

PEOPLE OF INDIA

NAGALAND

VOLUME XXXIV



General Editor
K. S. Singh

PEOPLE OF INDIA

NATIONAL SERIES

VOL. I	PEOPLE OF INDIA	AN INTRODUCTION
VOL. II	PEOPLE OF INDIA	THE SCHEDULED CASTES
VOL. III	PEOPLE OF INDIA	THE SCHEDULED TRIBES
VOL. IV	PEOPLE OF INDIA	ALL COMMUNITIES
VOL. V	PEOPLE OF INDIA	ALL COMMUNITIES
VOL. VI	PEOPLE OF INDIA	ALL COMMUNITIES
VOL. VII	PEOPLE OF INDIA	IDENTITY, ECOLOGY, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, ECONOMY, DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND LINKAGES: A QUANTITATIVE PROFILE
VOL. VIII	PEOPLE OF INDIA	COMMUNITIES, SEGMENTS, SYNONYMS, SURNAMEN AND TITLES
VOL. IX	PEOPLE OF INDIA	LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS
VOL. X	PEOPLE OF INDIA	THE BIOLOGICAL VARIATION IN INDIAN POPULATIONS
VOL. XI	PEOPLE OF INDIA	AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ATLAS

STATES SERIES

VOL. XII	ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS
VOL. XIII	ANDHRA PRADESH
VOL. XIV	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
VOL. XV	ASSAM
VOL. XVI	BIHAR
VOL. XVII	CHANDIGARH
VOL. XVIII	DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI
VOL. XIX	DAMAN AND DIU
VOL. XX	DELHI
VOL. XXI	GOA
VOL. XXII	GUJARAT
VOL. XXIII	HARYANA
VOL. XXIV	HIMACHAL PRADESH
VOL. XXV	JAMMU AND KASHMIR
VOL. XXVI	KARNATAKA
VOL. XXVII	KERALA
VOL. XXVIII	LAKSHADWEEP
VOL. XXIX	MADHYA PRADESH
VOL. XXX	MAHARASHTRA
VOL. XXXI	MANIPUR
VOL. XXXII	MEGHALAYA
VOL. XXXIII	MIZORAM
VOL. XXXIV	NAGALAND
VOL. XXXV	ORISSA
VOL. XXXVI	PONDICHERRY
VOL. XXXVII	PUNJAB
VOL. XXXVIII	RAJASTHAN
VOL. XXXIX	SIKKIM
VOL. XL	TAMIL NADU
VOL. XLI	TRIPURA
VOL. XLII	UTTAR PRADESH
VOL. XLIII	WEST BENGAL

PEOPLE OF INDIA

NAGALAND

Volume XXXIV

General Editor
K. S. SINGH

Editors
N. K. DAS
C. L. IMECHEN



ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

SEAGULL BOOKS
CALCUTTA 1994

© Anthropological Survey of India

Cover design: Naveen Kishore

ISBN 81 7046 121 9

NEHU LIBRARY
Acc. No. 9130.30
Acc. by
Date 28/9/10
Class by
Sub. Heading by
Enter by
Transcribed by

COMPUTERISED

Published on behalf of ASI by Naveen Kishore
Seagull Books, 26 Circus Avenue, Calcutta 700017

Printed at D K Fine Art Press Pvt Ltd
New Delhi 110052

Contents

A Note on the Series	vii
Foreword	xii
Acknowledgements	xvii
Introduction	1
The Naga Communities	
Naga : Angami	63
Naga : Chang	86
Naga : Konyak	104
Naga : Phom	120
Naga : Rengma	136
Naga : Sema	154
Naga : Zeliang	168
Naga : Chakhesang	179
Naga : Ao	76
Naga : Khiamngan	96
Naga : Lotha	112
Naga : Pochury	125
Naga : Sangtam	144
Naga : Yimchunger	163
Naga : Kabui (Rongmei)	173
Other Communities	
Garo	187
Kuchi	200
Nepali	213
Bihari	226
Muslim	236
Kachari	193
Mikir (Karbi)	207
Bangali	221
Marwari	231
Assamese	241
Appendix	
Bio-anthropological Information	247
References	248
Glossary	253
Select Bibliography	261
Map	278
Index	279

A NOTE ON THE SERIES

There exists an information gap about a very large number of communities in India, and whatever information exists, is scanty or needs to be updated. The Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) launched a project on the People of India on 2 October 1985. The objective of the project was to generate a brief, descriptive anthropological profile on all the communities of India, the impact on them of change and development processes and the links that bring them together. This was in accordance with the objectives of the ASI, established forty-five years ago in December 1945. The ASI has been pursuing bio-cultural research among different population groups from its eight regional centres. Its objectives have been redefined in the policy resolution, adopted in 1985, which commits this organization to a survey of the human surface of India.

The identification of the communities and their listing began at an early period of our history, with Manu. Regional lists of communities figured in Sanskrit works. Medieval chronicles contained a description of communities located in various parts of the country. Listings in the colonial period were undertaken on an extensive scale, after 1806. The process gathered momentum in course of the censuses from 1881 to 1941. In our compilation of the lists of the communities of India under the People of India project, we drew upon ethnographic surveys, the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes drawn up by the Government of India, the lists of backward classes prepared by Backward Classes Commissions set up by various state governments, and the list that exists in the Mandal Commission Report. We were able to put together about 6748 communities at the start. This list was taken to the field, tested and checked, and finally 4635 communities were identified and studied.

Unlike surveys in the colonial period, which covered British India and a few princely states, our project covers the whole country, bringing within its ambit also those parts that had not been ethnographically surveyed earlier or where the survey had been done in a perfunctory way. Each state and union territory was treat-

ed as a unit of study. It was decided to start with the investigation of the least-known communities, and then move on to a field study of the lesser-known and better-known ones. Investigators for the survey were identified for each area on the basis of their experience and expertise. Teams of investigators of the Survey, as well as local scholars, were set up for each state and union territory, to plan the surveys, seek the co-operation of local scholars, generate and evaluate findings etc. Later, editorial boards consisting of local scholars — one or more of these were nominated as co-editor/s for each local volume — were set up for each state and union territory. We sought the co-operation of the state governments in implementing the project, and this we received in ample measure, particularly from the welfare and backward classes departments of the state governments, local officers of the Census of India, tribal research institutes, university departments of anthropology, other departments of local universities, etc. Local scholars participated enthusiastically in our project as well as in the seminars held by us.

The progress in the investigation and coverage of communities from 2 October 1985 to 31 March 1992 was steady and impressive. We were able to identify, locate and study 4635 communities in all the states and union territories of India, out of the 6748 listed initially. As many as 600 scholars participated in this project, including 197 from 26 institutions. About 100 workshops and rounds of discussions were held in all the states and union territories, and in these about 3000 scholars participated. The investigators spent 26,510 days in the field, which works out to 5.5 days per community studied in the various states and union territories of India. Our scholars interviewed a large number of people, out of whom we have recorded only the key informants, i.e. 24,951. This works out to about 5 'informed' informants per community. Of the informants, 4981 were women. Our instruction to the investigators was to study a community at two or three places, and in at least two or three cultural regions into which the larger states of India are divided. Interviews were conducted in connection with the study of the communities in 3581 villages, mostly multi-community villages, and in 1011 towns and cities spread over almost all the districts of India, i.e. 421 districts and 91 cultural regions. We were able, thus, to study on an average a community at about two places. It should be noted that most of the smaller communities could be studied at only one place since they are not located in more than one area.

A major achievement of this project was the preparation of cartographic maps showing the distribution of the communities and the location where they were studied. About 4000 maps were prepared. Yet another achievement was the visual documentation of the people of India as part of the field operations. About 21,362 photographs were generated, most of them in black and white, and a substantial number in colour, by amateur photographers.

At an early stage of our project, in March 1985, we decided to transfer the data to a computer. We were subsequently able to develop probably the first software in the country — and one of the first in the world — in ethnography, in close collaboration with the National Informatics Centre. From 28 May 1988 we started transferring the quantitative data collected in computer format to floppies. Simultaneously, the transfer of descriptive data (abstracts etc.) on to the computer also started at almost all the regional centres. We succeeded in computerizing an enormous mass of data, and also in producing the first results of univariate analysis, by March 1990.

The descriptive material, running into 120 manuscript volumes, and the quantitative data contained in 257 diskettes, were released on 1 October 1990 by Sri Chimanbhai Mehta, Minister of State for Human Resource Development, in the presence of a distinguished audience in Delhi, for use by scholars at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, and at eight regional centres of the ASI.

The phase of more elaborate analysis started in July 1991, in collaboration with the Centre for Ecological Sciences, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. This resulted in a voluminous output of analysed data, which have been presented in a comprehensive matrix consisting of the four categories of populations, the constitutional, religious, occupational and locational. These sets of data, together with a map, were released by Shri Arjun Singh, Minister of Human Resource Development, on 24 December 1991. The last workshop on the People of India project was held at the Indian Institute of Social and Economic Change in Bangalore, where the preliminary results of the analysis presented by the ASI were discussed by distinguished scholars.

It should be noted that the study of the communities has been conducted in 3581 villages and 1011 towns situated in 421 districts of the States and Union Territories of India. The information was collected from about 25,000 of the 'learned' informants by our scholars, 500 of them, over the period 1985 to 1992. Therefore, the

observations relate to this limited time frame and to the universe of the ethnographic project titled People of India. The percentages relate strictly to the responses made by the informants to the questionnaire contained in the schedule guideline and computer format, and to the queries made by the investigators at the places of investigation. The responses have been supplemented with the observations of the investigators, the secondary material from the census, ethnographic records etc. The material has been checked and cross-checked by scholars, particularly local scholars, at many levels with other sources of information.

We are presenting the material assembled under the People of India project in two parts which are interrelated. The first consists of the ten-volume national series, five of which contain an abstract on all communities across the length and breadth of the country. The data generated in this respect has been supported with the addition of information from census and other secondary sources. These volumes include two on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, prepared as part of the celebration of Dr B R Ambedkar's birth centenary; three on all the communities of India, and two containing data on the languages and biological structures of Indian population. The remaining volumes contain description of the quantitative profile, an annotated list of communities and their segments, community-specific languages and the biological structure of Indian populations.

The second part comprises the state/union territory volumes, with detailed descriptive accounts of each community of India. The contributors to the national volumes on the SC, ST and all communities are listed in the last volume, Volume 6. The Glossary given in Volume 6 is common to all the national volumes. At the end of each account we have given references to the texts from which we have quoted, or references for further reading. This is only illustrative. An exhaustive bibliography appears at the end of the national volumes, in Volume 6.

A consortium of publishers has been set up to publish the material on states and union territories. Seven volumes each for the northern states, southern states and the islands, the central and western states will be published respectively by M/s Manohar Publishers and Distributors (New Delhi), M/s Affiliated East-West Press Private Limited (Madras) and M/s Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. (Bombay). The eleven volumes on the north-eastern and east-

ern states will be published by M/s Seagull Books Private Limited (Calcutta), which has already published the introductory national volume, which in its turn will be followed by the other national volumes to be published by the Oxford University Press.

I trust this series on the People of India, which is based on a comprehensive anthropological survey of the country, will be found useful by all sections of our people, including students, researchers, teachers, social activists, administrators and political leaders. I hope we have laid the groundwork for a comprehensive ethnography of the people of India which needs to be continually updated and built upon by successive generations of researchers and scholars.

K. S. SINGH

FOREWORD

Some of the tribes in Nagaland aroused the admiration of administrators-anthropologists posted in Nagaland, and they produced excellent monographs about some of them. The colourful, dynamic Naga people have also recently attracted the notice of political analysts, administrators, media persons who have produced well researched reading material on many facets of the life and culture of Nagaland. However, all the communities of Nagaland have been surveyed ethnographically for the first time under the People of India project in all their aspects, cultural, biological and linguistic, and therefore comprehensive ethnographic material on the people of Nagaland is being presented in this book.

The People of India project in Nagaland covers twentyfive communities out of which fifteen are Naga communities scheduled as tribes. Garo, Kuki, Kachari and Mikir are non-Naga tribal inhabitants of Nagaland. Apart from this there are six communities which have migrated to Nagaland in recent years, to perform various functions for the dominant Naga communities. The Nepali work as businessmen, herdsmen, artisans, labourers and wood cutters. The Biharis are labourers and shopkeepers. The Muslims are labourers and share-croppers. The Marwaris are traders and businessmen.

The most interesting feature of the Naga situation is the emergence and consolidation of the identity of the Nagas as a single political community at the territorial level. Within the broad rubric of Naga ethnicity, the Naga communities who live in well demarcated territories, have autonomous cultural systems.

The Naga consider themselves as a regional community distributed well beyond Nagaland, in Assam/Manipur/Arunachal Pradesh; they are also a trans-national community living in neighbouring Burma.

The Naga tribes are distinguished by their shawls. Weaving of shawl and other items of dress material, are done by the Nagas, such as the Angami, Chakhesang, Zeliang, Rengma and Ao. The old men and women of the Chang, Khimanagan, Yimchunger, Konyak,

Sangtam, and Phom communities of eastern Nagaland, have elaborate tattoo marks.)

No systematic bio-anthropological information was ever collected on the tribes of Nagaland, but stray findings on somatoscopy, somatometry and serology are available. The All India Anthropometric Survey was also extended to Nagaland under the People of India project and the data is still being analysed.

For ecological and cultural reasons, the Nagas are generally non-vegetarian. Rice is the staple food. In the whole of central, northern and eastern Nagaland, roots and tubers are extensively consumed. In most parts, regular consumption of rice-beer (zu) is common, along with the consumption of Indian made liquor. Following the agitation launched by the Church and women's organisations, consumption of every kind of alcoholic drink has been considerably reduced. Recently, the whole state has been declared a 'dry-zone'. Milk has been introduced as part of tea culture.

The major social segments which provide cohesion and structural articulation for Naga tribes are moeity (Angami and Khiamngan), phratry (Angami, Ao, Chang, Zeliang) clan, lineage and sub-tribes. Differentiation with hierarchy exists within a tribe and among clans and other groups on the basis of economic and kinship criteria. The major function of clans and lineages has been to regulate marriage alliances, and to indicate ritual as also jural statuses, the line of descent etc. Among the small Garo population descent is traced in matrilineal line. The rule of endogamy which was observed historically at village level, is now extended across the community at territorial level. Among several Naga tribes, the rule of exogamy is observed at clan as well as lineage levels. Marriage by service and marriage by negotiation emerge as the two most important modes of acquiring mates. Most marriages are of monogamous type, though polygyny is theroretically allowed in a few Naga communities.

Most of the Nagas have converted to Christianity, which has emerged as a symbol of identity. It has instituted a set of new marriage and divorce rules to ensure stability in married life. In its predominantly patrilineal ethos, male equigeniture is the commonly observed rule in the matter of inheritance of property, but female children are also allowed to inherit property or land, among several Naga communities. Tribal names and clan names are used as surnames to emphasise exogamous division.

Christianization apart, most of the Naga communities continue to observe traditional life cycle rituals, cosmological dogma and tribal religious beliefs. Thus prevalence of traditional naming ceremony is observed among twentythree communities, marriage - feast (fourteen communities) and nuptial ceremony (eight communities), death taboos (among fifteen communities).

The family is the basic domestic unit among the Nagas and non-Nagas alike. Each family is a unit of food production, consumption distribution and of property ownership. The Angami, Chakhesang and Pochury tribesmen mainly practise wet and terrace cultivation; management of land and irrigational water are more of a family affair. Most of the other Naga tribes are dependent on shifting cultivation which also requires inter-family co-operation. There is however emergence of a pronounced sense of individual rights with respect to land and water sources, giving rise to disputes among terrace-based Naga communities. Customary laws and tribal law enforcement mechanisms are elaborate and complex.

The Naga tribes continue to enjoy absolute rights over their natural resources such as land, forest, and water. Ownership and management of these resources exist traditionally at the levels of individual proprietors (Angami, Chakhesang, Pochury, Zeliang, Rengma), lineage and clan ownership (almost all Nagas), and at village levels (all Naga tribes). Innovations and diversifications have brought about uniformity in the agro-technological practices. Our data suggests that the resources are controlled by individual proprietors in as many as twenty communities; sixteen communities have control over resources through lineage/clan; eighteen communities still recognize the jural authority of tribal headmen (Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, Zeliang, Rengma) and tribal chiefs (Konyak, Sema, Chang, Pochury).

Besides terracing and shifting cultivation, other traditional occupations are hunting and gathering (seen in case of ten communities) and trapping of birds and animals (five communities). Animal husbandry and weaving are practised by all Naga communities and by some non-Nagas (such as Kuki, Kachari). Growing urbanization and limited industrialization, particularly at foothills/plains areas, such as Dimapur region, have provided an opportunity for members of Naga communities to go in for jobs as daily wage earners or as casual labourers.

In the sphere of social control and dispute settlement the tradi-

tional village councils continue to play crucial role. Tribal polity and chieftainship have not been disturbed to any great extent. The post-independence statutory panchayats generally deal with development activities. The Village Development Board (VDB) has emerged as a very important institution catalysing development process at the grassroots.

There is an all pervasive impact of the development processes. Formal education is favoured for both boys and girls. Attitude to modern medicare is positive. Couples in Nagaland prefer to have more than four children. Under self-employment scheme, people have availed of the facilities of rearing poultry, animal husbandry, piggery, fishery, and are taking up contractorship and weaving on a commercial scale.

Nagaland represents a fine model of synthesis of modernity and tradition. The Naga Students Union has been conscious of the importance of maintaining traditional Naga culture and has launched through its tribal organisations, programmes that deal with reconstruction of dormitories, revival of folksongs and folk-dance forms, use of traditional costumes.

Though the All India Anthropometric Survey was extended to Nagaland, its results are still being analysed, as has been mentioned above. Such bio-anthropological information as we have, is restricted to tribal groups only. The Nagas vary in stature, ranging from short to medium height. They have round head. The shape of the nose varies from narrow to broad and the face is also generally medium to broad. Dermatoglyphic studies show equal frequencies of loops (42.88—55.61%) and whorls (44.27—55.00%). No colour blindness or sickle cell has been reported. Incidence of G6PD deficiency is high (27.06%). The frequency of B gene is relatively low (7.00—23.50). On the other hand incidence of O gene is high (64.36—25.80%). M gene is reported in 54.30—81.67% of population studied. Haplotype R1 has high incidence (72.86%) but r haplotype is absent, a characteristic of Mongoloid population.

For a small state like Nagaland having a small population, a considerable linguistic heterogeneity is however noted. There are as many as twenty languages (including the Nagas languages), such as Angami (78,643 persons), Ao (101,598), Bodo/Boro (2,408), Chang (22,252), Garo (1,088), Kacha Naga (3,206), Khezha (16,533), Khiemnungan (17,879) Konyak (76,071), Lodha (57,964), Mao (4,821), Phom (24,458), Rengma (15,307), Sangtam (28,471),

Sema (95,528), Tangkhul (1,244), and Zemi Naga (5,095). There are 1,100 Santali speaking immigrants in Nagaland. Each of the non-Naga tribes also has its own language. All Naga languages belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. Other languages spoken are Hindi (33,037 persons), Bengali (27,211), Assamese (11,925), Malayalam (3,372), Oriya (1,705), Punjabi (1,472) and Urdu (1,108). There are 29,955 Gorkhali/Nepali speakers. 4,475 persons speak Manipuri/Meitei language.

A very interesting finding is that while the non-tribals are bilingual in only other languages of the Indo-Aryan family or English, the tribal people are bilingual in English, Assamese, Hindi and adjacent tribal languages, in that order. The Angami speakers are bilingual in English (11,260), Assamese (8,029), Hindi (3,177), Sema (770) and Khezha (402). The Ao speakers are bilingual in Assamese (17,555), English (17,331), Hindi (5,444) and Sangtam (114). The Chang are bilingual in Assamese (2,882), Ao (858), English (641), Hindi (486) and Yimchunger (469). Among the Nagas divided by their languages, *Nagamese* is the lingua franca of the state, and has been claimed by thirteen communities as a language spoken at bilingual level.

K. S. SINGH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks are many. The Director General visited Nagaland area during the field operations and held extensive discussions with local scholars and officials. We received full cooperation from the local authorities in generating the material which was analysed, discussed and evaluated at a number of seminars organised at the North-east Regional Centre, Shillong. We thank all those who participated in this task including two of our scholars, Dr. R. S. Rayappa, human ecologist and Dr. N. Saha, Research Associates (cultural) at the North-east Regional Centre, Shillong.

INTRODUCTION

The state of Nagaland, covering an area of 16,488 sq. km., is encircled by Assam in the north and west, by Burma or Myanmar and Arunachal Pradesh in the east, and Manipur in the south. The state is predominantly inhabited by the Naga communities and hence it forms a single cultural region generally definable by common cultural and linguistic traditions (Hutton 1920, 1926, 1965). This state was carved out of the territories that were earlier known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA), through the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. It was inaugurated on 1st December, 1963 by the then President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

This state lies between 25°6" and 27°4" north of the equator and between the longitudinal lines 93°20"E and 93°15"E. The Barail range extending from the south-west via North Cachar runs up to Kohima, with its highest peak, Japvo, attaining a height of 3,048 metres. Here it is met by the meridional axis of elevation, prolonged from the Arakan Yoma, and from this point the main range runs in the north and north-eastern direction. On account of the sudden rise of the Barail on its northern face, some twelve km. wide miniature dunes are formed between the Barail range and Samaguting hills. Further east are the Kohima hills and the Naga range. The latter marks the eastern frontier of Nagaland and functions as the watershed between the rivers of India and Burma or Myanmar, but is cut across by the Tizu river draining eastward into the Chindwin. This range has several peaks more than 3000 m. in height with Saramati (3926m.) being the highest (Singh: 1971: 496-497).

In consonance with the trend of ranges and spurs, the courses of streams are also generally aligned in a north-south direction. The rivers have cut the hill ranges at suitable points almost at right angles, resulting in barbed patterns. The river valleys such as Dikhu,

Tizu and Doyang are generally narrow.

Nagaland has a typical monsoon climate with variants ranging from tropical to temperate conditions. The foothill plains, sheltered valleys and the ranges are marked with climatic contrasts (Singh 1971:497). The year is divided into four seasons, winter (December to February), pre-monsoon (March and April), monsoon (May to September) and retreating monsoon (October and November).

The beginning of winter is marked by a steep fall (almost 5°C) in temperature during December. January is the coldest month. In February the temperature starts rising gradually. The winter winds are generally weak and variable. The monsoon lasts for five months from May to September with June, July and May being the wettest months. The annual rainfall varies from 100 cm. to over 300 cm. The variations in altitude, latitude, climate and soil have given rise to a diversity of forest types, ranging from the tropical evergreen to temperate evergreen and the coniferous.

Bamboo groves are extensive everywhere. Among the common species, mention may be made of the Naga Bhe and plants such as *Mesuaferrea*, *Careyaarbotrea* and *Ficus electica*. On the hill slopes are found oak, chestnut, birch, magnolia, cherry, maple, laurel and fig. *Swidden* cultivation is widespread, while wet terrace cultivation is practised by the Angami, Chakhesang and Rengma Nagas. In the plains area of Dimapur sub-division, the Angami, Sema, Kachari and Garo practise settled cultivation. Pine trees are found at high altitude areas varying from 3000 to 4000 ft., but confined only to south-eastern Nagaland. Wild vegetables, roots, fruits and tubers are found in abundance throughout Nagaland and are grown for domestic consumption. Wild plantain leaves are used for packing food-stuffs such as meal, fish, salt, meat and for wrapping the rice-beer during the process of fermentation.

Nagaland constitutes a meeting ground for the sub-Himalayan, Indian, Chinese and Burmese types of fauna. On account of indiscriminate hunting, however, several species of game have become extinct. Wild game is highly valued as a food item. Animal hide and skin, skulls, tusks and feathers are used for ornamentation and decoration. Elephant, tiger, barking deer and sambar are found in different places through the state. The monkey, jackal, wild buffalo, wild pig, bear, and wild dog are sparsely distributed through the Naga hills. Among the ritually most valued species is *mithun*. Among the snakes found are rat-snakes, vipers, grass-snakes, cobras, and

pythons. Other species common are lizards, toads, monitors.

The best species of birds are still confined to the higher altitudes. These include the partridge, nightjar, warbler, robin, quail, woodpecker, hornbill, pheasant, swift, hawk, crow, snipe and wag-tails. The lower hills have fewer birds, including the myna, cuckoo, sparrow, sunbird and parrot. The rare species, *Blijhte tragopan* is found in Nagaland.

The Geological Survey of India reports that southern Nagaland is covered with the Disang and the Barail series of rocks. Slate of superior quality is abundant in Tizu valley and is used by the Nagas for commercial purposes. Deposits of chrysotile asbestos are found towards the south, near the *Nurma*, between Puchimi and Kirumi, in the Tizu valley (Bareh 1970:7). Coal is sparsely distributed in the highlands. The soils of the state are mainly of two types, ferruginous red soils and laterites. The former is abundant. It is poor in lime, potash, iron oxide and phosphorous content (Singh 1971:499).

HISTORY

The earliest reference to the Nagas is found in the *Geographia* (VII,ii,18) of Claudius Ptolemaeus, written in the second century A.D. Though there was an error in telescoping the Bay of Bengal, Ptolemy did depict Nagaland accurately as in its present position. Ptolemy described the land of the Nagas as "the realm of the naked" (Hutton 1973:X). The earliest records throwing light on the politico-economic linkages of the Nagas with others are the *Buranjis*, the chronicles of the Ahoms of Assam. The early *Buranjis* describe that the Ahom Sukhapa encountered the Nagas of the Patkoi area as early as the twelfth century. It is said that Sukhapa, an adventurer who left Maulung in 1215 A.D. heading a force of eight hundred armed soldiers with 300 horses and two elephants, entered Naga territory en route to the Assam valley. The subsequent rise of this kingdom ushered in a chequered history of hostility and friendship with the Nagas. Although the Nagas were 'never subjugated by the Ahoms' (Gait, 1905:336) the strategic location of their habitat and particularly the economic interest of the Ahoms periodically brought them under the orbit of Ahom confederacy against external aggressions. The most stable period of the Ahom state was during 1644-1648 and 1648-1663.

During this period, the Ahom king Purundar Singh had successfully asserted the right to share in the lower Naga hills with the Nagas. The British record of 1840 reveals that certain Naga tribes (Namsang, Pani Dwar and Bor Dwar) had lived chiefly by manufacturing salt which they retailed to the people of the plains (*Revenue Proceedings*, 27 September 1840, Nos.7 and 8; Mackenzie 1979:92). Several (Naga) chiefs had received grants of *khats* or lands, and of *bheels* or 'fishing waters' in the plains, and enjoyed assignments of *Paiks*, like the ordinary Assamese nobility (Mackenzie 1979:91). These were the *Boree* or 'non-hostile' Nagas, inhabiting the hills close to upper Assam.

The Nagas, however, could not establish effective politico-economic relations with the Kachari, who had established their state capital (around Dimapur) in the vicinity of the Rengma and Angami Nagas, in the 13th century. The Angami had little contact with the Kachari state (Hutton 1969:13), but the Rengma did maintain regular socio-economic relations with the Kachari, mainly by way of supplying iron implements to them, in exchange for salt (Bareh 1970:21-24).

There is evidence that in 1375 A.D, a renowned Khasi sculptor had come to the Kachari capital and had been accepted by the Angamis (Bareh 1970:22). At times the Kacharis had strained political relations with their Angami neighbours. A fortress, the remains of which are still lying scattered around Dimapur, was constructed to contain the Angami expansionist attacks. Dimapur had by then emerged as an urban centre, followed by the process of state formation. Consequently, textile, cotton spinning and pottery industries developed. The Rengmas, being expert sculptors, were soon to establish themselves in colonies around Dimapur, to assist the Kacharis in carving stone inscriptions. They also supplied iron implements. The Kachari also traded in iron implements and weapons with the Zeliangrong people (Bareh 1970:22). The Rengma oral tradition suggests that the Ahoms conferred Phukanship on a Rengma, the headman of a cluster of villages, to consolidate the territory which approximately forms part of Hamren sub-division of the Karbi Anglong district. During this time, the Khonoma confederacy extended control upto Maibong of present North Cachar hills. They blackmailed the bordering Kachari villages and made extortionate demands upon other weaker tribes (Johnstone 1896:17). Meanwhile the Kachari and the Zeliangrong

Naga relations had further improved through matrimonial alliances. It is stated that the latter owed allegiance to the Kachari initially, and thereafter to the Angami (Bower: 1961:43-44).

NAGA RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEITEIS

Initially the Meiteis and the Nagas had socio-cultural linkages. Traditional friendship based on equality in rights and duties existed between them in the form of marriage and mutual exchange of visits and articles. The Meiteis, who then called the Naga and Kuki *Haos*, had emerged politically as a more powerful community in the valley of Manipur than the highlanders. The process of state formation brought about higher forms of polity and religion, an economy based on fertile soil, and a written language (with its own script). At first their control was limited only to the central plains in and around Imphal valley, the hills being occupied by the Naga and Kuki-Chin ethnic groups. With further consolidation of the Meitei state, their authority and political dominance over the hill tribes began. The Meiteis "attacked the Naga villages virtually without provocation, plundered them, forced tribute from them and got equivocal success" (Yonuo 1974:45). In the early 18th century, the Meitei rulers adopted Hinduism, later followed by the valley dwellers. The Meitei now identified themselves with the Manipuris and changed their original titles and names into Hindu ones.

This process of sanskritization sharply increased the socio-cultural differences between the Meiteis and the Nagas. At times the Angami and Mao Nagas united together to confront the Meitei-Manipuris. From 1750 onwards Manipur was subjected to successive invasions from the Burmese. In order to check the Burmese challenge, the Meitei now fell in with the Nagas, Kukis and Assamese and formed alliances with them. In 1764, the Burmese invaded Manipur and exercised suzerainty over the area. Subsequently the Manipuri king Jai Singh sought refuge in Rangpur, the then Ahom capital. When Jai Singh, accompanied by the Assamese soldiers, marched through the Naga villages en route to Manipur, in order to liberate his country, he was given co-operation all along the way. Some Nagas went to Manipur valley and fought against the Burmese and helped Jai Singh to regain the valley (Yonuo 1974:51). Thereafter Manipur was yet again embroiled in a number of

Burmese incursions upto 1826, and it was during this period that Manipur came under British paramountcy. During these years the Naga and Meitei did not have much close contact except "that the former, sometimes, were recruited in the Manipuri Army" (Yonuo 1974:50-52).

The British policy towards the Naga hills concretized after the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. This treaty relieved the Burmans of suzerainty over Assam and the British began to consider the Naga areas to be part of their colonial interest. Hence the Assam Tea Company was established in 1839.

Broadly speaking, the history of British relations with the Nagas may be divided into four periods: the period of control from without (1839-46), by a system of expeditions or 'promenades', as they were called; the period of control from within (1847-50); the period of absolute non-interference (1851- 61) and the second period of control from within, merging into gradual absorption of the territory into British India (Gundevia 1975:29).

After the collapse of the Kachari kingdom, the dominant Angami confederacy of Khonoma controlled the Zemi areas, and traded with the plainmen. Consequent to the emerging colonial interest, this Naga area was constituted into a sub-division under Nowgong district, with Asaloo being the headquarters. This brought about intensified belligerence amongst the British and the confederacy (Imchen, 1985a).

The British encroached upon the Naga hills for the first time in 1832 when the expedition led by Captain Jenkins and Pemberton approached this area from Manipur. The Nagas were, during this time, incessantly raiding the 'British' villages in North Cachar. Moreover, when the Raja of Manipur was found to be unable in any way to implement the British request to keep them under control, it was decided to exert some pressure to bear upon the Nagas, by way of sending expeditions. By 1850, no less than ten expeditions had been sent to the hills, as the Nagas went on with their sporadic politico-economic control of the plains.

In 1841, Lieutenant Bigge visited the Angami villages of Mezoma, Khonoma and Punglwa and settled the question of demarcation with Manipur. Bigge further entered into an agreement with the Rengmas of Borpathor in Mikir Hills (present Hamren sub-Division) and they agreed to pay taxes to the British Government. In 1844 Khonoma was invaded by a force headed by Captain Eid.

The village of 500 houses was burned. Later, John Butler visited Khonoma, Mezoma and Birema, where pacts of good conduct were renewed with the Angami elders. An outpost at Chumukedima was opened in 1846.

Consequently, the last encounter between the British and the Nagas necessitated a policy of non-interference. In effect, by 1851 the British Government had come to a point of pursuing a cautious policy of non-intervention in their dealing with the Nagas, while simultaneously efforts were made to reconcile with them. To quote Dalhousie, then Governor General, "Hereafter we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds or fights of these savages; encourage trade with them as long as they are peaceful towards us; and rigidly exclude them from all communication either to sell what they have got, or to buy what they want if they should become turbulent or troublesome."

This policy must have been motivated by a fear of incurring financial risks as a result of encounters with the Nagas, on the one hand, and the partial containment of Khonoma confederacy from asserting unilateral politico-economic rights over lowlands inhabited by Aarong Nagas (Zemi) on the other. The policy at the outset was justified by Captain Butler in 1852, who remarked, "since our withdrawal from the Angami hills, the general conduct of the tribes towards us has been very satisfactory, they have been travelling as far down as Goalpara (town in Assam plains) and they have shown every desire to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with us." However, this kind of situation did not last long and the reductionist policy proved to be counter-productive as the lives of one hundred and twentysix 'British subjects' were lost, thirtyone were wounded and sixtytwo others were carried off in the settled Nowgong district of Assam plains, between 1852 and 1862. In 1854 the Dimapur station was abandoned and the North Cachar Hills sub-division was simultaneously constituted to thwart the Naga aggressions. A Mikir village of Kodgaon and a Rengma village were attacked by the Angami during 1854. On May 16, 1858, the Angami of Khonoma raided a British outpost in North Cachar.

To prevent such occurrences, a politico-economic blockade was put on the Naga Hills to check the highlanders visiting the markets of the plains without permits. However, by 1862, the Nagas had been allowed to visit the plains in connection with their simple

barter trading pursuits. It was at this stage that the British felt the need for establishing relations with the Naga highlanders. By 1862 the Commissioner of Assam felt that keeping peace and order depended on posting forces in the foothills, and sending military expeditions into the highlands.

Sir Cecil Beacon, the Lieutenant-Governor of Seapal, ordered an officer subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong to be posted in the Naga hills to start a dialogue with the Nagas without interfering with their internal affairs except when the Nagas themselves consulted him about any dispute. In 1862, Sir Cecil Beacon proposed a policy which stated that "we might abandon North Cachar and all the hill tracts inhabited by the Nagas, and strictly enforce the non-interference policy of 1851-52." For the next three years until 1866, the situation remained fluid as no one was clear about the line of policy to be adopted when the Angami raids on North Cachar became frequent. Lieutenant Gregory, supported by a moderate physical force, was posted at Samaguting, in order to bring the highlands adjacent to the plains into order, and also to protect the lowlands from Naga incursions.

The Naga areas in 1852 were constituted into a sub-division under the Nowgong district, with Asaloo as its headquarters. The Manipuri interests, the threatening postures of the Burmese and the belligerent attitude of the Nagas, had forced the British to shift their headquarters to Samaguting, ten miles inside the Angami territory. This sub-division was called the North-Cachar Hill sub-division, and it was placed under the Cachar district in 1870. This transfer was to have a very serious effect on Naga life. Asaloo was inhabited mainly by the Zemi Nagas, called the Aroongs. This area had witnessed distinct socio-cultural and political formations generally influenced by the Hinduised tribal peasants.

In a note (No.394, dated 20.10.1865) to the Government of Bengal, Lt. Col. H. Hopkinson, Agent to the Governor General, N.E. Frontier and Commissioner of Assam, wrote that: "Col. Houghton's opinion after visiting Asaloo and examining the Naga Frontier was that it would be of no advantage even if it were practicable to locate an officer on the frontier of the Naga country and that no compromise was possible, short of asserting our sovereignty over the whole of the Naga Tribes, not included within Manipur or Burma, and gradually to bring them to order." Concurrently, some 8000 Kuki 'militia' peasants were inducted into the rent-free lands

that were allegedly wrested away from the Zemis. The Zemis had the habit of maintaining a cluster of villages over a large territory to facilitate shifting cultivation and settled in these villages in rotation. The British considered these territories waste lands. Then, in order to consolidate their economic hold in the lowlands, after the transfer of these Zemi areas, the Naga Hills District was formed with Samaguting (Chumukedima) as the headquarters in 1866, whose administration and jurisdiction extended to the Angami villages and the watershed of the Doyang. Some areas of the Nagas remained in Sibsagar, Nowgong, North Cachar and Mikir hills districts, as well as in the Manipur hills. The Nagas of the north eastern frontier area (now Arunachal Pradesh) and Burma were not brought under this administration. M. Gregory, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, was given discretionary powers to deal with cases of 'grave outrage' on the spot by adopting a simple judicial system, aided by Naga interpreters called *dobhashi*.

In 1869 Captain Butler, the Political Agent of Naga Hills, was given orders to initiate a process of consolidation of the colonial rule in Naga Hills by interfering in inter-tribal disputes. During the period 1869-70, Captain Butler from the Naga Hills and Dr. Brown from Manipur met to demarcate the boundary line between Naga Hills area and Manipur. After serious deliberations over the problem, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir George Campbell (1871-74) recommended plans to deal with the Nagas. One of the plans was to shift the Political Agent's headquarters to a centrally located place. The Naga Hills district in 1874 was brought under the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Direct administration of the hills was entrusted, as before, to the Deputy Commissioner.

In 1839 the Assam Tea Company was formed with C.A. Bruce as its Superintendent. Disputes and disturbances between the tea planters and the Naga and the other tribes continued. To settle the matter, the Government passed the Inner Line Regulation in 1873. Under this regulation no British subject or foreign resident could go beyond a certain frontier that was drawn along the foothills of the northern, eastern and south eastern borders of the Brahmaputra valley inhabited by the highlanders, without a pass or licence issued by the Deputy Commissioner. The Inner Line Regulation was revised and re-enforced in 1884, 1928, 1929, 1934 and in 1959. The Inner Line Regulation remains in force in Nagaland. With the opening up of a number of tea gardens within

Naga territory, there arose the need to shift the 'Inner Line' deeper inside Naga Hills to exclude the gardens.

To accommodate tribals of Central India working in Assam Bengal Railway and Tea plantations, as well as to impose labour laws and regulation for timber extraction, large portions of Naga territories were annexed to the adjoining plains in 1898, 1901, 1902-1903 and 1923 (Sema 1986:67).

In 1878, Wokha, hitherto proposed as the site for the district headquarters, was abandoned in favour of Kohima, which was more centrally located. The British plan was to control the powerful Angami villages of Khonoma, Mezoma and Jotsuma. However, the acquisition of Kohima had been the main cause leading to the First Anglo-Naga War of 1879. By 1878-79 the Naga Hills District had amalgamated one hundred and twenty Angami villages, forty Lotha villages, twentythree Zeliangrong villages, eighteen Kachari hamlets, thirty Mikir hamlets and thirty Rengma hamlets.

First Anglo-Naga War 1879

In 1879 a large number of powerful Angami villages had allied to confront the British. They had earlier acquired, in 1877, almost 500 firearms. In October 1879, Damant, the Political Officer, attempted to enter Khonoma with an escort of eighty seven men but was killed along with thirty seven of his men. Consequently, the Angamis of Khonoma besieged Kohima. For twelve days the station remained isolated from the outside world. Reinforcements from Wokha were rushed to Kohima with the assistance of friendly clans of Kohima village. However it was with the arrival of Lt. Colonel Johnstone, Political Agent of Manipur and a contingent on October 26 that the station was relieved. Khonoma remained impregnable for many months and its occupation was protracted owing to the strong defence lines. Towards the close of January 1880 Khonoma men raided Baladhun tea garden in North Cachar. In March 1880 Khonoma was defeated.

Consolidation of the Naga Hills

The beginning of an effective administration in the Naga hills started when Kohima was established as the headquarters in 1878. A house tax of Rs. 2 was imposed and a strong police force was posted. From the political point of view, the house tax was imposed as a

form of subjugation, since the savage who pays revenue considers himself a British subject, and he who does not, considers himself independent (Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871). The consolidation of the lowland Naga areas made further penetration possible, and later on they considered it expedient not to leave pockets of Naga territories independent. Thus, the frontier was moved forward to protect British subjects (1879 August No. 401-3). The British territory was further extended gradually, by annexing one village after another. The eastern (Chakhesang) area (then known as Eastern Angami area), was explored in 1902. An outpost was opened in this area to protect it from the Kuki migration. The government adopted strong measures to stop Kuki encroachments and a few Kuki chiefs were captured. By the year 1923 the villages of Karami, Yisi, Purr, Lophuri, Pimi and Meluri were brought under British control. Thus by 1923, the present Kohima and Phek districts as well as some adjoining areas had been finally consolidated. At that time J.H. Hutton was the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills.

When Wokha sub-centre of administration was formed in 1876 some Ao Naga villages were also incorporated into it. Turning to a still earlier period, we find that during 1884-85 the Ao Naga village of Mangmetung was visited by an expedition in consequence of the trouble with a trading party. In 1885, Ungma and Longsa villages of the Ao Naga had made some raids, for which another expedition was undertaken.

Sometime during 1887, the Changs raided the British-controlled Ao Naga territory. In July 1888 Mongsenyimti and Longkong were raided. Thus to maintain effective control, a separate Mokokchung sub-division came to be established in 1889, by shifting the Wokha administrative centre.

In 1873, Butler proposed to consolidate the Kapamezu-Saramati mountain tract with the politically controlled area, involving a great portion of the Sema territory. Ratomi and Lazami were the first Sema villages which came under this purview. From 1882 to 1884, some Sema villages, including Ratomi, were punished for their raid in the British-controlled Lotha Naga area. So also other Sema villages, Seromi and Ghovishe (named after their chieftains) were visited by a punitive expedition in 1890. During 1905-07, the whole of the Sema territory was considered controlled. Tizu formed a natural boundary between the controlled and non-controlled territory.

Consolidation and Formation of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area:

The Mokokchung sub-division was formed with the object of checking the raids from Cis-Dikhu and trans-Dikhu villages. In March 1900, the Deputy Commissioner toured northwardly from Tamlu to Ninu in Tirap and was received warmly all along the way by the Konyak and Wancho Naga Chiefs. Coal was found to be plentiful in the Borjan area. This prompted the British to incorporate more territories. In 1908 the whole territory between the Dikhu and Safrai rivers, comprising Borjan, Wakching, and Liangkha, was included in Mokokchung sub-division (Reid 1942: 144-45.) Until the First World War, a loose political control area was constituted between the administered and 'independent' territory. In 1938-39 Pangsa was controlled by the British. Head-hunting and warfare were prevalent amongst eastern Naga tribes then.

In 1948 a separate Tuensang administrative centre was created, and a separate sub-division was carved out under the Assistant Political Officer in 1951, with headquarters in Tuensang in the Chang Naga territory. As a result of this, outposts were opened at Kiphire (Sangtam area), Mon (Konyak area) and Noklak (Khamngan area). Wancho tribal area in adjoining Tirap was consolidated with Tirap sub-division of then NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh). In 1952, Tuensang area was constituted as a sub-division of NEFA, under a separate Assistant Political Officer. In 1957, Tuensang sub-division was bifurcated from NEFA and merged into the Naga Hills to form the 'Naga Hills-Tuensang Area' (NHTA).

Although the Sixth Schedule provides for constitution of an Autonomous District Council for the district, no such council was constituted as the Nagas were dissatisfied with the Sixth Schedule and boycotted the elections. Consequently, the administration of the district was carried on under the transitional provisions of Paragraph 19 of the Schedule, by the Government of Assam. Under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, the two sub-divisions of Kohima and Mokokchung were made into two districts, and Tuensang division was converted into the third district (Luthra 1974:9-10).

In 1961, by the Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulation 1961, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area came to be known as *Nagaland*. An Interim Council for Nagaland under the name of Interim Body was constituted. The changes thus introduced continued till December 1, 1963, when it culminated in the constitution of the

full-fledged state of Nagaland, under the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. To safeguard Naga religious and social practices, tribal customary laws and procedures and administration of civil and criminal justice according to tribal customs, the Constitution Act 1962, (Thirteenth Amendment) was enforced (Luthra 1974:10).

Culture Area and Cultural Elements:

Hutton (1965) observed that all Naga tribes are of 'mixed cultural origin'. Several scholars have put forward a plausible hypothesis concerning the sharing of traits by many tribes of the Naga Hills, South East Asia and Oceania (Cole 1945:5, Balfour 1917, 1925, 1926, Smith 1925, Hutton 1921, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1932, 1965, 1969). Hutton (1965:19) maintains that there are close parallels in the cultures of the Naga hills, the hills of Formosa and different places of south east Asia, and various cultural elements have penetrated into the Naga Hills from time to time in the historical past. Traces of a neolithic culture in the Naga hills is widespread. Two types of celts are found in Nagaland. One is roughly triangular and small in size with its widest part at the working edge and the other is much longer and it resembles a Naga adze (Alemchiba 1970:17-18). In his reference to the mesolithic culture, Hall (1964:6) writes that there has been much speculation as to the possible connection of this culture with the neolithic, which succeeded it. Von Heine-Geldern has ventured the theory that the neolithic oval-axe culture found in Northern Burma, among the Nagas of Nagaland (then Assam), in Cambodia and in the eastern islands of the Archipelago, is connected with the use of a plank-built-canoe, and that both represent a development of mesolithic culture.

Smith (1925) finds a direct link among the Naga people, people of Malaya and the people of the islands of Indonesia as they have some common cultural trait. Some of these are head-hunting, having common sleeping houses for the unmarried men and women, disposing of the dead on raised platforms, betel-chewing, tattooing by pricking, having no powerful political organization as such, possessing simple loom for weaving cloth, using large quadrangular or hexagonal shields, and having some crude agricultural techniques. The fact remains that while the practice of head-hunting had been put to an end during the colonial phase, the rest of the above mentioned cultural traits have survived till recently or till this day.

J.H.Hutton observed that both in the physique and disposition of some of the Naga tribes, particularly in the inaccessible interior of the Naga Hills, individuals and sometimes whole communities show decided signs of Papuan traits in their frizzy hair, prominent or aquiline noses, in their very excitable and mirthful, voluble and crude disposition, and in their artistic bent which shows itself in wood-carving as well as in a number of minor items of material culture, which can be traced from Assam at any rate to Fiji. Their typical culture, however, should be sought in Papua and Melanesia (Hutton 1932). Henry Balfour (1917) published an interesting article on an agricultural tool from the Naga Hills. In this article he tried to show different types of hoes in successive evolutionary stages. He also compared these types with those in the Indo-Chinese area, Burma, the Shan states, Cambodia and the Malay states. Balfour (1925) published another article on thorn-lined traps and their distribution. He described the geographical distribution of a unique form of conical trap employed for catching fish in the Naga hills. On the basis of Indian museum collections, he compared it with similar traps found in North Arakan, Western Burma, China, Sumatra, Borneo, Malay Archipelago and also New Guinea. His purpose was to show the affinity between the cultures of the Naga hills and the Melanesians (see Saraswati, 1972).

Discussing the spread of *chank* ornaments among the Naga tribes, Hutton (1926) opines that the Tengima Angami, for the purpose of trade, made cigar-shaped beads which are manufactured by rubbing down the columella of the shell into a particular form. These beads are worn by the Ao and Chang tribes (also see Smith 1925:194). The Tengima Angami also trade in the pieces of *chank* shell from which the ear discs worn by the Chang, Phom, Konyak and Yimchunger Naga tribes are made, though they do not produce them in the finished form. These ear-discs take different forms in these tribes. The Yimchunger discs are plain, the Chang prefer a convex disc without a central hole, often decorated with rows of incised black dots round the edge. The Konyak disc is centrally bored.

In addition, both the Angami and the Konyak use triangular sections of the main shell, the former as end pieces for bead necklaces, the latter as pendants. Nowadays the conch shells from which these ornaments are made are imported from Calcutta by the Angami traders of Khonoma (Tengima) village. Hutton (1926) observed

2/3030

that this trade must be a recent one, as there could have been no direct communication between Khonoma and Calcutta before 1870, and the supply of such shells was probably very limited indeed. Major John Butler (1855:157) recorded that a male slave was worth one cow and three conch shells and a female slave three cows and four or five conch shells.

Furer-Haimendorf, while writing about the dormitory system (*morung*) of the Nagas (JRAI Vol.L.XIII) opines that the *morung* belongs, together with the logdrum, to the oldest cultural stratum of the Naga Hills. The *morung* was the centre of warfare in the sense of imparting to its members the required lessons for fighting the enemy and of guarding the village. Thus it served as a guard-house. The dormitory was inseparable from the institution of 'head-hunting'. After the 'local war' and 'head-hunting', human skulls were hung in the dormitory. As a result of British persuasion, since 1923 in particular, the practice of head-hunting stopped and thus the *morung* houses gradually became defunct. The second phase of dissolution of *morung* may be associated with the change of attitude brought in with the gradual spread of Christianity, followed by formal education. The rites and ceremonies centring around the dormitory thus disappeared, though *morung* houses continue to serve some purposes among many Nagas, particularly in Tuensang and Mon districts.

Morung as a permanent institution did not exist among the Angami, Chakhesang and other western and southern Nagas. Among the Semas, as a general rule the chief's house served all the purposes of a *morung*, both as a centre of *gennas* (rituals), and as a bachelor's sleeping place (Hutton 1921:37). Among the Chang, the *haki* was a logdrum-house, repository for the trophies of war and the skulls of the animals sacrificed. In *haki*, the head-hunting raids were planned, discussed and celebrated. Heads taken in war were first brought to the *haki*, followed by ceremonial functions and rites. The Lothas also brought the heads taken in war first to the bachelor's hall (*champo*) and 'prisoners of war' were also detained here (Mills 1922:24-105).

Among the Chang the villages are divided into a number of *khels* or wards and the *khels* have a *haki* of their own. Different *haki* regulated the socio-religious affairs of their respective wards or clan-districts independently and they combined together to serve the interests of the whole village.

Head-hunting was something more than war. It inspired wonderful dances. Head-hunters enjoyed great prestige. They believed that head-hunting would result in a better yield of crops. Traditions of weaving and wood-carving were influenced by it. The most elaborate textiles could only be worn by a successful head-hunter or his relations. Small replicas of heads were carved to be worn almost like medals. Wooden pipes, with their bowls fashioned as heads, were made. Strong and vigorous human figures were carved and attached to baskets and the warrior's grave was the most splendid of all (Elwin 1961:12). The last recorded case of head-hunting was in 1958 (Elwin 1961:12).

Hutton (1969:351) has divided the Naga communities into four main divisions: (1) The Southern Naga consisting of Kacha Naga and Kabui and the Naga tribes of Manipur (Tangkhul, etc.); (2) The Western Naga consisting of the Angami (including the Memi, Maram and Chakhesang sub-tribes), Sema, Rengma, and Lotha; (3) The Central Naga; the Tangkhul, Ao, Sangtam, Yachumi (Yimchunger), Chang and Phom; (4) The Eastern Naga consisting of the Konyak tribes of Tamlu and the area north-east of Dikhu extending along the border of the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts to the Patkai range and apparently southwards along that range to the east of the Phom and Chang countries. Then, there are villages of *Kalyo-Kengyu*, i.e. the men who live in 'stone houses', since they all use slate for roofing their houses. (These people are now called Khiamngan) On the Burma side they are called Para. Hutton has placed this tribe in the Central Naga group (Hutton 1969:351).

The entire Naga inhabited area may be described as one culture area, on account of several ethno-historical factors. The legends of origin of most of the Naga tribes, if not all, generally give them a more or less autochthonous origin. Thus we find that the ancestors of the Angami, Ao, Sema and others have emerged from the bowels of the earth either in their present habitat or in the neighbourhood. L.W. Shakespear (1914) suggests that the Naga fancy for marine shells may point to a bygone home on the sea (Quoted in Hutton 1969:8).

Ethno-linguistically and culturally, the individual Naga tribes, as our reports have indicated, maintain internal uniformity and intra-community homogeneity. Comparison of ethno-cultural institutions and analysis of inter-community linkages in different phases show striking similarity and commonness of legends and oral traditions,

kinship institutions and descent systems, polity and modes of adjudication, material culture, patterns of settlement of villages and 'clan-districts', arts and crafts, food habits, dormitory organisations and practices of 'warfare', 'feud' and 'head-hunting'.

The Naga Languages and Dialects

The linguistic situation of Nagaland is marked by numerous complicated dialectical variations. The dialect differs from village to village, and in earlier days, men and women in the same household sometimes had to use different forms of speech. Among the southern Angami (Zounuo- Keyhonuo) kinship terminology differs among different moieties (*Tepa* and *Thevo*). There is, however, a general similarity in the languages and dialects spoken by the Nagas who according to the Linguistic Survey of India, (Elwin 1961:12-13) belong to the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman family. An American philologist (see Elwin, 1961:12) has re-classified them, placing the majority of them in what he calls the Burmic division, and a small number in the Baric division, of the Sino-Tibetan tongues.

The Naga languages, however, possess a number of features which differ from those common to the general Tibeto-Burman family. They are highly tonal; the vowels do not conform to any known definite category and appear to be indistinct; the consonants, specially when they occur at the end of words, are glottalised; aspiration characterises liquids and nasals; locative variety predominates in the case system and the conjugational pattern presents an extremely rich variety of moods and well classified tenses; negatives are mainly prefixed or suffixed, infixation occurring in a few instances; classificatory terms, both numerical and nominal, are in use. Lexical resemblances among the Angami, Sema, Lotha, Ao and Meitei have been noted. Morphological resemblances between the Ao and Meitei, Angami and Kachari, are very striking (Elwin 1961:12-13).

Before the advent of the British, the Nagas, belonging to different communities, had talked to one another in *Nagamese* (broken Assamese). *Nagamese* has been useful to the Nagas for the purposes of trade and to promote unity among the different Naga tribes. Many Nagas now are acquainted with Hindi and English. English is the official language of the state. The Naga languages have been

put down in Roman script. In Angami and Ao languages a good literature exists, particularly pertaining to text-books and Christian religious publications.

Demography

The first Census enumeration of Naga hills was done in 1881 when its population was 86,637. The Naga Hills district then consisted of Kohima and Mokokchung sub-divisions only. In 1891 this figure rose to 101,550. The abnormal growth of population in the decade 1901-1911 (46.8%) was caused by the addition of new territory, immigration of missionaries, civil and army staff and partly by natural increase. Unaffected by the virulent epidemics of 1911-1921 that took a heavy toll of life in India, Naga hills had shown an increase of 6.55 percent. Due to inclusion of Tuensang area in 1957, an abnormal growth of 73.35 percent in population was seen in the 1961 Census, but actual growth rate had remained 14.7 per cent (Singh 1970:502).

According to *Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland*, 1965, the figures of speakers of mother-tongue, communitywise, for three districts (based on 1961 Census) happened to be as follows:

		Persons speaking in			
	Mother Tongue	Kohima	Mokokchung	Tuensang	Total
1.	Angami	33,687	35	44	33,766
2.	Ao	322	54,440	1,142	55,904
3.	Assamese	2,830	311	425	3,566
4.	Bengali	3,079	191	544	3,814
5.	Bihari	81	67	2	150
6.	Chakhesang	10,308	-	-	10,308
7.	Chakhru	8,339	-	-	8,339
8.	Chang	-	355	10,973	11,328
9.	Deswali	6	7	-	13
10.	Dimasa	430	-	-	430
11.	Garo	213	4	7	224
12.	Hindi	2,538	1,443	492	4,473
13.	Kabui	261	-	-	261
14.	Kachari	809	5	-	814
15.	Khezha	7,295	-	-	7,295

16.	Khiamngan	-	-	12,434	12,434
17.	Konyak	5	8	46,640	46,653
18.	Kuki	3,010	6	13	3,029
19.	Lotha	210	26,327	28	26,565
20.	Makware	-	-	769	769
21.	Marwari	17	42	12	71
22.	Meluri-Rengma	4	-	-	4
23.	Mikir	123	352	-	475
24.	Nepali	4,649	3,619	2,132	10,400
25.	Phom	-	24	13,361	13,385
26.	Pochury	2,734	-	2	2,736
27.	Rajasthani	-	11	-	11
28.	Rengma	5,756	26	4	5,786
29.	Sangtam	-	174	15,334	15,508
30.	Sema	8,168	37,107	2,164	47,439
31.	Tikhir	-	-	2,486	2,486
32.	Yimchunger	-	75	10,112	10,187
33.	Zeliang	9,460	-	-	9,460

According to 1971 Census the population figure of different Naga communities is as follows:-

Name of community	Total	Population	
		Male	Female
Naga	445,266	225,290	219,976
Angami	43,994	22,299	21,695
Ao	74,016	36,997	37,019
Chakhesang	43,438	22,184	21,254
Chang	16,075	7,991	8,084
Chirr	692	324	368
Khiamngan	14,338	7,499	6,839
Konyak	72,319	36,999	35,320
Lotha	36,638	18,195	18,443
Makware	2,501	1,263	1,238
Phom	18,019	9,413	8,606
Rengma	8,174	4,021	4,153
Sangtam	19,315	9,797	9,518
Sema	64,918	32,656	32,262
Tikhir	2,800	1,444	1,356
Yimchunger	14,146	7,239	6,907
Zeliang	13,883	6,969	6,914

According to 1971 Census the population figures of other scheduled tribes of Nagaland are as follows:-

Sl.No.	Name of community	Population		
		Total	Male	Female
1.	Garos	934	521	413
2.	Kachari	4,329	2,293	2,036
3.	Kuki	6,206	3,314	2,992
4.	Mikir	519	255	264

Tribal Religion, Sect and Christianity:

The traditional faith, religious beliefs and practices of Naga tribes show definite signs of being animistic. There is a vaguely imagined supreme creator of mankind, and many deities, ghosts and spirits of trees, rivers and hills. There are priests and medicine-men who placate these spirits, banish those who give diseases, attract those who help and guard, and also take the lead in the rites and festivals which stimulate the processes of agriculture (Elwin 1961:10). Thus, there are both benevolent and malevolent spirits who are propitiated through the involvement of tribal religious specialists. There is universal agreement among all Naga tribes that the soul does not perish at death. Among many Naga tribes (Chang, Sangtam, Khiamngan) there is a belief that the soul, after death, goes down a narrow path to the land of the dead that is guarded by a spirit with whom it must struggle. Some people believe that it finds its final home below the ground; the Chang believe that the good soul goes to a village of the dead.

There is a very concrete conception of earth spirits among most Naga tribes (Hutton 1931). The Lotha Nagas used to sacrifice and then eat dogs at a propitiatory ceremony, because the dog, being the cleverest of all animals, is therefore the most gratifying to the spirits (Hutton 1932). The members of an Ao Naga clan who seem to have had a dog totem are able to run like dogs (Hutton 1941). Many Naga tribes have tiger clans. According to Hutton, (1931) perhaps this shows the survival of some extinct totemistic belief. Most Naga tribes regard the ultimate ancestry of man and the tiger (or leopard) as very intimately associated (Hutton 1941). Thus, the Angami relate that in the beginning the first spirit, the first tiger and the first man, were three sons of one mother. At last the mother got tired of family squabbles, put up a mark in the jungle and told the man and the

tiger to run to it, the one that touched it first being destined to live in villages and the other to live in the jungle. By arrangement between the spirit and the man, the former shot an arrow at the mark, while the other two were racing, and the man cried out that he had touched it. The tiger arrived while it still trembled from the blow, and being deceived, went away angry to live in the jungle (Hutton 1920). This story is found in a more or less identical form among all sections of the Angami, Sema, Lotha, and Rengma Nagas, in the Angami village, killing a tiger is regarded as taboo.

In the sphere of religion, the Rengma resemble the Angami and the Sema, and their festivals (*gennas*) also roughly correspond. As among the Angami, there is a female first reaper, and the stone-pulling ceremony is practised. Several festivals are connected with agricultural activities such as reaping, sowing and harvesting. *Moatsu* festival is performed by the Ao Naga in the month of May, after the sowing. *Moatsu* is still celebrated even after the spread of Christianity in the Ao area. Among the Lotha, *pithi* is the sacred specialist who performs all ceremonies and rituals. He inaugurates the sowing and harvesting. He announces the day and time for rituals and ceremonies. The other most important festivals of the Ao Naga are *Aluleptenmong*, *Mitimeshimong*, *Tendenmong*, *Möreptenmong*, *Yim Kulemshimong*, *Metchamong*, *Long-Kulem mong*, *Lijabamong*, *Tsukulem mong*, *Waramong*, *Aopimong*, *Kirongmong*, *Menenmong* and *Kika-Suchimong* (Aier 1967:26-34). Most of these festivals are observed to mark the beginning or end of a particular agricultural activity, such as jungle clearing, burning of field plants and grass, sowing, weeding of fields and harvesting. When the crops are ready, the festival of *Tsungremong* is performed. Pigs are sacrificed during this ceremony in honour of the deity *Lijaba*. During the *Yimkilemba* ceremony, *Itatsungren* (spirit of moon) and *Anutsungrem*, (spirit of sun) are worshipped among the Ao (Das, 1979).

A great deal of uniformity is observed among the Naga tribes with regard to the various notions about the moon and the sun. No Naga worship them, but among most of the Naga tribes, the sun and moon are called on to witness oaths, since they see all that takes place (Hutton 1925). On the other hand, the Chang Naga like the Ao, attribute virtue to the rising sun. They are also careful to observe the place where the sun rises, and amongst the Angamis there are religious specialists who observe the sun and note the day on which it turns back from its northern course. The Angami and

on which it turns back from its northern course. The Angami and Chang, in the view of Hutton (1925), correlate the solar to the lunar year by the insertion of an intercalary month. Most Naga tribes regard the moon as the male and the sun as female (Hutton 1925). Among them, the rainbow is regarded as the heavenly bridge which the spirits of the sky use in order to communicate with the earth. The Angami consider it the path of a god (Hutton 1925).

Prestige-acquiring Ceremonies:

A central feature of traditional Naga life is the giving of what has come to be known as 'Feasts of Merits' (Elwin 1961:10). These feasts among different Naga tribes consist of a series of ceremonies, in a rising scale of importance leading finally to the sacrifice of the *mithun* (the *Bos frontalis*) which is the chief domestic animal and used almost as currency to settle a marriage or pay a fine. These feasts ultimately bring the donor honour both now and after death and he can henceforth wear special clothes and ornaments and decorate his house in a special way. Only a married man can give such feasts, since his wife must take a conspicuous and honoured place in the proceedings.

Naga Cosmology and Head-hunting:

The practice of head-hunting is based on a belief in a soul-matter or vital essence of great power, which resides in the human head (Elwin 1961:11). It was believed that by taking a head from another village, some kind of a vital and creative energy would enter the head-hunter's village. This was valuable for human and animal fertility. It stimulated the crops to grow better. A Naga warrior thus held a great advantage over his fellows in attracting the most beautiful girl of his village for marriage.

In the view of Hutton (1931,1932) head-hunting arises from a theory of the soul as the source of all, life existing as a quasi-material entity within the body which it pervades, and transferable to other bodies indirectly through the soil and the crops, the circuit of life being continued by the consumption of the crop by human beings.

Christianity in Nagaland:

When the American Baptist Naga mission initiated its work in 1836,

political conditions were stable. Miles Bronson made the first contacts with the Nagas in the Konyak territory and his work reflected a combination of educational, economic and religious activities. Mission work among the Nagas was moribund during the two decades following 1842 (Pruett 1974). The first missionary activity in the Naga Hills after 1842 was that of an Assamese Christian, Godhula Brown, who was encouraged by E.W.Clark to explore the possibilities for establishing a mission in the home of the Nagas. From the beginning of the Naga mission, the conflict between Naga culture and Christianity was evident (Pruett 1974). E.W.Clark (1875-1911) was known in his time as one who wished to bring an end to head-hunting and blood-feuds, both of which were prominent cultural practices. The mission continued to grow in the Naga hills. In 1913, the meeting of the Naga Baptist Association was attended by 1,300 people. By 1915 there were thirty six churches in the Naga hills. The Ao Naga area has a long history of Christianity. A mission centre was opened at Impur in October 1894. Impur, for many years, was the Christian centre not only for the Ao churches but for the churches of the Semas, Lothas, Changs, Phoms and Sangtams (Ao 1970). Another missionary, W.E.Witter, was deputed to Lotha Naga area in 1885. He opened the first Lotha school and wrote the first Lotha Primer. Impur grew into an educational centre with central M.E. School. Its jurisdiction extended to Ao, Lotha and Sema areas. The Kohima centre covered Angami, Rengma, part of Sema, Zeliang and Kuki tribal areas. In 1950 a scheme was drawn up to start a centre at Pfutsero to cover the Chakhesang area. The missionaries expanded their educational institutions gradually and in many places L.P.Schools were developed into Middle English schools. Much of printed Naga literature has grown out of primers, grammar and translation; a bulk of which is confined to Christian religious themes and are of missionary interests. Clark and his wife were pioneers in Ao literature. Rivenburg was the father of the Angami literature. In 1892-93 other publications came out in the Angami language. Another important work is Angami-English Dictionary by Dr. Haralu which came out in 1935. Publications in Sema began in 1908 with the Primer by Dickson. In Rengma only four gospels and a hymn book were prepared during the above period.

The Christian population of Nagaland, during the 1951-61 period, increased by 99.44 percent. However, unlike the Ao Nagas, the Angami Nagas had converted to Christianity in very small numbers.

During 1961-71, the Christian population increased by 76.29 per cent. The Christians today constitute 66.76 per cent of the total population of Nagaland (Singh 1977). Several scholars have maintained that Christianity has caused injury and damage to the indigenous culture of the Naga tribes (Furer-Haimendorf 1978).

On account of disturbed political conditions in Nagaland, no foreign missionaries were allowed to work after 1954 (Terhuja 1972). In recent years, revivalist movements have been launched within the Baptist Church of the Angami and other Nagas. Such dissident groups are generally affiliated to the Ceylon Pentrostal Mission (Terhuja 1972). There is a tendency among most Naga tribes to identify Christianity with education and teetotalism. It is regarded as 'fashionable' to become a Christian and get educated and westernised. The Church associations advocate abstinence from drinking country rice-beer (*zu*) or any other alcoholic drink. They also advocate monogamy and discourage divorce.

The "Heraka" Religious Cult and Zeliangrong Movement:

The beginning of a sense of solidarity amongst the geographically scattered but culturally united Naga tribes Zemi, Liangmei (forming Zeliang) and Rongmei, may be first traced to a religious cult, called *Heraka*, which was initiated and advocated by Jadonang in 1925. When foreign missionaries were given the freedom to launch their activities, the traditional village priests and elders were aggrieved, as their powers and privileges were threatened by the new faith. At this juncture Jadonang, who had spiritual and healing powers, started his religious cult *Heraka*, which means 'not impure'. He preached of one god in place of many, organised temples, introduced hymns and discourses and tried to unite the people on the prophecy of a kingdom of God for his Naga tribesmen. In 1927, Jadonang planned an underground movement with his first cousin, Gaidinliu, and other trusted followers.

The main objectives of the Jadonang-Gaidinliu movement were to revitalise and reform their traditional religious rites and beliefs in the face of advancing Christianity, to reorganise and integrate the Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmei Nagas, to remove inter-village and inter-tribal ill-feelings, to free themselves from the suppression and exploitation of the British colonial rule and to establish an independent Nagaraj (Das 1988). The followers of the *Heraka* cult are called

khampais. In the other programmes launched by the movement, leaders had to raise funds, purchase arms, train up girl volunteers under Gaidinliu and compose inspiring songs. By 1930, when the plans and programmes had reached almost all Zeliangrong villages, the villagers were asked to disobey the unjust laws and to stop paying taxes. Their programme of civil disobedience was influenced by Gandhiji's national independence movement. However, Jadonang could not succeed in his programmes since he was arrested and executed. Gaidinliu then took up the leadership to give shape to the former's politico-religious objectives. As early as 1937, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came to know about Gaidinliu and met her in Shillong jail during his visit to Assam. Nehru was impressed with her and called her 'Rani' Gaidinliu (Nehru, 1948). After the Independence of India, Rani Gaidinliu was recognised at the national level. During 1969-1972, she reorganised her movement for special recognition for the Zeliangrong people, and for development of their territory, spread in a contiguous area through Nagaland, Manipur and Assam.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

Land, forest and water bodies continue to be the main economic resources which are owned and managed at several levels. Wet terrace and other permanent agricultural fields are, in most cases, owned by individuals or individual families. The *jhum* fields, forest areas and water bodies are owned and managed by the wider descent groupings such as sub-lineage, lineage, clan and village. Kinship principles and customary laws continue to shape the economic relations in Naga villages. In some areas, such as in parts of Mon district, the traditional Konyak chief owns the entire land and other resources and distributes them among villagers. Shifting cultivation and terrace cultivation are two important methods of agriculture. Under shifting cultivation, an individual family divides its own forest area into a number of plots and cultivates one plot for two years. In the following year the family shifts to the next plot and that also is cultivated for the same period. After the rotation is completed, the first plot is taken up again. The jungle is felled and burnt and the crops are sown on the ground, fertilized by the ashes. The complete rotation of plots may take between six to ten years

tion is, the more fertile the soil becomes and better the crops are. This type of shifting cultivation is popularly known as *jhum* cultivation. The Angami and Chakhesang Nagas have traditionally practised wet terrace cultivation. The hillsides are cut and terraces are made over them. The stones taken out of the soil are used to embank the edges of the terrace. The terrace fields are irrigated by a network of water channels. They are so gradated that water flows down conveniently from one terrace to the other below it, and so on. The individual rights over water channels are maintained.

There are no absentee landlords and no landless individuals among the Naga.

Domestic animals such as pigs, cows, fowls, goats, *mithun* (*Bos frontalis*) and dogs occupy important places in the economy of the Nagas. These were used as food items and as important means of exchange. The Nagas used to take down to the plains, chillies, vegetables, cotton, ginger, and *pan* leaves and exchange them for salt, clothes, dried fish, utensils and other necessities. Many of these items were exchanged and bartered among the Naga tribes. In this process the cow, pig, *mithun* etc. had come to be regarded as standard units of exchange. Different units carried different values. An old Angami table of barter runs like this; one male slave bartered for one cow and three conchshells (one conch-shell roughly corresponded to one rupee in the plains then), one female slave for three cows and five conchshells, one cow for ten conchshells, one pig for two conchshells, one goat for two conchshells and one fowl for one packet of salt.

Indigenous forms of currency were in use among the Naga tribes in the shape of round brass discs and strips of thin iron. These currency were called *chabili* by the Ao. Among the Angami, it consisted of conchshells, small flat cakes of salt, narrow blades of decorated *daos* and strings of broken conchshell beads; and the Chang currency consisted of metal gongs. Among the Aos, one *chabili* (*jabili*) represented a day's work or four annas (Hutton 1969:58). The Chang currency had been of three categories, *lah*, *namshou*, and *shapshem*. *Lah* was regarded as the highest unit. In some territories of the Chang, Ao, Yimchunger, Sangtam and Pochury, these currencies were in use till recently in varied degrees.

Among the secondary occupations, animal husbandry remains the most important means of livelihood. Each household keeps cows, pigs, buffalo etc. *Mithun* (bison), which had great socio-reli-

cows, pigs, buffalo etc. *Mithun* (bison), which had great socio-religious significance in Naga life, has become a very rare species. The Khiamngan, Chang and other eastern Nagas possess *mithun* in considerable numbers. The other occupations are weaving (done by women), fishing, hunting and basketry. Cane and bamboo work is now done by several Naga tribes in much larger scale under governmental schemes. However, this industry has not reached the level of commercial supply.

Black-smithy in Naga villages has been an old occupation. Every Naga village manages to manufacture its *dao* (knives of various kinds), forges, spears, scrapers etc. Among the Lotha Naga, black-smithy is regarded as an 'unlucky' job.

Spinning and weaving have been two main industries in the Naga hills. The Ao, Rengma and Lotha used to grow cotton sufficient not only for their own requirements but also for trading amongst the Naga tribes and the plains men. In recent years however, mill-made yarn, which is cheap and easily available, is steadily replacing the thread spun locally. Indigenous spinning has gradually become extinct.

Weaving, however, continues to be popular. Among the Nagas, all women are expected to know weaving and they normally produce all the cloth necessary for the family. The loom is a simple tension loom. It is exclusively a woman's possession and a man cannot touch it. Lengths of woven cloth are cut with bamboo knives, the use of the *dao* being forbidden for the purpose. These pieces are then sewn together with a bamboo needle. Dying is also done only by women. A man who violated this rule, it was said, would not have any luck in hunting or fishing. Nowadays chemical dyes are gradually replacing the indigenous colours.

In the past Angami clothes were made entirely of local materials. During the British period a particular type of fine thread imported from Burma was used by the Angami. Villages located in the high hills received raw cotton from villages located in lower areas (Hutton 1969 :60). The cotton was seeded by a little wooden machine called *meza tsang yusi*. This machine was purchased from the Rongmei and Liangmei people. The only embroidery (*kweku*) worked on the cloth was done by working little patches of colour design into the cloth as it is woven by hand with a bamboo needle and a fine pick of hard wood (bamboo or sago palm), which is also used to beat up the stitches. The pattern is always one of triangles

forming a small rectangular patch. During the British period steel needles had come to be used (Hutton 1969 :62) by the Nagas, particularly in administered areas.

Definite economic linkages were thus established by the Naga through trade of a variety of articles including beads and shells in the hills and plains. Money as a medium of exchange was introduced only during the second world war. Prior to that the denominations of wealth were the extent of land or the number of *mithuns* and cattle which an individual possessed. The economy of Naga tribes and other communities, except Mikir and migrant groups, is predominantly based on agriculture. Agriculture accounts for the labour force. However the agricultural products are hardly directed towards markets, mainly on account of negligible marketing surplus and inadequacy of marketing facilities. The state is deficit in food grains. Production was around 79,300 tonnes as against the requirement of 1,21,000 tonnes. Annually an area of approximately 1,63,200 hec is put under cultivation of which an area of about 61800 hec is under permanent cultivation with some irrigation facilities. *jhum* cultivation accounts for about 62.3 percent area annually. As per the Agriculture Census of 1976-77, there are 103325 farming households in the state. Out of these, 47,427 households depend entirely on shifting cultivation and 44,104 households partly depend on *jhum* and partly on terrace cultivation. The destructive effect of *jhum* in terms of erosion of hill slopes and denudation of forests is now commonly admitted. It may be stated that Nagaland is predominantly a tribal state where production in a large measure is still undertaken with 'primitive' methods and techniques, though wherever the terrain is manageable, the Nagas have taken up settled, plough based paddy cultivation, such as in Dimapur area, Changki area and valley areas carved out by the rivers such as Dikho, Tizu, Doyang and Baghty.

The main crops grown by the Nagas are paddy, maize, millet, *taro* and chillies. Vegetables such as cucumber and beans are also grown. Fruit farming in several areas of the state is successfully launched through governmental schemes. Orange, pineapple, lemon, banana and papaya are grown. In some areas, such as in the Changki area, coffee plantation schemes and rubber plantation, have started after Independence. Nagaland, for all practical purposes, missed the advantages of the first two plans owing to law and order problems. Even the third plan was undertaken under the conditions of ethnic

tension. The fourth plan was, however, implemented under relatively peaceful conditions. Nagaland is a frontier territory and thus requires special attention from the point of view of both defence and political stability. There was hardly any development of the infrastructure in the region, prior to Independence.

Production of foodgrains increased from 61,820 metric tonnes in 1963 to 81,700 metric tonnes in 1973-74 and 1,25,000 metric tonnes in 1980-81. Though no major or medium irrigation projects were undertaken, there has been a substantial increase in irrigation schemes, mainly in terms of diversion of channels from the hill streams. As a part of agricultural improvement, intensive measures have been taken up under soil conservation programme to bring up scientific management of soil and water resources since 1964. Since this period, construction and development of a few medium sized industries have been taken up. They are the sugar mills at Dimapur, the pulp and paper mills at Tuli and the plywood factory at Tijit.

Effective steps have also been taken to develop handloom and other handicraft products which have a large commercial potential. The setting up of the Nagaland Handloom and Handicraft Development Corporation in 1978 has been a significant step for the development of these small household industries. According to Ao (n.d.) there are nearly eighty varieties of attractive textile designs used by different Naga tribes, but except for a few, these are hardly explored for commercial purpose.

Barring a few kilometres near Dimapur town, there is no rail communication in Nagaland. By the end of 1947, the total road area was 176 kms which increased to 5126 kms by the end of 1980-81. The Border Roads Organisation has also taken up road construction and improvement works in the state and it has made significant progress in opening up new and interior areas. The number of nationalised bus routes increased to 149 routes with a coverage of 4338 kms at the end of 1979-80.

The number of towns and villages which have electricity, rose from six in 1963 to ninety nine in 1973-74. By the end of 1980-81, 372 villages out of 966 in the state had electricity. Two micro-hydel stations have been commissioned. The progress in providing facilities for banking and other financial institutions are below the all-India average.

The number of schools (primary, middle and high schools) rose from 105 in 1947 to 1409 in 1980-81 and the number of colleges

increased from nil in 1947 to eight in 1980-81. The number of hospitals rose from five in 1947 to thirty in 1980-81, and the number of dispensaries rose from six in 1947 to 148 in 1980-81. However, many of the interior areas are yet to receive the services of the health department. In 1947 no village had the facility of water supply, but by the year 1977-78, a total of 249 villages had been provided with water facilities.

Village Settlement and House Type

The different communities of Nagaland, and more particularly the Naga tribes, have traditionally lived in well-defined territories. The Naga villages are established between the height of 1,200 m to 2,100 m in different hill ranges. These villages are formed with little regularity on the summits and crests of different hills, generally high tabular hills or saddle-back spurs running off from the main ranges. The Naga villages have traditionally been divided into 'wards', which came to be called *khels* particularly during British period. In most cases these *khels* are clan localities. The *khels* enjoy clearcut politico-jural autonomy. The nature of clan/*khel* organization is crucial for understanding the tribal system. It is mainly through clan organisation that the village itself emerges as a structural system. For example, among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo (Southern Angami) this clan-land nexus is an important element of the legal system. Among these acephalous people, a localized clan does not provide a framework to organize inter-personal relationship, but it plays a significant role in organizing inter-group relations, such as relations between different lineages or *sarra* groups (Das 1985).

The forest areas, *jhum* and terrace fields, streams and other water sources and clan-territories (which had their own gates) have been all connected with one another by paths which are constructed with considerable skill.

The single storey Naga houses are traditionally built on hill tops after being dug down to a rough level. In width, the houses vary from six to twelve metres and in length from about ten to twenty m and are divided into two or three compartments. House types and house decoration vary according to the socio-political and ritual status of a person, or according to his wealth. The houses have high gable ends with eaves almost touching the ground as a precaution against the high winds. The front gable of a rich man or chief which

is five to ten m. in height is often decorated with broad handsome feather boards. The gable at the back is only about three to five m in height. Bamboo, grass and wooden posts provide important building material for the Nagas. The thick strong stems serve as posts, the split and spoiled ones as the wall material and floor coverings while the narrow cane strips form ligatures that take the place of nails and clamping irons to bind the posts together. In front of each house, large stones are placed for sitting. The windowless Naga house remains dark inside even during daytime. The Naga houses consist of thatched roofs, forty to fifty feet in length, and supported by strong bamboo or wood poles about twenty feet in height. The facade is decorated with the trophies of war and animal heads. The front poles of the hut cross each other and thereby provide holds for passage of the strong February-March wind. The house structure, though it looks weak, is really solid and strong.

The style of house and its decoration denote the social position of the family. The type of construction and the fashion of the houses vary from tribe to tribe. Every house is divided into two parts. The front room is used for accommodating domestic animals like cow, pig and chicken. The other portion, including the kitchen and the bedroom is meant for family use. A fire burns here, day and night. Split bamboo sheets are hung over this fire which are used for preserving meat and paddy. The smoke provides natural preservation to the food article. The hearth has jural significance in the sense that each family has a house with its own hearth and paddy baskets for in-house-consumption.

In south Nagaland, the Angami and Chakhesang territories form a most charming country, enjoying a beautiful climate and most fertile soil, well cultivated, drained and manured, the hill sides being covered with a succession of terraces of rich rice, with numerous villages in every direction, some of them so large that they might rightly be called towns (Elwin 1961 :7). The size of the villages are striking even in the wilder Tuensang border ranges, where they are built on the most commanding points along the ridges of the hills and were formerly stockaded by stone walls, palisades, dykes or fences of thorns. Some had village gates, great wooden doors decorated with painted carving in bas-relief, which were approached by narrow winding paths sunk in the ground.

The Aos and Lothas arrange their houses in regular streets, often along the top of a ridge; other tribes build as they please; but they

all divide their villages into *khels* or quarters (Elwin 1961 :7). Throughout Nagaland, the old settlement pattern of villages continues to persist, though road-side villages have come up which have Assam type houses. The Naga houses are usually fairly large, sometimes very large, testifying to the importance of the owner. Some have high gables projecting in front, others are crowned by crossed wooden horns, the trophies of the chase, with the relics of great feasts proudly displayed in the front porch. Many houses are built high above the ground on stilts and there is always a sitting-platform at the back.

Among the southern Angami, each family occupies a homestead which is generally identified with the occupant's social status. The family as the domestic group, is a unit of food consumption and property ownership. Each house has separate means of production and a separate cooking place. A Naga house is a clearly drawn unit in the village with its own cooking place and a granary.

A typical southern Angami (Zounuo-Keyhonuo) house varies in length from twentyfive feet to as much as fifty feet, and in width from twenty to forty feet. The bare earth is roughly levelled to form the flooring. The single-storeyed Angami house is built on the ground. The front gable rises from fifteen to twenty feet in height, while the back gable is necessarily lower, being only about ten or fifteen feet high. On each side the eaves almost touch the ground. The house is constructed by setting up eight posts, four on each side, with four higher corresponding posts, to bear the roof tree down the centre of the house. These posts are notched at the top, the arms of the notches being of equal length. A hole bored below the notch takes the eave lashings which secure the roof tree, and the beams for the two sides are laid over the top of them and securely tied with eave thongs passing through the hole (Hutton 1969 :50-51).

The posts, both upright and horizontal are merely trees roughly trimmed. On this framework, an open trellis is made of split bamboos crossing one another at right angles and similarly tied with cane thongs. On this trellis the roof is constructed. A rich man's house-roof among the Zounuo-keyhonuo has *kirhua*, which runs from the eaves to the point of the gable. These *kirhuas* continue into two big horns of wood known as *kika* (house-horns), usually bored with a round hole in their palmated ends. The object of these holes is said to be to provide the resistance offered by the horns to

the wind and so lessen the likelihood of their being destroyed or broken.

The front wall of an Angami house, as also in case of other Nagas, is made of big boards of wood. This wooden wall is often carved with heads of men, pig and bisons. The interior of the Angami house is generally divided into two or three compartments. The front room, comprising more than half the length of the house, has the paddy baskets, five to eight feet high, and *pikch* for rice-pounding (a massive table-like object, five to ten feet long, with a broad wooden keel and round holes at intervals of about one and a half to two feet burnt into the wood, in which the paddy is pounded). The second compartment is separated from the first by a plank wall, in which, there is an unclosed opening by way of a doorway. It contains the hearth, called *miso* among the Zounuo-keyhonuo section of the Angami, which is composed of three stones embedded in the earth so as to form a stand for a cooking pot, set over the fire, which burns between them. Behind this compartment is kept the liquor vat, a hollowed section of a tree with three legs hewn in one block. A portion is generally demarcated within the front room for domestic animals, pigs, cows and dogs. No remarkable change is observed in the above conditions, in a southern Angami house.

The Nagas are gradually departing from the conventional Naga pattern of house construction with thatch and are now using corrugated tin, timber and cement. There is greater freedom in the layout and the arrangement of rooms. These changes are observed mainly in big villages.

Prominent in many Naga villages is the *morung*, or the dormitory for the men. Among eastern and central Nagas, small sleeping houses for unmarried girls are found. The *morung*, as described earlier, are guard-houses with an important ceremonial purpose.

The Bachelors Hall, which is prominent and necessary as a focal centre of clan activity under the democratic system, appears as an important appendage of the chief's house, under the sacrosanct priest chief organisation. 'The Bachelor's Hall' has been shown, to be originally the communal house from which private dwellings split up (Hutton 1932). About the 'Long House' of the Konyak chief (*Ang*), Hutton (1932) writes that it remains as an appendage of the *Ang's* house. *Morung* have been village club houses in the democratic Naga communities (Hutton 1932). Among the Khamnagan, the *morung* is called *kamnoi*. These *morungs* still exist in many vil-

lages. There are ten *morungs* in Lam *khel* of the Noklak village. Specific lineages provide the leaders for these *morungs*. Among the Pochury, *morung* is called *awiekhu*, and is located in a *khel* or *anaphru*.

Among the Ao, Sangtam, Chang and Khiamngan, we find the existence of log drum houses which were used for village guarding and defence. The *morung* houses among them, as elsewhere, served as recreational clubs, centres of education and military training (in the pre-colonial and colonial phase).

Though multi-clan *morungs* are not unknown, the *morung*, owes its cohesion and political strength to its being composed of a single exogamous clan. Among the Konyaks, the *morung* is often the place where the unmarried men sleep, strangers are entertained and public affairs transacted. The *morung* also functioned as a cultural centre. It is here that folksongs, tales and dances passed from one generation to another. It also functioned as the sports centre. Its martial importance became ineffective with the commencement of British administration and the advent of Christian missionaries.

Wood carving also came to be adversely affected in this era. The carvings on *morung* pillars are always in high relief, carved on large posts. The quality of wood carving among the southern and western Nagas is usually inferior to the carvings of the eastern and northern Nagas. Among the Konyak, Khiamngan and other eastern Nagas, human beings are carved, smaller than life-size. The noses are usually broad, the ears are made prominent, the eyes are narrow ovals and the eyebrows are painted black. The colour is obtained from soot and pig's blood; some-times powdered charcoal is used in place of soot. In Konyak *morungs* there are a number of erotic motifs, such as men and women and even dogs engaged in sexual intercourse, dancing couples placing their hands on each other's thighs and other carvings showing bodies embracing. The carvings of women are distinguishable by the prominent breasts.

Naga Political Movement and Electoral Politics:

The Naga National Council, formed in 1946, was a political metamorphosis from the rigidly structured Naga Hills District Tribal Council, which was established in 1939 by C.R. Pawsey, the then British Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills (Ao 1972). Gradually a consciousness of composite Naga ethnic identity and solidarity

amongst the different Naga tribes had emerged. The educated Naga youth were to play important roles in the Naga National Council, though when India inherited responsibility for Naga territory in 1947, there were still less than a dozen Naga graduates (Gundevia 1975:93). At the same time the systematic spread of Christianity among the Naga tribes filled up the intellectual and spiritual vacuum caused by the growing scepticism, among the tribal population, about their traditional faith and world-view (Roy Burman 1972). However, it may also be noted that pre-literate cosmology was based on the notion of unilineal transition from birth to after life, not unlike the Christian doctrine. Moreover, the Nagas were given an avenue wherein they found a common symbolic ground to meet the Whiteman, through Christianity (Imchen 1987). The educated Naga formed the backbone of political moderation as compared to a section of emerging leaders, some of whom, like Phizo, had first hand experience of visiting some south-east Asian countries. On the eve of impending withdrawal of the British colonial rule, two dominant ideological trends were observed among the Naga elite, one section looking towards south-east Asia and another section looking towards the emerging south Asian situation. The thought processes of the Naga elite were influenced by their basic social structures which are generally an extension of the highland south-east Asian social formations.

From an administrative point of view, consolidation of the Naga territories came under the Government of India Act, enforced in April 1937. In Section 311 of this Act, a distinction was made between British India and India. The former meant the territories under the Governor's provinces and the Chief Commissioner's provinces, whereas India was used in a wider sense to include such provinces together with Indian states, tribal areas etc which fell within the geographical boundary of India (Luthra 1974:7). In the same section, the tribal areas were defined as the areas along the frontiers of India or in Baluchistan which were not part of British India or of Burma or of any Indian state, or of any foreign state. The Naga tribal area which territorially approximates with erstwhile Tuensang Frontier Division was brought under Section 313 of the Act of 1935 and was placed under the administrative control of the Governor of Assam and the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District on behalf of the Governor General of India representing British imperial power (Luthra 1974: 7). The aforesaid section of the Act was

repealed by and adapted under the Indian Independence Act 1947. Taking the power similar to those conferred by the Indian Foreign Jurisdiction Order-in-Council of 1902, the Govt. of India extended its *de-jure* control to the Naga tribal areas. The nodal point for this amalgamation was the erstwhile Naga hills district. The Naga National Council declared that the Tribal Areas were free and a plebiscite organised by the NNC favoured independence (Luthra 1974:22), in Naga hills district and considered themselves as outside the purview of legal articulations of the nation-state (Gundevia, 1975, Luthra 1974:7-10).

About 2000 Naga labour corps personnel who had returned from war-torn France, had brought back a feeling of self-expectancy for political assertion. This had culminated in the formation of the Naga Club. This Club submitted a Memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929 to keep the Naga Hills away from any reform. Among other things, the Memorandum claimed that they were the only persons at present who could voice "for our people and who have heard with great regret that our hills were included within the Reformed Scheme without our knowledge— We never asked for and we do not wish for reforms— Therefore if it is continued to be placed under Reformed Scheme— we shall have no share in the land of our birth" (Imti 1988). The text of the memorandum made it abundantly clear how a group consciousness of Naga solidarity and of common 'Naga' identity had already grown. The Naga Club, formed to foster the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas under official patronage, (Gundevia: 1975:57) was succeeded by the Naga National Council (NNC), in 1964. The NNC gave a sense of political unity to the Naga tribes and it introduced the concept of Naga nationalism (Das 1982, Das 1989:268-72). The objectives of the NNC were limited in the initial period. In a four point memorandum submitted during June 1946, the NNC had demanded greater autonomy for the Naga hills within the Indian Union, with special safeguards for the Nagas and a separate electorate. But in their next memorandum, during June 1947, the NNC had opted for an Interim Government for the Naga, for ten years. According to Gundevia, "the policy of the Government of India, however, being to allow the maximum autonomy consistent with the integrity of her natural frontiers, a nine-point memorandum or agreement, incorporating the results, including certain administrative proposals," was formulated and signed by the Governor and also by the Chief

Minister of Assam in June 1947 and the same was accepted by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (Gundevia 1955:58-59). From the very beginning, several members of the NNC were not in favour of the agreement (Imti:1988 Appendix 9). According to Luthra, "although the provisions of the Agreement were faithfully inserted in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, promulgated on 26 January 1950, in different phraseology, the NNC seized the opportunity for declaring that the Govt. had turned its back on the agreement" (Luthra 1974:2). Afterwards Mr. Vizar, the only Naga in the Congress party resigned and joined the NNC (Tajen Ao, 1988 Mss). It may be mentioned that Pt. Nehru's stand to allow the Nagas to develop according to their own genius, was also reflected in his letter to Sashimeren Aier (*Kohima Times* Sept. 1946, p.6) which said that tribal areas should have freedom and autonomy— that they should live their own lives according to their own customs and decisions. Naga territories should be an integral part of the Assam province, and yet should have a certain measure of autonomy for its purpose. The whole Naga territory should go together and should be controlled in a large measure by elected group of Nagas such as the NNC. Consequently, the status of autonomous district was proposed for Naga Hills in the draft constitution in 1950, though moderate elements got isolated within the NNC. The legitimacy of the NNC was, however, tacitly approved by many agencies (Franda : 1961). A movement began in Mokokchung town for convening a Naga Public meeting on 13th May 1956. This brought about a series of consolidations "amongst the over-ground Nagas" who formed the Naga People's Convention (NPC). The representatives who assembled at Kohima during August 1957 voiced their views on the tense political situation in the country. There were 1756 delegates representing different tribes, excluding those visitors from the neighbouring villages of Kohima town, numbering more than 2000 persons who daily attended the convention. There were sixty Naga among the delegates who were in government service under Assam, North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) and the Government of India (Yaden 1970:1).

The first session of the Naga People's Convention was held at Kohima from 22nd to 26th August 1957 with late Dr. Imkongliba Ao, as the President and Shri Jasokie Angami as the Secretary. Among other things, the convention resolved that the only answer to the Naga question was a political settlement, that the present

Naga Hills District of Assam and Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA along with the reserved forests of Naga Hills District, after reforms of 1921, should be constituted into a single administrative unit under the External Affairs Ministry; that the Army and Police be withdrawn and the villages degrouped. They also appealed for an end to the cult of a violence, pledged to actively work together to end hostilities and to bring about peace (Yaden 1970:2).

In the second session held from 21 to 23 May 1958, in Ungma village of the Mokokchung district, they reaffirmed the above. At the third meeting held during October 1959, the Naga Peoples Convention prepared a Sixteen Point Memorandum for the constitution of a separate state within the Indian Union, to be known as NAGALAND, directly under the Ministry of External Affairs, with a Governor, an Administrative Secretariat, a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Assembly (Gundevia 1975:71). One of the points in the 'agreement' that was reached on 27th July 1960, which was to remain crucial in the minds of the Nagas in future, was that the other Nagas inhabiting contiguous areas should be enabled to join the new state. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Article 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any state, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage (Yaden 1970:13).

The changes introduced by the Nagaland (Transitional Provision) Regulation 1961, continued till 1st December 1963, when it culminated in the constitution of the full fledged state of Nagaland under the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. With the formation of the state of Nagaland, the areas comprising it have been eliminated from the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution and the Governor of Assam has been divested of his personal responsibility and discretion in regard to the administration of the area, as the agent of the President of India and he has since then been functioning as a constitutional Governor of the new state like the Governor of other states except that he has special responsibility in respect to the law and order of the state, vide the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act 1962. This act *inter alia* provides that, notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, (a) no Act of Parliament in respect of

- (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas,
- (ii) Naga customary law and procedure,

- (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law,
- (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the state of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides;

(b) the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility in respect of law and order in the state of Nagaland so long as, in his opinion, internal disturbances occurring in Naga Hills and Tuensang Area immediately before the formation of that state continue therein or in any part thereof, and in the discharge of his functions in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the Council of Ministers, exercise his individual judgement regarding the action that needs to be taken (Luthra 1974:10-11).

Besides the provisions as above, the other peculiar features of Nagaland are indicated by the fact that the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation had not in general been extended to the erstwhile Naga Hills District, though certain sections of the same are in force. The only revenue procedure existing in the state, consists of the annual assessment by the Deputy Commissioner and the collection of house-tax through the village headmen conducted by the district officer under the executive orders and control of the state government (Luthra 1974:11). Section 47 of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation lays down that in lieu of the revenue assessable on any land there shall be an annual tax collection on each male person who has attained eighteen years of age, and who participates in the cultivation of land at any time during the year of assessment or on each family or house or persons as the state government thinks proper. (Luthra 1974:11). The other is the retention of the rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 providing an inner-line which restricts the indiscriminate entry of non-Nagas in Nagaland.

The formation of the state did not immediately terminate the disturbed conditions. In fact from 1954 to 1964, Nagaland passed through ten years of continuous trouble. During this period, there were operations by the Army on the one hand and guerrilla activities on the other. (Aram 1972, Das 1982). Against this background a public convention at Wokha held early in 1964 formed the Peace Mission which succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire (suspension of operations) between the Naga and the Government in

September 1964. (Aram: 1972). The members of the Peace Mission (Shri Jay Prakash Narain, Shri Vimal Prasad Chaliha and Rev. Michel Scott), on 20th December 1964, brought out a set of proposals which stated, among other things, that — while the Peace Mission fully agrees and endorses the principle that all subject people have the right to self-determination and that no group of people is competent to rule over another, it also has to invite the attention of the Nagaland-Federal Government to certain historical processes that had taken place to give birth to the Union of India — (The Peace Mission) urged the NFG if they could on their own volition, decide to be a participant in the Union of India, and mutually settle the terms and conditions for that purpose. On the other hand, the Government of India could consider to what extent the pattern and structure of the relationship between Nagaland and the Government of India should be adapted and recast, so as to satisfy the political aspirations of all sections of Naga Peace Declaration to be substantially realised. (Yaden 1970:51-52). Certain Naga areas of Manipur were also included under the purview of the peace agreement. Consequently, a series of talks ensued, including six rounds of dialogue with Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Meanwhile, electoral politics was taking firm root in Nagaland as reflected in consequent elections, declared party manifestos and programmes. However, when the first general elections were held all over India in 1952, the Naga people had refrained from exercising their franchise mainly on account of the strong pressure exerted by the 'rebellious' political elements against participation (Thakkar 1972). In the 1957 general elections however, three Nagas filed their nominations and they returned unopposed to the Legislative Assembly. The Naga People's Convention (NPC), which was formed by government officials, Dobhashis, businessmen and a section of break-away NNC reformists, transformed itself into a political party called Nationalist Party (NP) in 1964. Initially the Convention had two divergent views on the Naga problem; one group led by the Ao Nagas had the opinion that, NPC was to act as a bridge between the government and the underground Nagas, while the other groups considered NPC as a sufficient representative body symbolising Naga aspirations, and which was to conclude an agreement with the Union Government (Jamir 1975:3).

In the 1964 Assembly Election, two parties contested. They were the Nationalist Party and the Democratic Party. A notable feature of

this election was the declaration by the Democratic Party, that the party is to be regarded as an *ad hoc* party, set up to *unite the people of Nagaland* in these troubled times, and it would be open to the party to dissolve itself if and when the task is considered accomplished (Thakkar 1972 emphasis added). One of its statements cited that the party will strive to set up a pattern of administration best suited to the tribes so as to pave the way for, (a) permanent internal peace and (b) a lasting good relationship with the Government of India (Thakkar:1972). The Nationalist party later transformed itself into the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and the Democratic Party came to be called United Front of Nagaland (UFN). During the 1977 election, the NNO merged itself into the Congress party. A breakaway fraction had formed the National Council of Nagaland (NCN) with a few members of the UFN. It may be mentioned that during 1968, some Naga individuals had formed a Naga Integration Council which sought amalgamation of several contiguous Naga areas.

Meanwhile, the NNO Parliamentary Party resolved that the talks would be resumed with the underground Nagas in association with leaders of public confidence (Sema 1986:151). One breakaway NNO group polarized with the UFN and they formed the United Democratic Front (UDF). There developed a condition of political instability calling for President's Rule. The NNC had already been banned under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, with effect from 1st September 1972. During the intervening period, the Shillong Peace Accord was signed on 11 November 1975. According to para I of the Shillong Accord, "the underground organisations on their own volition accepted the Constitution of India". Furthermore, para III has provided reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion to bring about a final settlement.

In 1978, Shri Hokishe Sema and Mr. Jasokie resigned from the Congress party and by asserting the relevance of regional political party formed the Naga National Party. In the next Parliamentary Elections, Mr. Chungwang Konyak supported by NNP and others defeated the UDF candidate. The former, then joined the Congress (I). A significant development took place in 1980 when Mr. S.C. Jamir of UDF formed the United Legislature Party with Congress members and formed a new government. Meanwhile the NNP led by Mr. Vizol and Mr. T. Kikon of NCN merged to form NNDP. A large section of ULP had soon joined the Congress-(I).

At this juncture, a process of fission took place within the NNC Camp. A new political phenomena in the form of Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) advocating "a new policy of tribal socialism" had developed. Against this backdrop, the Assembly election of 1982 was held in which the NNDP secured 140112 votes, the Indian National Congress(I) got 140420 votes and the Independents got 157,173 votes. The Congress-I formed the government. Their main election plank was the presentation of the party "with a regional face" geared to bring about an honourable political settlement.

In the 1987 Assembly Elections, a remnant segment of erstwhile UDF secured 43722 votes. With this split in the regional votes, the NNDP secured 147078 votes as compared to 193406 secured by the Congress-I. The Independent candidates had gathered 99937 votes. The Congress-I formed the government with Shri Hokishe Sema as Chief Minister. However, a number of ruling party legislative members broke away and formed a new party called Naga Peoples Council (NPC) along with the NNDP. Consequently, Nagaland came under yet another spell of President's rule. The Congress-I again swept back to power through the 1989 elections.

The consistent references made to the Naga political problem by the regional or national political parties concerned, was not merely to re-inforce their positions, but to impress upon the Union Government that the Naga issue was still in a process towards final settlement. Thus, in a statement issued during February, 1989, the Union Minister of State (Home) stated that "We are not opposed to the negotiations with the NSCN. Let it come up with concrete proposals for peace" (*Sentinel* Feb. 13, 1989). In the same vein the Nagaland Chief Minister spelled out that an honourable solution to the Naga problem had to be found within the parameters of the national policy and the Constitution of India (*Sentinel* Feb.5, 1989).

Tribal Polity and Tribal Laws:

Among different Naga tribes, the forms of government, polity and mode of law enforcement vary greatly. Among the southern Nagas, such as Angami and Chakhesang, tribal democracy continues to prevail at village level. Among the Konyak and the Sema, despotic chieftainship prevailed at village levels. At no point of time in their history, were the Naga villages politically inter-dependent upon each

other. No political system existed at maximal tribal levels, though many villages remained economically interdependent as our reports on individual Naga communities have revealed. At times, however, confederacies sprang up among certain villages for mutual protection and for economic reasons. A sort of politico-economic dominance was exercised by the Angami villages of Khonoma Mezoma over neighbouring tribal territories.

Kinship, territory and clan/lineage systems played crucial roles in sustenance of varied tribal polities. The chieftainship, headmanship and offices of religious specialists, among most Naga tribes, have been generally hereditary not in family but in clan or lineage. The Konyak have the most effective hereditary chieftainship. They call their village chief *Ang*. The most characteristic feature of the Konyak system is the inter-village marital links of the lineages of Angs. The principal wife of an *Ang* is taken from the chiefly lineage of another village. Among the Sema, chieftainship goes down from father to son, the elder sons becoming chiefs in their own villages, provided the sons are able to establish separate villages. In some cases, however, the chief is succeeded by his brother (Hutton 1969:358). The chief's subjects cultivate land belonging to the chief.

One remarkable feature to be noted is that the socio-political formations among the Naga tribes have followed different directions in different regions of the same tribe. Thus, in some villages, among the Sema, the political system is much more democratic, that is "the chief system hardly exists at all in the Lazemi group of villages" (Hutton 1969:358). The Konyak are also divided into two sharply distinguished divisions, one ruled by autocratic *Angs*, the other more democratic, which calls itself *Shamnyuyungmang* (Elwin 1961:5). Most of the other Naga tribes are politically organised around clan elders, headmen, bigmen, council of elders and age-set systems. The Angami, Ao, Lotha and Chakhesang have elaborate village councils. Among the Ao, the council (*putu-menden*) members are selected for twenty to thirty years, after which many of them become *putir* (priest).

The political system among these Naga tribes is informal and of a temporary nature. Headmanship is also informal. Headmen, as clan representatives, are respected for their age, integrity and wisdom. Law enforcement and group decisions in these acephalous communities are based on public consensus. Among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo (southern Angami Naga), the lineages provide the con-

ceptual framework of the political system but the structural significance of the clan is also very great. The lineage is the corporate group with a formalised system of authority. A clan, which is strictly localized, emerged as a single peace-group and was united for war or self-protection against a common enemy (Das 1985, 1993).

The Administration of Justice

In the Naga Hills, rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice and police were made in the year 1872. These rules were revised and reissued first in the year 1906 and again in the year 1937. These rules regulated the procedure for police and trial of civil and criminal cases, in the erstwhile Naga hills district and continue to be in force in present Nagaland, with few amendments. The Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945, was in force in Tuensang area.

All these rules were framed on the basic principle that the administration of the tribal communities needs simple codes and in the formulation of such codes and laws, the local customs and usages should be given due importance. Thus indeed, adjudication of a vast majority of disputes and cases, both civil and criminal, in accordance with the prevailing traditional code of the tribal communities has been provided for. The Indian Penal Code was, however, introduced in all the hill areas in the early part of twentieth century for the purpose of holding trials by regular courts of law. The rules and regulations referred to above, recognise the authority of tribal village councils, village headmen or the system of chieftainship which as we described before, exist in a varying pattern among various communities. Thus, at the level of village, the social, cultural and legal affairs continue to be handled with complete freedom by the traditional village authorities. To rationalise the tribal mode of village governments, circle officers, extra assistant commissioners, assistants to Deputy Commissioners and *dobhashis* (the tribal interpreters) are appointed who act as legal advisors and adjudicators. The *Dobhashi* courts have been established now in district and circle headquarters where the tribal authorities settle the disputes strictly in accordance with customary laws.

Except the Assam Tribal Areas (Administration of Town Committees) Regulation, 1950, there is no other law for the establishment of autonomous bodies for local self-government in the

state of Nagaland. Neither the Assam Municipal Act nor any Panchayat Raj Act is in force there.

Although there are tribal and regional variations, the mode of assessing crimes and punishment is almost the same throughout the Naga hills areas, the most common system of punishment being the imposition of fines which vary according to the nature of crimes and offences. Among the Angami, a thief is punished by recovering from him seven times worth the price of the thing stolen. Otherwise, as in past, he might be simply beaten by the victim's party. In case of a murder by accident, a heavy fine may be imposed along with ex-communication or deporting from the village for a term of seven years. The Zeliang customary law is more severe because the murderer is liable to be exiled for a period of seven years along with his close kinsmen. Their houses and property, as in many areas of Angami territory, are destroyed and their fields are abandoned. In case of adultery, the wife is to leave her husband empty-handed and she has no right to claim any property. If divorce occurs amongst the Pochury, the property is equally divided between the husband and the wife. Among the Rengma a thief has to pay a fine which is claimed along with thirty baskets of rice. Habitual thieves are exposed to the public, bound with ropes.

The two most important modes of settlement of dispute are 'peaceful compromise' and 'administration of oath'. Among the southern Angami *kezekevizhonu* (compromise) is arrived at, with the intervention of the *pithi* or elders who are recruited through age-grade system, to prevent internecine strife. If no compromise is reached, an oath is taken by the parties concerned to ascertain and determine the guilt. A person who could take an oath on a much larger number of lives of his kinsmen, as compared to his counterpart, the verdict remains in favour of the former.

Evolution of 'Naga' Identity: Background

Of all the states in India Nagaland enjoys a unique position particularly because it is pre-dominantly inhabited by a people who are ethno-culturally so identical, particularly in terms of their socio-political systems, uni-ethnic settlement pattern, common house and dormitory types, their identical dress and ornaments, food habits, kinship institutions, means of livelihood, customs and laws. No non-Naga community in Nagaland has considerably contributed towards

cultural development and social formations in the state, though some of them such as Kachari had played significant historical roles.) The contributions of non-Naga and contemporary migrant communities in Nagaland is witnessed only in the economic sphere. Ethno-historically and culturally, Nagaland emerges as a Naga culture area.

Various derivations are suggested by the scholars for the name Naga, some supposing it to have come from the Assamese word *noga*, meaning 'naked'. Others think that the Kachari word Naga, meaning a young man or warrior, supplies the name. Some others again believe that it has been derived from the word *nag*, meaning a snake (Woodthorpe 1881, Elwin 1969:47). About one century ago, Woodthorpe opined that, not one of these derivations is satisfactory, nor does it really concern us much to know more about it. In the old maps of Assam the Naga Hills immediately bordering the plains are shown as divided into districts, the names of which were supposed to be the tribal names of the inhabitants of those districts or *duars*, such as *Dup-duar-ias*, *Pani-duar-ias* and *Hatigorias*." (Woodthorpe 1881).

In Burma, the Naga tribes are called *Na-Ka*, which, in Burmese, means 'people' or 'men' or folk with pierced ear-lobes (Sema 1986:3). The ritual or ceremony of piercing had become a very important initiation rite for young boys who were about to enter manhood. They were thus fit to wear white cotton in their ears and join in the war-dances performed during various festivals. The fact, however, remains that during the pre-colonial phase, the ethnic boundaries among the distinct Naga tribes and sub-tribes (that is, territorial or linguistic segments of a tribe) were not definable on account of lack of inter-village or inter-territorial politico-cultural links. About this situation, Woodthorpe had stated in 1881, that a Naga when asked who he is, generally replies that he is of such and such a village, though sometimes a specific name is given to a group of villages (quoted in Elwin 1969:47). Thus we find that at maximal tribal level, the ethnic identities and ethnic boundaries had not been properly articulated in most cases. The ethnic articulation amongst the individual Naga tribes and their distinctive ethno-territorial boundaries came to be recognised and established with the advent of uniform colonial administration, associated with launching of census works and Christian missionary activities. The need to bring out small religious song books in different Naga languages on part of Missionary workers had helped the members of individual

part of Missionary workers had helped the members of individual Naga tribes to perceive the tribal boundaries, their internal constitution and spread of their tribal territory vis-a-vis the neighbouring tribes. In the pre-colonial phase, constant warfare and head-hunting among villages at short distances from each other, had generally checked the processes of ethnic articulation and socio-cultural and political integration at wider territorial levels. Thus, the 'Zounuo-Keyhonuo' and 'Tengima' segments among the Angami analytically emerge as true tribal segments based on distinctive social, structural, linguistic and cultural principles (Das 1982, 1985, 1993) though both of these tribal segments, along with other segments, form a single scheduled tribe, known as Angami. The term Angami which was originally coined by the Manipuris to describe several Naga people, had been originally unrecognised by all those who are today called Angami. One of its major segments, which was called 'Eastern Angami' during the British period (Hutton 1921, 1969) forms a distinct scheduled tribe today with the title 'Chakhesang'. This term is an acronym recognised as such for administrative convenience and it includes Chakhri, Khezha and Sangtam tribal segments within its fold. It is generally believed that ethno-linguistically and culturally the Naga tribes are somewhat homogeneous. Our reports on individual Naga tribes also indicate the same. However the history, traditions and customs of these people show that all Nagas are of mixed origin marked by commonness in their institutions, social structures, polity, descent systems and oral traditions. The uni-ethnic character of Naga villages, and special constitutional safeguards provided to Naga tribes, help them to preserve their basic social and cultural institution.

The Naga ethnography:

R.B. Pemberton who went with Francis Jenkins right across the Naga hills from Manipur to Assam in 1832 published the first account of the Nagas in English language in the shape of an appendix to H.H. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War*. He also wrote a 360 pages *Memoirs and Journals of Surveys in Manipur* and a *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*. Another very early writer on the Nagas was William Robinson, an educationist of the Gauhati Government Seminary, who published his first work on Assam in 1841 under the title *Descriptive Account of Assam*. This work is in fact,

one of the first of the gazetteers. These reports were published in the early nineteenth century (Pemberton 1827; Jenkins 1836; Grange 1839; Robinson 1841; Masters 1844; Butler 1847, 1875; Wood 1844). Verrier Elwin has ably compiled and edited all that had been written about the Nagas and their land in the nineteenth century (Elwin 1969).

Mention may be made of R.G. Woodthorpe's two lectures given in 1882, before the Royal Anthropological Institute in London, which summarise almost all that was known about the Nagas at that time. Woodthorpe drew heavily in his first lecture on Captian Butler's earlier notes and writings. His notes are unusually good and contain 'much information of human and anthropological value' (Elwin 1969:40). He contributed to the general reports on the Topographical Survey, many valuable notes on the Aos, Konyaks, Semas and other tribes. He was an excellent artist and illustrated some of his own writings (Elwin 1969:40-41).

The Angami have been studied and documented more fully than the other Naga tribes. This is because "their country is easily accessible and their turbulent character had attracted many expeditions in the early part of the last century" (Elwin 1969:281). Of all the writers on the Angamis of that period, none can excel John Butler. In addition to what was written earlier, Hutton in his *The Angami Nagas* (1921), adds a great deal of his own original research. In *Preface* to the first edition of this book Hutton wrote that it is work which should be done by a trained anthropologist, but though occasional German and American scientists have paid hurried visits to the Naga Hills, the anthropologists of Great Britain have consistently passed them by, on the other side (Hutton 1969:vii). Hutton's monograph on the Angami Naga was the first of the Naga monographs published at the direction of the Assam administration. Hutton and Mills were Honorary Directors of Ethnography for Assam. Hutton also published *The Sema Nagas* in 1921. The monographs of J.P.Mills include *The Lhota Nagas* (1922), *The Ao Nagas* (1926) and *The Rengma Nagas* (1937). Furer-Haimendorf published *The Naked Nagas* in 1932. Other books which have dealt with the Nagas, particularly their history, are Mackenzie (1884), Reid (1942) and Shakespeare (1914). Elwin's *The Art of the North-East Frontier of India* (1959) and *Nagaland* (1961) deal with general themes. The Directorate of Art and Culture, Govt. of Nagaland and Anthropological Survey of India had initiated research work among

the Naga tribes in the post-Independence era, but the works of the former could not be described strictly as socio-cultural anthropological in nature. Among several studies, initiated by the Survey for the first time, mention may be made of studies in Naga movements, Naga economy and customary laws among the Angami Naga (Das, 1982 a 1982 b and 1985). These studies were conducted in 1976-77. During the same period N.K. Das also studied the cultural traits and cultural elements among the Ao Nagas (1979, 1983) and educational development among the Angami Nagas (Das 1984). Under the project 'Area Study: North East India' Das studied the Sangtam culture in Tuensang district. Based on his individual research project "Social Organisation of Angami Naga" Das submitted a Ph.D. Thesis in Gauhati University in 1985 under the title *The Politico-jural aspects of the Segmentary social system of the Zounuo- Keyhonuo Naga (the Southern Angamis)*. With the help of the data generated through this project, several theoretical/analytical research papers have been published (see Das 1982c, 1985b, 1989). This thesis has been revised and published under the title *Kinship, Politics and Law in Naga Society* (Das 1993). During 1988, Das also submitted a detailed report on "Special Study of the Anthropological Aspects of the Zeliangrong Area in North East India". Under the supervision of Dr. K.S. Singh, Director General, Anthropological Survey of India, this report, based on extensive field work, was prepared for the use of the Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi.

Mention may be made of two research journals *Highlander* and *The Thinker* brought out from Kohima. The former is the Research Bulletin of the Directorate of Art and Culture, Kohima. This bulletin has brought out from time to time, articles and research findings of contemporary social anthropologists.

Methodology of Work:

In Nagaland, the ethnic identities and ethnic boundaries are easily definable and villages are homogeneous in ethnic composition. Under these conditions, selection of suitable villages belonging to an area of major concentration of a given community was not a difficult task. In most places, the district authorities had entrusted for our work, official *dobhashis* (interpreters). One of the functions of the *dobhashis* in Nagaland is to settle disputes, in their capacity as official arbitrators, in accordance with distinct tribal laws.

Concept of Dress and Ornaments

Woodthorpe, writing in 1881, stated that "the Nagas may generally be divided into two great sections, viz; the kilted and non-kilted. The first section embraces the so-called Angamis, eastern and western." The kilt, the principal distinguishing dress of the Angamis is a strip of dark blue or black cotton cloth which is three and half to four and half feet long and eighteen inches wide. It passes round the hips overlapping in front and is usually fastened on the left side. When a man becomes a warrior and has taken heads, he acquires the right to decorate his kilt with three rows of cowries; a very distinguished warrior, has four rows. In his several writings, J.H. Hutton does not approve this distinction made by Woodthorpe. Hutton feels that on account of their close contacts with the Assamese plainmen, the Angami and their neighbours were quick to adopt cotton cloth, while the other Nagas continued to use limited dress items, fully produced at local level. The Lotha, Rengma and Ao had grown cotton in plenty and they exchanged the same for other commodities with the neighbours.

The Phom have been traditionally expert in several handicrafts. Among them 'horns' have been used as musical instruments and as house decoration articles. They also used the wooden and bamboo ornaments meticulously prepared by their own experts.

Old people with tattoo marks are to be found throughout eastern Nagaland, particularly among the Chang, Khiamngan, Yimchunger, Sangtam and Phom. Tattoos were meant to show social status of individuals and they were also used for decoration purposes.

Hutton wrote that the trade in shells and beads and the making up of shells into forms which are popular among the Nagas, is almost entirely in the hands of the Angami village of Khonoma. Members of this village go down to Calcutta to trade and come back through Burma and Manipur (Hutton 1969:67). The Naga houses have been traditionally decorated by several methods. Rich Angami families adorn the fronts of their houses with painted representations of men and women, of shields, of *mithun* and hornbill feathers. The Chakhri and Kheza (now known as Chakhesang) frequently adorn the fronts of their houses with little clay models of men in ceremonial dress, *mithun*, dog and other animals. The skulls of animals killed by the household members are displayed inside the porch and in the front room. The principal indigenous household utensils of the Nagas are earthen pots for cooking, baskets for

straining and mixing liquor, vats, troughs and jars for fermenting liquor, gourds for storing and carrying liquor, horns of the domestic *mithun* used as drinking vessels, cups and drinking vessels of bamboo, wooden spoons of various shapes, some having flat and some having hollow, cone-shaped bowls, baskets of various shapes, wooden platters and wooden stools used as seats and items of furniture. Each family makes baskets as per its requirements. The water containers, mugs, sticks, combs, chairs, *dao*-handles are also made. Iron-smithy is also in practice but not as a popular profession. Hunting of tiger, deer and bird is done with the help of spears, *daos*, locally made guns and also by traditional trapping methods. Fishing is done with the help of modern hook and nets and also by means of the traditional method of using poisonous tree-juice.

There was little iron smelting in most parts of Naga hill areas, but smiths are found among all Nagas who have been traditionally using imported iron obtained in the form of tea garden hoes and other iron blades from Assam plains. Among all Nagas, the Lothas discouraged blacksmithy because they believe that no black-smith lives long after he stops work (Alemchiba 1968:87). Two types of bellows are found in Nagaland. First is the typical Indonesian bellows made of two vertical bamboo cylinders with feather pistons. The piston consisting of a handle of wood is made by fixing a disc made of a node of bamboo, covered with feathers at one end, to produce the necessary valvular force. While operating, the man stands near the tubes and holds the handles of the piston one with each hand and alternate strokes are given in order to make the fire blast continuously. The Semas, Rengmas, Konyaks and their neighbours have similar type of bellows, and the same type is used by the people of Polynesia and Madagascar. The other form of bellows, found among the Ao, is made of a single wooden cylinder placed horizontally and in which a single piston is used. The blacksmith's anvil is a large flat stone about a metre long and sixty cms. wide and thirty cms. thick. Iron anvils are now used. Stone hammers were used prior to introduction of iron hammers. Besides iron, charcoal produced from wood is used. A Naga blacksmith is an expert charcoal burner, himself.

The principal implements manufactured by the Naga blacksmiths are agricultural implements such as *dao* (knife in small and big sizes), axe, hoe, scrapper, sickle and weapons such as spear head and butt, arrow head and musket. Most of the implements pro-

duced are used for agricultural purposes. The Konyak are expert in blacksmithy. Apart from spears, *daos*, knives and hoes they make muzzle loading guns and imitation pistols. They also prepare gun powder for these weapons. Through smithy process they also make representations of human head with brass for personal decoration, which is worn as a necklace by warriors and youngmen.

The Khamnagan word for iron is *soun*. These people had brought iron traditionally from Burma by a method of inter-village material trade transaction. This method is called *chaile*. A large number of ornaments were brought by the Khamnagan and the Chang people through *chaile*. One of the most significant ornaments thus acquired was *la* or the iron gongs. During inter-village wars, captives were brought to a village by the Khamnagan and the Chang. Such war captives could be released only by payment of *la* (gong), *samang* (agricultural implement), *nen* (shawl), tiger teeth (*khaho*), and *lake-tao* (conch shell). The Pochury use several types of baskets and containers, such as *ashu* (six feet long basket), *amlu* (three feet long basket), *afuji* (about two feet long earthen pot) and other small pots such as *runinejuo* and *asheifu*. Gourd containers are common among most Naga tribes. They are called *alehuo* and *awhu* among the Pochury. Sitting stools are called *ape* by the Pochury. Some other kinds of baskets used by the Pochury are known as *akhura*, *asura* and *akhewu*.

Cane ornaments such as head bands, bangles and leg-guards are common among eastern and central Nagas. A typical haversack used in south Nagaland is a caneframe, sewn over it by a thick cloth and with the decorations of shells and beads. Other items consist of ivory, horn and bone work. The Nagas make beads of seeds and from ivory, they make bracelets and wristlets. Other ornamental decorations are also moulded. Bone is forged into several ornamental designs. Dyed hair is used for decorating spears, and sabres and necklaces. Earrings are made of bones and beads decorated with dyed hairs, while necklaces are made of bones mixed with shells and beads in various colours. Brass wristlets for women and armlets in pure ivory which are about three inches to four inches wide, are highly valued particularly among the Angami, Chakhesang and their immediate neighbours.

Rice forms the staple food of the Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma, Ao, Lotha and Pochury but among most of the other Naga tribes, millet and job's tears form the staple food. Meat and vegetables are

which they use as breakfast and also as the main food item. Several types of tubers, particularly among the eastern Nagas, are used as breakfast. Traditionally the Naga take food three times a day and they never possessed the idea of breakfast. Particularly among the southern and western Nagas, chillies and ginger, form an indispensable ingredient in every meal. Gourds are grown principally for making utensils, but are also sometimes eaten. A large number of wild plants are used as vegetables. Pickled bamboo is popular among the Nagas. It is made by cutting up and pounding the young shoots of the bamboo. These are then steeped, placed in a basket, weighted with stones, and drenched (which is drawn off and consumed as wine) and finally spread out to dry. The pickle is then complete and the product is cooked with curry or eaten raw. All day between meals, when he is not at work in the fields or out hunting, the Angami eats (and drinks) appetisers (*zu* or ricebeer) and thirst-raisers of Naga beans roasted or boiled and mixed up with salt and an inordinate amount of chillies.

Among most Naga tribes meals are generally taken three times a day - in the early morning, at mid-day, and in the evening, but snacks are frequently taken in between, while ricebeer is taken all day long. While going to work, the mid-day meal is taken wrapped up in plantain leaf and eaten in the fields. Before a meal, a man frequently rinses his hands in water, but this is by no means invariably done. Wooden dishes are washed out more or less after use, but the earthen cooking pots are only rinsed with a little water poured into the bottom. Among the Angami Naga, ricebeer is more than a drink, it is almost the staple article of consumption, the staff of life, and might be reckoned more appropriately as food rather than drink; only if it were so classified there would scarcely be anything left that could be called drink, as the Angami only drinks water in the last resort (Hutton 1969 : 97). Ricebeer or modhu (*zu*) is of three varieties among the Angami and Chakhesang, 'pita modhu' is the liquor proper (*zuthoh*), 'rohi' (*zuzu*) and 'saka modhu' (*zutseh*), *Zuzu* is a much more powerful drink. In preparing this drink, cooked rice is cooled by being spread out in a winnowing tray. After this, yeast is pounded and mixed with it, and the whole mixture, which is a wet one, is put in a basket lined with leaves, and leaves are put over the top of it. It is left thus until the smell indicates that fermentation is complete. The liquid is then allowed to exude, or is pressed out of the basket, a process which takes place slowly, as the

pressed out of the basket, a process which takes place slowly, as the fermented rice may be kept three weeks or more. When the *zuzu* has been drawn off in this way, water which may be either hot or cold, is poured through the rice, making the infused beer known as *zutseh* (Hutton 1969 : 97). No change is observed in the process of making of such drinks in Angami villages. This last variety of drink is usually drunk cold by the Angamis, though most of the other tribes drink a similarly made beverage, hot. *Zutseh* is rather more powerful than the very mild *pita modhu* without having the positively spirituous strength of *rohi*. Khonoma Angamis had learnt the process of making a distilled liquor called *zuharo* from the Manipuris. The Angamis had traditionally procured the yeast used for making ricebeer in cakes from Manipur. It may also be made from several jungle plants, but the Angamis ordinarily make it from paddy. Each Naga family brews its own ricebeer. The Christian section among the Ao, Sangtam, Chang and Sema has abandoned the consumption of ricebeer but among the Angami and other Naga tribes, both the Christian and the non-Christian drink a good quantity of ricebeer as in the past.

The Naga get up very early. The first thing they do is to blow up the fire, and after this, they wash their faces. No proper cleaning of mouth was traditionally in practice among the Naga, but now tooth brush and toothpaste are very common items in Naga houses. Many of them start consuming ricebeer without cleaning their mouth. On *genma* (ritual or festival) or *penna* (non-working days) periods, the women may sit at home weaving or drying corn, while the husband and children loaf around the village, drink *zu* and gossip.

Personal Names

Among the Pochury Naga, proper names are given according to personal qualities and historical incidents. Thus 'Khusatho' means 'one who has done glorified things', 'Chulekhu' means 'grandchild of the person who had the first contact with the British' (*chule* to talk, *khu* - first). The Pochury gave the name Japatho to the person who had killed a Japanese during World War II. Among the Rengma a common name is Rillo which means 'happily got'. Some Rengma names are Khapega (killer of two), Zevethang (brave) and Khokhaiyo (of noble ancestry).

Social Structure

In the Naga society, elaboration of the descent groups provides a scaffold for organizing social relationships amongst the territorially divided social groupings, particularly the clans and lineages. The patrilineal descent is the vehicle of continuity which also stabilises the Naga social structure. A Naga village may more appropriately be defined as a cluster of 'independent' clans occupying distinct territories. These clan localities had come to be described as *khels* during the British period. Each clan traditionally enjoys its autonomy in terms of its exclusive politico-jural and economic rights over well defined land and forest areas including water resources. It is mainly through this clan-land nexus that the village itself emerges as a highly structured unit.

John Butler (1875) noted that the several clans, of which there are about two to eight in every village, are frequently divided off by deep lanes and stone walls, and whenever an attack is imminent, the roads leading up to the village are studded over with stout pegs, driven deep into the ground, which very effectively prevents anything like a rush. Speaking of the Tengima Angami, Hutton (1969 : 109) wrote that among them a clan was frequently at variance with other clans of the same village which often amounted to war.

The fact remains that this rivalry, antagonism and blood-feud among the clans had coloured the whole Naga way of life. This was more the case, however, in the pre-colonial and early colonial periods. These statements give us some idea as to what kind of social and political situations had then prevailed throughout the Naga hills. The social formations and emergence of smaller social groupings and inter-relations among individuals and interdependence among them, is best understood against this background. It may be mentioned however, that local warfare and head-hunting portrayed only one aspect of Naga life. There are evidences to show that under prolonged peaceful conditions and through friendly relationship among certain, villages, strong socio-economic and cultural linkages and also trade relations were established among different Naga tribes even during pre-colonial period, as individual reports on Naga communities have indicated.

Very little was written about the Nagas living in the easternmost part of Nagaland, or in the hills north-east of Mokokchung, such as Changs, Phoms, Sangtams and Khiamngans, though Woodthorpe toured some of these areas in 1876 and Peal wrote a number of

papers on the tribes of the Patkoi and those living near the Assam valley. J.H. Hutton published his tour diaries for 1923. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* was to furnish complete lists of the various races "and to draw up a descriptive catalogue" but Dalton had obviously failed since there was insufficient material even for a catalogue, and it was then suggested that he should write an account of all the peoples of what was then Bengal and which included Assam.

Among all Naga communities, the Khiamngan emerge as culturally, territorially and structurally, the most coherent group. A moiety system divides the whole tribal population called *mele* into two moieties or *kao* groupings. These two moieties are named as *Lam* and *Shiu*. Each exogamous moiety is divided into a number of non-exogamous clans or *yasangla*. Special privileges are accorded to these clans. Recruitment of priests and other politico-religious specialists from specific clans, indicates a system of hierarchy operating at village level.

Among the Sema, a strong chieftainship had prevailed in the pre-colonial and the colonial period. The chief, or the *kukami*, however functioned according to existing customary laws and rights granted to him. He was constantly advised by the clan elders. Theoretically, if not practically, the chief distributed amongst the villagers, the land and forest areas as per individual requirements and received some sort of tribute in return. The sons of the chief used to establish their own villages. The *ang*, or the chief among the Konyak, also enjoy identical rights and privileges. Among the Konyak however, the *ang*-ship based socio-political hierarchy emerges as a more rigid institution.

The Chang are divided into four major exogamous clans - Kangshau, Ong, Hongang and Lamou. According to their legend, it was the Kangshau ancestor who had emerged from the earth before all others. Hence the members of this clan are accorded highest position in the village level stratification. The new villages are normally founded by members of this clan. The second position in local hierarchy is enjoyed by the members of the Ong clan. The chief priest known as *ong bou*, is selected from amongst the members of this clan. The members of Hongang clan occupy the third position. The oldest member of this clan is regarded as a religious specialist whose duty is to announce the time and date for village festivals. The oldest member of the Lamou clan, announces the date and time for launching agricultural activities. A direct link is

established between the clan system and the systems of political and religious domains among the Changs. These factors had provided shape to village political life. At the same time, a person with proven ability in war was given the status of *lakpu* (the chief). The *lakpu* derive their position due to their military roles and get privileges to decorate their houses with special marks. Only the *lakpu* can wear full ceremonial dress during festivals. When the *lakpu* become old they are inducted into the village council as arbitrators.

The four major clans among the Chang are based on certain totemistic beliefs. Thus the Chang relate, that in the beginning, their ancestors, tiger (or leopard) and some other animals had lived together. Some of these animals have assumed the status of clan-spirits. The tiger and tigress are regarded as spirits by the Ong clan. The domestic and jungle cats, and birds like crow and eagles, are regarded as spirits among the Kangshou, Lomou and Hongang clans.

Among the Khiamngan, the Lamanya clan representative is first given the right to sow, rice and millet. The Lamthai clan-representatives have the right of first cutting the *jhum* crops. A religious specialist is also selected from the Lamthai clan, whose duty is to worship *Koa* (spirit of earth). A Sumao clan-man, is selected as the medicine-man. The Kachari community is traditionally characterized by a rigid social stratification. Their community is divided into several chiefly or 'royal' clans, 'ministerial' clans and occupational clans. The chiefly clans are Thousen, Hugzar, Phonglao and Parin, and the ministerial clans are Badar-Bhagya and Khumpri. All these, and other clans are regarded as equal to each other at present.

The family is the basic domestic group among the Nagas and other communities of Nagaland. The individual families are clearly organized in their internal and external relations and they enjoy considerable autonomy within larger descent groups. Each family is a unit of food consumption and property ownership. This shows economic separateness and jural autonomy of every family. However in Naga society, it is expected of a father to work for the unity of the families of male siblings. A significant feature of Naga kinship system is its patrilineal character. However, no rigid distinction is made among the sons and daughters in terms of their rights and role expectations and ultimately the Naga women enjoy almost equal statuses with the men. In matters of inheritance and succession, rights of men are not recognized to the complete exclusion of

women. Among several Naga tribes (Angami, Chakhesang, Pochury) the married daughters enjoy jural rights over paternal property which includes land. Among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo (the southern Angamis), however, specific distinction is made between male and female agnate, in terms of their rights to distinctly recognized common clan or lineage properties, called *kayie* (Das 1985). In general, however, the Naga ideal is to live together in unity, maintaining wider agnatic and cognatic kinship, amity and solidarity.

Elsewhere, Das (1985, 1989, 1993) observed that the southern Angami (Zounuo-Keyhonuo) consider themselves a giant patri-clan, descended from Zounuo and Keyhonuo, the twin ancestors of all living beings. Each individual belongs to an inner lineage (*punumi*), which traces descent, two to three generations back to a known ancestor. This inner lineage, in turn is linked with several more inclusive sub-lineages (known as *lokro* and *putsanu*). These sub-lineages are linked with others in a lineage (*sarra*). Several localized lineages are linked with a clan (*thenu*) whose members are descended from a distant ancestor. In the scheme of total tribal segmentary system, the lineages belong to either of the moieties, called *Thevo* and *Tepa*.

The lineages among most of the Naga tribes, and particularly among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo, are the basic units of social structure that emerge in corporate activities. A lineage is an exogamous group with a formalized system of authority. It is the group which is permanent (for a generation or two), though in the long run it splits into other lineages following segmentary processes. Definite jural rights and ritual duties are attached to it. The elders are selected through an ageset system, called *thechu* among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo Naga.

Among the Zounuo-Keyhonuo, persons of the same sex and of about the same age are formally grouped at successive intervals. In the past, each set among several Naga tribes, had distinctive statuses, roles, and ceremonial as well as military functions to perform. In the village Viswema of the Zounuo-Keyhonuo, the age-set system operates at clan level. There are five sets called *Pithi-Ketsami*, *Mechu-chu*, *Khrisha-Mehu-Chu*, *Krisha-Chu* and *Nhachu-Chu*. The elders placed in the age-set of *Pithi-Ketsami* are the senior most elders who either occupy religious positions or secular positions of informal politico-jural leaders. The elders belonging to *Pithi-Ketsami* and *Mechu-chu*, are fully responsible for carrying out the jobs of tribal

adjudicators, peace-makers and religious specialists.

Among the Zuonuo-Keyhonuo, the territorial system could also be visualised in terms of pyramidal/segmentary structures. As descendents of twin ancestors, all Zuonuo-Keyhonuo people are neatly divided into distinct clans distributed in different villages. All clans are thus exclusively localized units throughout the Zounuo-Keyhonuo tribal territory, using 'tribe' as an analytical category and a valid concept. The single term *thenu* is applied both to 'land unit' and 'social unit' of the clan. All clans, however, have their specific proper names throughout the Zounuo-Keyhonuo land, and are neatly arranged in a single traceable tribal genealogy (Das 1985, 1993). Within each clan territory, all of its component lineages and sub-lineages are anchored to definite 'segments' of land. Smallest of such segments of land is called *punumi-zhu*.

Inter Community Linkages

The Naga tribes were never isolated nor entirely independent of dominant cultural and political processes and economic networks, being developed and established in their surrounding regions. The dominant Angami villages such as Khonoma, Kohima and Viswema had sent their men to surrounding regions and distant market towns particularly for trading purposes. In the foot-hills, intense social relations were maintained between the Naga and caste Hindus, including Hinduized tribal peasants such as Kachari. The Nagas have generally been treated and regarded as belonging to positions of lower rank ritually and hence exchange of *pucca* food and marital relations between the Hindus and the Nagas have been avoided. The Nepali and the Kuki are the oldest migrant communities of Nagaland. These people had introduced cow-herding, sawing techniques and several hunting methods in the Naga areas.

Johnstone (1896) wrote that the superiority of the Manipuris in cloth weaving has greatly injured the trade in the villages of the hills. The Manipuris supply a fair pattern of different tribal cloths at a lower price, and thus manage to undersell those of native manufacture. The prices in the hills are decidedly high. Every village has its blacksmith, but some devote themselves more to ironwork. In a much earlier reference, Damant (1878) reported that a great deal of cotton is exported by the Mikirs, Cacharies and Lotha Nagas. Among the Angamis, 1995 persons took passes to trade in the

plains, of whom 1706 took down Rs 7943 to buy salt, 207 took Manipuri and Naga clothes, and the remainder took 45 ponies. They went to Dimapur, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Guwahati and Cachar. The traders at Samaguting and Kohima imported goods worth Rs 63, 467, the principal items being salt, rice and cloth. They bought from the Nagas ivory, wax and cloth worth Rupees 3000. In 1854 Moffaatt Mills (1854) reported "the Nagas on the frontier have generally been well behaved and quiet. The Nagas are very keen barterers, but at the same time, just and open in their dealings. They derive great benefit from trade with us, as also, the grant of small *khats* at the foot of the hills to some of the clans, makes it of their interest to behave properly and attend to all requisitions made to them by the officer in charge of political relations with these tribes." In one reference to Naga trade of the same period, Jenkins says, "the Western Nagas bring down large quantities of cotton and chillies, ginger and yams, the Eastern Nagas salt, to be bartered against rice, ducks and salt in the first instance, and for rice etc, in the second" (quoted in Elwin 1969 : 600). From Damants' report we come to know, that during difficult periods, the supplies were procured from Kacha Naga and Kookie countries. Indian- corn, jobs' tears, millet and a small kind of bean can be procured cheaply at Kohima and there is a bazaar which is well attended daily where fowls, eggs, fish, vegetables and pork are generally available. "A large supply of Naga labour has been procured this year (1878-79) at four annas a day and a good deal of road work was built by Naga labour.....Besides the Nagas, some Nepali coolies were imported from the Garo Hills, and some Mikirs from the Nowgong border who worked for a short time at house building at Kohima, and were paid at the rate of rupees 9 per mensem" (quoted in Elwin 1969 : 602). Describing the situation prevailing in 1841, Robinson noted, "The Nagas occasionally visit the markets at Nagura and Kacharihat, and other spots along the borders, where they barter their cotton and ginger for a few minor articles. They also manufacture and sell a little salt, the produce of the brine springs in the vicinity of their hills. This seems to be the only intercourse held with them by the inhabitants of the low lands, who merely ever venture to visit their haunts on the hills" (Robinson 1841).

Review of old literature and our own field investigations reveal that the Mikir, Kachari and the Kuki have been the neighbours of the Nagas, particularly the western and southern Nagas, from the

earliest period. It is even reported in a very old ethno-historical account, that the Nagas west of the Doyang river derive their origin from an union of the Cacharee and Naga tribes and on that account they never decapitated the Cacharee prisoners (Grange 1840 : 953-8). At the same time, a popular Karbi (Mikir) folksong indicates that some Nagas and the Karbi had been born together.

The People of India Project

In this volume we have studied twenty five communities, of which fifteen belong to the Naga constellation of tribes, four communities are non-Naga inhabitants of Nagaland and six are migrant communities. The fifteen Naga tribes are Angami, Ao, Chang, Khiamngan, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Yimchunger, Zeliang, Chakhesang and Kabui. The non-Naga inhabitants of Nagaland, who are recognised as Scheduled Tribes of Nagaland, are Garo, Kachari, Kuki and Mikir. We have studied the Nepali, Bengali, Bihari, Marwari, Assamese and Muslim people as migrant communities of Nagaland. We had noted that one section of the Nepali community is regarded as original inhabitants of the state.

A three-member team comprising Dr. N.K. Das, Anthropologist (C), Shri R.S. Raypa, Human Ecologist and Dr. N. Saha, Research Associate (C) setup for the research activity the People of India Project. In view of Dr. Das's research experience (1976-1985) it was decided that he would study almost all the least-known communities of Nagaland, particularly Khiamngan, Chang, Sangtam and Pochury, along with some other communities. In the first phase of the fieldwork, the relatively less-known Naga communities such as Pochury, Phom and Yimchunger were studied by Das, Raypa and Saha respectively. Since Shri Rayapa could speak and understand the Nepali language, he was asked to study the Nepalese of Nagaland who have settled and established themselves to a great extent in Nagaland. The twenty five-community list of Nagaland was finalised with the help of officers of Directorate of Art and Culture, Govt. of Nagaland, such as Shri M. Alemchiba Ao, Director, and Shri P.K. Bhattacharya, Joint Director. Others who were consulted were Dr. C. Lima Imchen, Lecturer in Sociology, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong and Shri Daniel Kent, a long time Director of Nagaland Census and the then Home Commissioner of Nagaland.

Some friends had suggested to us to include Mao and Tangkhul Nagas (who are original inhabitants of Manipur) in our list of communities. After consulting old literature, census works, and based on our enquiries, we found that members of this community are mainly concentrated in urban areas and are engaged basically in government service, though many families from these communities have settled down in and around Dimapur.

With the assistance of the learned *dobhashis*, it was possible for us to approach the knowledgeable 'key informants.' In most cases, our interpreters, who spoke to us in broken Assamese (*Nagamese*) and broken Hindi, proved to be our best informants during our discussions with the village elders, ex-chiefs, *khel*/clan representatives and educated villagers including women respondents. The old ethnographic literature on Naga tribes were consulted and compared with our data in writing our community reports.

Most Naga tribes regard the ultimate ancestry of man and the tiger (or leopard) as very intimately associated . . . the

Angami relate that in the beginning the first spirit, the tiger and the first man were three sons of one mother. At last the mother got tired of family squabbles, put up a mark in the jungle and told the man and the tiger to run to it, the one that touched it first being destined to live in villages and the other to live in the jungle. By arrangement between the spirit and the man, the former shot an arrow at the mark, while the other two were racing, and the man cried out that he had touched it. The tiger arrived while it still trembled from the blow, and being deceived, went away angry to live in the jungle.