

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF NORTH-EAST INDIA

Volume I Arunachal Pradesh

H M BAREH

India's North East was long an enigma, veiled in a pale of mystery. Very little was known about the region before the advent of the British in the first half of the 18th century.

India's Independence led to a series of constitutional and political changes in the region with the ultimate formation of states of North-Eastern India i.e. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura having many links and common bonds.

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H.M. BAREH born and brought up at Meghalaya, received his education first at the St. Mary School, then the Government High School, Shillong and Graduated from Jesus and Mary.

He received his M.A. and Ph.D from abroad. His important works are—*The Lepcha Tribe; Culture of Khasi People; The Seven Sisters of North east* etc. He had served on various academic and cultural institutions and organisations.

He contributed several papers at seminars and articles to the journals on different subject—matters such as—social change in north east; Tribal education, economic issues of hill areas, etc.

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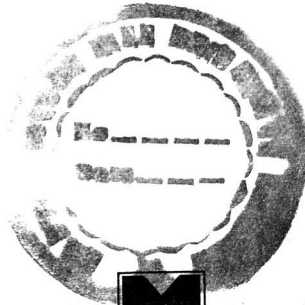
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Arunachal Pradesh

Edited by
H.M. BAREH



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Preface

North Eastern region of India comprising the eight states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura is endowed with vast natural resources and has enormous potential for development. The economic structure of North East India is similar to the general economic structure of India as a whole. But because of its topography as well as social and political conditions it has a relatively backward economy.

The strategic importance of the region along with its sensitive geopolitical location extremely diverse nature of its population with different cultural, linguistic, religious and historical background make this region characteristically different from the rest of the country. In fact its diversity is so profound that the region may be rightly called a 'mini' India. Its topography and historical factors have not only contributed to the heterogeneous character of the region but also prevented the emergence of a homogenous culture. The tribals living in the hills have century old tradition of self-rule and a strong sense of suspicion of the people from the plains, aroused by the latter's superiority complex which generated in them the fear of losing their cultural and linguistic identities. Foreign Christian pseudo-missionaries in the initial stages of independence took full advantage of this situation and succeeded in creating a feeling of alienation and secession among the hill tribes. The awareness

among the people and the forces working in this part of the region along with the emergence of the new states opened new vistas of opportunities to develop and remould their lives.

The region is landlocked and rich in natural resources. Lack of transport and communication facilities has been responsible for the economic backwardness and social neglect of the region. The Council has undertaken a regional survey to study the transport needs of the region for the next fifteen years. The whole country is watching eagerly the developments in the region. The Council has not only to play a pivotal role in making its member units self-reliant but even to justify its institutional viability as well. The Council must also act as a forum for evolving a homogeneous culture in this region which was marked by political rivalry and cultural insularity till recently. In these new roles, the Council must make greater efforts to seek the cooperation and trust of its various units and also endeavour to create a climate of mutual respect, and goodwill among the different sections of the society inhabiting the region. The Council can perform the new role with the attitudinal change in the political forces operating in the region. The trend so far is encouraging and there is need to give due encouragement and correct direction to its efforts. Increased awareness of the changing role of the Council is essential and beneficial for all.

The people of the northeastern region have been provided an opportunity to act as torchbearers in regional planning and cooperation and show the path of self-reliance to the smaller states of the Union. This in itself is a commendable task for which the northeastern region may feel proud.

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Early History of Arunachal Pradesh

History of Arunachal Pradesh goes back to hundreds of years into mists of tradition and myth. Local tradition regards the country around Sadiya as the ancient Vidarbha. Ancient Puranas have many references to the region. Recorded history of Arunachal Pradesh can be traced only when Ahom kings began to rule Assam in the 16th century. The British took possession of in 1838. British government had brought Arunachal Pradesh also under their administrative control. After independence, it was a part of North East Frontier Agency, and later, made a union territory. On 20 February, 1987 Arunachal Pradesh was made a full-fledged state.

Arunachal Pradesh, the land of the rising sun, is situated in the North Eastern tip of India between 26°.28' and 29°.31E' North latitude and 91°.31E and 97°.30'E East longitude. It comprises of mountainous and sub-mountainous portions of the Himalayan system in its eastern extremity covering an area of 83,743 sq km. Its inter-state border with Assam encircles Brahmaputra Valley in the form of an irregular crescent which extends from its periphery in the north bank from Bhalukpong to Sadiya. From Sadiya it turns southward extending over the periphery of the Brahmaputra Valley in the south bank up to the base of Patkoi Hills in the south-east. Its

inter-state border in the south-eastern hills touches Nagaland. Its international border in the western side touches Eastern Bhutan; in the northern side from Kinzemane range in the west to Isu Razzi Pass in the east, it touches Tibet; and in the eastern and south-eastern side, it touches North Burma. Its international border thus extends to 1628 km in length. The High Himalayan ranges with perpetual snow exist along with the Tibetan border in the north. These ranges form the McMahon Line as border line between India and Tibet. These ranges are the source of water sheds of the river system which flows down these ranges and further penetrates into several rivers courses through the hills and valleys of the territory of Arunachal Pradesh.

Arunachal Pradesh is skirted by Bhutan in west, Tibet and, China in north and northeast, Burma in east and Assam in south. It consists of the submontane and mountainous ranges sloping to the plains of Assam. It is the largest state area-wise in northeast region. Mountainous terrain of Arunachal Pradesh is composed of a variety of tribes. Barring only 12 towns, entire area is rural where an overwhelming 94 per cent of its population lives scattered in 3,257 villages grouped under 48 integrated rural development blocks. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people, who by and large, follow a slash and burn method of shifting cultivation called jhum practised on rainbed slopes of forest hills and dales. Cultivators constitute 35.33 per cent of the total population and they represent 72.29 per cent of the total number of workers engaged in different economic activities. About four per cent of the total geographical area was brought under agriculture till August 1987, while forests covered about 62 per cent of the area. Gross cropped area was 2,19,000 hectare, of which 52.52 per cent was under jhum and the rest under permanent cultivation wet-rice and terraced rain-fed cropping. Rice

is the principal crop and other important crops are maize, millet, wheat, pulses, potato, sugarcane and oilseeds. Ecological conditions in Arunachal Pradesh are congenial for the growth of horticulture. Besides pineapple, orange, lemon, lichi, papaya, banana, guava, temperate fruits such as apple, plum, pear, peach, cherries, walnut, almond, etc., are grown in above 1,400 horticulture gardens. Gramsevak Training Centre and Farmers' Training Centre at Pasighat impart training in scientific methods of rural development And agriculture respectively.

The Himalayan Belt right from Kashmir to Arunachal has got geographical and physiographical similarities of its western front with its eastern front in most of the details. The connecting links between the flora and fauna existing in the west and the east can established on the basis of palaeoanthropological studies.

Raikar and Chatterjee refer to the report by the Geological Survey of India, regarding the molar discovery of *Bos. Sp.* from the Ramghat (Simna Parbat) area of Subansiri district. Jaswal points out the connecting link of this vertebrate fossil of Eastern Himalayas with that found from the Pinjor stage in the Western Himalayas. The geological and anthropological studies have further revealed that the upper tertiary rocks exist in the foothills of Arunachal and in continuation with the Siwales. Following the lines of organic evolution Jaswal believes that the presence of primates in Arunachal with their connecting links to those of Siwaliks leads to the fact that the palaeolithic homonids did inhabit this region during the late tertiary and pleistocene times.

We can thus safely come to the conclusion that the early ancestors of human race inhabited this region. The neolithic culture was extended almost in the entire

Arunachal Pradesh. The earliest collection of neoliths is reported from 1870 to 1937 by Steel, Gregory, Healy, Benerjee, Mills and Crace. Most of the artifacts are displayed at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. In the typological details it is believed that the neolithic stage could have started in Arunachal by about 2000 B.C. No more researches have been carried out in this regard but still some pre-historic artifacts found so far give an idea that almost in each district the artifacts have been found Kameng: Two triangular and two shouldered axes, three chisels, ten complete axes and four broken pieces of axes these were traced by N. Sarkar between 1962-64 from Aka area three neolithic celts were collected by M.C. Goswami of Gauhati University in 1965 from Rupa. These collections are now in Anthropology Department, Gauhati University. *Subansiri*: TWO ground axes and one working part of an axe found by D.K. Duarah in 1979 from Damin circle. *Siang* : a rounded butt axe from Tigra (Minyong) in Adi Hills was found by J.P. Mills in 1917 which is now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; one polished chisel found from Bokar area in Siang in 1960, it is now in Central Museum, Shillong; one adze in Padam Adi village was found by R.D. Banarjee in 1925-26.

Dibang Valley : A curvilinear rounded axe was found by Capt. Gregory from Mishmis Hills by the end of 19th century. It is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; one curvilinear faceted tool made of streaked and mottled jadeite was collected by Healy of Geological Survey of India in 1917, probably from Sadiya Frontier, it is also now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; four neoliths, three triangular ground axes and one was bar type polished broken celt, were found in 1969-70 in the excavation at Bhisamak Nagar by Y.A. Raikar. *Lohit* : Three faceted tools, three rounded butt axes and two miscellaneous type long implements were collected in Lohit area by J. H. Crace in 1935, these are now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; one

more curvilinear faceted tool made of dolerite and a rounded butt axe made of gneiss found from Sadiya Frontier Zone, now preserved in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; B.P. Bopardikar in 1969-70 found following artifacts while exploring the Dapha Bhum area in Lohit district.

One unifacial and one biracial choppers were collected from Alubari near Chokham; a broad triangular flake, with one side serrated, from Chamba, a few cleavers, ovates and one neolith chisel from Kale; a proto hand axe, a few cores, flakes and points from Techun; one ovate, cleaver, scraper, flakes and triangular sprayed axes near Glow; a side scraper near Chakhro and one unifacial chopper and a flake from Tawling near Hayuliang. Tirap: A few neoliths made of jade in the village of Namsang Nagas was noticed by E.H. Steel in 1870; one curvilinear faceted tool, three rounded butt axes were collected from Ningru, north of Noa Dihing river by J.P. Mills in 1933, these are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; chips of semi-precious stones like chalcedony, jasper, etc. were collected from Vijayanagar by Y.A. Raikar in 1971. The discovery of these prehistoric artifacts throws some light on the human inhabitation and its co-relation with other neolithic cultures. Raikar refers that unifacial chopper and flake found in the region around Twaling and Hayuliang in the trans-Lohit region are similar to those found in the Kangra Valley of Himachal Pradesh. This indicates the possibility of population migration from the hilly tracts of Himalayan Belt of the west to the east and also the cultural links of the human inhabitation residing in these regions. The migratory routes suggested by several scholars also support this. In ancient times the human being followed the immediate courses through the valleys, mountain passes and rivers courses which were available before him in the topography of the region where he used to

reside. Thus the human population of the Himalayan tracts had migrated from the west to the east through the 'mountain passes, rivers courses and valleys through Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan, and from the east to the west from the south-east Asia and South China through Burmese route over Patkoi and through Hukawang Valley. The megalith culture also throws light on the migration of megalithic culture from the west. The hills of Garo, Khasi, Jaintia, Naga and Manipur have several megalithic sites. However its concentration is not found in Arunachal except for the solitary megalithic site at Jamiri. But still it offers an evidential material of megalithic culture. It further indicates that human race in the iron age flourished in Arunachal Pradesh. Walter Ribon holds that megalithic culture came to India by way of Palestine and Persia in the early iron age, it brounched off in Northern India into two waves: one moving to the south and the other to the east. He upholds the view that megaliths and the *Asura* temples of Monda had a western origin. The culture spread to Assam during the iron age. The Jamiri Megaliths also clear this doubt that Arunachal was not a forbidden land in prehistoric times. It had the experience of the, western cultures to a little extent as compared to that which, flourished in the Assam Valley. The megalithic culture also shows some values closely related to those which the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh possess. Heine Golden traces the origin of megaliths to Mediterranean region and mentions a number of essentials such as the planting of millet and rice; the use of the knife for harvest; taking of rice beer as an alcoholic drink during the rearing of the pigs and buffaloes as cattle for sacrifices. Megaliths are memorials, feasts etc. Wheeler describes about the north east megaliths as, assemblages which have survived amidst living tribal cultures of, unknown antiquity further, north and east, a primary differential lies in the question of usage, for example the megalithsth of tribal

folks of today, are commonly memorials unconnected with graves or burning-grounds. P.C. Chaudhury believes that most of these features are found among the Assam tribes which erect megaliths.

The land had been inhabited by the Mongoloid race. Both the Palaeo-Mongoloid and Tibeto-Mongoloid race seems to have populated this area. The Palaeo-Mongoloid, according to R.C. Majumdar, inhabit Assam and Indo-Burmese frontiers. In Arunachal these may be said to have populated Lohit, Tirap and Siang regions, and Tibeto-Mongoloids must have populated the Kameng region. The ancient Indian literatures like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata also mention about the Mongoloid race in the trans-Himalayan region. They are named as Kiratas. In Mahabharata there is reference about the hill men as Chinas and Kiratas. The king of Pragjyotisha, Bhagadatta, is reported surrounded by the Chinas and the Kiratas in the battle of Kurukshetra (*Sa Kirataisca Chinasoca Vertah Pragiyotish Bhavat*). Chandhury reports that Mongolean affinity and their habitat in the marshy regions and the hills of Assam are also confirmed by *Vishnupurana* and *Kalika Purana*. He believes, therefore, that Kiratas represent an early wave of Mongoleans and might, have settled in the parts of Assam. In the course of migration the admixture of racial character is inevitable. According to Eickstedt the Palaeo-Mongoloids are mixture of races among the Indo-Chinese and Austro-Asiatic populations. He further believes that these covered areas which were occupied by Austronesian groups. Absorption of Austric or Vedded elements by Palaeo-Mongoloid is multifarious interplay of racial types. They pushed on the one hand, to the south of Himalayas and reached Malasia and Indonesia. Therefore, Arunachal Pradesh tribals are the scattered branch of the Palaeo-Mongoloid humanity which in pre-historic times also found its way down Brahmaputra

into the Assam Valley.” While giving an account of the migration, Gait offers following description: “Some three or four thousand years ago a number of tribes of Aryan race entered India from the north west... They almost obliterated the earlier Dravidian type in the Punjab and adjoining parts of north-west India, while further-east and south they produced a mixed race in which the Aryan element diminishes as the distance from the Punjab increases... From the opposite corner of India, through Assam and the Eastern Himalayas, there was a similar influx of tribes of Mongolian origin, whose main physical characteristics are a short head, a broad nose, a flat and comparatively hairless face, a short but muscular figure and a yellow skin. In Assam (excluding the Surma Valley) and North-East Bengal the Dravidians type has to a great extent been replaced by the Mongolian, while in the Surma Valley and the rest of Bengal a mixture of races has taken place in which the recognizable Mongolian element diminishes towards the west and disappears altogether before Bihar is reached.”

The people of Arunachal Pradesh were not ‘unknown’ to the people of the rest of India even in the times of the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The special indication of their situation to the Purav Desha (the East), dividing their existence into three broad divisions in the Himalayan region, is available in the ancient literature: *Upagiris*, the inhabitants of lower shoppes, *Antragiris*, the inhabitants of inner region, and *Vahigiri*, the inhabitants of the outer region touching the trans-Himalayan belt. It is a fact that due to topographical barriers the active flow of cultural values, philosophical ideas, educational prospects and literary activities could not be achieved. They could not imbibe much from the main stream of, Indian culture or any other culture from Tibet or Burma. At the same time they could not contribute much to Indian culture. This

isolation deprived them of the possible advancement on social, cultural and political fronts.

The race populating the region established itself to confined limits of the north-eastern hills and mountains. According to Majumdar, in general as well, the Mongoloids, the Kiratas, touched only the fringes of India in the north and north-east and their influence was local and not of much significance. He further points out that those Kiratas who came in contact with Aryans could imbibe the Indian culture and got benefited. But those who inhabited remote isolated hilly terrain could not come into contact and thereby could maintain their separate identity a little. The classical ancient writers like Periplus calls Kiratas as Kirrhadae and locates them in the hills of Assam and Burma. Plini refers to the trans-Himalayan tribes the inhabitants beyond the Ganges which include Colubae or Koluta of Dibang region, Orxulae who are identified with Abores or Adis of Siang region. The reference to Kiratas is also given by Ptolemy in his geography which is the classical work of 150 A.D. He mentions them as Kirrahadae. The Kolutas inhabited the banks of the Lohita river. They were the Aryans and might have later on developed the admixture of character with Mongoloid stock of Kiratas. Pliny believes Kalitas or their ancestors must have entered India from the west. Chaudhury refers to the viewpoint of K.R. Medhi that Kolutas entered Assam before the Vedic-Aryans, and were non-Vedic Aryans. They were living at the pol hills of Himalayas. They inhabited from Kashmir to Assam and Kalitas were their descendants.

The above facts lead to the conclusion that the Arunachal Pradesh and its human population was not completely isolated from the mainland of Indian culture and society. Its connecting link cannot be ignored with the cultures of Brahmaputra Valley, the Gangetic region and the Siwalik hills, pleistocene neolithic period, iron

age, the prevedic Aryans period, the Aryan period and the Great Epic periods of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The archaeological researches in Arunachal Pradesh are still in a juvenile stage. Further explorations may definitely provide more material evidences in this respect.

Mythological stories

Arunachal Pradesh is also full of myths like the other parts of India. The curiosity of human being to have mythical knowledge about the origin of the world, of himself, of the sun and the moon etc. leads him to frame some stories about all these to satisfy himself. Most of the myths are based upon his experience of the world around. There may be the elements of fiction in projecting the myths.

The myths of Arunachal Pradesh are the treasure houses of the creative art of imagination or its tribal people. These myths touch a varied nature of subjects which are expressed in a delightful manner with a suitable decoration with fictions. Elwin Verrier believes that most of the myths are original and the common motifs of Indian folklores are absent but some myths show the traces of the great epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. He also points out the common motif in the myths in other parts of India and those of Arunachal: on the original *primaeva* ocean out of which the world was formed, the earthquakes caused by the great animal which carries the world on its horns, lightning as the pursuit of a girl by an unwanted lover, traditions of land of women, of opium as the re-incarnation of a girl whom nobody loved in the life time, the fox woman, the trickster cycle and the monkeys being human beings who lost their status through idleness, or break of a taboo. The *sagarmanthan*, the churning of the ocean, by the suras (the gods), and the

asuras (the demons), is a very famous Hindu myth in the Upanishads. Through the process of churning several articles were produced. There are several such, myths in the Upanishads.

Elwin Verrier also mentions that some of the Arunachal myths reflect the creation of the world and its material components by sacrifice or the transformation of some great personage into the world. This idea echoes the famous *Purusha Sukta* in the Riga Veda. According to the Hindu belief, the Purusha in its cosmic existence is the Brahma. The creation of the Universe is in the charge of Brahma. The Purusha in the form of Brahma sacrifices himself for the material creation of the world. From his different body parts are generated the objects of the Universe: the air, the water, the fire, the sun, the moon, the earth, the sky, the men, the cattle, the birds, the animals of the oceans and waters, the plants and so on. The Purusha is the sacrificial object in creation of the temples. On the site for the temple, the Purusha as Yajmana offers himself to be sacrificed on the square plan. From this sacrificed body emerges the Brahma in the centre and other gods in the periphery. Ultimately the temple top carries the pinnacle with flag. This signifies that the Purusha, the devotee, the *Bhagta*, after the solemn sacrifice has transformed himself into Brahma and he goes to the Brahmanda, the cosmos, as a triumphant being, the entire worth of him transformed into Brahma is ultimately transmitted into the cosmos.

The mythological story of the Lohita river is the famous myth of Arunachal Pradesh, found in the holy scriptures of Hindus. Santanu Rishi alongwith his wife Amogha went to the Himalayas for meditation. They established their hermitage on the banks of the Mansarovar lake. Once Santanu had gone out for a walk in the nearby area round the lake. The Brahma appeared to his wife in his four-headed figure. He was attracted by

the beauty of Amogha and wanted to embrace her. She got frightened, considering the unusual figure as a demon. She immediately went inside the hermitage and closed the door so that the demon could not enter inside. On the other hand, Brahma had reached the climax of his excitement of eroticism. He however did not force his way inside the hermitage, but before he decided to go back, the drops of his semen, *Brhma Bija*, fell on the ground. When Santanu came back to the hermitage, his wife told him about the appearance of the four-headed demon. *Santanu repented* on the innocence of his wife and told her that she had seen Lord Brahma. Santanu had no child from Amogha. He had the strong belief that Brahma had visited his wife to bestow her with *Putrabar* (blessings for the birth of a son) but she could not recognise him. He went around to find the Lord but was disappointed when he could not find him anywhere. At last he could trace the spot where Brahma had stood, a glittering object was seen by Santanu there. It was in fact the Brahma Bija (the seed of Brahma). Shantanu could understand its value and requested his wife to swallow it. She obeyed her husband, and in due course became pregnant.

Santanu was the devotee of Brahma. He did not like his wife Amogha to give birth to anything in the form of a mortal child. So on birth, instead of a child, the river Lohita (red river) was born. The waters of the Lohita collected in a pool at the spot where it was discharged. The pool was named as Brahmakunda. Santanu was happy with the *putrabar*, blessed with the son, and considered Lohita as Brahmaputra (born of Brahma) and promised Lohita that one of his (Santanu's) descendants would visit him and set him free from the reservoir. In course of time Vashishtha visited Sandhyachala hill. He got himself engaged in Performing penances to Shiva on the hill. Ugarataralaid her hands on the saint with an

intention to disturb him from his meditation. The objective behind this act was to expel Vashishtha from, Kamrupa. The-Rishi became violent on this and pronounced a curse on Ugratara and Shiva with the *abhishap* that Kamrupa might experience deluge. To make the curse effective. Brahma caused the descent of the river Brahmaputra from the pool. It so happened that Parshurama, the son of Jamdagni Rishi, happened to visit the pool. He released the discharge of the Lohita from the pool by the stroke of his mighty axe. The Brahmaputra thus discharged out of the pool in deluge over the entire Kamrupa. It washed off all the sacred places, temples and *Tirthas* en route and further made its way into the sea. The devotees thus happened to make a dip in the river Brahmaputra only, in considering the river as the *Mahatirtha*, the most sacred place.

As mentioned above, the Lohita was enclosed in a pool called Brahmakund. Rishi Jamdagni fought for the social cause and challenged the oppression of the Kashatrya kings. But some nobles conspired against him in such a way that a doubt of his wife Renuka was falsely projected in the society. To keep the respect for the social laws Jamdagni asked his son Parshurama to behead his mother Renuka with a blow of his axe. Parshurama obeyed the orders of his illustrious father and thus committed the act of matricide. But after this undesirable act he felt extremely disturbed internally. Rishi Jamdagni advised him to visit holy places in India. Parshurama followed the advice of his father and visited all holy places in India. At last he reached Brahma Kunda. There he meditated near the *kunda* and took his holy bath in the water. After bath he felt a kind of mental peace. The axe which has stuck to his hand as a result of the curse of the matricide, came off his hand and dropped into the pool. He also felt to discharge the water of the *kunda* from the chains of the hard rocks. Thus he

made the way with the strokes of his mighty axe, for the Lohita water to discharge out. The discharged water flowed down as Bramaputra river into the Kamrupa, and down further mingled with the waters of the oceans.

Shivaite influence of phallic worship was not only prevalent in the subhills bordering Brahmaputra valley but also found in the remote areas of Tawang as well. Neeru Nanda mentions a folk tale on phallic worship. The head of the nunnery of a Gompa has achieved perfection in her profession of worship and puja. She was given a phallus gift by the lord. The phallus possessed magical qualities. The nun used to keep it inside a small box. Whenever' she felt sexual desire she opened the box and the phallus came out of the box and entered into her to satisfy her completely, after that it got out itself and re-entered into the box. The box alongwith the phallus used to be worshiped and carried alongwith her on her journey. Once it so happened that she attended some puja in a village but could not carry the box alongwith her. At night when she felt the need of the phallus then she could realise that the box was not with her. She immediately deputed some nun to bring it to her from her apartment in the nunnery. The young virgin nun reached the apartment and found the box there. She had been however strictly instructed not to open the box at all, but due to curiosity she just opened the box. The phallus lashed out with violent force and entered into the virgin girl screwing her badly. It could leave her only after the nun sighed deeply.

Almost on the similar motif the folk tale is very common in Kulu, Lahul and Spiti, Uttar Kashi and Garhwal areas of Himachal and Uttar Pradesh Hills, in the western Himalayan tracts. The phallic worship was prominently spread in the western Himalayas and its influence must have been in Tawang area of Arunachal as well. Apart from the above erotic folk tale the phallic

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symbol is still installed alongwith the first beam of the roof of the Monpa house even today. This is considered auspicious and no house can be built without it.

Krishna frequently appears in Assam mythology. In Bhagavat there is mention of King Bhishmak who ruled Vidarbha, a country round Sadiya. The remains of Bhishmak Nagar are still present in Arunachal Pradesh near Roing in Dibang Valley district. Bhismak had five sons and one daughter named Rukmini. The daughter was very beautiful. The king had already promised Sisupaul, a neighbouring Raja, to give his daughter to him in marriage. Krishna happened to visit the area of the nearby kingdom. He had heard about the beauty and charm of Rukmini. In fact Krishna was the hero of the time. Rukmini also had heard a lot about him. Therefore she liked Krishna in her heart and wanted to be his wife. But, on the other hand, her marriage date had been fixed with Sishupaul. She secretly sent the news about fixation of her marriage date with Sisupaul and her desire to marry Krishna. On getting the news Krishna decided to take her on her marriage day. On the marriage day he appeared in the *darbar* of king Bhismak and suddenly carried her off in his chariot. The princes who had gathered at the marriage of the princess followed Krishna to get back her from his custody but they were defeated. Krishna reached Kundini alongwith Rukmini and the marriage between the two was solemnized there with great pomp and show.

Malinithan is a place in Siang district at Likabali, just on the hillock, overlooking the Brahmaputra river. In ancient time it was the abode of Lord Shiva and his consort Parvati. Lord Krishna while going back to Dwarka with his newly wedded wife Rukmini, visited this place. In the grove they rested for a while. When Parvati came to know about the arrival of Krishna and Rukmini, she came to them and offered garlands of

flowers to the couple. Lord Krishna however could not recognise Parvati but gladly accepted the garland. He addressed her as Malini, the flower girl. Later on the abode of Shiva-Parvati was also known with the name of Lord Krishna's auspicious utterance, Malini—as Malini than. In the 10th to 12th century A.D. when the architectural activities in Kamrupa developed the devotee kings established a big temple with several Hindu icons. Perhaps during some earthquakes the entire structural complex at Malinithan was destroyed and dashed to the ground. But the stone icons are still available in the ruins.

There are several myths attached to the visit of Padamasambhava to the Monpas and Sherdukpens lands in Arunachal Pradesh. It is a fact that he visited Tibet in 747 A.D. He was known for the occult science at the Buddhist University at Nalanda. He went to Tibet on the invitation of Tibetan King This Rong Detsen. He was a great *tantric* saint and showed his worth in this line in Tibet as well. There he is known as Lopen Pema Jungne (the Lotus born Guru). The Monpas and the Sherdukpens believed that he had travelled extensively in their lands and preached Buddhism. The legends date back to eighth century A.D. In the Monpa area there are seven such places where his visits are believed.

Taktsang: the stone images inside the cave are said to be divinely created, the marks of his foot prints and that of his horse are believed to be on the floor; *Jiktsang*: it is believed that the Guru while meditating was attended by a leopard; *Sarong*: the raaster is said to have taken rest on the rock with the holy scriptures in front, when he got up he pressed his hands on the rock, the impressions are still there; *Baggajang*: there is a lake, the place is considered to be mysterious, the master is reported to have visited here; *Terma Bumgan*: is a village where the Guru left his foot prints and impression of his hat, hands and skull-bowl of a rock; *Bisha*: here also the marks of his

feet, hands, knees, hat staff and skull-bowl are said to be imprinted on the rock; Komefuk: is on the right bank of the Tawangchu river, there is a cave with a small opening, the Guru used to meditate there and is said to have killed a snake, the prints of the snake track and Guru's seat impression on the rock are still there.

Sherdukpens believe nine such places in Kameng area:

Jambring, a rock near Rupa bears the impression of his body; Khang Gisih, is about three miles from Rupa where one stone like Sherdukpen shoe is believed to be the shoe of the Guru; Flujima, in the rock the pug marks of a dog are believed to be those of the dog which was with the Guru when he visited the place; Machulu, near Rupa where the foot prints of the master and pug marks of his dog are believed to be on the rock; Chapit, there the impression of the hand of the master is believed imprinted on the rock; Jakhung, there the stone shaped like a Sherdukpen shoe is believed to be that of Master's Pemaleso, is in the foothill at the place where the stream Dojibuti flows, there on the stone is carved a lotus which is said to have appeared miraculously when the master visited the place; Chaksung, is near Rupa towards Jigaon, here the master meditated; Shra-ha-Noma, it is about three miles from Rupa, here an evil spirit obstructed Master's way in the form of a wild goat, the master is believed to have hit the on its head.

Before the visit of the Guru the Monpas and Sherdukpens used to have a strong belief in evil spirits. All the high mountains and rocks they believed were the abodes of the strong demons. But Padamasambhava through his mystic powers, magic spells and Tantric incantations, destroyed most of the evil spirits and some of them were subjugated to be Buddhist sect.

The Membas narrate their myth that Drasema, the mother goddess, was first of all alone in the world of Membas. Later on a monkey god named

Tenjangchusempa came from the holy land of Rishis, from the main land of India. His Guru has sent him for meditation in trans-Himalayas. When he was meditating on: a mountain ridge, the mother goddess, Drasema appeared before him. When he opened his eyes, she first asked for food. He offered her some fruits and roots collected from the forest. After eating the food she proposed herself to be his wife, but he declined as he was not allowed to marry. The goddess insisted upon him and told him that otherwise she would not leave the place. At last he requested her to wait, he would go to his Guru to seek permission. He flew to his Guru and narrated about the entire episode, however the Guru granted him permission for the marriage in a special case to have human beings in that particular Himalayan region. Tenjangchusempa returned back and married Drasema. In due course the couple had children as well. But they were born with hair on their bodies. All of them used to feed on the fruits and roots collected from the forest. But after some years they felt scarcity of food. Tenjangchusempa again went to his Guru to ask for the solution to overcome the food scarcity. The Guru offered him some seeds of rice, barley and wheat. He sprinkled over these seeds on the slopes of the hills in the, Himalayan region. In due course the slopes of the hills were full of crops. He, his wife and the children harvested the crop. There was now sufficient food with them to feed on.

In the next season again they cultivated their crops and so on the cycle went on. Their children had further their offsprings and thus generation after generation the human beings evolved from those particular ancestors; the monkey race. The Membas still regard the monkeys and don't eat their flesh. This story was narrated to the author by Pema Tchewang and Dorji Dekpa at Tuting.

In Arunachal Pradesh there are different tribes and each tribe has got its own mythology regarding the creation of the world and other objects. Elwin Verrier has mentioned several such myths in his book. A few tribal myths about the creation of the world are also briefly described below.

Apatanis believe that the earth, Kujum-Chantu, was a huge creature in the form of a human being with head, arms, legs and big belly in which the human beings were accommodated. For the sake of the lives of the inhabitants in her body, Kujum-Chantu sacrificed herself and from her body parts were generated the different things: her head transformed into snow covered mountains; the bones became the smaller hills; the neck turned to be the country of Tagins, the buttocks formed the Assam plain; the chest formed the valley inhabited by Apatanis; the eyes changed into the sun and the moon; and from the mouth was born Kujum-Popi, who made the sun and the moon to go to the sky and shine there.

According to Bori myth, there was nothing except water on this earth. Then Poling and Tering made their appearance separately in the water in the form of a mithun and an elephant respectively. They met each other somewhere in the waters and each tried to kill the other. In the fight both the creatures died. Their death proved to be a sacrifice for the cause of the creation of the world. Tering's dead body contributed: for earth from his flesh; for trees from his bones; and for grass from his hair. On the other hand, Poling's dead body contributed for rocks from his bones and mountains from his flesh. He made hills and vales and caused rivers to flow down the hills through the valleys.

Bugun or Khowa tribe folktale mentions that there was no earth and sky. Zongma, a great creature, had two sons: Nipu and Nili, who were without any form-human or animal. After some years Nili made the earth and

Nipu made the sky as lid above the earth. But the lid was shorter in size than the earth below. Nipu requested his brother Nili to make the size of the earth shorter. Nili accordingly worked on and curtailed the size of the earth to be suitable for the sky. The heaps of the soil turned into mountains.

Dhammai or Miji tribes believe that at first there was no place like earth or sky, Shuzanghu and his wife Zumiang-Nui lived just hanging in the hollow space. Once both happened to come together and as a result of their union Subhu-Khai-Thung, the earth, and Jongsuli-Young-Jongbu, the sky, were born. Since there was no place to rest, the children fell down and were engulfed by Phangnalomang, the big worm. Next time Zumiang-Nui requested her husband to make proper place and security for her child to be delivered by her. Shuzanghu made a proper place and set a trap for the enemies. When the child was delivered by Zumiang-Nui there was a proper place for the newly born child, Phangnalomang came to swallow the child but was caught in the trap. Shuzanghu in anger split the body of the worm and to his surprise the two children engulfed by the worm were still alive in the belly. Thus the earth and the sky appeared. Both now lived together as husband and wife. They produced a son Subjang-Gnoi-Rise and daughter, Jubbu-Jang-Sangne. Both the children were the gods in the shape of mountains. The earth and the sky again mated and gave birth to a boy, Lujjuphu, and a girl named Jassuju. Both had the form of frogs. At maturity the frogs mated and gave birth to a son, Abugupham-Bumo and a girl Anoi-Diggan-Juje, the children were in human form but covered with hair. They also married each other and had three sons: Lubu Khanlung, Sangsodungso and Kimbu-Sangtung.

The Gallongs myth is described with following narration. In early times Puk and his wife Yuk lived

together in the sky. The earth below was covered with water and there were only two creatures, the prawn and the crab. The prawn collected the rubbish, leaves, grasses and bits of wood that were floating on the water surface. The crab dug a deep pit on the earth's surface. The water entered into the pit and the surface of the earth was thus got exposed. The rubbish etc. collected by the prawn was raised into several heaps here and there which turned into the mountains. The heat of the sun and the moon dried up the earth but was not having any tree and grass. Puk and Yuk saw the earth from above but were disappointed that it had become dry and without greenery. Yuk pulled up her cane-girdle and exposed her body parts underneath. Her bright thighs and round hips flashed like lightning across the sky. Puk on the other hand beat his pipe and made the sound of thunder. This resulted into rainfall. The earth was quenched of its thirst for water. The trees and grass started growing on the surface of the earth.

The Hill Miris myth describes the creation of the world as under. There was only water around in the beginning. Later on a tree called Teri-Ramula grew in water. At a later stage a worm was born on the tree. It used to host on the wood of the tree trunk for its food. The powdery dust of the wood fell into the water. Its accumulation in water formed the world. The tree ultimately died and fell on the ground. It further sacrificed itself in framing the skin of the earth and the sky: its bark on the lower side transformed into the skin of the earth; the bark on the upper side changed into the skin of the sky; the trunk formed the hard rock and the branches turned into hills.

Hrusso or Akas believed that in the beginning there was no trace of the earth and the sky. Only two great eggs were there. They were not ordinary eggs but shone with a golden hue. They were in fact the cosmic eggs

always rotating around. Once it so happened that both these eggs collided with each other and each got broken. As a result of their breakage the Earth came from the one and the sky from the other. Both the Earth, and the Sky got married. The Earth was bigger in size than her husband, the Sky. So the Sky requested the Earth to be appropriate in size. The Earth thus shrunked herself and the wrinkles appeared on her which were formed into the mountains and the valleys. Now the Sky was able to go to her in love. With the union of the Earth and the Sky, they begetted different kinds of trees, grasses, animals and plants (Hutton refers to a similar kind of myth prevalent among the Angami Nagas). Another myth on the similar motif is also common among the Bugun (Khowa) tribe, as referred in the preceding paragraphs.

Khamptis tribe has the belief that there was only water around in the beginning. Phra (God) wanted to have the world with human beings, flora and fauna. So he placed some soil on the back of a fish. A female was ordered to give birth to an egg on the soil. After the egg was laid on the soil Phra cut it into equal halves. One half was placed on the soil to form the earth and another he fixed over the peak of a mountain, constructed by him for the purpose to form the sky. On the earth grew the tree. From the tree grew a flower it was a cosmic flower having special qualities. From the flower was born a pair of human beings, one male and one female. And further from the union of the male and the female were generated other human beings on the earth.

Minyongs narrate their myth with following motif. In the beginning there was nothing on the earth but water and water all around. In the water there were rocks only. These rocks were like living beings and could roam about with their soft texture. From these rocks was born Eling-Litung-Tune, the female rock and from her

was born another female rock Peddong-Nane. She was the most beautiful among all. When she grew young she felt ashamed of herself as she was mother-naked. At once she got married with Eling-Limuk-Muktum and had their first child as fish, then the big frog, then little frog Etut-Tigling, then the land frog and at last an insect Kungung-Pangam which lives in water. Peddong-Nane then left her husband and went to the sky village Engo-Takar where she married Karba-Bojong. She gave birth to children like Ninur-Botte, Lomang-Botte, Doini-Nibu and Darro-Rabbo. She died after giving birth to them. Doini-Nibu and Durro-Rabbo collected millet and poured water over it which caused clouds and from the clouds was born Polung-Sabbo, the Mithun. A Kebang, the conference, was held to decide about the formation of the earth. The problem was of drying the water. Polung-Sabbo volunteered himself for the task. He dug a big pit with his horns, the entire water got drained into it and the dry earth appeared.

The Mishmi myth narrates that, there was only water in the world around, at its beginning. The god called Techimdum used to live below the water. He created a great pillar out of the mud. Ants swarmed round it and carried the pillar to the top at the surface of the water. There they spread the earth carried from below. After some time the earth spread all over the surface of the water. Then two gods Drakob and Daiyunga appeared and levelled the earth. They also made a high mountain called Riug-Lembum (the land of the sun). The Lohit river flowed from this mountain. The river was blocked by the rocks forming a lake, the crab cut a channel, the water of the lake gushed out and caused a great flood. In the flood everything was washed away except a man and his sister on the top of a hill. Seeing them in a pitiable condition god Drakob rubbed the bits of wood together and produced fire. He set fire

to the forest. With the heat of the fire the water got dried up. Since there was no one also alive, therefore, the brother and the sister mated to have some children. They all followed along the valley of the Lohita river to find a suitable land for their settlement. At last they could find a suitable land. The seeds were brought from Ring-Lembum. These were sown in the land. The trees and forests thus grew from these seeds over the land.

Noctes believe that the earth in the beginning was covered with water. Only a snake called Pu used to live in the water. With the passage of the time the water sank down and the earth appeared with mud all around. The snake moved over it, the track so formed became the valley through which the rivers could flow. Some parts became hills. Joban, the god, was living in the sky. On the earth lived only spirits but no human beings. Another god, Yang, was also in the sky. His beautiful daughter was married by one of the spirits on the earth. She was brought on the earth after the marriage. She bore children by the spirit, and these further became the first human beings on the earth. They used to live in the caves. They made fire by rubbing bamboo together.

It is very difficult to construct the history of Arunachal Pradesh in strict chronological order. The material evidences on the bases of the ruins of forts, temples, Pukharis, monasteries, art pieces, manuscripts, icons etc. are very little. The material evidences from sites/remains are generally available on the foothills bordering the Brahmaputra Valley and the frontiers bordering Tibet. The central core which has concentration of different tribes, does not provide any detail of material evidences. So no history can be formulated about this central area reflecting the ancient times in chronological order. However, after the British expeditions to the area, the recorded history can be formulated. There is some available material which throws light on the history of

Arunachal and reveals the cultural, social and religious impact on the region. This impact injected the socio-cultural and socio-religious transformation in Arunachal. We find that the myths, beliefs, art, culture and traditions are no doubt primitive, pure, unexploited, unpolluted and unique, but at the same time these have the original flavour which the Arunachal culture contributed to the composite, culture of India.

During the 10th century A.D. onward the Brahmaputra Valley experienced the development in art and culture. Several sites of ruins in the valley are the sources of material evidences. The expansion of art and culture also extended to the foot hills of Arunachal Pradesh, skirting the valley. It may be pointed out here that when such expansion of the activities of art and culture take place, the patrons as King or devotees or as social institutions patronise to promote these activities on such sites which have some historic importance or mythological prominence. Such places like Parshuram Kunda (on the Lohita River), Bishmak Nagar, Rukmini Nagar and Malinithan in Arunachal are connected prominently with the Indian mythology. The patrons must have desired to construct some temples or monuments at these sites to highlight the mythological themes of a particular myth. The style of art and architecture reflected from the temples and monuments provide an evidence of its link with the style which was prevailing during the period in Brahmaputra Valley.

Gait mentions about Hiuen Tsiang visit to Kamrupa during the period of Kumar Bhaskar Varma, the contemporary king of Harsha Vardhana (606 to 648 A.D.) Hiuen Tsiang makes a mention about the frontier hills in his travelogue, "On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills, so that there is no great city to the kingdom. The frontiers are contiguous to the barbarians of the south-west of China. These tribes are in fact akin to those

of the Man people (i.e. the south-west barbarians) in their customs.

The sculptures at Malinithan relate to Hindu Iconographic school which flourished in Kamrupa country in 10th to 12th century A.D. The period was in fact at the climax of temple art and architecture in the region. Its influence touched the foothills of Arunachal as well. The icons are of varied varieties with principal Hindu gods, goddesses, Shivaite icons, Apsaras, ornamental motifs, erotic designs of Tantric cult. The Tantric element is distinctively reflected in the temple art.

The Pal Kings, Brahmapala (985-1000 A.D.) and Dharmapala (1090-1115 A.D.), of Kamrupa patronised the Tantric cult in their kingdom. The resemblance of the iconometry and temple architecture is exactly like that found at Tezpur. The temple art and architecture with its treasure house of varied icons at Malinithan must be the proliferation of that particular art and architectural style of Kamrupa, in the foothills of Siang area in Arunachal.

Bhalukpung fort as described by B.C. Allen was situated on a hill 300 ft. high, overlooking the Kameng river. No remains of the fort are found today. Gait writes that Ban Raja was the king of Sonitpur, the present Tezpur, his daughter Usha was married with Anirudha, Lord Krishna's grandson, according to Gandharva ceremony. A battle is reported to have been fought between Ban and Krishna. Ban was defeated. Bhaluka was the grandson of Ban Raja who made his capital and Bhalukpung not far from Balipara, at the foot of the Aka hills, where the remains of old fortifications are still visible. The Akas are said to claim this prince as their progenitor; and it is, perhaps, not impossible that they are the remains of a people who once ruled in the plains and were driven into the hills by some more powerful tribes." It is however not confirmed that the fort must

have been constructed by Bhalukraja. Some scholars believe that it must have been built during Sala Satambha dynasty between 7th to 9th A.D. or might be built during the Pala dynasty between 10th to 12th century A.D.

The lower Dibang Valley remains at different sites around Roing throw light on the cultural expansion to the Mishmi foothills beyond Sadiya. As reported in Bhagvata about the visit of Krishna to Bhishmak Nagar and elopement of Rukmini with him, may be the fact of the epic times, and the revival of forts, Nats and Hinduite names of these sites must be devotional factors when the Aryanised kings ruled round these places. The period of lower Dibang Valley culture is attributed to 10th to 16th century A.D. based on material like bricks etc. The square, rectangular and V-shaped Pukharis are seen in these areas extensively at Jeng, Kangi, Kampo, Eyom, Rukmini Nagar, Chidu, Chamri, Koronu and Jia. At these places the wheel turned pottery and terracotta art is related to 13th Century Chutiya dynasty. The brick and Other pottery etc. found at different sites are identical with those found at Bhishmak Nagar. The fort at Bhishmak Nagar thus must have been built between 14th to 15th century A.D. On the basis of the palaeography of the brick-tiles from Bhishmak Nagar also, it is assigned to the 15th or 16th century A.D. Two combatant tigers on one side and two elephants facing each other on the other side are depicted alongwith inscription around the animal motifs with expression like Japata, Sri Lakshminarayanan (repeat the names of Lakshmi and Narayana). During 15-16th century A.D. there was Krishnavaita influence in Assam. This had the impact in the far cast beyond Sadiya as well.

The lower Lohit region culture has a significant role in establishing the Hinduite influence in the foothills. The mythological connection of Brammaputra river with Brahma and existence of Brahma Kunda in the eastern tip

of foothills must have been the perennial source of inspiration for the Hindu devotees. The importance of Brahma Kunda continued from the ancient times and attracted Parshurama to visit the site. After his visit the site must have become more prominent and sacred place. This resultantly introduced the proliferation of Tantric and Shivaite temples in the region. Parshuram Kunda is not very far from Bishmak Nagar, rather both sites are on the similar peripheral line of the Brahmaputra valley towards the lower slopes of the Mishmi Hills.

The inscription of Tamresvari temple of 1442 A.D. is the evidence of the period of temple construction, "Payatamresvari (Dikhara Vasini), Temple inscription of Mukta Dharmanarayana dated Saka 1364" The temple must have been built by Muktadharm Narayana of Chutiya dynasty. The practice of human sacrifice by the tribals turned Hindus shows the Tantric cult which was adopted by tribals when they came into the fold of Hinduism.

There was a Shiva temple nearby the present Teju in Hazuhill. Now only the bricks are available. The phallic which once belonged to the temple is now installed in the recently constructed Shiva temple at Tezu. The old temple is ascribed to the 15th century A.D. This shows the influence of Tantric and Shivaite cults.

The Sadiya Stone-Pillar inscription reveals the relation between Ahom Kingdom and the Mishmis in Lohit region. The stone-pillar was installed at Sadiya Maidan. Its height is 11 and base 15" x 15" square. The entire structure is shaped into an octagonal. It has vase capital and serpent-entwined thereon. The entire block is sculptured from a single block stone. It was erected, by Ahom in 15th century A.D. The inscription on it is translated as under "I, the Dihingia Bara Gohain do engrave on the, stone pillar and the copper plate these

writings (with the strength of which) the Mishmis are to dwell on the hills near the Dibang River with their families, children, attendants and followers. They will occupy all the hills. They will give four basketful of poison and other things as tribute and keep watch on the body of the fat Gohain (Sadiya Khowa Gohain). If anybody happens to be in possession of and wishes to remain on all sides (of the hills), lie is prohibited from encroachment. If any body would dwell by the side of the hills, he would surely become a slave (of the Mishmis)".

The remains of the Mud Fort near Tezu on Sadiya-Tezu route reveals the fact that the area must be politically very active, the hotbed for supremacy of different kings. Since the socio-religious and socio-cultural activities could be ascertained from the active involvement of art and architectural activities, this resulted into the concentration of several activities and also the political stability was felt essential, the fortifications were thus established, of which Mud Fort is the evidence.

The ruins of Ita Fort, at present Itanagar, the capital of Arunachal Pradesh, show that on the hill ridges some powerful king had established his capital in the old times. As compared to the other sites, Itanagar must be most strategic, safe and geographically stable as it is not in the vicinity of any big river. There are different views regarding the kings who have built it. Some believe that it was constructed by king Arimatta, the son of king Ramchandra of Mayapur. The kingdom of Mayapur extended from Bhalukpong to Majuli. According to the Gharmor Satra of Northlakhimpur king Jhalo was the king of Kalyanpura, the present Itanagar. His younger queen named Harmati was separately kept at a place at the present Harmati. Her son Mijhi later killed his father and also committed suicide. Mayapur was destroyed in

the earthquake. The materials like bricks, stone designs, metal pieces and pottery reveal that these are identical with the medieval material of Assam. The construction of fort therefore must have been done between 1350 to 1450 A.D. by some Kamata kings as a result of the pressure of Ahoms in the eastern zone and Muslim invaders from the west.

In Tawang and Zimithang area the Bon religion was prevalent in the ancient times. It was a sort of animistic religion also widely spread in Tibet. Bon religion was replaced by Buddhism by the efforts of Guru Padama Sambhava, Lupon Rimpoche. He is said to have visited Tawang in the 8th century via the traditional route through Bumla Pass. He established two thrones on Indian soil in Tawang area: one at Bangajanga and other at Takstang. Further two more shrines were established in Tibet, namely at Karpotsang and Domzang. He is also reported to have visited Chan-Chang-Maphy and Thangabe which are mysterious places and are situated at heights not less than 1500 ft. Now there are Gompas established on both these high peaks.

Gorcham Chorten of Kharmin village was constructed by Lama Pradur in Zimithang circle in 16th century. The existence of the Gompa shows that the Buddhist influence also spread to the remote Zimithang area of Arunachal. The Buddhist influence is further identified prominently on the southern slopes of the Himalayas by the existence of several Gompas almost in each village in the entire land of Monpas and Sherdukpens. Guru Padama Sambhava had extensively travelled in 'this area as evidenced by the material, the sites and Gompas etc. established on such places in memory of the Guru (the name of the places, sites and material already described under Padama Sambhava, the mythological stories).

After the Bon Religion was replaced, the Red Sect, Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism spread in Tawang and Bhutan area. Lama Sherbum established Red Sect Gumpa at Urgyeling, Sangeling and Tsorgeling. The Yellow Sect, the Gelugpa, in Tawang was started by Thangston Gyalpo (1385-1462 A.D.) a Lama from Tibet. He was associated with the First Dalai Lama Gedun Drub (1391-1475 A.D.). Then Tampei Dronme became the Lama who had his teachings in Tibet. He was deputed by the second Dalai Lama Gedun Gyatso (1475-1543 A.D.) to Tawang area to propagate Gelugpa sect. Tanpei Dronmi thus established Gompas at Barkar, Ariakdhun, Lhangaten, Sanglamphe, Tadung, Taidung, Surchung, and Tahing. Thereafter his fourth incarnation was Lodre Gyatso who was educated at Lhasa. With the blessings of 5th Dalai Lama, Nagmang Lobjang Gyatso. Lama Lodre, popularly known as Mehra Lama, established the Tawang Monastery. The exact date of the construction is not available. Ram Rahul gives its construction year 1680 and Niranjan Sarkar gives the year of construction somewhere between 1643 and 1647. The Tawang Monastery houses a big library of holy books. The manuscripts called the Kanjur, the canon containing the translation of the Buddhist precepts; and the Tanjur, containing the commentaries. These are useful materials about the Buddhist religion. Tawang Monastery also runs two Dzongs, one at Dirang which was built in 1831 and another at Sanglen in the south western Kameng named as Talung Gumpa. A Dzong means an administrative centre headed by a monk. They have the power to collect tax and settle local disputes but remain under the overall control of Tawang Monastery. These two campuses are thus powerful centres for the propagation of Buddhism among Monpas and Sherdukpens of Kameng area. The Dzongs house several valuable holy scriptures and some of them include written in gold letters.

The material in support of the history of Buddhism, right from Kalaktang in the west and Zimithang in the north, through Mechuka to Tuting, is sufficiently available in the form of manuscripts, holy literature, thankas, musical instruments like bells, cymbals, trumpets etc. These are found in the monasteries or in private possession. Some of these are very old and of antique values.

Some facts of material evidence are reported by Dr. Parul Dutta. He reports that Noctes and Wanchos have relations with Ahom rulers. During the days of Purander Singh (1818-19) some tax was levied by the Ahom kings on the salt brought to the plains. There were the officials called the Naga Katakis through whom the Ahom Government used to manage affairs related to these tribes. Dutta also mentions about some old Ahom coins and ivory in possession of the Chief of Laptang. Also some manuscripts (Puthis written in Ahom language) are in possession of the Chief of Lapang and Namsang. Two Ahom cannons, about three feet in length and two inches in diameter, are also reported to be in the possession of the Chief of Barduria. These cannons were presented to the Chief by the Ahom kings.

The ruins of Vijayanagar Stupa at Budha Gam on the banks of Dihing river are archaeologically very important as these confirm that this easternmost tip, surrounded on all three sides by Burmese territory, was once populated by Khamptis in the middle of 18th century A.D. In the present times however no Khampti tribe is found residing there. The absence of the tribe in the inhabitation of that particular area now may be due to certain natural calamities or disease etc., in some period and they must have abandoned the area. They are now populating the foothills of Lohit and Tirap districts. Chowkham and Namsai are the cultural centres of Khampti tribe. A Buddha image with stone head, palms,

feet, crown, body, painted in metal sheets with repose designs, is stated to be of eighteenth century A.D. Another 19th century Buddha icon with wooden pedestal and triple headed dragon is also available.

Raikar has pointed out about some material available at different sites in the central region of Arunachal Pradesh. In fact, in support of the material available from the foothills and border areas, as mentioned above, the additional material exploration, particularly from the central zone, will provide the students of Arunachal history to form their text giving even justification to the entire region. At present we have very little material available about the central zone which is populated by the major tribes of Arunachal. The canal at Desali in Debang Valley was constructed to drain out water of a marshy land. It is believed to have been constructed in 19th century. The Dambuk stockades, called Yabgo Lingkum, were built by Adis during their wars with the British in the last part of the 19th century A.D. There are eleven *katcha* wells at Tomo Fisheries near Deporijo. There are several antiques in possession of the tribals. The bells, dipas, daos, beads, necklaces, ornaments, war trophies, old village sites, tribal art pieces etc. need to be studied on scientific plan to develop the essence of the historicity about the central region of Arunachal.

The Akas, Daflas (new called Nishis), Miris, Mishmis and Nagas living in the hills, skirting the Brahmaputra Valley on its north and east, used to visit the plains nearby the foothills during the harvest time and used to take forcibly the share from the Ryots in form of cloth, crop produce, pigs, fowls, dogs and daos etc. Many times they used to create unpleasant situations if their shares were not contributed or its quantity not paid in full. When Ahoms became the rulers of Assam, for various political reasons they did not interfere much in the activities of the hill tribes. Rather to keep them

happy they continued to contribute the allowance which was being paid by the Ryots. The claimant tribals were induced to accept the claims for a fixed amount of payment instead of collecting in form of material from the individuals. This way Possa was officially introduced by the Ahoms as a policy of conciliation with the hill tribes. Chakravorty refers to file No. Progressive Political A, March 1900, Nos 22-30 PL, in defining the Possa—"An allowance paid to certain hill tribes inhabiting the hills on the northern frontier of Assam bordering Darrang and Lakhimpur, on account of commuted 'black mail', or in consideration of the abandonment by them of their claims with regards to certain Duars."

Gait mentions that Hazarikhowa Akas were permitted to levy from each house, "One portion of a female dress, one bundle of cotton thread and one cotton handkerchief, and the rights of other tribes were similarly defined." Further Mackenzie reports, "From an account bearing date 13th May 1825, it appears that the Daflas were entitled to receive, from every ten houses, one double cloth, one single cloth, one handkerchief, one Dao, ten heads of horned cattle, and four seers of salt." He further reports,, "The Hill Miris commanding by their position they cultivated tracts of Bordoloni, Sisis and Dhemaji, had acquired an acknowledged right to Possa similar to that asserted by the Daphlas, Akas and Bhutias. So far as can be gathered, the Abors, though much powerful than any of these had no such rights. Rights, however, they had of a somewhat different kind, which were more difficult to settle even than those arising out of the Possa... The Abores claim an absolute sovereignty over the Miris of the plains, and an inalienable right to all the fish and gold found in the Dihong river. The Miris for many years acknowledged the Abores as their masters. The Assam Government also, anxious to conciliate their highland neighbours had long

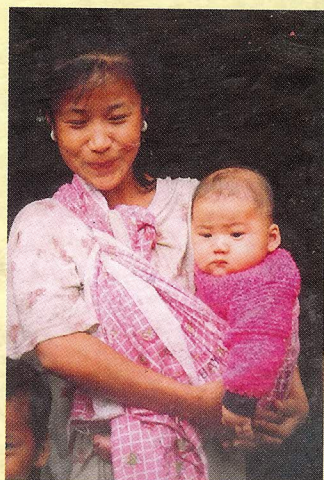
since relieved the Miris of all revenue charges, acknowledging thereby the subjugation of the tribe to the Abores, whose interpreters they were officially recognised to be. Captain E.T. Dalton in his letter No. 162 dated 1951-952, believes that Possa origin dates back to the middle of 15th century A.D. He further reports that in the reign of Gaurinath Singh, about 1794 A.D. when civil war with the Muttocks was at its height and the sovereign was compelled to seek the aid of foreign troops to restore him to his throne, the capitation tax of Rs. 3 for each able bodied male was imposed and additional assessment was fixed for the rice lands cultivated in excess of the quantity allowed to them by the state, of Re. 1 per Pura, the half of which was remitted to meet the claims of the hill tribes. The Possa is reported to have two-fold origins: One partly secured by formal treaty, and the other inherited from the time when the country was under the rule of the Ahom Kings. The Abors payments were stipulated for by form of separate treaties-one with the Meyong Abors in 1862 and another with Bor Abor village of Podo, Menbo, Silluk and Born. Jur in 1862; third with other Bor Abors in 1866; and a fourth treaty was made with Abors of Kebang in 1863. The total amount secured by the treaties is Rs. 3312 per annum. In 1878-80 the distribution was still further changed. A new evaluation was made of the villages of Mendro Padu and Duku-Silli; Bomjur village was linked with Membo, and Kumku village with Padu and three groups of villages thus formed were each allotted Rs. 301 yearly as being co-equal in power and importance while a fourth village, Silluk was placed at par with them and given Rs. 301 yearly. At the same time Pasi Meyong and Kebang allotments were slightly altered and that of Dambuk was separated from the share of the Bor Abors. The payment of Possa to freemen was stopped, and further; on death its payment ceases to any claimant. Also slave families were stopped of Possa privileges. The

Possa to all ' the Abors was stopped after the Abor expedition of 1893-94. The British India Government thus followed a very practical policy in abolishing the Possa. A customary tradition of several hundred years was not broken at once but the objective of the Government was framed in the beginning itself to cause its stoppage by giving stage-wise treatment. The main policy factors which ultimately resulted in its end are identified as the refusal of its payment after death to the claimants, and after the defeat of the particular tribe by the punitive British expeditions.

From the time immemorial there existed unrestricted movement between the Assamese and tribals of the hills. By the time British spread their authority over Assam the materialistic activities also became more complex. The trade between Assamese and the hill tribals also showed a sign of increase. A kind of competition was developed. The Britishers introduced tea estates in Assam. This encouraged ambitious entrepreneurs to explore for the tea estates beyond the border line. All these activities combined involved tribals also. They felt encroachment in their jurisdictions. All these factors very often created tension and disputes. J.N. Chaudhury has given the reference of the views of Sir Lancelot Hare, "We have an Inner line on outer line. Up to the Inner line we administer in the ordinary way. Between the Inner Line and the Outer line we administer only politically. That is, our Political Officer exercises a loose jurisdiction, and to prevent troubles with Frontier Tribes, passes are required for our subject who want to cross the Inner line." Thus the objectives were to overcome the tension on one hand and to keep the tribal frontier as a buffer zone of formidable terrain, to keep the British territory safe of wars in the North Eastern frontiers. The British Government of India therefore formulated an Inner Line Regulation in 1873 which authorized local authorities to

prohibit British subjects generally, or those of specified classes, from going beyond a certain line, laid down for the purpose, without pass or license issued by the Deputy Commissioner. The Inner Line Regulation of 1873 thus laid down such lines in the districts of Kamrup and Goalpara towards Bhutan; in Darrang towards Bhutiyas, Akas and Daflas; in Lakhimpur towards the Daflas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos and Nagas; and in Sibsagar towards the Nagas. In fact there was no specific demarcation of boundary between Assam and the hill frontiers. Only to a certain limit the Inner Line could be considered to be the administrative limits and beyond that movements were restricted. The same principle exists today as well. The inner line permit is essential if someone has to enter the territory of Arunachal Pradesh.

After the independence as well in the North-East Frontier Agency, as Arunachal was known, the inner line regulations continued to operate. Then it was elevated to the status of Union Territory, the said regulation continued, and in Feb. 1987 the status of Arunachal Pradesh was raised to a full-fledged state of the Union of India, the regulations still exist. This is with a particular objective of making its people to show social, cultural, economic and political development from its indigenous ways so that the people here don't feel irritated, ignored and exploited. They need to be rather involved in the developmental activities with their own zeal and system of approach. The Government of India is giving full co-operation to their projects and plans, to make them rise to the mainstream of socio-cultural and socio economic life of India as a whole.



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