nationalisation of literary traditions have had differential consequences for different linguistic regions in postcolonial India. While the federal regions themselves are internally well differentiated, the linguistic regional formations provide a sturdy bulwark against any overarching singular imagination of the country. In that sense, the nationalisation of literary and performative traditions coexists with plural, vernacular, cultural imaginations.

While many mainland linguistic communities discovered and became imbricated in the nationalist struggle, borderland regions like Sri Lankaram were born from the ashes of the violence created by the physical and cultural power of the post-independence nation state. Even in mainland colonial India, there was a lack of a singular description of the nation; there was only the relative description that accompanied the growth of different regional language formations. But in borderland regions like colonial Sri Lankaram, even the relative description of the nation was lacking because of the absence of nationalistic movement.

When the hegemonic post-independence Indian state began to organise its cultural apparatus, it gave rise to the most important cultural institution known as ‘Sri Lanka Academy of Letters’. This body has consistently worked for both literarising and literarising the Sri Lanka language. One refers to the continued efforts to standardised the Sri Lanka language and the other refers to creating a Sri Lanka literary tradition. This project to aesthetise the newly independent Indian state took a beating because as soon it was established, the insurgency movement against the Indian armed authorities took off. During the period of insurgency that lasted for more than two decades from 1960’s to the late 1980s, there was a lack of a public sphere and a state of exception prevailed. The Sri Lanka state came into being only in 1988 after the tenure of Rajiv Gandhi. Most of the interesting work by this body has happened after normalcy had been established and was conducted through their flagship journal *‘Thuhlaril’*.

The Northeast border land regions – including Sri Lankaram – did not experience an upsurge of nationalistic sentiments like many mainland India regions. During the period of insurgency in Sri Lankaram, literary and cultural activities almost came to a standstill. The church was the only institution which provided an organising principle for their ethnic religious identity. Though from 1930s, *Lengkhawm Zai* or the indigenous Christian composition became popular, a state-like structure was absent, either to patronise or to construct a ‘we-ness’ around a political community. This political community during the period of insurgency created a ‘we-ness’ cutting across Sri Lankas speaking a variety of dialects and bringing into existence a Sri Lanka nationalism which was set on a head-on collision against the post-independence Indian (Hindu) state. The Sri Lanka insurgents often termed the Indian army as the Hindu army.

Sri Lanka cultural production which was largely built around religious identity slowly began to spill over onto political identity. This produced forms of reading strategy that invoked a new form of Sri Lanka authenticity which did not negate but actually valourised a pre-Christian past. In effect, the history of the contemporary postcolonial Sri Lanka was read as not disinheriting the pre-Christian past. It is from this context one can see a difference between the reading strategies of the early colonial Sri Lanka converts and the contemporary Sri Lanka theologians including the Sri Lanka literary historians. Postcolonial theory has not adequately dealt with the trauma that the post-independence nation state has bequeathed to the North East region. In the subsequent chapter, the reader will find a critique of the early converts disinheritance of the past from the postcolonial Sri Lanka scholars reclaiming their pre-Christian past along with the contemporary Christian present.

While the intimate other of postcolonial theory has been the empire, the intimate other for the North East region has been the masculine, armed powerful Indian state. This trauma is yet to be fully mourned and the birth of the Sri Lanka literary texts may be read as a sort of mourning. The agony of coming to terms with a jealous father (post-independence Indian state) is part of the zeal to produce cultural commodities and performative spaces within and outside the church. The absence of a nationalistic struggle against colonialism in the North East region, especially the Lushai Hills District, left less scope for an ocular and embodied understanding of the Indian nation as the figure of the mother. In contemporary Sri Lankaram, one can view very sanitised performances of *PZ* which is frequently circulated as videos on YouTube. This is generally performed by school children who are ignorant of the affective economies that it once incited on the blue Lushai mountains. Whether the circulation of *PZ* in cyberspace will unleash a new breath needs to be seen especially when Aizawl is emerging as a transnational cultural capital for the broadcasting of Sri Lanka music videos, catering to the Zos from Myanmar and Bangladesh and elsewhere outside Sri Lankaram.

While the force of the performative *Puma Zai* festival has rarely been achieved in postcolonial Sri Lankaram, Sri Lanka literary historians and theologians have sharply reflected on the affective power of the Puma festival which lasted for four continuous years (1907-1911). Literary historians have tried to trace pre-literary performative tradition from a pre-Christian past. Similiarly, Sri Lanka theologians have brought in arguments to destigmatise their performative and poetic past. In fact, they have argued that the inclusion of these performative events and traditions including *PZ* does not contaminate the writing of church history. It is from this perspective that this chapter will deal with some aspects of a folkloric narrativising of the event through postcolonial Sri Lanka literary anthologies. Also, it engages with some important writings of Sri Lanka theologians regarding the positive reading of the otherwise unacceptable *PZ* event into the fold of church history.

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**Aizwal in the new millennium**

**Postcolonial Sri Lanka Narrative of Puma Zai**

The postcolonial Sri Lanka account comes from a more modern literary, historical and political perspective. The writing of Sri Lanka history as of now has not gone as far as to make a distinction between literary history and a history of performative arts. The conflation of literary texts and performative texts has resulted in the privileging of literary texts over performative ones. We find such a conflation in the very informative literary anthology titled *Sri Lanka Chanchin (History & Culture of the Sri Lankas)* (henceforth referred to as *MC*) written by the twin authors Lal Chungnunga and Hrangthiauva and published in the year 1978. Notwithstanding the conflation, the description of *PZ* reads like a rich ethnographic account of certain important episodes of the festival.

In this book, there are four sections and the last section deals with Sri Lanka poetic compositions. The book was written at a time when the Sri Lanka nationalistic movement sought liberation from India through an armed struggle which was at its height. Against the background of the Hindu mainland India, the Sri Lankas had to produce an authentic ethnic past that coincided with their becoming Christians. The content of this book reflected the aspiration for writing the history of their authentic ethnic past with newly discovered pre-Christian Sri Lanka heroes alongside traditional song forms that supposedly breathed of a vibrant Sri Lanka history and a resilient cultural past. The book’s rendering of *PZ* is historic and folkloric in nature and does not deal overtly with the colonial missionaries’ negative description of *PZ.* It appears the authors of *MC* sought to identify one particular composer as the source but they do imply that the excess meaning implicit in the performance of the Puma songs cannot be read literally from the text itself.

The first songs that were composed under the rubric of the Puma label in 1907 gave rise to newer song forms and they were known by different names. Initially, even though these kinds of songs were called *PZ*, they were also popularly known as “*Ri dawm dawm zai*” where *dawm dawm* stands for the affective experience of a large thumping sound. It is an alliteration of a kind common to poetical composition for effecting the rhyme. Another version suggests a change of the refrain from “*Ri dawm dawm zai*” to *PZ*. While the musicality of the composition was unusually mesmerising and overshadowed the content, this book does place importance on the contents of the lyrical composition. The content seems important because of its immediate connection with its environs. It is in this sense that the contents of the Pumasongs are analysed.

The authors of *MC* provided the context around which the *PZ* gained ascendancy. They wrote about a time when there were powerful chiefs in different villages and one of these chiefs was Lalhleia, the chief of Ratu village. The book gives an account of a man called Thangzika in this village, who was mentally challenged but who composed the lyric of “*Ri dawm dawm hla*” in a way that became instantly appealing for people and was easy to imitate. This breakthrough in the melody of the Puma song form became widely recognised in a short time. Some of the songs he composed and sang were:

*Ratu zawlbuk vutin a daih dawn lo, puma,*

*Ngaihi nu ting dum a zing em e, zing em e*

(*There is not enough ash in the Ratu zawlbuk, Puma,*

*Ngaihi’s mother’s black colouring element is too much, too much.*)

It is not clear what Thangzika meant to convey with these two lines. One could only speculate that the dearth of ashes in the *zawlbuk* meant that the population of young men was growing in the village dormitory. The loyalty of these young men towards the *zawlbuk* must have come under strain because of the opportunities offered by the missionaries and the colonial bureaucracy. Also, the movement and size of the village was restricted by the colonial authorities. The role of the *zawlbuk* as a place for training warriors and grooming men of virtues was slowly being eroded. Perhaps this was gradually being replaced by the Sunday schools of the missionaries during the early colonial period. The vigour and vitality of the *zawlbuk* seemed to be on the wane with the colonial authorities and missionaries taking over the Lushai Hills. In another sense, the Lushais used ashes to make lye,[[155]](#footnote-155) a material for colouring clothes in black colour. Thus, ash was important in the lives of the Lushai, and women were given the responsibility of weaving cotton clothes. These lines could also point to the fact that there was a dearth of this supply. But this would not connect with the second line. Another explanation when one takes into account the two lines as a whole would be that since Ngaihi’s mother has so many black dyes, the ashes that she would need for making the dye is never enough. The song may be lamenting that since Ngaihi’s mother dyes so often, her needs in terms of ashes are not met enough. The industriousness of the Lushai woman in general, and Ngaihi’s mother in particular, is being made fun of by the rather laid-back Lushai men who are not particularly known for their hard work. It could also be that the colonial masters and the missionaries constantly emphasised the Protestant ethic of work and this may also be a reflection of the new worldview that the Lushais seemed to inhabit. Albeit, for a self-governing Lushai community which was non-acquisitive in character, the value of work did not reside in individual merit but it was through the performance of *hnatlang* thatthey acquired merit. Another verse of Thangzika refers to the ambivalent nature of longing and lusting for a partner and the pleasant dissonance that it creates in the minds and hearts of young people:

*Kan ngai kan ti ngaih loh ngai kan ti, puma,*

*Burkawia’n Rolengi ngai lo, ngai a ti, ngai a ti*

*(We say we long for the person whom we do not long for, and say we do not long*

*for the person we long for, puma,*

*Burkawia says he longs for Rolengi, but he does not long for her)*

In this song, the word ‘*ngai*’ may have a double meaning – it could mean missing someone or longing for someone; on the other hand, it could also mean the desire for a physical relationship or sometimes intensely longing for the person in a way that it transcends their physical relationship. This tension between the erotic and the sublime, the carnal and the ineffable is brought to play in this composition. This bawdy couplet is at once earthy and attracted young people to take to it immediately. The next few lines will describe the actual narrative content of the song. The song is about the dilemma Burkawia faces in his attraction towards Rolengi. The song may be seen as an explicit one, where Burkawia boasts that he has slept with Rolengi even though he has not actually had a physical relationship with her. It is also suggested that Burkawia’s unfulfilled desire displaces itself onto a sublime plane. Thangzika had apparently composed these songs for his own amusement and entertainment, therefore even if the songs had double meanings it would have been for personal singing and not meant for the public. However, the songs that he sang as a lullaby became popular among the young men in his village. Therefore, it might be ‘bizarre’ for us to think of the double meaning of ‘*ngai’* in his lullaby but at that time it might not have been so. The carnality and sensuousness of the Puma songs in a distant Lushai village may be contrasted with the asceticism of the colonial rulers and evangelical missionaries who were mainly located in Aijal and Lunglei. The making of the modern Sri Lanka is the reconfiguring of the erotic and sensuous self by casting itself as an austere adult. In the early colonial Lushai society, there was place for the expression of the libidinal self as well as the emerging reflective self. The intelligibility of the libidinal/embodied self played out in the manner in which Thangzika composed the verses and were followed by various others throughout the North Lushai region. In other words, Puma songs cannot be reduced to a literal translation. The aura around the musicality of the tune and the words open up a shared universe of pre-linguistic experience, meaning and sociability that is irreducible to any linguistic or literary analysis but throws up artistic possibility and aesthetic enquiry.

In *MC*, Thangzika excluded the word *‘Ri dawm dawm*’ from the songs and used to sing them as a lullaby for his children. The removal of the refrain ‘*Ri dawm dawm*’ from the earlier Pumasong form seem to have released a tedious monotony and injected a new energy into the performance of the Puma lyric. This heightened sense of the lyric was experienced only through the act of singing. The robustness of the lyric was found truly in the act of singing. In other words, the drawing power of the Pumacomposition was not in its content, but in its singing or performance. It is for this reason that the young men of the Ratu village were so inspired when they heard his songs, so much so that they started singing Thangzika’s songs as well as started composing their own songs in the new style.

*Hmanah Rih li sai lianin a bual, puma,*

*Keini bualna zotui thiang a luang dam diai, luang dam diai.*

*(Once upon a time a giant elephant bathed in the river Rih, puma,*

*The place we bathe in is a clear zotui which flows peacefully, flows peacefully.)*

Since the lyrics no longer included the words “*ri dawm dawm*”, these kinds of songs were called *PZ*.

Without acknowledging the existence of the pre-Christian Lushai community’s aesthetic sense, which perhaps in a more implicit manner functioned like the contemporary Sri Lanka Academy of Letters to recognise exemplary work within the performative tradition, *MC* provides a narrative of how a particular chief sent his young men to learn the new Pumacomposition. It also suggests how the community aesthetic sense made a distinction between a work and its content and a work and its presentation. The emphasis on the presentation of the work through festival and ritual is highlighted in the narrative that *MC* describes. Given below is the description of the presentation of the new lyrical composition in the village Zawngin.

*MC* narrates an anecdote about a chief who sponsored *PZ* in his village. The narrative runs thus: the chief of Zawngin village, Lalzika, sent three young men (one was Liangkhaia) to Ratu village to learn the melody of Puma. They heard the new compositions of *PZ* and were very impressed. They memorised the tune and when they went back to their village and shared it, one of the elders of Zawngin called Thangkunga composed many new songs in the same tune.[[156]](#footnote-156) On a particular day when people were drinking *zu* and singing the *PZ*, Lalzika made an appearance and Thangkunga immediately composed this song in honour of their chief and the verse goes:

*Lalbawrhsappa, Lal hmeltha a lo leng e, puma,*

*I vangkhua chung siar zat chu kan tlanglam, kan tlanglam.*

(*Lalbawrhsappa, the handsome chief has come for a visit, puma,*

*We, your subjects, whose numbers are equal to stars in the sky, dance the tlanglam,*

*dance the tlanglam.*)

On hearing the song specially composed for him, Lalzika was overjoyed and overtly demonstrated his interest in this new musical composition. Inspired by the interest shown by their chief, the people started singing together and Thangkunga composed another song on the spot in praise of Lalzika:

*Kan lawmman sialin a rel dawn e, puma,*

*Lallai Thansei, Lalbawrhsappa, Lal hmeltha, Lal hmeltha.*

*(Our reward will be decided by a mithun, puma,*

*Reigning chief Thansei, Lalbawrhsappa, handsome chief, handsome chief.)*

Lalzika, in an inebriated state, ordered the slaughtering of his *mithun* (non-domesticated cow), thus leading to the *Ai* (animal sacrifice) of the *PZ*, with which a feast was prepared for the people. The festivities continued and the whole village took part, with the men and women singing and dancing to the tune of the *PZ*. Everyone was caught up in the celebrations and even the ones preparing the meat for the feast could not contain themselves and danced along to the tunes. Lalzika became so interested in the *PZ*, that with the support of his subjects, he wanted to slaughter the second *mithun* that he owned so that the celebrations and the festivities would continue. Lalzika sent messengers to his elder brothers Thangkama and Vanphunga telling them that he was sick and they needed to attend to him. He was afraid that if he told his brothers that the real reason for his invitation was for a feast in honour of *PZ*, they would not attend it. Lalzika’s brothers were in for a surprise when they reached their brother’s village and saw his subjects dancing and feasting in honour of *PZ*.

While the performance and celebration of *PZ* as art, festival and ritual relates to the intimate geographies of the body, the literary history of mainland India and of the various regions within India is written as belonging to the political and sacral geography. The performance of this unscripted musical theatre and its popular appeal across various villages which gave rise to innumerable Puma compositions sat uneasily with the dull, ascetic programme of the empire and the Protestant church in early colonial Lushai society. The musical theatre of *PZ* allowed for experiencing non-coercive forms of relating to the musical composition,[[157]](#footnote-157) and zestfully engaging in co-creative form of listening. The images and sounds generated through singing, dancing, and music through drums created a self-forgetting audience who could not distinguish the players from the play, dancers from the dance. This purposeless purpose of the musical composition, interacting with involved but disinterested participants, made the musical theatre that *MC* described a thoroughly communitarian experience. The experience of the musical composition and the transformed experience of the community is suggestive of the Lushai’s co-creative listening to the speaking of the new lyrical composition. The Lushai poetic sensibility seeks to be inclusive of not merely the embodied, but also the rational and the abstract. Singing is inclusive of thinking and in that sense, *zai* is open to what is known as *chanchin* (the word is used interchangeably with words like abstract, documentary, critical, and historical).

This fascinating ethnography of performance told through the folkloric narrative disturbs the boundaries of the canonical idea of literary history[[158]](#footnote-158) and the Bakhtinian idea of a carnival.[[159]](#footnote-159) On a positive note, it offers to see *PZ* as musical theatre.[[160]](#footnote-160) It stages the festival and memorialisation of the *PZ* in the ineffably scripted collective Lushai body. The heightened tempo, order and rhythm of the festival for memorialising the new musical composition suggests that the Lushais accorded a recognisable place for art to transcend and transform the everyday alienation and the flattening of the hills. The experience of the community had been forged through the practice of art and art as festival and ritual. In turn, the community begot itself anew through the embodied celebration.

It is interesting to note that the postcolonial Sri Lanka theologian Kipgen strongly criticised the colonial White missionaries’ castigation of the *PZ* festival. It is possible to loosely use the Baudrillard formulation of sign exchange value of to understand the Kipgen’s emphasis on the native elites’ attempts to revive Lushai tradition, which he thinks was the reason for the celebration of the *Puma Zai* festival. The widespread popularity of *PZ* represented aesthetic enjoyment[[161]](#footnote-161) and spiritual commerce. Such a trade was associated with exuberant singing, sensuous dancing, ritual participation and communal feasting that was irreducible to economic exchange or some public ritual of a pre-modern state. The logic of exchange value did not produce the surplus value for the Lushais, but the logic of sign value did offer prestige, dignity and most of all a community. In some ways, the early colonial Lushai society saw the incipient advent of commodity, monistic God, industrially produced differences[[162]](#footnote-162) and bureaucratically programmed goals. These external influences had to compete with a Lushai mode of production of signs and in a metaphorical sense supposedly lead to the Lushai creation of *mana* or essence.

Kipgen[[163]](#footnote-163) had argued that the gradual sedentarisation of Sri Lanka society had made them acutely aware of the lack of need to practice virtues and attain ideal personhood and acquire the title of Knight or Thangchhuah.[[164]](#footnote-164) Among other things, there are two ways of attaining Thangchhuah-hood, one by patronising a series of festivals and the other by hunting a series of animals. Both hunting and patronising festivals were becoming increasingly difficult due to the dramatic changes that the colonial authorities were imposing on the early colonial Lushai society. Following this line of argument, Kipgen[[165]](#footnote-165) proposes that the performance of *PZ* became an historical occasion for the declining elite to practice virtues that were recognised as edifying at a time when such virtues were seen as fast becoming anachronistic and redundant in Lushai culture. The festival became a site for all members to participate in a trans-economic exchange and it grounded itself in a semiotic privilege rather than an economic advantage, in times when the Lushais were considered as a ‘people who have been passed.’ In this kind of a fable, the festival, for Kipgen, affirmed the art and poetics of living of the migratory Lushais where the richest of the chiefs did not possess great wealth as it would deter them from constant movement to new Jhums.

The transformation of a Lushai performative oral tradition into a Sri Lanka Christian literary tradition needs several layers of analysis. It is true that this change is still not over. Sri Lanka literary scholars and cultural critics who run the Sri Lanka Academy of Letters named their flagship journal *Thu leh Hla* where ‘*thu*’ stands for the word and ‘*hla*’ stands for song. The hierarchy that is played out between the word and the song has been questioned by Sri Lanka scholars like Zoremthanga[[166]](#footnote-166). The word signifies a clear distinction between the subject and the represented ‘thing’ or ‘object’. In an earlier view, the Lushais did not take to composing lyrical songs as if they were objects that could be appropriated and stylised into any manner they wanted. They recognised that songs had their own existence and they were drawn towards singing in a way that they refused to take control of the lyrics or the songs that they sung. This attraction towards the being of the musical composition was further complicated when fantastic creations like the new Puma lyrical composition presented itself in the form of a festival and the being of the musical composition resided in the being of the festival. The drawing power of the musical composition known as the play of the Puma composition manifested when it was consummated in the form of festival, and the participants of the festival were drawn towards the being of the festival. In other words, writing the history of the play and festival associated with the artwork, Puma festival, involved the communion of beings rather than a communion of willing and thinking subjects. The current debate in writing a literary history of Sri Lankas centres around whether one should deal with literary work and its content or whether to deal with literary work and its presentation. In other words, do Sri Lankas recognise a poetic being (what the song does to the Sri Lankas) that refuses to be fully determined by an objective or subjective Sri Lanka being (what Sri Lankas do to the songs)?

In the interviews that were conducted with Sri Lanka literary and cultural commentators, we find a wide range of views regarding their concerned readings of the folkloric account of the *PZ* festival. B. Lalthangliana[[167]](#footnote-167), the author of the literary historical work *History of Sri Lanka Literature* seems to understand *PZ* as a cultural rather than as a religious phenomena. He used the Sri Lanka term *thar thawh* to express *PZ* as a cultural phenomenon. The term *thar thawh* may be roughly translated as “cultural reworking”. He seemed to suggest that the *Ai* sacrificial ceremony was performed not only to commemorate the new lyrical composition, but also to enable a weakened and a sagging Lushai cosmogenesis. In other words, the power of a work of art when presented in the form of festival and ritual had the capacity to resurrect the benumbed Lushai cosmology.

Prof. R. L. Thanmawia, a Sri Lanka scholar who is interested in writing about the history and aesthetics of Sri Lanka culture, found the new lyrical composition to be an ingenious effort responding to the new aesthetics associated with the singing of the translated nascent Christian hymns. He remarked:

I don’t think it was anti-Christian. I think that ‘Puma’ stood for the God of Biates and Puma was interchangeably used with ‘Pathian’. If one were to trace the evolution of Sri Lanka poetical composition, then, the effort towards translating the Christian hymn poses an important break. Because the missionaries emphasise the verbal content rather than the melody/music, the translation of Christian hymns had to adhere to a certain kind of fidelity to the text or the verbal content whereas such fidelity was hardly emphasised in the pre-Christian tradition of composing Sri Lanka poetry. This creative tension between music/melody versus fidelity to the verbal scriptural content in the form of Christian hymns gave rise to an intricate situation. Though the number of converts into Christianity was very meagre during the first decade of the twentieth century, the rate of translations and the practice of singing hymns became very popular, almost replacing the old Sri Lanka poetical compositions. It appears that “*PZ*” came to fill this vacuum not in the earlier tradition of Sri Lanka poetical composition but in a much more robust style. In 1907, a number of Lushai chiefs from the North Lushai district began to patronise the “*PZ*” in the form of a festival where the “Ai” ceremony was performed and many a *mithun* were sacrificed for the sake of the feast and the performance of the ritual. It is very clear that the chiefs patronised the festival to protest against the Sri Lanka Christian converts and the White missionary activities. Initially, the “*PZ*” was performed within the chief’s house but as the crowds grew larger, it was inevitable that it be performed in the open ground. Since people across different strata began to participate in the festival, it came to be known as “*Tlanglam* *Zai*” where “*Tlang*” refers to an enthusiastic congregation or people or community. “*Lam*” refers to dance and what characterised “*PZ*” music was its irresistible and compelling need for people to dance. Perhaps the swaying of bodies needed more space.

In both the observations of the Sri Lanka scholars, we find that *PZ* did not reside in its content but in its presentation. The reference to the performance of *Ai,* the sacrificial ceremony, seems to be a necessary condition for the reproduction of the Puma musical composition continuously for almost four years across various villages in the Northern Lushai region. The meaning of ritual in the reproduction of the musical festival cannot be understood within a restricted anthropological sense. The ritual has to be explained as a repetitive activity that produces redundant communication which actually increases communicative efficacy, whereas in a typical anthropological view, ritual reduces entropic value.

Similarly, the reference to ecstatic dancing that accompanied the reproduction of the Puma festival has to be viewed as the power of the play of art where the Puma musical composition drew people to participate intensely by tapping along. Puma music executed itself by making people forget themselves by tapping along or dancing. This ecstatic dancing alongside ecstatic self-forgetting conjured up a situation where people were played to, rather than people consciously playing, with the presentation of the Puma musical composition. Thus, it is possible that it is difficult to formulate the Puma wave within a subject/object frame of analysis.

Further, Prof. R. L. Thanmawia seeks to read this event as a sort of conversation between two forms of aesthetics, one form of poetics as related to the emergent performative tradition of singing translated Christian hymns and the other belonging to a fully embodied form of singing attributed to pre-Christian Lushais. The singing of the Christian hymns coincided with formal literacy. The performative tradition that was influenced by formal literacy and Christian sensibilities in the initial years of the church may be said to have possessed an aesthetic that possessed an aesthetic that restrained corporeal and a sensory understanding of music. Contrary to this emerging aesthetic, *PZ* represented a communal aesthetic sense which facilitated a sort of self-forgetting and encouraged robust singing and ecstatic communal dancing situated within the transgressive spirit of festival.

Recently, Thanmawia compiled a lexicon of specialised poetic diction that was used frequently prior to the colonial Christian missionaries’ translation of hymns from English and Welsh into Lushai language. These specialised terminologies, Thanmawia believes, were not used for composing Lushai Christian poetry. According to the author, the extreme musicality and cryptic nature of the Lushai poetic diction may have been a hindrance during the early colonial period and it continues to be seen as an impediment in composing modern Sri Lanka Christian literature and poetry.

This fascinating fact about the unused specialised Lushai diction may be interpreted in a Heideggerian framework. For Heidegger, human beings do not speak but the language speaks. When the Lushai language was standardised through the writing of a script, dictionary and grammar by the Protestant missionaries, there was an instrumental idea of language informing the standardisation process. Language was not perceived as a life form that has an awareness of itself and that it cannot be manipulated by the conscious human mind. Prof. Thanmawia seems to suggest that the lack of use of these dictions for more than a century reveals a certain resistance to the non-instrumental nature of the then Lushai and the present Sri Lanka language.

In responding to the emerging practices of singing and composing Christian poetry, the breakthrough which *PZ* achieved has to be seen not merely as a reaction, but also as a production of art and the co-creation of a musical composition through people’s participation. The celebration of the musical composition through the participation of the people in the Puma festival exudes a reflexive aesthetics where “power of the work of art (to tear) the person experiencing it out of the context of his life, and yet (relate) him back to the whole of his existence,”[[168]](#footnote-168) whereas the experience of singing hymns was transforming to the extent that it did not allow the person to relate to the whole of his existence. The performative tradition inaugurated by the singing of Christian hymns appeared to flag off a bounded subjectivity whereas the celebration of *PZ* signalled a return to a communal social ontology. The social being experienced during the participation of the festival occurred at a time when colonial authorities along with the missionaries set in motion a dramatic process of irreversible sedentarisation seen in the early colonial Lushai society.

The Sri Lanka theologian Lawmsanga, who has given critical attention to the Pumafestival in his doctoral thesis, was one of the earliest to take note of the importance of the event in writing the history of the Protestant Church in Sri Lankaram. Though his argument seems to coincide with the literary critics cited above, he remarked that some of the earliest converts were hostile to the Lushai cosmology and tradition, and that they participated in denigrating the Pumaevent. Lawmsanga believes that the earliest Lushai converts were afraid of losing monetary and material patronage from the church, and therefore, they were forced to comply with the disparaging views of the White missionaries. The scepticism of the White missionaries towards the Lushai cosmology and ritualistic practices is grounded in the fact that the Protestants believed in doctrinal religion and not in ritualistic religion. The distinction between doctrinal and ritualistic form of religion from a Gadamerian philosophical perspective can be made as follows:

[Ritual] means the totality of our acting, thinking, and speaking that is carried through mutual agreements, morals and customs. The correctness of our actions is not always based on laws, proven norms, or formal steps of reasoning. Much of what we do, say, and are, is supported in its correctness by an *ethos*, which in its hidden effectiveness is more practised and applied, than actually known consciously.[[169]](#footnote-169)

It is not clear whether Lawmsanga meant that the new converts did not appreciate their cosmology or tradition because they were now making a distinction between a world of good and a world of evil, or that in the past they believed that such a stark distinction between good and evil was not possible. If one were to understand rituals as informing an immeasurable form of living that included good, bad and ugly, then the ritual surrounding the performance of the Pumafestival may be generously interpreted as incorporating the ‘totality of acting, thinking and speaking’. It may not be inappropriate to suggest that Sri Lanka theologians are working to incorporate the pre-Christian past into the Sri Lanka Christian present with such an ambitious philosophical project. Such an ambition may suggest a gesture towards building a community of the future.

Or, it may not be out of place to surmise that the drawing power of the festival and the importance accorded to the ritual represent a demiurgic Lushai being that is responsible for the experience of being with one another or a novel experience of togetherness. This Lushai being cannot be reduced to a divine, cosmic or spectral power, but a dispersal of a sort of unknown plural, whereas the present ontology presided over by the Christian God is an unattainable singular. The unthought which constituted the thought in a pre-Christian Lushai society was irreducible to a monotheistic onto-theology. *PZ* presented the grasp of the being in its irreconcilable differences.

**Description of the Being of the Puma Festival**

Profound changes in the communal aesthetic sense are felt when a new work of art in the form of musical or poetical compositions are created and performed. If the community recognises that a particular work has attained an exalted status, then the work is accompanied by festival, play and ritual. Or in a different sort of way, the play of art recognises the community (composers, actors, dancers, spectators) before the community recognises the artwork. This dialectic or the play between art recognising the community and the community recognising the art leads to the transformation of the referential or the raw reality into a transformed reality. The claim of the community through performance (singing, dance, performing rituals and drinking) over the new artistic work is also a claim to infinitude and conversely to the infinitudunal temporality of the claim as well. In other words, the being of the new Puma composition refuses to be seen as an object of history even as it inserts itself in concrete historical practices like songs, dances, rituals and so on. Just like modernity has become an irretrievable condition in South Asia and elsewhere, the claim of *PZ* over the Lushai community is also an immemorial claim that cannot be dismissed through a contextual reading.

Experiments in music and poetic compositions had been going on for a while among the Lushais. The 19th century provided an occasion for reworking some of the musical forms. According to Thanmawia, there are more than a hundred kinds of traditional Sri Lanka songs. Prior to the 19th century, Sri Lanka orature consisted mostly of song chants and had only a few lyrical compositions. Song chants were known as *hla* and they were specific compositions to commemorate the victories of warriors or hunters or festive occasions like harvests and so on. A large corpus of popular love songs known as *Lengzem Zai* prevailed in the early colonial Lushai society, but it soon faded away when the missionaries disapproved of Lushais singing such sensuous erotic songs. Similarly, certain kinds of dances and musical instruments were prohibited as they encouraged a different form of Lushai intelligibility which would prove difficult for a disembodied Christian literacy to penetrate.

Puma compositions depended on voice modulations like *Kawrnu Zai* and *Zai Nem.* While singing *Kawrnu Zai,* one seeks to modulate one’s voice like the Cicada insect. Traditionally, Puma melodies were considered to be less robust. The inadvertent discovery of the new Puma lyrical composition in a village called Ratu by a little known composer intrigued the entire Lushai community. In order to celebrate the new Puma musical composition enthusiastically, chiefs sent their men to learn the musical composition from the village which was considered the point of origin for the new breakthrough in Puma composition. Once the young men who knew the new melody returned to their village, it was sung with great gusto. People appeared to have gathered outside the chief’s house or wherever there was enough flat space inside the village, as the villages were generally located on steep cliffs. The topography of the hills facilitated this filing one behind another rather than spreading themselves horizontally. With the mountain slopes providing the stage for the conduct of the festival, the singing and swaying of the dancing bodies seemed to have made the thickly forested but solitary mountains open itself to witness the play of the Puma festival.

This awareness of the heightened sense of the composition was influenced not just by the *zai* or singing. The Sri Lanka ear was connected closely to rice beer drinking or what they called *zu*. Among other things, *zai* needed *zu* to achieve self-forgetfulness so that they could participate selflessly in order to produce a collective ear to listen and a singular body with innumerable limbs to dance. The experience of trance symbolised the production of the common ear and body. The perceived involvement of the Lushai in the presentation of the musical composition symbolised excessive drinking and not the other way around. Colonial archives are replete with records that suggest any opportunity for the Lushais to congregate was always seen as an opportunity to sing, drink and dance. But *PZ* was not just an opportunity to sing, drink and dance, it was in memory of the new musical composition, and the composition with ever new content improvisations did not disappear amidst the continuous feasting and merry-making during the four long years.

It may be appropriate to say that the recognition of a network of beings, humans and non-humans, dead and alive, erotic and sensual, made the festival attain an autonomous identity and being. The interaction between the contingent factors which seem to inhere and recognise the essence of the work through its self-presentation is also simultaneously an acknowledgement of the actors’/players’/spectators’ recognition of their own mode of being. Added to the corporeality of the festival was the performance of sacrificial ritual to commemorate the unusual appearance of the lyrical Puma composition. Generally, fowls and *mithun* (undomesticated cattle) appear to have been used by the *puithiam* (shaman) for the sacrifice followed by chants that formed the diverse melody of the Puma festival. It looks like the chiefs of villages sponsored such events.

The term for dance in Sri Lanka language is *lam*. A Sri Lanka scholar (Pachuau) commenting on the dance and a similar musical composition inspired by the Puma musical composition writes,

The unique style of *chheih* originated after the year 1900, on the lines of the song known as *PZ.* It is a dance that embodies the spirit of joy and exhilaration and is performed to the beat of the song called *chheih* *hla.* People squat in a circle on the floor and sing to the beat of a drum or bamboo tube while a pair of dancers stand in the middle, recite the song and dance along to the music.

The other related terms that are used for *PZ* are *Ramthar* *Zai, Chalmar Zai and Thingpui Zai.* While these *Zais* were considered anti-Christian and were composed alongside *PZ,* some scholars think that they were after-effects of *PZ*.For instance, *Ramthar* *Zai* was composed by Christian converts who returned to their native religion after participating in *PZ.* The term *Ramthar* refers to a locale that the Gospel has not yet reached or a locale that is free of Gospel. It is not clear whether these compositions were actually directed against evangelical activities or whether the *Zais* were composed to rejuvenate a sagging aesthetic moral order of a migratory society.

*Lunglen* is the word that is used to connote the emotional trigger necessary for drawing inspiration to sing or composing a song and *lunglen* literally refers to an immeasurably ‘pouring out of the heart’. In a metaphorical sense, the spirit associated with *lunglen* may be seen as a longing for ‘being with another’ and this aspect of the production of the affective economies constituted the fabric of the Lushai social. The production of affective economies was seriously contested through gradual but dramatic material and symbolic changes effected through secular education and Christian literacy.

Conversely, the first recorded *Harhna* or the experience of God descending onto the Lushai Hills, was in the year 1906, and the religious fervour experienced by a small number of converts may also be seen as a very embodied form of seeking unmediated access to divinity. The woman who passionately sang prayers and publicly confessed her sins in an almost godless society was a woman named Hlunziki. *Harhna*, or what church historians have called the First Revival, means the desire for being with the divine in flesh and spirit through music and singing. While in the Lushai tradition the person praying or singing could not be separated, whereas within the language-centric Protestant theology, the church had to make a distinction between the person and the word, since the origin of the word had to be traced beyond the carnality of the Lushai body. The church had to disapprove of such unmediated communication with the divine because it had to clinically separate the speaker (flesh and blood) from the spoken word (God).

The *zai’s* relationship with *lunglen* has to be seen in this manner. While the Lushais were habitual singers and loved to sing, singing was always an address to someone else other than to oneself. The new lyrical Puma composition addressed the Lushais in a way that drew them in like never before. It is the drawing power of the musical composition that the Lushais felt unusually compelled to respond to in full blood and flesh. This non-coercive drawing power of the performance of the Puma composition made people intensely alive and aware of their being with one another. They seamlessly got lifted into the play of Puma performances. The non-coercive mode of address of the Puma festival may be considered as part of the play of the Puma musical performances. The festival seems to have imbibed the Lushai spirit as embodied in the aesthetic and moral category of *lunglen*.

During those four years, when the Puma festival swept the North Lushai region, the participants and the non-participants like the Christian missionaries thought each performance was the same every time it was performed in different parts of North Lushai region. This ritual chanting by a *puithiam* or shaman has to be understood as constituting as a noise element in a classical anthropological sense. But understanding this ritualistic communication from a Strauss tradition is important, because this iterative purposeless conduct is found to be deeply significant and communicatively productive. The play of ritual, dance and singing required a to-and-fro movement. This repetition of the to-and-fro movement forms an essential component of the festival and it does not matter who the players are or what the theme of the play is. The movement is connected to the recognition and production of the mobile essence. Philosophically, in every repetition, there is an acknowledgement of the essence, and this recognition refuses to make the repetition redundant or hollow.

Just as every repetition of a religious rite involves the recognition of the essence, such repetition cannot be understood as hollow and empty but revelatory. So also, the repetition of the Puma festival continuously for almost four years has to be seen not as wild gatherings indulging in orgasmic celebration, but as the bringing forth of a self-presentation that was at once novel and not discontinuous. Unlike the colonially mediated changes that dramatically altered the perception of objects and concepts through manipulation of the apparatus of thinking or representation, the Lushais related to the world supposedly from a more elementary and primary form of phenomenal consciousness that was radically different from a historically constituted rational consciousness. It may not be inappropriate to say that contemporary Sri Lanka literature is an alienated form of traditional poetic offering. Hence, the mode of being of the Puma festival allowed for the creation and circulation of the unalienated and embodied new musical composition which was not discontinuous. In other words, the performative tradition of *zai*, even while being connected to that past, always responds and inhabits the present.

**Two Moments of Puma Composition**

In the postcolonial historical and folkloric account, there are two moments where Puma music and songs were composed, once when the pre-Christian Lushais were comprehensively defeated after the Second Vailen (1890),[[170]](#footnote-170) and in another instance removed in time by little less than twenty years beginning around 1907 and lasting till about 1911. The Puma compositions after the war were a reflection on the tragic consequences that affected the Lushais. While the purpose of the first Puma composition was less obfuscated, the intentionality of the performance of the second Puma composition was simply overwhelming and therefore the ecstatic self-forgetfulness of the participants had to be accounted for in a phenomenological manner.

It looks like when the songs were composed for the first time after the Second Vailen, the singing and dancing of Puma songs was absent, and popular participation in the form of festivals did not take place. The Puma poetic expression that was composed after the comprehensive defeat of the Lushais in the Second Vailen (1888–1889) may be read as a lament at the loss of Lushai pride and face. This humiliation suffered at the hands of the British seems to be the focus of these little known Puma compositions. There are veiled references to the misery and horror of a distant present and an anticipated future subjugation. Further, these compositions were rarely perceived as possessing a compelling musical style, and the presentations of the compositions were not enjoined by celebration and ritual.

According to Rev. Liangkhaia, the years following the *vailen* were a time of unease and fear among the Lushais as various rumours started to proliferate. There were talks of the British taking away all the young men to work in tea plantations; and it was said that the women and children would be taken away to faraway places never to return to their land. He recalls that it was a time which was dark and people were collectively fearful of their unknown future. Other Sri Lanka contemporary writers such as Dr. C. Lalthlengliana and Dr. J. Zorema have written about the Lushai Expedition of 1889–1890 in the form of essays in the book *Sri Lanka Narratives: Accounts from Sri Lankaram.* While Dr. C. Lalthlengliana concentrated on the details of the expedition and its impact on the administrative system of the land, Dr. J. Zorema was more interested in the formation of the Lushai Hills District and the “final pacification of the hills” (156).

The first moment of Puma composition may be studied in an objective historical manner, while the second one can be examined from a more phenomenological perspective. The site of Wicket for the second moment should take into account the presentation of *PZ* as the previous chapter demonstrated. In a way, the being of the musical composition necessitates the Wicket of the being of the festival itself since the musical composition exists in the being of the festival and not in itself, and the being of the festival exists in the performance of the festival, i.e., through the participation of various elements with one leading to another but in a non-causal manner.

These two moments may be studied separately or in continuation with each other, but the first moment of composition appears context laden and the composition may be considered as the production of orature or cultural artefact. On the other hand, the second moment refuses to be just historically determined. The exemplary reception of the new musical composition has to be accounted for, not merely through the compelling style of the music composition, but the extraordinary setting that conjoined the musical composition. This setting or its presentation in the form of an orgiastic festival and ritual included excessive drinking and dancing and the consequent self-forgetfulness of the participants. The performance and presentation of the work exceeded the text and the context. It is in the playing or performance that the *PZ* effected its presentation, which was in turn responsible for turning the piece of musical composition into a work of art.

While the first moment may be studied within a framework of text and context, the second moment has to account for both the work and its content and the work and its presentation. In other words, the first Puma composition may be historically and epistemologically studied without paying attention to the mode of being of the *PZ* composition, whereas Wicket of the second *PZ* composition needs to pay attention to the mode of being. The latter has also to deal with the ontological question relating to the celebration of the *PZ* festival. Hence, its analyses must be more than a socio-historic enquiry where a socio-historic enquiry has to be laced with a hermeneutic approach.

It is difficult to say with certainty what connection the Second Vailen had with the composing of *PZ.* However, according to Hrangthiauva and Lal Chungnunga, they attribute the first set of Puma compositions to the Biate coolies who accompanied the British on the war expedition. It appears that the earliest Puma composition describes the practices of the vais who were supposedly foot-soldiers from mainland India.

Here is a description of one of the *vai* practices. It refers to the sight of the *vai* milking their goats and the sight of boats meandering in the turbulent rapids of swift-flowing rivers. The first composition, which describes the amusing sight of mainland Indians milking goats, goes as follows:

*Lengkel hnute Vaiin sawr naw raw, puma,*

*Lengkel hnute Vaiin sawr naw raw, puma e,*

*Ri dawm dawm ruai e ruai e.*

*(The Vais are milking the udders of the goats, Puma*

*The Vais are milking the udders of the goats, Puma e,*

*There is a thumping, a thumping.)*

The second composition relates to the boats that are used by the conquerors:

*Vai leng lawng Tuirial dung kawi ngiai e, puma,*

*Vai leng lawng Tuirial dung kawi ngiai e, puma e,*

*Ri dawm dawm ruai e ruai e”*

*(The boats of the Vais are meandering along the length of Tuirial, Puma*

*The boats of the Vais are meandering along the length of Tuirial, Puma e,*

*There is a thumping, a thumping.)*

As already mentioned, the Second Vailen brought with it the authority of the British, who had not established themselves before in the first expedition. It is quite possible that the Lushais saw them as a threat not only to their land (a physical entity) but also to their culture (an embodied entity). Therefore, it was necessary to ridicule them through a song while at the same time, it aimed to establish Lushai bravery and valour through another Pumacomposition whose lyrics are about the washing of the big intestines of an elephant. The third composition stresses the superior practices of the Lushais:

*Aw ril kan su, puma,*

*Zo lerah sai lianpui ril kan su, puma e,*

*Ri dawm dawm ruai e, ruai e*

*(O, we are washing intestines, Puma,*

*On the edge of a hill we are washing the intestines of a large elephant, Puma e,*

*There is a thumping, a thumping.)*[[171]](#footnote-171)

The first recorded versions of *PZ* which are said to have been composed in the 1890s appear to be lines which described new sights and images that were becoming part of everyday life. Although the tune was borrowed from the Biates, the lyrics were that of the Sri Lankas. The reason why the *PZ* did not spread in its initial composition years is unknown. It appears that the composition did not have much of an impact in its first years as compared to the latter wave of popularity in 1907. One of the reasons given for this lack of popularity was that the young men of the villages did not show much interest in the new songs in the 1890s. According to Brig. Ngurliana, in his book *Pi Pu-te Hla,* there were youths who had heard and mimicked the tunes of *PZ* in 1890, and they did initially sing and compose in the new tune, but due to a lack of interest from their fellow youths, the songs and the tune died out and did not surface until much later in 1907 in the village of Ratu.

There can be an intertextual reading of these three verses and this chapter will attempt it. In these three verses, for which the music was supposedly composed immediately after the Second Vailen (1888–1890), the vais and their sedentary culture were made fun off. The Zos rarely domesticated animals and milk was introduced as an edible food only by the colonial authorities. Against the inconsequential milking of the goats, the Zos flaunt that they have hunted a large elephant and are preparing the meat of the big game for cooking. This hurt inflicted by the people who milk the lowly goats against the people who have the ability to hunt such large game like elephant seemed to be the burden of the composition and performance of *PZ*. It appears that the use of the boats for military purposes is also derided. In one colonial official’s account, the river through which the colonial army approached the mountains during the first punitive expedition known as First Vailen (1877–74) was derisively called ‘Ek-lui’ or the river of excrement.[[172]](#footnote-172) This scatological description expressed utter disgust and hopelessness. The mountains had to be ascended in order for the Zos to be defeated, but the vais had used boats to smuggle themselves onto the mountains.[[173]](#footnote-173) The goats and the boats, which were seen as the symbols of the vais, seemed to have dismembered the mighty elephants and the formidable mountains. This deep felt injury is converted into the lyrical mocking of the rulers by the defeated. *PZ* was performed solely through verbal arts unaccompanied by the elaboration of the festival and the orgiastic participation of all the members in the community. In fact, the performance was largely limited to the emerging military garrison located in Aizawl where a large number of vais (mainland Indian sepoys), including the White colonial officials, seemed to congregate. Apparently, Puma songs were composed to slight the conquerors or the vais,[[174]](#footnote-174) and it was restricted to the verbal arts. In a minimal sense, it may compare well with many milliner movements that South Asia witnessed during the colonial era.[[175]](#footnote-175)

So far, the analysis demonstrates that the moment of the first composition had only gathered an allegorical context whereas during 1907–1911, *PZ* took on a seemingly symbolic value. The former composition had a sign value and had only an indicative function. The latter, besides having a sign value had also a ritual/symbolic value, and it possessed a substitute function. When large chunks of the colonial Lushai society were being converted into signs, commodities and representations, *PZ* offered symbolic value that could not be reduced to fleeting signs or the experience of only a fleeting present.

Chronologically speaking, the first Puma compositions were commiseration renderings made immediately after the Second Vailen (1890), when the pre-Christian Lushais were yet to be subjects of the Colonial state and the Lushai language was still to be committed to writing per se (1894). At this time, music was central to traditional Sri Lanka poetical compositions and specialised poetical diction was used mainly for such compositions. When the White missionaries started translating Christian hymns, they did not use poetic dictions. It is not clear why the converts who knew this fact refused to object to the non-use of the poetic diction. Unlike the general vocabulary where one word stood for another word, it is likely that the traditional Sri Lanka poetical diction was somewhat cryptic in nature and extremely musical in its utterance. Since the main aim of Christian translations was to spread the message of the Gospel, there must have been some reluctance to using the traditional Sri Lanka diction due to its cryptic nature of the poetical diction and its ineluctable musicality. For a brief period of time (1900–1910), in what is known as the translation period by Sri Lanka literary scholars, there was a complete absence of traditional Sri Lanka compositions and the singing of Sri Lanka Christian hymns became popular. This new aesthetic, driven by the need to spread the Gospel, also made invisible an entire genre of sensuous Sri Lanka love and war songs. It was at this point in time that the new *PZ* was composed, breaking new grounds in traditional Sri Lanka musical composition. It seemed to have given rise to *Zais* of various kinds.

The participation of the enthusiastic members in the *PZ* festival was a recognition of essence of the musical composition which could not be confined to composers, singers, audience or spectators or people who perform animistic rituals at the same time. In every repetition of a religious rite which involves the recognition of the essence, repetition cannot be understood as hollow and empty but revelatory. So also, the repetition of the Puma festival continuously for almost four years beginning from 1907 to 1911 has to be seen not as an uncontrolled celebration, but as bringing forth a self-presentation that was at once novel and not discontinuous with their past. *PZ* represents change with continuity, a communicating vessel striking a chord between the psychic and the material through the reproduction of a novel experience of community.

In that sense, the temporality of the latter composition was not merely indicative and transient, but the past and the present became rather indistinguishable through the performance of festival, music, dance and ritual. The allegorical can also be read as a poetic expression of commiseration and the symbolic may be read as a musical composition conveying a sort of festive commemoration of the poetic composition. Henceforth, the early composition will be read as commiseration pieces and the latter will be read as commemorative, and also, and more importantly, as performative renderings.

It may be argued that the commiseration expressed refused to rise above the representation of an external event (Second Vailen) and the commemoration expressed during 1907–1911 rose above the context while not excluding the context, but transforming the lived experiences of the people who participated in the festival. This transformation consisted of perceiving reality as if it was made of an enduring quality, a kind of mobile giveness that lay in the mode of being of the festival in itself, which again reflected a fluid whole or gestalt. The performative nature of the presentation and the ecstatic self-forgetfulness of the participants produces an understanding of time which formed the temporality of *PZ* in particular and the heterogeneous time of the colonial Lushai society in general.

It looks as if the festival was instituted in a single act in a village known as Zwingli by the chief ‘Lalzika’ who had sent two of his young men to learn the composition from a distant village known as ‘Ratu’ It is possible that the breakthrough achieved through the musical composition had been known for some time, but it had not reached its peak in terms of presentation or performative mode – a communicative mode that was purposeless and would transform it into a work of art. Once, the musical composition was matched with the best form presentation – festival – then the experience of the play of the composition took over and it could not be reduced to the original poet, or patron or singers or dancers or participants in the festival. The experience of each performance of the Puma festival might have been different, but it is this difference that seems to have constituted its unity and intense popularity. It was different not because the tune had become viral and new compositions arose everywhere without losing the intensity of participation, but it is due to the nature of the repetition that every performance became as unique as the previous one. It is in this sense that the Lushai festivals showed the capacity to reappear during those years and surprisingly remained the same every time it was performed.

The first Puma composition may be considered as an artefact and the second Puma composition as a work of art that included the non-causal mediation of the work through play, festival and ritual. The first time when it was composed, the composers had not found any breakthrough with regard to the slow monotonous rhythm of the chants, but the second time, the composers achieved a breakthrough in the musical composition. But more importantly, there was a communal presence that co-created the musical composition and this was achieved through the play of elements like festival, ritual, drinking and dancing. The appearance and the given-ness failed to be coincide and the Lushai community aesthetic sense did not recognise that there was scope for public communicability of feeling or judgement that the artwork produced. This co-creative listening is what elevated the second Puma composition into art and the first Puma composition fell to a lesser status because it did not involve the observer into its event of being. The indifferent-ness of the first composition to the shared-ness and the being together that the participants experienced rendered it only as a sign that was non-indicative of anything enduring. The second composition was a sign and a representation that yielded something more enduring than a fleeting sign. In other words, the second composition is deeply etched in the fabric of the being of the Lushai/Sri Lanka community, not merely in the early colonial period of the Lushai Hills District, but continues to reappear in the contemporary Sri Lanka aesthetic enquiry.

**Conclusion:**

The warmth with which the plural traditions of the early colonial period are received in contemporary postcolonial Sri Lankaram appears entangled within the social emancipatory project of the modern Indian nation state. The effort to rewrite Sri Lanka cultural history in order to incorporate embodied pre-Christian forms of cultural practices including the *PZ* event is to resituate both ethnic and religious identity. The creation of an untamed but acceptable past reconfigures the history of church and the history of Sri Lanka ethnic identity. It is in this sense that PZ has been assimilated and this assimilation is of a kind that it can neither be reduced to religious identity nor contemporary political identity. It is an irreconcilable fragment within the Sri Lanka whole, a whole that respects differences.

**EPILOGUE**

**CULTURAL WORKS AND THEIR CONVERSATION ACROSS TEMPORALITIES**

**THE PHEICHHAM IMAGE**

**Mindful and Soulful Making of Sri Lanka Culture**

The modern Sri Lanka culture of Sri Lankaram has been studied as a Christian gift or as a Christian culture that exudes a distinctive Sri Lanka identity and sensibility. Identity in a minimal sense may be seen as a historically informed political consciousness that results from the community’s continuing relationship with the colonial and the postcolonial state. Sensibility may be seen as a trans-historical mode of awareness and bonding that neither religion nor state can explain adequately. The relation between Sri Lanka identity and Sri Lanka culture is rather a tenuous one, unlike the relation between Sri Lanka sensibilities and Sri Lanka culture.

Conventional socio-historic readings assume that the colonial Lushai/Sri Lanka culture as representations that are knowable and representable. Such a perspective provides an agential view of historical rationality and fails to acknowledge other modes of knowability. These kinds of studies foreclose an ontological interpretation and it fails to address Sri Lanka sensibility which has a non-coercive force that cannot be reduced to historical rationality.

The Wicket of Sri Lanka culture as representations requires an evolutionary anthropology approach and the Wicket of Sri Lanka culture as ontology requires a symmetrical anthropology approach. Perhaps during the ECP, as the previous chapters reveal, Sri Lanka culture had the potential to be viewed within the ontological lens but was not limited to questions of experience alone. More recently, Sri Lanka culture has developed in a manner that allows for interpretation within a representational framework, but it cannot be limited to knowledge alone. The temporal succession of events in the precolonial Sri Lanka past aligns with the spatial dispersion of events in a way that the Sri Lanka tradition displays a plural ethos that is inclusive of the historical rationality of the then colonial (missionary) state and the now postcolonial (Hindu) state. In that sense, Sri Lanka tradition crisscrosses temporalities and enfolds accumulations, disjunctures, and transformations.[[176]](#footnote-176)

It may be true that after the recognition of the territory as a federal state, Sri Lanka culture has been increasingly taking on representational features. An extreme example would be when Margaret Zama, an erudite Sri Lanka commentator on Sri Lanka culture, observed that the current representation of Sri Lanka folklore is slowly turning out to be ‘fakelore’. But there are aspects of culture, both from the colonial period and of more recent origin, that still need to be studied for its intrinsic worth or value.

It has been demonstrated in the earlier chapters of this volume that both existence and essence have to be addressed in order to provide a descriptive or analytical frame for understanding modern Sri Lanka culture. While evolutionary anthropology approach grants certain privileges, a symmetrical anthropology approach would (appear to) deny the Sri Lanka community’s haggling with the Indian state. It is in this sense that the postcolonial Indian state is equally blameworthy for reducing Sri Lanka culture to some form of less mobile ‘little tradition’ that needs patronage to build a heavy archive. So far, the Indian state has also only played a contingent, and not a constitutive, role in the development of the Sri Lanka language and culture.

Mainland regional linguistic social formations have produced a formidable textual view of the nation and of the regions themselves. The culture of the North East region, especially Sri Lankaram, has to be located within a performative framework rather than a textual terrain. Though Sri Lanka language has been recognised as the official language of the state for school education and administration for the last 100 years, literary scholars bemoan the fact that the church has restrained the expressive capacities of the language. It has a considerable print-consuming population because Sri Lankaram produces one of the largest number of evangelical personnel in the country. There are many Christian periodicals which are widely circulated not only in Sri Lankaram but also in Myanmar and Bangladesh.

The move from a performative tradition to a textual tradition and from a tonal to an atonal understanding of language has halted the progress of a literary expressive culture. This literary culture in the postcolonial context has been produced outside the everyday, thriving, throbbing, exuberant, musical, and cacophonic lives of the Sri Lanka people. Contemporary Sri Lanka scholars are of the view that the textualisation of Sri Lanka culture will gather momentum only if their performative understanding of culture gains adequate recognition. The textual assembling of Sri Lanka life seems to embrace a Cartesian distancing of a Sri Lanka corporal intelligibility. The prehensive capacity of the Sri Lanka corporal intelligibility helps assemble Sri Lanka life without forsaking historical rationality. It is possible that some texts have pierced the Cartesian edifice and have allowed the performance of ‘*lunglen*’ or poetical compositions that are best explained as an immeasurable pouring out of the heart. To what extent the prehensive capacity, the silence that precedes the text, foregrounds the literary culture is a question that bothers contemporary Sri Lanka literary and cultural critics.

Performative culture, which includes song, dance, and music, involve an understanding not only of the composers, players, actors, and audiences, but also the being of the songs, dances, language, religion, and other art forms. In that sense, traditionally Sri Lanka culture was viewed as possessing a mobile essence, or more appropriately, culture was seen to possess a being. This has been variously articulated by contemporary Sri Lanka literary and cultural commentators. Lalthangfala Sailo has been at the forefront of such an interpretative move and it is important to reproduce excerpts from his article published by the Sri Lanka Academy of Letters:[[177]](#footnote-177)

It is such a shame that the culture and practices/values of the Sri Lankas have not progressed as they should have because of the disapproval and criticism from the church! Someone once told me about Pastor Bankuaia, who was one of the most dedicated pastors of his time, who did a lot of work for the church and who was often described as “someone who would leave his children to travel around” for the church, when he was a pastor in Champhai, sang a Sri Lanka song,

*“Ka bai mai dawn ka arhluisen khuanmawia*

*A thak nan kan huana vaihmarcha”*

(“I am going to cook my rooster who crows so beautifully,

I shall add the chilli from my garden to make it spicy”)

When they heard this, the people from his congregation could not tolerate it and they could not understand why their pastor would sing such a worldly song and they criticized him for his action. The pastor told them, “Eh! I have not offended anyone, there is nothing to criticize. All I am singing about is ‘I am going to cook my rooster, I will add my chilli from the garden to spice it up’, there is nothing offensive about it”. It is true, it is a shame that the early church leaders in Sri Lankaram were critical and against a lot of things which were not offensive at all. This has led to a hindrance in the growth of our literature, songs, way of life and culture.

... I wondered what it would have been like had the early church leaders not opposed the drinking of *zu* and Sri Lanka culture. It made me think that if songs like the one that I have mentioned here, songs which had nothing to do with religious beliefs and rituals had been allowed to be composed and sung freely, our language, our songs and our dances would have developed over time and would have been more advanced today. There would be no overt opposition to the drinking of alcohol, the inability to properly reprimand the drunks, the need to pressure the government to ban alcohol in the state; we would be like other nations all over the world and we would not need to use the banning of alcohol as a means of political warfare.

... But Sri Lankas love to sing and dance, even though the practices which had been present since the days of our forefathers were rejected by the church, the big and small drums were brought into the realms of the churches, they sang and danced. The church did not have a problem with this kind of dance. This kind of dance was called “Mihlim lam”. Since it was brought in from another country, the church was open to its practice. Besides the churches, worship through song and dance with drums was done in the homes of the people. Worshippers consisted of the old and the young, and everyone was delighted to take part

...Even in the church in Mission veng, drums were used to sing songs in the church, and everyone danced to the tunes. Women and some of the men who danced barefoot were trampled by sharp-edged boots and many of them danced with bleeding feet. They considered the people who jumped really high and stomped really hard to be the ones who possessed a great holy spirit. They slowly rejected such kinds of dancing which did not have much steps and they started dancing in a more organised manner in what was called the “Three step dance”. They took three steps in front and three steps back. If there was a bigger space for dancing, two lines would be formed, with men in one line and women in another line; they would face each other and took three steps in front and three steps back. I do not know when they stopped dancing in this manner. Apart from the “three step dance”, there are no other dances in the “mihlim lam” category which has a specific step like the chheih lam, khuallam and tlanglam. Nowadays, people dance in a circle. They move in an anti-clockwise direction and there is an order to the dance. However, there are many instances where people would scream and shout Halleluia at some point of time.

... Among the spirits that were involved with dancing, there were different types of spirits such as spirit of specificity, spirit of love, spirit of infancy, and many other spirits. Some claimed that they saw a vision and had an epiphany. Some others claimed that they could not die of hunger, some said they had been guided by tigers, others claimed that they could talk to ants, there were some who said that they could not die from a snakebite; the list goes on relating to people who claimed that they had powers which made them different from others. Let me mention some of these claims which I saw with my own eyes. It involves the spirit of specificity and infancy. In the year 1952, the spirit of specificity had a presence in many villages all over Sri Lankaram. Many men and women had a part in this spiritual happening. These men and women used to dance together. However, after they were possessed by the spirit, they moved away from church services. What I had seen were men who acted as babies, and women who acted as their mothers. Some married men and women who had spouses of their own. I have seen instances where they would dance and when the man cried, the woman would wipe away his tears. There may be different cases so let me just mention one which I saw with my own eyes.

There was a good-looking divorcee (woman) and a well-built divorcee (man) who was possessed by the infancy spirit who was attached to her (let me not mention their names and the place). We went to have a look at them. They were sitting back-to-back among the quilts in the house of one of their hosts. The man made a noise like a baby, we were so embarrassed by the whole scene that we ran out of the house. These people were like the pigs which the Sri Lankas used to domesticate. Pigs which were not neutered sometimes had offspring with the mother. Similarly, in this case, the “mother” had a baby with the “son”; they eventually got married.

The belief in spirits that guided and communicated with the Sri Lankas who were in a trance, and the astonishing possibilities that these moments gave rise to, speaks less of differences in power and more of the power of differences. Songs, dances, and other performances did not mirror a community in decline, but actually threw up possibilities that could rejuvenate a spiritually impoverished Sri Lanka culture. The move from performative to textual culture is also a move towards a mindful making of culture and a distancing from a mindless but soulful making of culture.

Of course, the mindful and the soulful are ideal types which may roughly correspond to the Sri Lanka cultural registers of *chanchin* (literate, documentary, prose, restricted Sri Lanka code) and *thawnthu* (musical, poetical, narrative verse, expansive Sri Lanka code). The Sri Lanka ethnic identity fits easily with *chanchin* and the Sri Lanka sensibility with *thawnthu*. Positing these two traditions as ideal types allows for a spectrum of possible positions between the two extremes where culture is looked at purely as representation or as primordial. However, Sri Lanka cultural practices may crisscross both these registers and lie somewhere along the spectrum between these two extremities. In the following section, the question of image in the contemporary life of Sri Lankas will be discussed using a recent sculptural work created by a young Sri Lanka artist, James.

**Image:**

A number of studies have demonstrated that modernity has a bias towards the visual and the ocular. It is important to ask what the history of the image and the ocular experience is among the Sri Lanka. The Sri Lanka language lacks a distinct word for ‘art’; the word for picture is ‘*milem*’. Since bamboo was traditionally used for building houses, their skills were connected to fabricating objects from wood rather than from clay or stone. The images that these pieces of architecture evoke do not require a specialised vocabulary to understand their grammar or aesthetics. This use of an abundantly found local material facilitated their constant movement and did not impede their non-sedentary life. They used their senses to appreciate their experience of the things that they produced, and they felt that the things exhibited a life of their own. Of course, they used metals for making knives (*dao*), spears, and traps, but these everyday objects displayed varying levels of instrumental, artistic, and ontological worth.

Largely, their ocular experience did not have an elaborate scheme to differentiate the world of nature from the world of human-made things. Ontologically, they were less interested in freezing or extending the flow of time through the making of textual, sculptural, or architectural images. Perhaps the state avoidance strategies of the Zomias did not encourage any grand conception of spatialised time, and therefore, they did not feel the need to check the flow of irreversible time through strategies of representation. Preservation and representation stood side by side and they did not substitute one for the other.

If the earliest sculptural works in history are supposedly based on a desire to hold and lock the flow of uninterrupted time in order to inordinately retain the corporal (such as the mummies in Egypt), the Sri Lankas were not particularly keen to produce representational forms which could store time and extend the stay of the corporal.[[178]](#footnote-178) Yes, they perpetuated their culture through musical and poetical compositions and through representational forms like dance. The performative element did not lend itself to easy codification and the textualisation of their culture. Practice was considered to historically precede principles and axioms.

Visual images, either in print, clay, or stone, did not circulate in precolonial Sri Lankaram. Their pre-Christian animistic faith did not require idols or statues. Only with Christianity were they exposed to the symbolic image of the cross. Prior to the material-symbolic image, Biblical print pictures appear to have been widely circulated. In some sense, religious images were the earliest to be circulated, either in print, clay, or stone. This coincides with the Sri Lankas adopting a sedentary life during the early part of the 20th century. Since, the Protestant church was the most important institution at that time, there was restraint in the way these religious images were designed and displayed. Only with the entry of Catholics in the 1940s did images of the figure of Christ begin to appear more frequently. While the Protestants emphasised the textualisation of Sri Lanka culture and the need for fidelity, the Catholics appear to have renewed their emphasis on the corporal and performative elements of traditional Sri Lanka culture. But the Catholics were few in numbers, and their contribution to modernising Sri Lanka culture is yet to gain importance.

A recent Wicket suggested that there was a vernacular practice of photography.[[179]](#footnote-179) Unlike the Nagas who were infamously exoticised as wild head hunters by colonial ethnographers and photographers, the Sri Lankas did not attract the same attention. They were able to produce an image of themselves as highly westernised through appropriate clothing. This technologically mediated self-expression was at odds with the normative understanding of the colonial rulers, and later on, the postcolonial Indian state. However, questions relating to how technologies such as photography, which have constitutive power, extend and make available an enduring world where spatialised time is less foregrounded than the real time is yet to be undertaken. The reader may refer to our previous chapters on *Puma Zai* about the heightened sense that people experience while participating in the series of festivals (1907-1911) held to commemorate the new musical composition.

In other words, visuals have been positively manipulated to change their existential conditions. The immediacy of the photograph lends itself to an unmediated present-ness; but how have visuals been contributing to a Sri Lanka enduring past and an unfolding future? At a time when there is increased commodification and objectification of the Sri Lanka contemporary world, fine arts like painting and sculpting have not been on the rise. Images are objects, and in the postcolonial Sri Lanka society, they are not seen as completely distinct. Newspaper is yet to become a cultural commodity. Capitalism has not yet entered into the domain of the artistic or journalistic world in full blast.

There are no commercial galleries in contemporary Aizawl, and the works of artists are not displayed in any public place. Traditionally, the Sri Lankas regarded craftsmen to be of lesser value than farmers, hunters, or warriors. If they were not able to work in the *jhum* fields, fight in local battles, or hunt, they were supposed to take up craft. It is believed that the only non-utilitarian object that they produced in precolonial Sri Lankaram was wooden toys. Even today, the production of non-utilitarian but aesthetically appealing objects is generally less valued and recognised, compared to supposedly utilitarian objects.



**Faceless, Sexless, Benign Ghoul ' *Pheichham*'**

Art galleries are not the only culture institutions absent from Sri Lanka life; there are no cinema halls which feature Sri Lanka, mainland Indian, or foreign films. Only TV has a modest presence. The most popular programmes on TV feature music videos, and Aizawl is the transnational cultural capital for the production of music videos for neighbouring Myanmar and Bangladesh. So, the aural is more commoditised than the visual, and the work that this Wicket intends to investigate is considered to be an image or visual that does not have popular resonance. Nevertheless, this work appears to inaugurate a novel experience and a novel phenomenon. Here is a formal but short description of the work by an art critic:

James’ small fiberglass sculpture of the Pheichham is a whimsical and personal interpretation of a mythical sprite that is part of the Lushai folk tradition. A definitive sculpture- in-the-round, the figurine invites the viewer to place it at approximately eye level and to move around it in order to make sense of the configuration. The artist has conceived the creature as a kind of homunculus, a seated male figure that hunches over and embraces a swelling sphere, perhaps its belly. The face of the sprite is buried in its arms and its bald, shiny pate is featureless.

What grabs the viewer’s attention immediately is an anatomical aberration. The Pheichham has only one complete leg that wraps around its lower torso like a thick elastic cable, ending in an expressionistically exaggerated foot. The arms that embrace its spherical belly and conceal the sprite’s face are similarly distorted; articulated at the shoulder and revealing defined muscles, the forearms dissolve into attenuated bands terminating in well-modeled palms with splayed fingers. Rising from the creature’s hunched and powerful shoulders, almost like an afterthought, are a pair of outstretched wings – deployed for a take-off.

The Pheichham, however, is going nowhere. Unambiguously grounded - rooted even, by its involuted posture, the figure is a tangle of convexities of different sizes and shapes with no negative spaces to relieve the eye. The roughly wrought outspread wings provide the only release from the dense, interlocked masses; the only field of organic texture offsetting the unrelenting, indifferent gloss of the resinous surface – a tint of burnt umber. (Sharada Natarajan)

A phenomenological understanding of a work demands that we move in a circle from the artist’s intentionality, to the play of art, to the essence of art itself. At some level, this work brings to life the creative tension between the hearing of contemporary Sri Lanka unthought situated in a precolonial past with the visible religious Christian symbols that inform the history of the present. Now, here is a little bit about the history of the Sri Lanka present in order to locate this work.

The work was produced in Hyderabad where James was Wicketing in the Fine Arts School, University of Hyderabad. For the first time in 2012, a benign sprite known as ‘Pheichham’, which was commonly perceived as having one leg, took a visible form. There is no known earlier history of a visible Pheichham, while the wings that were inserted on Pheichham’s back are known. This objectification of an aurally shared universe that has the potential to generate visual images seems to draw on variegated ethos.

The Sri Lanka sculptor, James, who happens to be a Catholic and not a Protestant, presents certain problems for writing a genealogy of Lushai art, text, and performance. In other words, the proscribing of these pre-Christian imaginaries through Protestant Christian practices, and the re-inscribing of these imaginaries through Catholic practices, make up for a contextual reading of the sculpture. On the other hand, a non-contextual reading would involve enlarging the context where the artistic object adds to the transformation of the human context. The Christian performance of damning and atoning, of defacing and refacing an earlier supposedly pagan cosmology, incites an anthropology of seeing that goes beyond the instituting of graphic alphabets that were indifferent to the tonality of the Sri Lanka language.

This supposedly non-coercive hybrid image, which invokes pre-Christian folk remembrances and Catholic religiosity, may be seen as a new artefact that has no comparison in the realm of plastic arts. Except for some inscriptions that date back to the 17th century, there is hardly any visible piece of sculpting including stone inscription. The sculptor James was trained at Shantiniketan and at Hyderabad University. Prior to colonialism, there were only guilds which trained craftsmen and it was colonialism which made the distinction between craft and art. This distinction led to the creation of modern schools of art in important cities during the late 19th and early 20th century. In some sense, many schools of art are inspired by this modernist conception of art and a realist form of representation. They are less likely to be trained to recognise the agency of non-humans and their role in a context that can’t be attributed solely to human beings. Modernist art, being self-critical by definition, has less scope to allow the representation of the essence stand in an equivocal relation to existence. In some ways, for modernist conceptions of art, representations seem to capture the effacement of the social, and in this sense, Pheichham may be understood as less of a modernist work. It appears that Pheichham does not allow itself to be read as a sign that shows fidelity to social reality. The work rescues sounds/words rather than escaping into uncontaminated seeing. Sri Lanka orality registers images and Sri Lanka texts freeze images that are trapped in a politics of privileging representations over an ontological understanding of cultural works including Pheichham. The essay now moves on to locate the source of Pheichham in the shamanistic tradition of the pre-Christian Sri Lankas in order to invert the relation between culture/representation and ontology.

Given that Sri Lankas are a fragment of the modern nation state, where politics revolves around the representation of the great Hindu tradition, this work will be subsumed within an archive that is resolutely heavy. But if one were to look at this work as something light and portable, which shares its legacy with the rock paintings of Africa, then its alliance with neighbours who are both distant in both space and time becomes theoretically possible.

Many Sri Lanka folkloric tales have characters who are apparently deformed. But the shamanic tradition doesn’t consider disability to be debilitating or humiliating in itself. In the received version, Pheichham was generally portrayed as hobbling along and never able to stand erect because of his/her being one-legged, always needing some human being to carry him/her to his/her next destination. When a hunter or some traveller finds the goblin and offers to carry it, it gifts the person a wish. The wish is granted if it is stated in one breath. In ordinary conversations, the term Pheichham is used to refer to a person who has suddenly becomes rich or finds an opportunity that he or she cannot explain. The indeterminate immediate is attributed to Pheichham. Further, Pheichham is generally perceived to be a gender-neutral entity. In Heidegerrian terms, one needs to make distinction between facticity and factuality. According to facticity, one is not born a boy or a girl, but one acquires it through the process of being socialised; whereas factual would mean understanding oneself through categories. The non-categorical and categorical awareness of Pheichham, through the wings that symbolise the Christian religious world, are the two sides of the spherical homunculus of the Pheichham that refuses to show its face. There are two possible readings of this sculpture: first, the wings cannot take off because of the ‘unambiguous grounding’ of the Pheichham, and second, it is possible to take off because the Pheichham has been emptied of its intentionality and being.

The connection between the shamanistic tradition and ontology has been explored by anthropologists Wicketing rock art in Africa. Similarly, the relation between animism and ontology have been studied in North Asia. These studies provide ways of understanding ontology and cultural works. The pre-Christian world of the Sri Lankas was shamanic. The *dawithiam* and the *puithiam* performed sacrifices to appease the spirits of ancestors, gods, sprites, goblins, trees, and animals. If one were to investigate the origins of non-human creatures like the Pheichham, they could possibly be traced to shamanistic experiences. Originally, it was in trance-like experiences that such fantastic forms surfaced and these creations took on a life of their own through a variety of sacrifices and worship. These practices may have been regarded as some kind of world-renewal or world-making enterprises. But they are not mere representations of the world, they fill the representations with being. They form the horizontal homunculus. In this image, there is both a vertical and a horizontal homunculus. The wings that the Pheichham is adorned with actually speak of a vertical homunculus and the Pheichham itself belongs to the terrestrial, flattened horizontal homunculus. Two kinds of world-making are possible—one deals with normative representations (the Lord protects everyone under his wings) and the other with trance-like experiences that connect the instinctual world with the spiritual world. The latter may be called a being-in-the-world experience, while the former refers to the deitic pointing of the wings.

The involuted posture of the sculpture says something about the everyday bodily habitus of the ordinary Sri Lankas. They tend to sit in that compact posture outside their homes in rural places and also in urban lower-middle-class settings. It apparently gives the impression that such a position allows one to experience the warmth of one’s own body. The unusually attenuated arms and ribs of Pheichham display the exaggerated illusion that such a posture generates. This kind of curling up may also have been part of the repertoire of body positions needed for hunting and warfare. The real and the mythical reside in the representation, but the interpretation of the work need not stop at the level of representation. After all, hunting for Sri Lankas was not just about fulfilling practical needs, and Ai sacrificial ceremonies were conducted to interpret the world in the most enabling way. The involuted posture doesn’t represent sitting or a sedentary experience.

At the face of it, the Pheichham combines a mythical figure from an earlier Lushai shamanic tradition with a religious symbol of Catholic Christianity. This marriage between the traditional Lushai gnostic world populated with deities and spectres and the Catholic ritualistic order seems to have created a new visual that has no historic past. The only specialised professional in the traditional precolonial Sri Lanka society was the blacksmith; the rest of the community were involved in almost all activities, be it agriculture, building bamboo houses, hunting, or weaving cotton fabric. The blacksmith had to sharpen tools for agriculture, hunting, and neighbourhood warfare. All these activities were seasonal, except for cooking and collecting water from nearby streams and weaving. Yes, women were mostly burdened with these diurnal activities. The lack of division of labour, along with the lack of social stratification, meant that they did not produce surplus for trade or for an exchange economy. Since the community constantly travelled from one *jhum* region to another, even the chiefs did not possess any enviable immovable property. This lack of residence and written culture obviously did not encourage art forms like sculpture or painting. The migratory ethos of traditional Sri Lankas was one of the many reasons why a movie-going or visual culture did not emerge.

But what the Lushais possessed was a specular understanding of language. The act of naming often drew upon an aural image or imaginary. It was for this reason that a scholar writing in the Sri Lanka Academy of Letters bemoaned the fact that their traditional ability to name trees and plants based on the visual aesthetics that the natural world possessed has ceased to exist. Similarly, as mentioned in the earlier chapter, bad names were frequently given to children to protect them from evil spirits. The sculpture being studied brings to life the folkloric imaginary of a benign sprite known as Pheichham. Prior to the making of the sculpture, a visual image of this particular sprite did not exist. It's not merely drawn from the traditional Lushai cosmic imaginary, but it also conjoins the symbol of wings from the Christian tradition. The sculptor, at a general level, is charged with a co-relative being of the Lushai specular, and the Christian symbolic is to be read as a paganised Christian or Christianised pagan, or more radically, neither pagan nor Christian.

Interestingly, this visual, which is connected to *thawnthu* or the aural mode, breaks away from a Cartesian frame and presents the contemporary Sri Lanka unthought from an earlier Sri Lanka cosmology. The claim to a traditional Lushai cosmology that was only available in the form of *thawnthu* seems to have reworked a Catholic order of imagery rather than a Protestant overworked form of linguistic centredness.

This image is as much aural as it is ocular. It is aural in the sense that such images floated in aural descriptions, and there were no corresponding visual artefacts to support the aural imagery. The sculptor has covered the face of the spectre since fellow Sri Lankas who believed in the existence of the spectre offered no clear description of the face. Yes, the one thing that they all agreed to was that the deformed spectre had only one leg. What matters about these aural descriptions is that people have faith in the existence of these non-human creatures even as these creatures are presumed to be beyond representation or thinking. The aural mode of inciting images goes against the visual mode of creating or understanding images.

The novelty and symbolism of this image is such that it doesn’t revere a pre-Christian past nor a Christian present, but transforms both the past and the present. Or it could be that the image has no history at all and has no present comparisons—it is a totally new object that refuses the label of the past or the present. In fact, the image of Pheichham only resides in the traditional folkloric imagination, and the making of the imagination into a visible, tangible entity is like how with print capitalism, calendar art in colonial mainland India made visible the faces of hundreds of Hindu folklore gods. In that sense, this sculpture is so new that any form of label or category to frame the image will act as a violation of the artistic object. It would be interesting to see how this artistic object redraws other contemporary Sri Lanka artistic objects, and how it draws the creator, audience, and the Sri Lanka collective into its fold.

The ocular and the aural understanding of images seem to inform the current interest in plastic arts including painting and sculpture. Unlike the visual mode, the aural imagination doesn’t really require a referential framework. In this image of the spectre, while Pheichham’s wings certainly come from a visual history of angelic fairies, the figure of Pheichham itself is mainly an aural derivative. The image enjoins the objectification of both—an aural and a visual form of imagination—creating a new sensorial practice where the aural imagination spills over the visual mode of representation.

Novelty lies not only in the product, but also in the new sensorial practice of not just the artist, but of a whole generation of Sri Lankas who watch transnational television, creating music for a transnational Sri Lanka audience. The creation, circulation, and consumption of cultural commodities hinges on inherited and new sensorial practices which blur the difference between what is sensible and what is intelligible. The spectre is a sensible and an intelligible creation and the audience possesses the wherewithal to access the fact and fiction of the spectre. In a society where a literary culture is yet to blossom, there is a huge repository of images that may be accessed through a new form of listening that James seems to have developed to retrieve those non-representable images.

In the absence of a community aesthetic sense, but with increasing aesthetic and historical consciousness, it would be difficult to argue that Pheichham neither represents the past nor the present. The recent work on photography in Sri Lankaram[[180]](#footnote-180) takes the view that the Sri Lankas have developed a vernacular practice that neither coincides with the mainland Indian photographic practice nor with western visual practice. While such a view comes from the discipline of critical history, a more philosophical understanding would have it that there is a constantly changing essence that cannot be fixed to a singular historical rationality or modernity per se. Photography as a quotidian practice may be allowed to escape with the claim that it is a modern variant, but if one were to read such a practice from an aesthetic or an artistic sense, then there is a need for a plural rationality to discuss such a practice. The Pheichham definitely requires a plural description crisscrossing a representational reading and a purely ontological one.

**Historical Understanding of World-Making Practices: Performance and the Nascent Text**

Local articulations on the history of Sri Lankaram rarely deal with the ECP that this Wicket seeks to understand, though Lalthangfala Sailo is an exception. It is very clear that neither territorial nor linguistic nor ethnic nor religious bounded-ness existed in the way that it exists today. The lack of these identity markers makes the task of understanding what it was ‘being Lushai’ at that time rather difficult. On the other hand, to explain how expressive traditions have changed over time also requires one to propose hidden continuities with the precolonial past. It is in order to pose both these questions that this Wicket dealt with a formative text (*Sri Lanka Laisuih*, 1898) and a grand performative event (Puma Zai, 1907-1911).

Apart from the history of the past, the Wicket invokes the history of the present. Two important works relating to the history of the present are taken up for discussion. One has already been examined in the book and that concerns the afterlife of *Puma Zai* and how a self-conscious Christian Sri Lanka society makes a claim over a pre-Christian artistic practice. The postcolonial interpretation of *Puma Zai* by Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians needs to be located within the absence of a literary public sphere during a period of political turmoil (1966–86). Finally, the epilogue introduces a contemporary piece of sculptural work, *Pheichham* (2012), for a philosophical and aesthetic enquiry against a background where ethnic, religious, territorial, and linguistic identities have been fully crystallised and a period of normalcy has been experienced.

In the previous chapters, an attempt was made to look at one of the originary texts (*Sri Lanka Chanchin Laisuih,* 1898) and the performance of the *Puma Zai* composition (1907–1911) to see if one could make some headway in understanding ‘being Lushai’ through the Wicket of the regimes of language, text, and performance of art. To this is added a contemporary sculpture which depicts the visual manifestation of a pre-Christian spectral being known as ‘Pheichham’ (2012).

In the hermeneutical reading of the Puma Zai festival, the Wicket engaged with how the given-ness of *zai* gave rise to a heightened sense of the Lushai being through the play, festival, and ritual associated with the celebration of the Puma festival. Similarly, in the chapter on *Sri Lanka Laisuih*, there is an attempt to understand how life processes had to be modified in order to produce the Lushai text, leading to the shaping of a sensorium that did not fail to discern an aural image from a visual image. The contemporary sculpture is made part of the enquiry because it seems to reveal something about the connection between being Lushai and being Sri Lanka.

The first Lushai handwritten newspaper, *Laisuih Chanchin* (1898), braids both—documentary and the mythical—into one strand. The first handwritten Lushai language newspaper plays out both the problem-solving and the play-like situation in its constituting of the language, content, and form of the genre. At that juncture, Lushais were neither readers nor consumers of newspapers, and this artefact did not lead to a form of co-creative reading or listening. But the tension between the ear and the eye had just unfolded—the eye was foregrounded as the purveyor of enlightenment and progress. This newspaper, in some ways, consecrates the world as a picture and made visible what was generally accepted to be unrepresentable—the concealed world of the Lushais. Very soon, the eye becomes the fount around the making of the territorial, linguistic, and religious community. But the unusual receptivity of the newspaper to the emancipatory project occurs without overtly interrupting the way of being of the Lushais.

While the newspaper urges the reader to objectify the world in a presumably non-contextual manner, reverence of what is incalculable or what is the traditional Lushais’ contextual meaning is hinted at without explicitly stating it, be it in the realm of agriculture, health and well-being, hunting, or moral orientation. The newspaper fails to fully celebrate the White man’s thesis that the world is fully knowable, and the production of this originary text is entangled in rendering the fabled tiger[[181]](#footnote-181) in an undigested manner. In the newspaper, being Lushai is not immediately translated as a knowable subject, nor is the external world immediately seen as a representable object. With the introduction of text, for instance *MCL*, the tussle between a semiological and a semantic understanding did not resolve within itself. It is only through the act of reading that the closed text opened up to display its own intentionality and not the authors’. The newspaper based on notions of transparency and objectivity yielded a hermeneutical dividend and transformed itself from being a representational sign to becoming a symbolic vehicle.

In some ways, *Puma Zai* may be read as reasserting the privileged position of *hla* (song/poetical composition) in relation to *thu*. Prior to the coming of the colonial missionaries, compositions appear to have had no universal teleology and truths unfolded with time. The experience of the Puma festival was the recognition and disclosure of the historical being. Recognition of the historical being through poetical performance involved thinking that was similar to a play-like situation rather than a problem-solving situation.

The project of history and social emancipation was inaugurated by the missionaries, but it was just beginning to unfold. In some ways, this period may also be called a period of forgetting in the sense that the then living pre-Christian practices tended to receive a hostile or a paternal gaze while revisiting the period. This intervention argues that the lived pre-Christian past offered a form of intelligibility that was inclusive of the historical rationality that was inaugurated through colonialism and missionary evangelism. As mentioned previously, pre-existing Christian practices survived through a living past until colonially mediated modernity entered with full force and tore the ‘lived’ life from the ‘past’; this act of severing or reclaiming one’s life from the past took the form of historical consciousness. After all, the act of forgetting is so important for the act of remembering.

Working from the assumption that interpretation constitutes cultural works of a kind, then the postcolonial Sri Lanka religious and literary scholars’ inheritance of *Puma Zai* displays an urge to write a plural history of the Sri Lanka colonial past. But to what extent can *Puma Zai* be folded into Protestant church history, and what are the limits of conflating a literary and a performative history without reducing the spirit of the festival that was celebrated for more than four years? While the chapter ties in with the most popular contemporary interpretative move—general acceptance and affirmation of the cultural event—it criticises the asymmetrical conversation between the traditional form of intelligibility and historically instituted rationality. Historically instituted rationality includes the act of writing or the effort to textualise a performative practice. Of course, the Sri Lanka postcolonial interpretation, as has been argued in the chapter, looks at the process of textualising performative practices and the birth of literary texts as a form of mourning. The lack of proliferating literary genres over the last hundred years in Sri Lankaram many be seen as indicative of the mourning caused by the privileging of semantic over semiological analysis or explanation over interpretation.

Conversely, in the postcolonial period, the Indian state’s offensive against the armed struggle for Sri Lanka independence (1966–1986) created another moment of amnesia. While Sri Lanka cultural productions slowly reignited the memory of the pre-Christian past in the Christian present, the same cannot be said about the emotional reconciliation and cultural injury inflicted on the postcolonial Sri Lanka society by the Indian state. This conversation between the pre-Christian past and the contemporary Sri Lanka Christian, mediated through the structures of the modern nation state, produced conditions for cultural production that has no precedence in the past.

Unlike the Lushai *sensus communis*, which identified exemplary works of art during the ECP and allowed for the public communicability of artistic judgement, there is now a public sphere where work of art or literature are examined by a professional body according to supposedly well laid out principles or arguments. Where the Lushai community aesthetic sense embodied the structure or aspirations of community, the public sphere opened up spaces for debate and discussion and public good. During the state of exception when Sri Lankaram was ruled by force and not law, the public sphere was deactivated for almost two decades. The double negation of community aesthetic sense and a modern public sphere meant that there was a massive absence of literary, journalistic, and creative writings.

This epilogue sums up the discussion on the three communicative modes—sound, text, and image—that occurs across shifting temporalities. The first chapter dealt with the text (*Laisuih chanchin*) and looked at the ways in which the text posited an objectively representable Lushai world, treating the Lushai language as a form of communication, nature as transformable, and native practices surmountable, but reluctantly conceding that the gnostic elements of their lived life incomprehensible. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the Puma event. The first discussion pertains to an understanding of the Puma Zai festival as a play of art and the second discussion engages with the inheritance of *Puma Zai* by the contemporary Sri Lanka theologians and literary historians.

In this epilogue, a contemporary sculpture is taken up for brief description and analysis. Before the chapter begins to take up this specific piece of Sri Lanka sculpture for enquiry, some general assertions about sound as a form of knowing and understanding the world, and text as mediating between *thu* (narrative/oral) and *chanchin* (documentary/textual), will be discussed.

During the ECP, Lushais inhabited *hla* alongside the *thu*. In the earliest periodical, *Sri Lanka leh Vai* (*Sri Lankas and the Indic)*,this distinction was made between *thu* (*thawnthu*) and *chanchin*, where *thu* stood for narratives that need not have factual evidence and *chanchin* stood for evidential, factual, documentary, and source-based stories. The ECP witnessed a pronounced split between the word and the song (extra-linguistic feature)—the imaginative story (*thu*) and the story based on objective facts (*chanchin*)—among the newly educated converts, but this distinction did not alter traditional ways of knowing among non-Christians.

In the next section, a general discussion will be provided on two themes: on one hand, it will concentrate on a phenomenological understanding of sound, music, and performance in the ECP, and on the other, it will describe and attempt to analyse historical and substantive concerns relating to textual production and consumption. For a community which has generally shown to be adept at state avoidance skills, it has now (postcolonial Sri Lanka society) to acquire a cultural self that privileges representation over experience and cognition over affective understanding. In that sense, the Lushai experience of sound, language, and performance during ECP, and the mourning of that experiential loss through the production of textual representation by contemporary Sri Lankas, receives importance in the section below.

**Music, Language, and Performance**

ECP overlaps with what Sri Lanka literary historians have designated as the ‘translation period’ (1900-1920). Missionary translations of Christian hymns and native compositions of religious poetry by new converts have been seen as a moment in literary history where *thu* (word) seems to have subdued *hla* (song). It is not that the pre-Christian Lushais were unaware that there was a logical centredness to language and that it was useful to conduct their daily life, but they held that knowledge was not prior to the more primal understanding of language as possessing a pre-given essence or being. Among the traditional Lushais, it was not the speaker who reigned sovereign, but it was the language that was given that preeminent place. In that sense, the utterance of a *puithiam* may not be reduced to either the work of the vocal chords or the cognising mind, but the emphasis was placed on the power of the chants to fall upon each in an unknowable order and from an unverifiable source. In this scheme, the outpouring of chants form a procession where the speaker becomes only a delegate and a keen listener to the deluge of these utterances. The speaker has limited control to direct the movement of the procession. In some sense, the translation period/ECP refers to a moment where the unknowable source of the sound became apparently knowable.

It is as if the words are not signs, but have a life force of their own. One can only wonder what the source of their life is and not push the question further. The language’s capacity for utterance through human speakers seems to depend on its ability to respond to the call of its being.[[182]](#footnote-182) The listening of language to the call of its being seems to be an occasion for human speakers to experience the revelation of the being of language. Or in a Derridean construction,[[183]](#footnote-183) if one were to critique the idea that language that responds to the call of being is the difference between the human and the animal, then language needs to be seen as an interruption of an anthropocentric time. According to one of the popular genealogies of the Lushai language, both animals and human beings were initially gifted with the ability to speak, and therefore, language was not something that was unique to human beings.[[184]](#footnote-184) One must also take into consideration interspecies communication, which is an important element in the performance of animistic religions. The shamanistic religion that involved both the *dawithiam* and the *puithiam* were skilled at hearing the unthought or the unverifiable. But the sorcerer was sought only when somebody was ill or injured. Philosophically, the *puithiam* was gifted with the skill of connecting the instinctual with the spiritual.

The making of the modern objective factual world alongside the deeply religious world required the reduction of Lushai dialect into both—script and scripture. With the introduction of the script, the divine director of the script came into existence and with that the Lushai language acquired a certitude. Even today, if there is a problem with a particular linguistic usage, Sri Lankas tend to look up the Bible to see how it has been translated. The certitude of language needed for theological communication and also for conducting the secular, everyday modern life has made the Lushai language less unpredictable.

With the new attribute of certitude, the speaker became central, and the space of the raised pulpit became an institution. Even today, the Sri Lanka language is yet to become competent enough to address the undistilled Word from above. Nevertheless, the word of God was delivered without any interference from Lushais language’s earlier conception of unknowable order and unverifiable source. The appearance of the passivity, fixity, and instrumentality of the Lushai language shines forth from this moment onwards and the relentless pursuit of greater standardisation is still on.

The script was used for horizontal communication and the scripture for divine communication. If script made possible the ‘human’, scripture allowed the human to receive the ‘divine’ without any intermediary. The *Lengkhawm Zai* referred to indigenous translations and religious poetic compositions that were undertaken by the Lushais themselves after the great revival of 1919. Normally, these translations and religious compositions are seen as breathing the Lushai ethos. But if one were to look at these musical and poetic compositions as forms of intermediaries between the divine and the human, then these intermediaries may also be seen as analogous to the Lushai cosmology.

The Lushai cosmology had a two-layered system: the first layer had a disinterested God known as Pathian, and the second level was populated by benign and malevolent deities and spectres who actually decided the fate of people on a day-to-day basis. In order to appease these second-level deities and spectres, Lushais normally performed Ai sacrificial ceremonies. Of course, the chants and rituals of the *puithiam* did not have the portability of the scripture and liturgies of the new faith, and lacked the support of Sunday schools to circulate religious pedagogy. However, there was a need for an intermediary in the person of the shaman who in turn possessed a gnostic language or utterances that appealed to deities and spirits. The power bestowed on the acoustics and sounds, whose meanings or representations was not shareable with others but nevertheless were listened to, were experienced by people who had gathered to perform the ritual.

Before this gnostic religion lost out to the formidable world religion, the episodic experience of the several revivals, where the Lushai converts danced to the Lushai *khuang* (drums), may be seen as a displacing and replacing of the gnostic intermediary chants to the new religion. While the use of drums was initially banned in the churches, it was assimilated when large numbers were converted through the revivals, the famous one being the 1919 Revival. While the sound of the drums and enthusiastic singing drove religious followers into a frenzy, the correspondence between the sound and the state of being cannot be reduced to a simple stimulus-response affair. Yes, the charged psycho-motor disposition of the participants appears to have been mediated through sound in a way that the materiality of sound may said to have had its own teleology, quite independent of its capacity to communicate with the divine. In other words, when the Lushais danced at these religious gatherings, they experienced the being of the sound alongside the Being. In the ECP, sound was the ground on which the Lushais stood whether they were Christians or non-Christians. Even as this book is being written (2015), there is a large revival that is occurring in Aizawl and elsewhere.

The sound that formed the ground of being for the early Lushai Christian may be read as the sound that was at once transient, sensible, and intelligible. From that perspective, it did not matter whether the sound was natural or man-made. The Lushais’ long drawn struggle to include drums during worship in the austere Protestant church which discouraged the use of percussion instruments is a history of the urge to have a carnal mediation of spirituality. If the drums excited the body, the body was thought to have the potential to become a medium to receive the divine being. In some sense, every revival presupposes the transformation of the Protestant church from being intelligible to becoming sensible. Again, if specialised poetic words are being used for religious poetical composition, in a small way, after two decades of refusing to use these same specialised idioms, then it would appear that though the sensible was suppressed, it was considered not necessarily without intention or intelligibility.

The Lushais’ voluntary seamless disposition to be led by the play of sound suggests that the sound itself seems to occasion the call of the being, and the urge to dance is a response to the sensuous sound, but more importantly to the call of the being. While the less entitled sections that were initially converted found it liberating to exorcise the sense of its intelligibility and replace it with only the intelligible and revealed religious practices of their new faith, the non-Christians found it important to retain the intelligibility of the sensible associated with sound of the drums or the specialised poetic idioms that were necessary for composing music.

The densely forested region of the Lushai Blue Mountains would not lent itself easily to make sight a fundamental anchor for ways of knowing the world. In the late 19th century and till the mid-20th century, there were hardly any motorable roads through the Lushai Hills District. One had to climb a tree to see what was ahead of them, while on the ground, they had to be alert to the movements of animals, insects, spirits, and enemies. Colonial archives are replete with accounts of how they conducted their guerrilla warfare mostly in the dark. The ephemeral sound was the basis of knowing the world and coping with the practical needs that confronted them. It is in this sense that it is possible to suggest that the Lushais needed auditory acuity far more than visual acuity. The making of the Lushai soundscape seems to coincide with the Lushai landscape.

Their deeply tonal language requires one to listen keenly to anything that is spoken, because the same word with a tonal variation may mean something completely different. Added to this, the extreme musicality of their language posed a real problem for writing a straight-forward account of their linguistic practice, but the colonial missionaries precisely went on to do this by reducing their dialect to script and translating European language hymns into Lushai language. The direction of the nearness between song and speech, aesthetics and language, and action and cognition was reversed. In the sense, the act of reading prioritised cognition, and the performative character of the Lushai language seems to have been reduced to a logic ordering of their linguistic world. In the ECP, the nascent prose and the incipient translated poetry aligned with the distinction between the intelligible and the sensible. The sensible was susceptible, and therefore, it had to be contained—the locus of language became the mind which was more reliable.

It seems for the pre-Christian Lushai, the distinction imposed on the sound—either as being intelligible or sensible—did not exist, or the distinction was not pronounced. In which case, the sensible itself did not exist on its own. It had its own rationality, and therefore, a different sort of intelligibility where hearing became the locus of their being. For a small-scale society that had developed ‘the art of not being governed’, the philosophic consideration of how to conceive and receive sounds by prioritising the intelligible over the sensible did not appear important.

If we see problem-solving and social engineering as central to contemporary societies, the Lushai society in the ECP was relatively poor, but they were not the refuse of industrial capitalism or colonial material impoverishment. Even the chiefs did not possess enviable immovable wealth. Yes, power did operate and some were left out in the traditional pre-Christian Lushai society, but there is no sign of complex caste-like or class-like discriminatory process. Hence, writing, documentation, enumeration, and classification was not needed to make sense of the justificatory processes of the modern state system. If there was cruelty or exploitation, the chiefs, along with their *upas* (advisers), would hear them out and pronounce their verdict. In an interesting anecdote that Lewin records, a chief had to hear a case where a married couple argued about their distaste for each other. After listening to their complaints about each other, the chief disrobed both of them and locked them in a hut for a whole night. In the morning, the couple left the hut without a word. This simple but complex listening did not involve legal or moral principles, but it was the lyricality of thought that was pressed into service.

**Text**

The text (*MCL*) displays this transition of the Lushai aural to the Sri Lanka visual, and the journey of the transition seem to continue to this day. One may read a shift from an ontological denseness of the Lushai aural to a Sri Lanka visual. This in turn seems to instigate a flattened temporality of the spatial, vis-à-vis the shifting temporalities of the aural, akin to the unyielding zig-zag topography of the Lushai mountains. It is not an uncommon sight to see clouds filling the gaps between the peaks, which makes it possible to experience the sky and the earth in one breath. The standardisation of the tonal Lushai language appears to have cleared the clouds on the cliffs and provides a transparent view of the mountains that are forever drenched in mists. The first handwritten newspaper doesn’t fully cooperate with the flattening of time or space or the creation of an unbreachable bridge between the earth and the sky.

The prioritising of the visual through print, and the braiding of sight with reason and objectivity, led to fabrication of a universe that allowed less room for communication between human beings and the non-humans. For a long time, the colonial authorities (Lewin) reconfigured the distinction between *thu* and *chanchin*, and this was further reinforced through missionary education. It may not be inappropriate to say that during ECP, the colonial bureaucracy shaped *chanchin* while the missionaries shaped the *thu* or *thawnthu*. However, for the non-converts, the sonic world commanded their worship and fear, authority and freedom, and leisure and everyday Lushai life. The ear was the integrating sensorium that provided a rhythm for their thoughts, actions, and deeds. Even today, it would not be unfair to say that Sri Lanka modernity is caused and effected by an aural mode as much as by a visual mode. While the visual is orchestrated through a Cartesian distinction between subject and object, the aural mode enhances other sensory capabilities and actually transcends the subject-object distinction.

While *MCL* may be read as a contribution to reimagining what is *chanchin* by the colonial officials, *Puma Zai* may be read as a contest over what constitutes *hla* between the missionaries and the non-Christian Lushais. Since *MCL* happens to be one of the earliest secular texts written by colonial officials and native informants, the connection between Word and word was yet to be instituted but was operating in the colonial unconscious. In fact, the presence of the Word was simply insignificant and the effects of the instituting of the graphic word were just beginning to be felt. *Thawnthu* was of only ethnographic interest to colonial authorities, whereas it was of generic interest for missionaries. They were keen to find out which genre was more acceptable for translating Biblical texts, whereas the colonial authorities needed writing for documenting, recording, and classifying in order to produce an objective understanding of the Lushai material and symbolic universe. The missionaries’ need for ostensive communication was not considered as important for the colonial authorities as the need for a language that could be used to label and name objects.

The introduction of script made the tonal language of the Lushai available in an impersonal and detached manner. Prior to the introduction of script, the first print genre that a Christian missionary circulated was pictures from the scriptures along with the singing of a few Christian hymns. The Lushai listened to the singing with their mouths wide open and offered to take their pictures to their family; the evangelist Williams heard them hum one of the tunes as they returned to their homes. This ability to instantly sniff music and ‘play along’ has been a primary characteristic of being Lushai in the ECP. If music was central to a community’s way of being, then the proposition follows that the community looks towards art to tell the truth and art forms a model for organising their itinerant life.

At the same time, when art (music or singing) formed a model for being Lushai, there was the colonially mediated ‘word’ standing for rudimentary statecraft, and missionary-mediated Word standing for the affirmation of the unreachable Christian God: all three formed an incommensurable universe that impinged upon being Lushai. While there was a permissible tension between the word and the Word, there was absolutely no conversation between the Word and the Lushai performative art (*Puma Zai*). The incommensurability between these diverse forms of world dispositions constituted the affective and discursive habitus of being Lushai.

The reduction of the Lushai language to script may be seen as the disembodiment of the language at two levels: one may pertain to the being of language and the other to the being of Lushai. From a phenomenological point of view, human beings don’t possess language, but language has an essence and telos of its own.[[185]](#footnote-185) Similarly, the Lushais, by not acquiring a script of their own, believed that they had the sweetest tongue—it is a popular saying that when Lushais spoke their nasal language, others thought they was singing and not actually talking. To present an idea or a thing through singing, which was a Lushai way of talking, would amount to revealing the given-ness of the thing or the idea from the bottom of their hearts. The clichéd term, ‘bottom of the heart’, would mean that they give in to the play of the musical language, and what gets revealed is not merely the being of the thing, but most importantly, being Lushai. The pre-Christian form of a non-textual understanding of language allowed for a concernful engagement with language and their own selves.

Language was not merely considered to be a channel for communication. Language was communication in itself, and the Lushais communicated their ‘being’ through the ‘being’ of language and helped unravel the giveness of other entities—animate or inanimate. In the genealogy of the Lushai language, animals too spoke, but they were made dumb through some machinations that happened between human beings and God. In other words, there was a time when the being of the Lushai language was shared between human beings and animals. This non-human understanding of language probably belonged to communities that practised animistic faith. For instance, the word, *sapui*, which stands for the king of beasts, tiger, was not be uttered for the fear that the tiger that had a divine status in their cosmology would hear it. The word was to be revered and feared and not uttered. The gnostic experience of a language had to become completely sanitised and made available for performing everyday functions. The split between the divine word and the human word may also be read as the rejection of the beast in the human. This rejection of the animal that was at once sacred and profane, human and non-human, poses problems for a philosophical anthropology that foregrounds ‘being’ along with human language. Philosophers who have argued that it is only in language that being shows up, have not paid considerable attention to communities who once believed that an appeal to language will bring forth the animal as well. The forsaking of the beast is the forsaking of a form of intelligibility in the use of language that attributes being only to humans. The hearing that is unthought is also in a way a hearing of the lost ear that was associated with the being of the primal; the hearing of the unthought recognises the measure of the breadth of being. Among the Lushais, the singing (*zai*) which presupposes listening has the potential to ignite the most primal ‘being’ during the ECP.

The distinction that was made between the instrumental script and the Holy Scripture facilitated the disembodying of Lushai language at several levels. The making of grammar and the dictionary and introduction of schools, including the Sunday School where religious texts and practices were discussed, helped to make the nascent Lushai script available for religious, administrative, and educational purposes. Since, the colonial administration had a feeble presence, language was mainly used for Biblical translations and secular education.

The standardisation of the Lushai language during the ECP seems to have resisted the production of a unified field of communication. For Benedict Anderson, the European vernaculars, through the production of script reforms, primers, grammars, and lexicans, developed parallel to each other and became completely distanced from the sacral language of Latin. The vernaculars in Europe emerged as a horizontal medium of communication, striking out formidable commercial and administrative carriers for themselves. Though it is popularly believed that French commandeered a sophisticated elite European audience, English symbolised the language of commerce and administration, and German was known for its capacity to explain ideas in law and philosophy. However, when these languages were standardised and became print languages, they supposedly had to perform all the functions simultaneously. In other words, the languages became parallel to each other and this process produces what is referred to by Anderson as a unified field of communication. It is not clear whether the Lushai language of the ECP had become a unified field of communication and performed secular, scientific, religious, administrative, and literary tasks simultaneously.

The pre-print Duhlian dialect of the Lushais was picked up by the White missionaries as representative of the several clans that inhabited the Lushai Hills District speaking in numerous dialects. The Duhlian dialect was spoken by a non-state community possessing technologies that could barely produce any economic surplus. Since food gathering, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture in the form of *swidden* cultivation did not require writing for coordinating, policing, and governing these small scale communities, language was not used purely for purposes of control and objectification of the forested mountains that they inhabited. Contrary to a Marxian framework, the thing in the forested mountains at that historical juncture had not been fully converted into a commodity. Language was a thing in itself and the pre-Duhlian dialect, even after standardisation, did not fully become a referential sign.

The difference between *thu* and *chanchin* can be traced to the former’s capacity to allow for an imminent reading and the latter for a referential reading. It was not a completely new distinction that arrived with colonialism and the missionaries. Such distinctions appear to have existed because the Lushais participated in some form of trade and intervened at some minimal level in the courtly affairs of the princely states of Manipur, Tripura, Burma, and so on. However, their interaction with the princely states or with the traders from the plains required an objectification of their forested mountains as also the objectification of human relations. While this is true and the Lushai language was used for limited commercial and diplomatic purposes, the main pre-disposition of the language was not to reduce the thing to an object but to revere the indecipherability of the thing. In precolonial times, the Lushais did not hesitate to move from looking at language as representation to experiencing language as something that has a life form.

Interestingly, the missionaries used the Duhlian dialect to create a community that was based on the immense sense of giving following the ritual assassination of Jesus Christ. It is not the immeasurable giving from above that the Duhlian dialect could mediate, but it was the immeasurable receiving that the Duhlian dialect had to mediate. It was pre-supposed that the Duhlian dialect should create a fellowship, fraternity, and comradeship based on immeasurable receiving from above and the guilt cast on mankind thereon. A distinction between horizontal communication and vertical communication was drawn by the missionaries, thus foregrounding the master-servant relationship or a new hierarchy between Word and word. Whereas the traditional conception of the Lushai language suggested no such hierarchy, the standardised nascent Lushai language was seen as a servant of the Word and the thing as revealed.

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| *A chhunga thu awm*  *Glossary* | The words within or contents of a text |
| *Ai* | A sacrificial ceremony with a feast, usually done in conjunction with the killing of an animal or an enemy |
| *Bawis* | Bonded labour to the Lushai chiefs *.* There are some controversies surrounding the nature of servitude in Sri Lanka historical studies. But the Bawis seem to be first related ethnic group to take to Christainity |
| *BorSap* | This referred to an armed British official or the Superintendent of the Hills. Initially, it referred to the first Superintendent of amalgamated Lushai Hills District, Shakespear |
| *Chanchin* | It has several meanings but the primary meaning appears to be concerned with knowledge that is based on factual evidence. It also refers to written, documentary, graphic means of communication. A newspaper is generally referred to as Chanchin |
| *Dawithiam* | Traditionally, a priest in the Lushai society who performed sacrifices for the well-being and good health of the people. This priest rarely is associated with sorcery. |
| *Harhna* | Gospel revival. In the first few decades of Christianity, the Gospel mainly spread through emotional and spontaneous 'spiritual' awakening among the new converts. The awakening included continuous singing, dancing and praying by individuals and groups. The white missionaries looked at this phenomenon with deep skepticism |
| *Hip(na)* | refers to the attractive power exerted by an idea, object or a person. The power to draw people towards itself (people, music, God) may be attributed to the being |
| *Hla* | Song. The Lushais/ Sri Lankas relationship to singing has been very complex. Songs are generally composed for singing or performance rather than for producing literature of a formal kind. |
| *Hnatlang* | It refers to commonly accepted altruistic attitude towards the community. Generally Sri Lankas invoke the spirit of *Hntalang* for building village bus stands and public toilets, arranging funerals for poor people and related activities. |
| *Khawtlang/vantlang thil mawihnai hriatna* | The ability of the community to understand and recognise beauty without discussing any formal properties of that which is beautiful. |
| *Khuanu* | Female deity. Before the coming of Christianity, every village possessed a female deity known as Khuanu |
| *Khua leh Tui* | Citizen |
| *Khuang* | Lushai drums. In the early years of Christianity, Protestant Missionary severely argued against the use of Drums and other percussion instruments inside the Church. |
| *Kut* | Festival. These are mainly associated with harvest, hunting and announcing victory over the neighbors in warfare. |
| *Lam* | Dance |
| *Lasi* | A female spirit which was believed to have ruled over the animal world and would sometimes favour the hunters. The sprite would guide men hunters to safe game and occasionally used to have a sexual laison with them |
| *Lawmna* | Celebration |
| *Lengkhawm Zai* | Singing in the indigenous way with drums. It took Lushais more than two decades to introduce their tunes and especially their drums into the fold of the Church |
| *Lengzem Zai* | Love songs. These songs were considered erotic and were generally forbidden by the missionaries. |
| *Lunglen* | An immeasurable longing felt by a person. The longing for the other is a constant theme in Sri Lanka poetry and literature |
| *Mitthikhua* | Land of the dead. The Sri Lankas has a two layered cosmology similar to the Christians. It is not very clear whether |
| *Nihna* | Being |
| *Ngai* | Missing someone or longing for someone |
| *Pheichham* | According to Lushai beliefs, a one-legged spirit which could grant wishes uttered in one breath |
| *Pialral* | A place beyond the *Mitthi khua,* which was a better place to live after death. |
| *Puithiam* | Traditionally, a priest in the Lushai society who performed sacrifices to appease the spirits. This priest was basicaly consdiered as a sorcerer |
| *Puma Zai* *in thiam*  *taka mipui a hipna* | The mesmerizing power of the music which made people fall into a trance. |
| *Ramthar* *Zai, Chalmar Zai and Thingpui Zai* | Some of the new Puma songs which they composed had some anti-Christian elements and they were given these names. |
| *Sap* | Initially, the foreigners were called Vais but once they started to rule they were given the title Sab |
| *Sapui* | Literally means “a great creature”, used to refer to the tiger. This word was not normally uttered lest the being of the beast gets to know. |
| *Sawn* | Illegitimate child; not born out of a marriage. Usually, Chiefs had many concubines and children born out of wedlock were known as Sawn |
| *Serh leh sang* | Rituals |
| *Tar lanna* | Presentation |
| *Thangchhuah* | A man in the Lushai society who had performed certain rituals and feasts and/or killed many specified animals in order to achieve this honor |
| *Thar thawh* | Cultural reworking |
| *Thawnthu* | Story |
| *Thiam thil* | Refers to craft or skill |
| *Thu* | Word. The making of the prose through '*Thu*' has been pitted against *Thla* |
| *Tihluihna tel lo* | Without any force or without any coercion. |
| *Tlangaui* | The traditional village crier. |
| *Tlawmngaihna* | It is difficult to explain this word. It might be explained as an altruistic act of valour and kindness. |
| *Upa* | Elders. Traditionally Upas served as advisors for the Lushai/Sri Lanka Chief |
| *Vai* | Non-Sri Lankas from other parts of India. Some argue that the etymology of the word lies in Bhai |
| *Vailen* | The military expedition of the British on the Lushai Hills area. History records two major “Vailen” |
| *Zai* | Singing. Sri Lankas have the most elaborate way of attending, listening and participating in (community) singing. Singing is associated with self fashioning |
| *Zawlbuk* | A dormitory-kind of house in a Lushai village where the young men stayed together. This has been replaced in spirit by the Sunday school |
| *Zosap* | This referred to European missionaries |
| *Zu* | Alcoholic drink traditionally made from fermented rice. There were different reasons for drinking and one of the important reason was ritual drinking |

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1. The sparse colonial archive provides a window to this mediated historical rationality. More importantly, the missionary presence, which was pronouncedly visible, has also yielded an archive of its own. Together they governed the Lushai Hills from roughly around 1890s to 1950s. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Terry Eagleton, ‘The Ideology of the Aesthetic’, *Poetics Today,* 9 (1988). Both Hegel and Kant, following a certain protestant heeding, disallow sensuous representation. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Hegel has defined being as ‘indeterminate immediate’ in a sense that a contextual reading may be inadequate to understand the being of humans or other entities. See Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (New York: Harper & Row, , 1962), pp. 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Sanjoy Hazarika at the conference Reimagining India’s North East: Networks, Narratives and Negotiations’, held on 4-6 February 2015 by the Centre for North East Studies and Policy Research at Jamia Millia Islamia. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See Vumson, *Zo History* (Aizawl: Vumson, 1986), pp. 2-7 for an extended investigation of ethnic categories. Vumson seems to propose the term ‘Zo’ for other classificatory categories like Chin, Kuki, and Lushai. He states that Chin is a category that was used by the Burmese, Kuki by the Bengalis, and Lushai by the British. All three terms were not inclusive and were derogatory in character. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Edmund Leach’s work in the past and Mandy Sadan’s in the present shows us how Burmese Buddhism took care to offer an internal ordering of the socio-political system during the colonial period without any reference to colonialism per se. Similarly, Partha Chatterjee has argued that nationalism in Bengal was not merely a derivative discourse. The Hinduised princely states of Manipur and Tripura may be seen as part of the Indic civilisation, or as Leach has proposed, a reworking of ethnic relations across South East Asia through nodal thrones like that of the Burman king or the Chinese throne. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. For a colonial official’s experience of how Lushai subjects were ruled or rather not ruled, see T.H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped to Govern India* (Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute, 2005), pp. 287. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Gangte,Priyadarshini M.

   <http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=manipur.Ethnic_Races_Manipur.A_Discourse_On_Gangte_Origin_And_Historicity_Through_Oral_Sources_Part_2> Cited 24 September, 2015*.* There is a folklore among a sub-clan of Kukis (Gangte) in Manipur that their grandfathers plunged into the clouds in order to swim. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Peter Molnar, ‘The Geological History and the Structure of the Himalaya’, (1986). Cited 24 September 2015. Available: <http://www.colorado.edu/geolsci/faculty/molnarpdf/1986AmerSci.Geology-Himalaya.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Scott, James, *The Art of not being Governed : An anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*,( New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited,2011). In this work, Scott is of the view that North-East India also constituted a non-stateless society and it historically fell under the purview of self-governing communities. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The sources of authority were plural and the Lushai subject did not seek autonomy because subordination was of different kinds and of different levels. Important colonial archival sources that suggest the existence of the Lushai heteronomic world include Lewin’s and Shakespeare’s ethnographic accounts including McCall’s. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizoram Encyclopedia* (Delhi: Jaico Publishing House, 1990). There are several references in this book detailing the complex role of the chief. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Laltluangliana Khiangte, *Lalnu Ropuiliani* (Aizawl: LTL Publications, 1994) and Ruth Lalremruati, ‘Mizo Folk Songstresses, *Indian Folklife*, 34 (November 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Joanna Heath, *Lengkhawm Zai: A Singing Tradition of Mizo Christianity in Northeast India.* Unpublished thesis, submitted to Durham University (2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. In Chapter 2, the book examines the production and reproduction of the Puma Zai(1907–1911) festival performed to commemorate an outstanding composition. The afterlife of the festival, retrieved through the writings of contemporary Mizo theologians and literary historians, is subjected to analysis in Chapter 3. In both the chapters, an effort is made to understand the celebration of the Puma festival as the Lushais’ recognition of the musical composition as a work of art and their participation as a form of co-creation. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Jayeeta Sharma, ‘Lazy Natives, Coolie Labour, and the Assam Tea Industry’, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 6 (2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Francis Buchanan cited in Willem ven Schendel, ‘The Invention of the ‘Jummas’: State Formation and Ethnicity in Southeastern Bangladesh’, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (1992). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The Chins, Lushais and the Kukis were affected by the colonial annexation of the Arakans in 1824 and the idea and experience of the North-East region as an important peripheral region stems from this military offensive. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See for a discussion on these courtly intrigues in Indrani Chatterjee, ‘Genealogy, History and the Law: The Case of the Rajamala’, in Partha Chatterjee and Anjan Ghosh, eds., *History and the Present* (Delhi, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Jayeeta Sharma, *Empire's Garden* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2012) plots the story of how the jungles of Assam came to be reconfigured as paradise or as the empire’s garden because of the immeasurable wealth it seemed to possess in the form of tea, minerals, and other natural resources. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. See Kirk’s description of how the Assam plain’s gold-washers, fishermen, tea planters, and lowland villages had to be protected against raids by the hill tribes, and to an equal extent, the terrain of the hill tribes had to be secured against economic penetration by lowland capitalists. W. Kirk, ‘The Inner Asian Frontier of India’, in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* (December 1962). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Scholars like Vumson suggest that people from Central Zoram were less mobile and their neighbouring clans from South and North Zoram were more mobile. Vumson, *Zo History,* 113-129. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Vumson notes that the tribes from Falam country on the eastern side formed alliances with other tribes in a more strategic manner to buttress the efforts of the British. Vumson, *Zo History*, 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. See the article on textiles and *Thangchhuah:* Barbara G. Fraser and David W. Fraser, ‘*Thangchhuah Puan*: The Highest Status Mantle among the Mizo People of Northeastern India’, *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings* (Washington, DC: 18- September 22 2012). Cited 24 September 2015. Available:<<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/683/>>. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. See Vumson’s description of a Lushai chief’s stone epitaph written in Burmese and in English. The inscription describes the Second Vailen where the chief participated in the war against the British. Also, the inscription is interesting because the nascent Lushai language is not used for inscription in the eastern part of the Lushai Hills district. (Inscription by Ex-Chief Khuplian, Lophei, found in the pages preceding Chapter 1 of Vumson’s book)Vumson, *Zo History*, II*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Jayeeta Sharma, ibid,2009. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Major A.G. McCall, *Lushai Chrysalis* (Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute, 2003, Reprint), pp. 34-66; 198-199; 201-203 wrote in his book about the impact that the British presence had on the power of the chiefs. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. P. Thirumal and C. Lalrozami, ‘On the Discursive and Material Context of the First Handwritten Lushai Newspaper ‘*Mizo Chanchin Laishuih*’, 1898’, *Indian Economic Social History Review,* Vol. 47 No. 3 (Delhi: 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. *Tlawmngaihna*: In the book *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, ‘*Tlawmngaihna’* is explained thus: “Tlawmngaihna is a word which has no exact equivalent in English. It really represents the Lushai’s code of morals and good form. A person who possesses Tlawmngaihna must be courteous, considerate, unselfish, courageous and industrious, he must always be ready to help others even at considerable inconvenience to himself and must try to surpass others in doing his ordinary daily tasks efficiently. In theory, Tlawmngaihna must enter into every branch of a Lushai’s life. A man who practices the precepts of Tlawmngaihna is looked up to and respected. Tlawmngaihna can only really be explained by examples.” Bimal J. Dev and Dilip Kumar Lahiri, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1983),pp. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. C. Lalrozami, ‘Historical Development of Media in Mizoram: A Cultural Approach’, unpublished thesis submitted in University of Hyderabad (2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See Vumson, *Zo History*. The author chronicles clashes between the Zo chiefs and the British from 1800 to the beginning of the 20th century. It was during this period that maps were drawn and colonial army officials came into close contact with the inhabitants of the forest. The colonial officials produced ethnographic accounts of the peripatetic communities of the region. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. *Hnatlang* seems to connote community good, and *lunglen* is a complex term that refers to the inevitability of others’ existence in one’s life. *Lunglen* refers to the philosophical idea that individuals are extensions of others rather than others being an extension of oneself. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. On the importance of singing and composing songs, see Lawmsanga’s comment, ‘Mizo may be one of the richest tribes in terms of poetical words. Spoken language and poetical language are completely different and prose is never regarded as a song or a poem or lyric.’ Lawmsanga, *A Critical Wicket of Christian Mission with Special Reference to Presbyterian Church of Mizoram,* Unpublished thesis submitted to University of Birmingham (2010), pp. 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. See Lawmsanga’s comment, “When the missionaries came, they did not realize that the Mizos had both spoken language and poetical words to compose songs, solos and hymns. They translated or composed hymns or songs in terms of prose and taught the first generations Mizo Christians to sing.” Lawmsanga, *A Critical Wicket of Christian Mission*, pp. 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. See Basil Bernstein ‘Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences’, *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 66, No. 6 (1964). In our understanding, the Lushai language has a complex orality, but when it was reduced to writing, it acquires a restricted, code and it is still struggling to become a literary language. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Mangkhosat Kipgen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture* (Aizawl: The Mizo Theological Conference, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. James Herbert Lorrain was one of the first missionaries who preached in the Lushai Hills. He later produced *Dictionary of the Lushai Language,* which is still widely used even in the present time. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. On the naming of a tree, a cultural commentator laments that Mizos have forgotten to name trees based on their aesthetic appearance. Attributing aesthetic characteristics to nature was common prior to the coming of the colonial rulers and the missionaries. PhD thesis by C. Lalrozami, ‘Historical Development of Media in Mizoram: A Cultural Approach’, pp. 173-174; 177-178. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. In stateless societies where law, religion, political craft, science, and other important spheres of life have not been rigidly codified, there exist interpretative practices of the self-governing community. These practices may be regarded as embodied rationality or the Lushai/Mizo form of intelligibility. With colonialism, the region witnesses very distinct codes relating to law, religion, political craft, and so on. This is regarded as historically instituted rationality. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. These terms *hawnthu* and *hanchin,* have been elaborated in the unpublished Ph. D thesis of C. Lalrozami [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Lalhmuaka, *Zoram Sikul Zirna Chanchin* (Aizawl: Lalhmuaka, 2000) [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. After the Second Vailen (1888–1889), a process of pacification was initiated by the British with the Lushai chiefs. The chiefs had to pay tribute in the form of money, grains, labour, and guns. In a way, this newspaper is symbolic of displacing the guns as a form of positive communication. J. Shakespeare, *Tour Diary, 1st January 1892*. Mizoram State Archive, Aizawl, Mizoram. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). In this book, Dipesh Chakrabarty writes that the history of capital in non-Western countries is not the same as the history of capital in Europe. Interestingly, the colonial officials themselves realised that the history of capital on the plains has to be differentiated from the modernity of the hill tribes. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. See this chapter on *Puma Zai* for the notion of ‘givenness’ of *zai*. The term for immeasurable giving in Lushai language is ‘*tawp hlei thei lo*.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. It appears that the term North East was initially coined by the colonial official Mckenzie. He defined the term Frontier as a boundary line and as a tract. See Mckenzie, p.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. See Jayeeta Sharma, *A Historical Perspective,* and *Yasmin Saikia, The Tai-Ahom Connection*, for a quick summary of the antecedents and consequences of the Yandaboo Treaty. Also for an extended discussion on the making of a land frontier , see Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself*. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. For the processes that constitute and legitimate the colonial extractive political economy of the region, see a range of critical scholarly engagement including Jayeeta Sharma, *British Science, Chinese Skill and Assam Tea: Making Empire’s Garden*, and Bodhisattva Kar, *When Was Post-Colonial? A History of Policing Impossible Lines*. For another take on this issue, see Arup Jyothi Saikia writing on *the Burunjia’s*, a form of historical records of the Ahom kings dating back to the 13th century. Saikia, *History, Buranjis and Nation* [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. For more information on the subsidiary Treaty signed between the King of Burma and the British representative Pemberton in 1834, see Alexander Mackenzie, *The North Eastern Frontier of India*. pp.173-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Among other works on this issue, see Yasmin Saikia, *The Tai-Ahom Connection*. Yasmin Saikia described the irony in the topographical and administrative division of the hills and the plains. She argued that the negative stereotypical perception toward the people due to this division remained unchanged. For a provocative and a controversial theoretical engagement of the hills people across the borderlands of Asia, see James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Kirk describes how the Assam plain’s gold-washers, fishermen, tea planters and lowland villages had to be protected against raids by the hill tribes, and equally the terrains of the hill tribes had to be secured against economic penetration by lowland capitalists. Kirk, *The Inner Asian Frontier of India*. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. See Lewin’s loose and sometimes pointed engagement on the ambivalence of the colonial government to directly rule the Hills Districts in his ‘A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped Governed India’ [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. For a wonderful and exemplary account of the transformation, see Shakearpeare Tour Dairy’ the colonial official who shaped colonial policy after the formation of Lushai’s Hills District in 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Jayeeta Sharma, *Lazy Natives, Coolie Labour, and the Assam Tea Industry*. Also on the extractive nature of the emerging colonial economy, see several writings of various scholars including Amalendu Guha, Sanjib Barauh and Sanghamitra Mishra. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. To labour the non Indic South Asian connections and to map the elusive affinity of the region within the sacred and political geography of India, see Yasmin Saikia, *Fragmented Memories: Struggling to be Tai-Ahom Connection in India*. And also Bodhisattva Kar, *Incredible Stories in the Time of Credible Histories: Colonial Assam and Translations of Vernacular Geographies*. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. R.G. Woothorpe, *The Lushai Expedition*, p.3. Woodthorpe wrote, ‘The North-eastern frontier of India has ever been a fruitful source of trouble and expense to the Government of this Empire. The history of each district on this frontier, whether prior or subsequent to its annexation as a portion of British territory, is the same. Bordered by, or forming part of hill districts, inhabited by fierce and predatory tribes for ever making raids on their neighbours’ villages, burning and plundering them, and carrying off the inhabitants- it was not supposed that those under our protection should escape.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. See Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality*, p.47; and Sanghamitra Misra, *Changing Frontiers and Spaces: The Colonial State in the Nineteenth-Century Goalpara*. Francis Buchanan records a more lively interaction through commerce between the Lushais and the Bengalis now residing in the territory known as Bangladesh cited in Schendel. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. The first major Lushai expedition was aimed to punish the Lushais for murdering some White planters in the neighborhood of Upper Assam. Mary Winchester was a six year old planter’s daughter who was captured in the Lushai raid of Alexandrapore in the year 1871.She was returned after a punitive British expedition retaliated against the Lushai’s Chiefs in 1872. See O. A. Chamber, *Handbook of the Lushai Country*, p.87. The second Lushai expedition led to the final pacification of the Lushai’s. See Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam from1883 to 1941*, p.B-13 [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. The Baptist Missionaries Lorrain and Savidge reached Lushai Hills in 1894 and started learning the Lushai language. In the next four years, they translated important Biblical tracts like Luke, John, Acts and wrote the first Lushai Grammar and Dictionary. Out of the thirteen dialects that were in use in the region, the Duhlien dialect spoken by the powerful Sailo community was put to writing. The choice of dialect has been contested in recent times by speakers of other dialects. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Vanchhunga**,** pp 129,134 [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. A report of the proceedings of a conference of officers administering the Lushai Hills, held at Fort Lungleh in December, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Col. J. Shakespeare played a major role in the 2nd military expedition (1888−1889) and thereafter concentrated his energies on the pacification of the region through the use of a variety of strategies including coercion, benevolence and discretion based on extensive local knowledge. He subsequently became the first Superintendent of the newly amalgamated North and South Lushai Hills in 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. For a history of languages and literary cultures, see Sheldon Pollock*, ‘The Language of Gods in the world of Men Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Pre-modern India*’. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. For a short exposition on Heidegger on hand writing, see Christopher, *Derrida and Technology.* [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Lorrain’s typewriter is preserved at Baptist Mission Archive in Lunglei, a hundred and fifty kilometers South of Aizawl. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Codified in the Lushai Hills District Cover 1938−1939 issued by Governor of Assam as Manual on Administration pp34-35 [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. See Indrani, *Captives of Enchantment? Gender, Genre, and Transmemoration.* [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Postcolonial theorists like Partha Chatterjee and others have established connections between print culture and the production of the nationalistic discourse. See Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*. More recently, scholars have looked at the discursive production of region through the early print culture obtained in their region. See Vora, Rajendra and Feldhaus, Anne (ed), *Region, Culture and Politics in India*. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. The text is in the Lushai language and Mr. K. Malsawmdawngliana translated the text into English. The amount offered for killing the tiger in the original text is confusing. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. T.Vanlaltlani, *A Theological Interpretation of Animistic and Cultural Symbols in Mizo Society*, p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. In traditional Mizo society, persons who practiced virtues were referred to as *Thangchhuahs*, and not all men in their society could aspire to become *Thangchhuahs*. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Thomas Keenan, *The Point is to Exchange It: Reading ‘Capital,’ Rhetorically*, p.104. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. The “Ai” ceremony involves sacrificing of a domestic animal for a wild creature killed in hunting or over a foe killed in fighting. Here, the hunter-slayer uses the *Mithun* (ox/buffalo) as the sacrificial item. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. The author here uses the term *“Sa thang*”, which is usually used for a noose-trap for large animals, such as deer, wild pigs etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. One of the contested forms of tributes that Shakespeare introduces is the demand for free labour or coolies. These coolies were used for building roads and carrying freight. Initially, the British brought Sonthals from central India as coolies because the Lushais refused to be coolies. There have been records of armed resistance of Lushai Chiefs against forced labour. See Hluna’s *Education and Missionaries in Mizoram*, p.34. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. The Doktor Sap named here is most likely to be one Dr. Young who performed the first surgery ever in Mizoram applying anesthesia on a woman in 1894. The woman confessed that she was made to die initially and then she came back to life after sometime without any pain. This is mentioned in Lorrain’s diary (unpublished). [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Lorrain’s Diary, 13th January 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. N. E. Parry, *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, p.20 [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. *Ibid*. p.21 [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Donna Strom, an English evangelist writing about the pre-Christian culture of the Mizos, reads the extinction of the practice of head hunting as implicated in larger spiritual moral worldview. See Strom, *Wind Through the Bamboo- The Story of Transformed Mizos*. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Kipgen, like Donna Strom, notes a similar point about associating the practice of head hunting to a moral-spiritual order. He also observes that the banning of headhunting was in some way responsible for the rapid conversion of Mizos into Christianity suggesting the moral/spiritual world associated with that practice was displaced onto the new religion, Christianity. See Kipgen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture-The Encounter Between Christianity and Zo Culture* [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. ‘*Vai’* is the term used by the Mizos to refer to the non-Mizos. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. The policing and coordinating of the newly constituted Lushai Hills District requires written communication and the need to supplement the village crier with the manuscript newspaper. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Willem Van Schendel, *The Invention of the ‘Jummas’: State Formation and Ethnicity in Southern Bangladesh,* p.112. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Shakespeare’s Tour Diary, 1st January, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Foucault on the cultures of listening in Western tradition notes “In his treatise *On the Contemplative Life*, Philo of Alexandria describes banquets of silence, not debauched banquets with wine, boys, revelry, and dialogue. There is instead a teacher who gives a monologue on the interpretation of the Bible and a very precise indication on the way people must listen. For example, they must always assume the same posture when listening” ‘Technologies of Self’ in *Ethics; Subjectivity and Truth* p. 236. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Lorrain’s Diary, 15th June,1897 [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. R.B. McCabe’s tour Diary (Political Officer, North Lushai Hills), 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. This is considered to the first literary artifact. (Personal Interview with Prof Khiangte 2009, June) This document is in possession with the heirs of Khamliana. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Unfortunately, the first and third issue of MCL is not available. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Description of Loosei Clerk in the Lushai Hills District Cover 1938−1939 issued by Governor of Assam, pp 34−35 [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. The Mizo word, “*Zai”,* stands for singing, and singing has traditionally been the most familial activity among the Mizos in early colonial society. If the itinerant Mizos were deprived of a sedentary life in the past, then it may be construed that they actually dwelt in their songs, singing and musical compositions. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. In ancient Greece, the worship of art provided a basis for the founding of community. It may not be inappropriate to say that art provided a sort of giving to the Lushai community. The reception of this giving was free and over abundant which the recipient could not adequately possess nor pass on this giving to others. The immeasurable giving refers to the term 'given-ness' in the above context. The loose Lushai term for ‘given-ness’ is “tawp hlei thei lo”. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. ‘Being’ refers to something like a ‘ground’ (although not in the modern sense of ‘foundation’), or better, a background that precedes, conditions and makes possible particular forms of human knowing as found in science and the social sciences. In this chapter, through the concept of being, the Wicket seeks to describe how ‘things’ in the traditional Lushai world were slowly becoming ‘objects’ and, in a lesser part, will examine how Lushai selves were becoming subjects as they subjected themselves to colonially-mediated discursive rationalities. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Historical rationality refers to knowledge sciences that are epistemically grounded and give rise to conscious subjects who are subjected to these forms of discursive rationality. A-historical rationality or immemorial rationality are forms of understanding that are more or less grounded ontologically. Selves may experience these forms of rationality without consciously being aware, and therefore they involve the being as a whole. Play, festival and ritual belong to a-historical form of rationality whereas modern science, social sciences and statecraft belong to historical rationality. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Both the terms refer to a compelling altruistic motive that inspires people to foreground community good rather than individual interest. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. The several clans and tribes who began to inhabit the Lushai Hills from 17th to 19th century and at various times owed loose allegiance to neighbouring princely states like Arakan and Burma to the East, Chittagong and Dacca in the South, Tripura and Manipur to the West came to be known as Lushais. They were also known as Kukis and Chins and the Hills east of Burma and north of Dacca themselves got a distinct identity known as Lushai Hills only through the 19th century. See Indrani Chatterji, Slaves, Souls and subjects in a South Asian Borderland. <http://agrarianstudies.macmillan.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/colloqpapers/02chatterjee.pdf> URL [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Many theological dissertations from Mizo theology scholars restrict the event to just one year. But there are references, including documents, that suggest it lasted for four years (See Chanchinbu, 1911) [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Riceour explores the communal form of memory by examining the practices that make possible the formation and transmission of heritage. Using a phenomenological approach, Riceour seeks to understand the close link between remembrance and the creation of a community. In our view, *Puma Zai* is a festival memorialising the past, and the past is about the obligation to respond to a calling and also to revive hope for the future. *Lunglen* is the Lushai term used to refer to ‘pouring out the heart’ and this may have something to do with a need to respond to a past. The conjoining of collective singing, dancing, drinking, and performing ritual together constitutes the pouring out the heart in the celebration of the travelling festival. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. For a difference between the phenomenological understanding of communal memory and formal historical enquiry [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Following Gadamer, it may be argued that the work of art has its own mode of being. It comes from the Aristotlean idea of ‘aphopantic’, where entities are to be studied not in relation to other entities, but in relation to themselves. The essence of songs lies in the singing, and in the singing the song discloses itself. Human beings co-perform the given-ness of entities in this fashion. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Joanna Heath’s Wicket has demonstrated the embodied nature of Christian music in Mizoram through the Wicket of *lengkhawm zai* (a form of community singing). Joanna Heath, *Lengkhawm Zai: A Singing Tradition of Mizo Christianity in Northeast India.* Unpublished thesis, submitted to Durham University, 2012. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Personal interviews with Lalthangfala Sailo and B. Lalthangliana, July 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Reference for ‘‘translation period’’. Personal conversation with Rev. Vanlalchhuanawma, 8th. January, 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Heidegger’s formulation of poetry and poetic being is briefly encapsulated in his remark, “The danger exists, that we [will] set the poetic work within concepts, that we only [will] comb a poem for the philosophical opinions and tenets of the poet, that we [will] piece together Hölderlin’s philosophical system and explain the poetry from such an account” (GA 39: 5). In fact, not only was Hölderlin not supposed to give us a philosophy in waiting, but he was to be the source of the measure for this epoch: “We do not want to measure Hölderlin according to our time, but the opposite: we want to bring ourselves and those to come under the measure of the poet” (GA 39: 4).[..\References for chapter 2nd.docx](../../SUMAN/References%20for%20chapter%202nd.docx) [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Quite a few Mizo theologians, including Joanna Heath, has commented on the introduction of a notational system known as the ‘Solfa’ system. Scholars like Margaret L. Pachuau argue that traditional Mizo music provided a measure of culture following the new calculable yardsticks that the Christian missionary introduced. This Wicket argues that deeply embodied music refuses to be seized with a measurable calculus. For instance, the degree of the involvement of participants celebrating the Puma Festival which led to their self-forgetting cannot be brought under a measurable calculus of meaning. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. In the traditional Lushai cosmology, there were two layers of belief structure. The top layer consisted of an indifferent God ‘Pathian’ who did not interfere in their day-to-day lives. The second layer consisted of both benign and harmful gods and spirits that affected the Lushais’ everyday life and they needed to appease the spirits through rituals and sacrifices. The White missionaries appropriated the first layer of God and it was easy for the people to connect Pathian with Jesus. The second layer of gods and spirits that were capable of good and evil took a beating and withdrew quickly from the scene. In this sense, the asymmetry between the traditional Zo polytheism and the new Protestant monism was worked out and new linearity was established between the first layer of Zo religion and Christianity. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Following a Protestant strategy of reading history, the Lushai intellectuals and evangelists went on to use a scientific method to collect data to write an objective history of a Lushai past. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. According to the neighbouring Burmese Zo region of Thedium, the cosmos is divided into three realms: *vantung, leitung*, and *leinuai*. *Vantung* is the realm above the sky, equivalent to heaven, *leinuai* is the under-world, and *leitung* is the flat surface of the earth, the natural world, which is inhabited. *Khua* is the equivalent of human society in the inhabited world*,* but appears to have deeper meaning. It is used to characterise the atmospheric world, such as *khualum* (warm climate), *khuadam* (cold climate), *khuasia* (rainy), and *khuapha* (good weather). “All these usages,” according to Sing Khaw Khai, “suggests that the idea of *Khua* is related with the atmospheric world or the material world as well as the secular world being spirited with somewhat like cosmic energy” (106). This cosmic energy is therefore deified as *Khuazing* (poeticincarnationof *Khua*)*,* which is considered the controller of the world under heaven. See Pum Khan Pau. “Rethinking Religious Conversion: Missionary endeavor and religious response among the Zo (Chin) of the India-Burma borderland” in *Journal of Religion & Society,* Volume 14, 2012. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. For Gadamer, art stands before the community and community, and itself becomes the hermeneutic creation of the participants who are woven into an event with artwork. However, while the experience of the community supersedes the subjective consciousness of the participants, individual participants grasp the whole of the experience of art into their being in a more or less enduring manner. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Lorrain’s dictionary claims that participation in the celebration of *Puma* *Zai* reached its peak in 1908. Literary sources like Lal Chungnunga and Hrangthiauva think that the new musical composition was composed during the year 1907 in the village Ratu. Elsewhere, Lorrain writes that if not for the famine of 1912, the celebration of the Puma Festival would have continued and caused a threat to the evangelizing efforts of the missionaries. Hence, it is safe to say that the festival rose and fell between the years 1907 and 1911. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. The term for festival in Lushai language is “kut” and the term for an irruptive festival is "kut thleng thut". Occasionally, Mizo Christians have felt the need to express their faith in this charged corporeal form. Dance, songs, music generally accompanied these festivals and everybody participated. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Gadamer suggests that art has a capacity to draw people towards itself and this is similar to a play-like situation, because in a play-like situation, there is no clearly stated purpose or goals. This capacity for art to draw people towards itself in the form of a play results in people beginning to respond to art in a purposeless manner. To play along refers to participate in the play of art like when people tap along when they listen to good music. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Some records suggest that the people who participated were whiling away their time, meaning that they were not productively engaged. This Wicket interprets that the festival time had to be demarcated from ordinary work time where people do their everyday commerce. According to Darhula, the festival suspends ordinary work time and in its place institutes festival time. See Darhula on page 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. The anti- Christian verses read “Lehkhabu keng vai lem chang (Carrying book, imitating foreigners)/ Chanchin hril reng reng, Puma (Always proclaiming something, Puma)”. See Rowena Robinson and Joseph Mariana Kujur, Eds. *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India* (Delhi: Sage, 2010). pp. 171. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Lorrain, the White missionary who compiled the Lushai grammar and dictionary, complained that the Lushai language had too many verbs and less nouns. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Suhas Chatterjee, *Mizo Chiefs and the Chiefdom* (Delhi: MD Publications, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. See Partha Chatterjee’s ‘Nation as a derivative discourse’. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. The Mizos generally use the monosyllable ‘serh’ for ‘sacred’ and a compound word ‘tisa leh khawvel thil’ for ‘secular’. The latter Mizo term refers to bodily and worldly things. When they practiced animism, some of the offerings like the tail of the animal rather than other parts of the animal was considered as divine or ‘serh’. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Gadamer makes a difference between vestiges (tool) and (linguistic) sources for Wicketing history. Vestiges or fragments of the past, like pieces of iconography of past gods, are different from textual or scriptural sources which are mainly linguistically available. For Gadamer, vestiges or fragments allow for an immediate understanding whereas textual sources have to engage with in a philological manner. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. The monotheistic idea of the Christian trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) with its own embedded hierarchy appears to be different from a pre-Christian shamanistic faith where only a mobile wholeness was possible with different spirits reigning the terrestrial and the non-terrestrial world in a benevolent or a malevolent manner. The phrase for ‘divided wholeness’ in Mizo language may read as follows ‘thil pakhata thil tam tak awm’. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. This is one of the most important texts that documented the life and practices of the Lushais. The project of writing grammar and creating dictionaries across South Asia may not have an overarching principle of theory but it is generally agreed that for the first time language as seen as scientific objective Wicket. In this sense Lorrain’s dictionary is no exception. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. J. Meirion Lloyd, *History of the church in Mizoram* (Aizawl: Synod Publication: 1991), pp. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Refer to Darhula’s letter on Page 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Pum Khan Pau. “Rethinking Religious Conversion Missionary Endeavor and Indigenous Response among the Zo (Chin) of the India-Burma Borderland” in *Journal of Religion and Society*, Volume 14, 2012. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Pum Khan Pau “Rethinking Religious Conversion Missionary Endeavor and Indigenous Response among the Zo (Chin) of the India-Burma Borderland” in *Journal of Religion and Society*, Volume 14 (2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. There are instances both in the colonial and postcolonial period where there are discussions about the importance of how the utterances of words incite images or how the act of naming requires an assembling of imagery rather than thoughts. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. J. Meirion Llyod, *History of the Church in Mizoram,* ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Thanks to Eric Maaker for pointing out the term ““Christian literacy”“ which captures both secular and religious education, at the Northeast Conference, Goetinngen University, 2012. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Lawmsanga makes references in Lawmsanga, *A Critical Wicket of Christian Mission with Special Reference to Presbyterian Church of Mizoram,* Unpublished thesis submitted to University of Birmingham, 2010, pp. 98-99 and 179-181; J. Meirion Lloyd, *History of the Church in Mizoram*, ibid., pp. 132-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. In Lawmsanga’s thesis, he points that traditional poetical words were rejected in favour of prose for the composition of Christian hymns, pp. 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Indrani Chatterjee talks about how Bois [*bawis*] were not allowed to keep clan names and therefore they were not able to appease the spirits. Indrani Chatterjee, “Slaves, Souls and Subjects in a South Asian Borderland” <http://agrarianstudies.macmillan.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/colloqpapers/02chatterjee.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Indrani Chatterjee, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Cited in unpublished C. Lalrozami’s Ph. D thesis. This discussion appears sharply in the article which appeared in *Thu leh Hla,* September 2007 written by Zoremthanga. C. Lalrozami “Historical Development of Media in Mizoram: A Cultural Approach”, unpublished thesis submitted in University of Hyderabad, 2012. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. The Dalit intellectual Chandra Bhan Prasad went on to consecrate a temple by deifying the figure of Lord McCaullay, the most hated figure in the narrative of postcolonial theorists, the colonial official who introduced English as the official language and perceived the vernaculars to be as good as dead wood. For a section of Dalit intellectuals, English offered mobility unlike the classical Sanskrit or other modern Indian (vernacular) languages. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. The *bawis* or the bonded labourers were denied proper names, and because they lacked a clan name, they had no power to appease spirits. It looks like that the specialized poetic idiom allowed for the demonstration of the power of the spirits but did not facilitate everyone to perform *Ai* or sacrificial ceremony. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. This term has been used in linguistic anthropology to understand bilingual or multilingual speakers, but we are using it to map the trajectory of the tonal Lushai language without a script to a post-Lushai language possessing a script and the changes that accompany the standardisation of the Lushai language. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Joy Pachuau, *Being Mizo* (Delhi: Oxford University Press,2014) [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Llyod, J. Meirion. *History of the Church in Mizoram,* ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Both Heidegger and Ricoeur emphasize the communal character of memory and its positive work in building human communities. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Gadamer is of the view that the self-presentation of nature and the presentation of art are coeval. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. A Bakhtinian conception of *Puma Zai* may miss out on the sacral dimensions of the experience of the participants if the self-forgetting and the ritual component are not closely attended. While the perceived carnivalesque character may have features closer to Bretton’s Gothic Marxism where the *Zai* takes on the shape of the communicating vessels between the psychic and the material, it is not appropriate to suggest the primacy of either the psychic or the material. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. See Lalrinawmi Ralte, “Doing Tribal Women’s Theology”*, In God’s Image, 19 No. 4*, 2000December 2000. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Many feminist scholars have commented that women poets became fewer with the advent of Christianity. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. In Lawmsanga’s thesis, “A Critical Wicket on Christian mission with special reference to Presbyterian Church of Mizoram”, ibid., Lawmsanga argues that the practice of drinking *Zu* was closely associated with traditional religious beliefs and the insistence of the missionaries to forsake drinking meant that they also exit from the previous faith cultures. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. According to Gadamer, art cannot be reduced to individual subjectivity and art primarily addresses others or invites the participants to play along and play with with the performers collapsing the space between spectacle and spectators. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Many scholars have emphasized “the central role of lyric poetry and song in the transmission of cultural traditions and values” and some have pointed to their importance in indigenising Christianity. {Mangkhosat Kipgen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture: The encounter between Christianity and Zo culture in Mizoram* (Aizawl: The Mizo Theological Conference, 1997)} and Lawmsanga, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. James Scott has not exactly spelt out the technologies of the Zomias self. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. See Khiangte on Liangkhaia in Laltluangliana Khiangte, *Unsung Tribal Pastor & Writer* (Aizawl: LTL Publication, 2011) [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Rev. Liangkhaia, *Mizo Chanchin* (Aizawl: LTL Publications, 2011, first published 1938) pp. 194-195. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Laltluangliana Khiangte, *Thuhlaril-Literary Trends and Mizo Literature* (Aizawl:College Text Book (Mizo) Editorial Board, 1997), pp. 120-121 [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought (*New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. See Joy Pachuau’s perceptive take on the absence of the North East in Mainland Indian academia. Joy Pachuau, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Only a few issues were produced in the early 1990s and it was an abortive attempt [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. See Frederick S. Downs, *History of Christianity in India: North East India in 19th and 20th Century* (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1992) [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. **Lye** is a term that can refer to the liquid obtained by [leaching](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leaching_(chemistry)) ashes [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. It is said that Liangkhaia was one of the young men who were sent on the errand of learning the musical composition and he himself composed many Puma songs, See Khiangte, *Unsung Tribal Pastor & Writer,* ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Laura E Tanner, ““Intimate Geography: The Body, Race and Space in Larsen’s Quicksand*”* in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language, Volume 51, No. 2*, Summer 2009. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. See ‘*Thu leh hla*’ for what constitutes Mizo literature. Postcolonial Mizo literary critics have noted that too much emphasis on literary prose may actually project Mizo literary sensibility in a negative manner. Even today, poetry has precedence over prose and the term *Thu leh hla* actually reads as ‘‘Word and Song.’’ [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. See Dilip Menon on his Bakthinian reading of Theyyam, a festive performance of lower castes. “The moral community of the Teyyattam: Popular Culture in Late Colonial Malabar”in *Studies in History,* 1993. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Hrangthiauva and Lalchungnunga, *Mizo Chanchin* (Aizawl: C. Chhuanvawra, 2011, first published 1978). [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Personal Interview with Lalthangfala Sailo, June 23rd, 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. Lushai chiefs were taken on a tour to Kolkata to witness the richness and variety of the colonial metropolis. Soap to cleanse the body was an important sought after commodity for new converts. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Mangkhosat Kipgen, *Christianity and Mizo Culture: The encounter between Christianity and Zo culture in Mizoram,* ibid. pp. 229. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. See P. Thirumal and C. Lalrozami ‘On the discursive and material context of the first handwritten Lushai newspaper ‘Mizo Chanchin Laishuih’, 1898’ in *Indian Economic Social History Review vol. 47 no. 3*(Delhi: 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Kipgen. *Christianity and Mizo Culture: The encounter between Christianity and Zo culture in Mizoram,* ibid. pp. 229. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. Cited in unpublished C. Lalrozami’s Ph. D thesis, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Personal conversation with the author dated 8th January, 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). Pp. 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Jean Grondin. Cited in Lawrence K. Schmidt “Play, festival and Ritual in Gadamer: On the theme of the immemorial in his later works” in *Language and Linguisticality in Gadamer’s Hermeneutics* (Lanham (Maryland): Lexington Books, 2001), pp 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. A number of sources record the massive defeat which the Lushais suffered after the Second Vailen. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Hrangthiauva & Lal Chungnunga*, Mizo Chanchin” (History & Culture of the Mizo)*, ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. See unpublished tour dairy of R.H. Sneyd- Hutchinson (Superintendent, South Lushai Hills) on 18th January, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Even in the late sixties, it took almost a week to reach Silchar from Aizawl (Personal Interview with Sailo). For an exasperated account of rolling the canons onto the mountains to fight the Lushais in the first Vailen, see T.H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped to Govern India* (Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. The Vais in Lushai language referred to a foreigner and the Whites were treated as Vais before they became ‘Saps’ during the early colonial period. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Some of the tribal revolts against the British in central India including the Birsa Munda offensive against the British may be read as millennial movements. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Vintage, 2010). For Foucault, tradition exemplifies a special temporal status accorded to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical. But the manner in which the phenomena of *Puma Zai* has been interpreted in the previous chapters posits the Mizo tradition as exemplifying continuities and discontinuities and not merely looking at tradition as providing a background of permanence. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Translation by Laldinpuii of Lalthangfala Sailo, *Mizo Nunphung Kohhranin a lo do kha a pawi thui mang e* (*Thu leh Hla,* April, 2015) [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. See Andre Bazin and Hugh Gray, 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image' in *Film Quarterly Vol. 13 No. 4* (California, 1960). [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Joy L. K. Pachuau and Willem van Schendel, *The Camera as Witness: A Social History of Mizoram, Northeast India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Joy L. K. Pachuau and Willem van Schendel, *The Camera as Witness*, *ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. See P. Thirumal and C. Lalrozami 'On the discursive and material context of the first handwritten Lushai newspaper 'Mizo Chanchin Laishuih', 1898' in *Indian Economic Social History Review Vol. 47 No. 3* (Delhi: 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. See Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. See Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008) [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. See T. H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel or How I Helped To Govern India* (Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute, 2005) [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. See Alvin H. Rosenfeld ' "The Being of Language and the Language of Being": Heidegger and Modern Poetics' in *Boundary 2, Vol. 4, No. 2* (Duke University Press, 1976). [↑](#footnote-ref-185)