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PEOPLE OF INDIA

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Volume XIV

General Editor
K. S. SINGH

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A NOTE ON THE SERIES

There exists an information gap on a very large number of communities in India, and whatever information exists on them 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 of 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 6,748 communities at the start. This list was taken to the field, tested and checked, and finally 4,635 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 ethno-

graphically surveyed earlier or where the survey had been done in a perfunctory way. Each state and union territory was treated 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 4,635 communities in all the states and union territories of India, out of the 6,748 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 3,000 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, 4,981 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 3,581 villages, mostly multi-community villages, and in 1,011 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 4,000 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 3,581 villages and 1,011 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 the Indian population. The remaining volumes contain descriptions 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 eastern 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

Arunachal Pradesh, the land of the dawn, emerged as a full-fledged state in 1987 after a long period of probation under the Nehru model of tribal development, enshrined in the Panchsheel of tribal policy. In fact, the evolution and formation of Arunachal Pradesh is a tribute to this far-sighted tribal policy formulated by Verrier Elwin in its early stages. The Arunachal people joined the political mainstream of federal democracy on their terms after ensuring the security and stability of their cultural systems.

A part of Arunachal Pradesh has been part of the cultural system that developed in the Brahmaputra valley. The Hindu influences penetrated along the Brahmaputra up to the Dibang valley. Sacred centres sprung up between the 11th and 13th centuries. The ruins of the Bhishmak site have reportedly been located in the Dibang valley, and those of Parsuram Kund in Lohit. The Ahoms built a fort at Itanagar during the 13th and 14th centuries. It was spread over an area of three to four square kilometres, and was equipped with ring wells. The Assamese connection is attested by the presence of some communities like the Deoris and others who entered Arunachal Pradesh through and from Assam, and the use of Assamese as the lingua franca.

A major problem faced by us was in the listing of communities in Arunachal Pradesh. The confusion was worsened by the 1971 Census when the enumerators did not care to verify their entries and the number of communities/sub-groups went up to 115. The sub-groups were identified with a village, even though the members could be spread throughout the valley. The sub-groups were also identified with what was a manner of speech. Only five major tribes have sub-groups which were generally known to scholars who have been studying them. The sub-groups of the Adis were not affiliated to either the Padam-Minyongs or to the Gallongs. Even the Padams and Minyongs are two different sub-tribes. The list of communities was subsequently rationalised by the Directorate of Research, Arunachal Pradesh government, bringing down the number of communities to 30 and of the sub-groups to 47 under intimation to the Government of India. This list served as the basis of study under the People of India project. The

list of the scheduled tribes prepared by the Arunachal Pradesh government consists of 25 scheduled tribes. These include four which have been given the facilities which accrue to the scheduled tribes, but are not recognised as such by the state government. The tribes are Zakhring or Meyor, Mikir or Karbi, Mishing and Lisu. The list also includes all the sub-groups of the Adis, Monpas, Mishmis and Nishings. The POI list, however, goes further and studies all the 15 sub-groups of the Tangsas. It also studies communities such as the Khamiyangs and Sonowal Kacharis, the non-tribal groups like the Chakmas (who are refugees), the Nepalis who perform various services, and the Tibetans. Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by 63 communities, besides the three non-tribal immigrant groups mentioned above who have been put under the Appendix.

A major development since Independence has been the abolition of slavery. Slavery in a tribal society like that of Arunachal Pradesh originated in the need for labour for performing economic activities related to production as it evolved from the stage of hunting and gathering to that of settled agriculture. The tribes have shed old names and assumed new ones. For example, the terms Abor (which was given by the Assamese, and was considered derogatory in its meaning as 'those who could not be controlled') and Dafla have been discarded in favour of Adi and Nishi, respectively. A new sense of self-respect is reflected in the assumption of these names. Many of the larger tribes like the Adis and others have been a constellation of various groups. In some areas smaller units want to assert their separate identity. The process of structuring and destructuring, of coalescing and decoalescing of identities at various levels is going on, but on a smaller scale than in some other parts of the north-east. The equation among the tribal groups has sharply changed. At one level the Adis and Nishis have consolidated their identity. At another the Adis have emerged as the most dominant community in the region's politics and administration. The Apatanis are influential in politics, business and commerce. The Nishis are in government jobs and engaged as petty contractors. The Khamptis are good businessmen, timber merchants, owners of elephants, modernisers of traditional tools and equipments, and harbingers of modern technology.

Arunachal Pradesh is divided into two cultural zones constituted by the hills and plains, inhabited by the major and minor tribal groups. Going by the concentration of the major tribal groups, there are five cultural zones. The first, covering the districts of Tawang and West

Kameng, is dominated by the Buddhist Monpas; the other groups being the Sherdukpens, Akas, Mijis and Khowas. The second zone, lying to the east of the first, is dominated by the Nishis/Bangnis. It covers the districts of East Kameng and Lower and Upper Subansiri. The other tribes in the zone are the Sulungs, Apatanis, the settled cultivators (wet-rice cultivators), Nas, Tagins, Mikirs and Hill Miris. The third zone, dominated by the Adis, extends from the eastern boundary of the Nishi area to the Mishmi area. It includes the eastern part of the Upper Subansiri district and the East and West Siang districts. The other tribes in the zone are the Khambas, Membas (both Buddhist groups) and the Mishings. The Mishmis are spread in the districts of Dibang Valley and Lohit. The Lohit district is also inhabited by the Zakhrings/Meyors, Khamptis, Khamiyangs, Deoris, Chakmas and Tibetans who are mostly settled in the plains bordering Assam. The fifth cultural zone spreads over the Tirap and Changlang districts, and is inhabited by the Noctes, Wanchos and Tangsas and the smaller groups like the Singphos, Sonowal Kacharis, Lisus and Nepalis.

The climate varies from region to region. Most of the communities live in the hilly terrains (58, 87.88 per cent against the national average of 25.83 per cent). The state comes under the heavy rainfall zone, and in the rainy season some places are completely cut off from the rest of the country.

II

The All India Anthropometric Survey extended to Arunachal Pradesh under the People of India project suggests that the people of Arunachal Pradesh are short to below medium in stature, have a round head, a medium to broad nose and a broad face. Published reports on the dermatoglyphic studies among the tribes indicate that whorls (41.65 per cent) preponderate over loops (33 to 54 per cent). The pattern intensity index and the total ridge count varies from 13.32 to 16.96 per cent and 145.80 to 148.00 per cent, respectively. Colour blindness varies from complete absence to as high as 10.40 per cent in the tribal groups. The incidence of the 'A' gene (14 to 35 per cent) is relatively high as compared to that of the 'B' gene (3.25 per cent). The 'O' gene shows a wide range (41 to 79 per cent). The non-taster gene frequency varies from 19 to 72 per cent. The Hb.E is reported in five to six per cent of the individuals, whereas the G6PD deficiency is found in 16 to 19 per cent of the tribal individuals. The 'M' gene shows a high frequency (61 to 91 per cent). The frequency of the 'Haplotype r' is low (zero to 11 per cent).

III

Arunachal Pradesh is marked by linguistic heterogeneity. Although it is a small state, as many as 42 languages are spoken in it. All the languages, except the two Indo-Aryan languages Assamese and Nepali, belong to the Tibeto-Chinese language family. Among the Tibeto-Chinese languages, Khampti-Shan belongs to the Siamese-Chinese sub-family, while the others belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Of the 42 languages, 40 are tribal languages. Assamese and Nepali are the scheduled languages. Tibetan is spoken by the 15 sub-groups of the Tangsa tribe; the Monpa language by the six sub-groups of the same tribe; and the Mishmi language by the three sub-groups of the same tribe. The rest of the languages are spoken by the respective tribal groups. The Khamiyangs claim Assamese as their mother tongue.

According to the 1981 Census, Assamese (27,339 persons), Bengali (46,174 persons) and Hindi (32,318 persons) are the scheduled languages spoken by a considerable member of persons. There are 50,810 persons who speak the Gorkhali/Nepali language. Tibetan is spoken by 7,482 people.

The tribal languages are: Adi (1,22,489), Bodo/Boro (1,265), Mikir (1,255), Mishmi (23,399), Monpa (33,273), Nishi/Dafla (1,39,408), Nocte (23,668), Tangsa (10,623) and Wancho (32,419).

The Assamese speakers are bilingual in Hindi (9,674 persons) and English (4,917 persons); the Bengali speakers in Hindi (97,683), Assamese (6,661), and English (4,417); the Hindi speakers in English (5,106), Assamese (3,709), and Nepali (404); the Gorkhali/Nepali in Hindi (21,634) and Assamese (5,486); the Tibetan in Hindi (2,422) and Assamese (729).

Nefamese (Arunachalese), a variant of Assamese, is the lingua franca among tribes, and between tribes and non-tribes. The tribals are bilingual. The Adi speakers are bilingual in Assamese (7,882), Hindi (17,981) and English (6,361); the Bodo/Boro speakers in Assamese (466) and Hindi (176); the Mikir speakers in Assamese (574); the Mishmi speakers in Assamese (4,595) and Hindi (2,256); the Monpa speakers in Hindi (6,900), Assamese (949), English (484) and Tibetan (403); the Nishi/Dafla in Assamese (13,366), Hindi (7,702) and English (2,795); the Nocte in Assamese (5,404), Hindi (1,354), and English (914); the Tangsa in Assamese (3,239); the Wancho in Assamese (3,487), English (1,299), and Ao (215).

As many as six different scripts are in use: Assamese, Devanagari,

Hingna, Mon, Roman and Tibetan. The Hingna and Mon scripts are used by the Khamba and the Khampti communities, respectively.

IV

Arunachal Pradesh is marked by an extraordinary range of heterogeneity in terms of cultural and linguistic traits within and between the tribal groups. Part of this could be explained by ecological diversity. It is also marked by the continuance of tribal institutions and cultural systems, and the tribals' control over their resources.

We shall now discuss the cultural traits of Arunachal Pradesh that stand out in relation to the rest of the country, such as the preponderance of the scheduled tribes (93.94 per cent against the national average of 13.72 per cent), consumption of pork (96.97 per cent against 29.92 per cent) — because of a long tradition of rearing pigs, consumption of beef (81.82 per cent against 15.71 per cent), consumption of rice (92.42 per cent against 88.18 per cent) and maize (74.24 per cent against 24.79 per cent), use of animal fat as the cooking medium (45.45 per cent against 4.77 per cent) and the consumption of home-made alcoholic drinks (93.94 per cent against 17.80 per cent).

Among social traits, there is the larger presence of phratry (16.67 per cent against 1.32 per cent), both sororal (43.94 per cent against 14.67 per cent) and non-sororal polygyny (56.06 per cent against 24.70 per cent) and consanguinity in the form of MBD (74.24 per cent against 51.09 per cent). A striking feature is the scale of permissibility of inter-community marriages (72.73 per cent against 23.80 per cent) across not only cognate groups but also others.

Among economic traits, there is a larger incidence of land ownership (93.94 per cent against 30.64 per cent), shifting cultivation (80.30 per cent against 5.44 per cent) and terrace cultivation (45.45 per cent against 4.75 per cent). Among institutions, chieftainship is relatively strong (10.61 per cent against the national average of 5.39 per cent).

A majority of the communities (52; 78.79 per cent against the national average of 33.47 per cent) identify themselves at the local level, and only three (4.55 per cent against 2.93 per cent) communities identify themselves at the transnational level within their kin groups across the international border. Historical and ethnographic accounts are available only for a very small number of communities. A large number of communities (56; 84.85 per cent against the

national average of 59.98 per cent) recall their migration in their oral traditions to their present habitat.

The communities take non-vegetarian food. The consumption of roots and tubers is common (92.42 per cent against 71.52 per cent). The consumption of home-made alcoholic drinks is also a common feature (62; 93.94 per cent against 17.80 per cent). The communities have now started including milk and milk products in their diet. Chewing betel nuts is common.

Social divisions exist in the form of phratries, moieties, clans or exogamous divisions and lineages which regulate marriage and indicate status. Phratries exist among some groups of the Tangsas and Nishis. Moieties exist in six communities (9.09 per cent against 0.73 per cent) — some Tangsa groups, Adi Minyongs and Sherdukpens.

The tribal communities generally follow the norm of community endogamy and clan exogamy (58; 87.88 per cent against 41.29 per cent). Adult marriage is widely practised. The modes of acquiring mates which overlap by negotiation (61), elopement (34; 51.52 per cent against 13.57 per cent), mutual consent (23; 34.85 per cent against 25.83 per cent) and courtship (28; 42.42 per cent against 6.32 per cent). We have referred to the incidence of MBD above. There is also a small incidence of FSD (12.12 per cent against 44.01 per cent) among the tribal groups.

Fraternal polyandry exists in seven communities (10.61 per cent against 0.60 per cent), such as the Khambas, Monpa-Tawang, Monpa-Dirangs, Monpa-Lishpas, Membas, Zakhriings and Tibetans. The Gallongs of the lower Siang valley practised some sort of fraternal polyandry. A majority of the communities (63) practise the rule of patrilocal residence, though members in some communities have started taking up neolocal residence. Both divorce and re-marriage are permissible for either of the spouses.

Both nuclear (47; 71.21 per cent against 88.93 per cent) and extended (45.45 per cent against 49.02 per cent) types of families exist. The rule of male equigeniture is accepted (42), and the eldest son succeeds as the familial authority. The dormitory system, which is the traditional institution of informal learning and socialisation for the youth and plays an important role in their cohesive community life, exists among the Noctes, Wanchos and Adis. The functioning of *rashengs*, that is, dormitories for girls is unique to this part of the country.

The women play a major role in economic activities, contribute to

income, perform household chores and participate in social functions and religious affairs. However, their status is considered low in as many as 41 communities (62.12 per cent against 72.19 per cent).

The traditional village councils exist in 59 communities (89.39 per cent against 18.45 per cent), which enforce social control and look after village welfare. Chieftainship exists in as many as seven communities (10.61 per cent against 5.59 per cent).

A majority of the communities own land (62; 93.94 per cent against 30.64 per cent). The two major resources are land (65; 98.48 per cent against 64.01 per cent) and forests (44; 66.67 per cent against 13.57 per cent). Shifting cultivation is both the traditional (53; 90.30 per cent against 5.44 per cent) and the present-day occupation (44; 66.67 per cent against 3.69 per cent). Hunting and gathering (60.61 per cent against 5.11 per cent), fishing and animal husbandry (53 per cent against 21.55 per cent) are also pursued alongside. Other forms of occupations gaining in popularity are terrace cultivation (45.45 per cent against 4.75 per cent) and settled cultivation (65.15 per cent against 54 per cent). There are other traditional occupations like textile weaving (59.09 per cent against 6.71 per cent) and basket making (50 per cent against 6.6 per cent).

Among the new emerging pursuits are business (56 per cent against 44.27 per cent) and trade (43.94 per cent against 18.94 per cent). A new middle class with substantial interests in business and trade has emerged. The transactions are still conducted through barter among some communities (6.06 per cent against 1.83 per cent), but a majority of the communities have now established direct links with markets.

A majority of the communities (49) follow traditional, tribal beliefs (74.24 per cent against 8.31 per cent). These include the cult of *Donyi-Polo* (the sun and moon god), the supreme power, who governs the universe. This cult has emerged recently among the Adis, Apatanis, Tagins, Nishis and Mishmis.

Some of the communities (18) profess the Buddhist faith (27.27 per cent against 2.01 per cent). The Tawang monastery, one of the largest *gompas* in South Asia in the Tawang district, belongs to the Lamaistic sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It serves as a training centre for the *lamas*.

In terms of the 1981 Census data the picture is as follows: followers of other religions constitute 51.60 per cent of the population, those of Hinduism 29.24 per cent and Buddhism 13.64 per cent. An

interesting trend is the rise of Christianity (4.32 per cent). The Christian population has sharply gone up from 3,684 to 27,306 during 1971-81. Among other religions is Donyi-Poloism; its followers numbered 2,18,484 in 1981.

The old feuds between the Deoris and Khamptis, or between the Apatanis and Nishis are matters of history. Now there is an extraordinary degree of community interaction, including marital alliances. A good number of communities accept and exchange water and food.

The state also presents an extraordinary scale of cultural activity. The people make beautiful masks, woollen carpets, shoes, wooden vessels and silver articles. They excel in cane and bamboo work, weaving, wood carving and ivory works. The traditional pottery, however, is losing ground.

Arunachal Pradesh has been noted for its political stability ever since it became a Union Territory in 1972 and a state in 1987. This is reflected in the progress it has witnessed in various fields. The index of rapid development is the rise of the new class of entrepreneurs, businessmen (53), artistes (18), white collar employees, defence service personnel, teachers and administrators. It is a dynamic society with leadership emerging at all levels, village and regional. Education has made good progress, and there is widespread awareness of the need for education for boys and girls at all levels.

The various development programmes have also made a good impact. The proportion of benefits from the expansion of various programmes of poultry farming, animal husbandry, piggeries, and fisheries is higher than the national average. The traditional indigenous medicines are favoured, but the people also use modern medicines. Drinking water facilities are available or have been provided to almost all the communities. However, the depletion of forest resources is a major cause for concern. The widespread felling of trees thanks to a nexus among the contractors, politicians and bureaucrats threatens to deprive Arunachal Pradesh of its major resource.

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INTRODUCTION

The communities of Arunachal Pradesh under the People of India project were studied from the North-Eastern Regional Centre, Shillong. The identification of the communities of Arunachal Pradesh was made on the basis of the Census of India, field investigations, information provided by the local administrative authorities and the research institutes. As a result, a definitive list of target communities to be investigated was prepared.

The field investigations among the various communities of the state were carried out by a team consisting of experienced research officers. A guiding schedule was provided to each investigator for a wide coverage of the people with regard to their origin and history and other general information regarding their dress, constitutional status, environment, bio-anthropological traits, food habits, ethnic and cultural traits, status of women, economy, inter-community linkages and development aspects. Before proceeding to the field an exhaustive survey was made of existing literature on each community. Data on different communities were collected in different phases. The schedule was pre-tested among the six least known communities by the investigators. A seminar was organised on the basis of pre-testing reports and thereafter some modifications were made in the guidelines. Each investigator was allotted a number of communities. The data were collected with the help of the guidelines, observations, individual and group interviews and also through group discussions. Computer and general format were also filled in for each community. It was decided to collect data from the core area of the communities and from the peripheral villages by interviewing a few males and at least one female informant. The name, age, sex, qualifications, status of informants, place and date of interview were recorded to authenticate the data. Background information was collected from the Directorate of Research, government of Arunachal Pradesh, other government officials and local scholars. Each community was investigated for about 15 days. In all the 11 districts of the state, 90 villages were covered and 493 persons (394 males and 99 females) were selected as informants. Seven researchers of this survey collected data for this project

through these informants in 609 days. Besides, a report on each community written on the basis of the field data and photographic coverage was also prepared. In order to check the validity of the data a sample check of five to 10 per cent of the total reports was carried out by the co-ordinator and senior research officers.

The publications available on Arunachal Pradesh indicate that the exploration of its land and people started long ago. It may be mentioned that the majority of publications are credited to the Directorate of Research, Arunachal Pradesh. One of the earliest publications on the Aka tribe was brought out in 1884 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The state publications include monographs, gazetteers and booklets. About 10 other publications on its people were published by individuals and institutions. Besides these, there are regular publications of *Resarun* (a journal of the Arunachal Pradesh research department) and those from the Census of India. In the 1961 Census a good coverage of its land and people was given under the section *Demographic Profile of North East India* (Roy Burman).

A *Philosophy for NEFA* by Elwin (1959) deals with the various problems, aims and desired objectives in the best interest of the indigenous people. The author emphasises the psychological problems of adjustments under the changed circumstances. Elwin was a close associate of Jawaharlal Nehru and was fully conversant with his philanthropic philosophy towards the tribals. He tried to translate the ideals of Nehru.

Baruah (1960) in his book *The Idu Mishmis* gives descriptions of the land and origin of the peoples, their housing pattern, dress and ornaments, agriculture, food and drinks, family life, clan system and other cultural traits.

Shukla (1965) in his book *The Daflas* gives a brief introduction to the study of the Dafla community (now popularly known as Nishi), stating that the name Dafla was given by outsiders. A mention has been made of Campbell's administrative report of 1872-73, which states that the Daflas of the interior areas attacked the Daflas of the foothills because they believed that the latter carried fatal infections. In 1911-12 the Miri Mission visited them and in 1944 Furer-Haimendorf made investigations on them. The book also deals with the nomenclature, flora and fauna, mythological origin, migration, early history and the raids by the Ahom rulers. Short descriptions have been given of the Daflas' villages, housing pattern, dress and ornaments, crafts, hunting, fishing, livestock, agriculture, food and drinks. Under the chapter

'Social Life', the book deals with their social organisation, that is, family structure, patrilocal descent, marriage types, bride price, mode of acquiring mates, mechanism of social control, inter-tribe relationships, religious beliefs, different kinds of spirits, the shamans and their power to cure diseases.

Aspects of Padam-Minyong Culture by Sachin Roy (1960) is the first full-fledged book on the Padam and Minyong tribal groups of Siang. The author deals in detail with the origin, migration and present distribution of the community; the land, flora and fauna and climate; the people with their groupings and sub-groupings, their socio-political life including the family systems, stating them as patriarchal, patrilineal or patrilocal; the house types, the institution of marriage, mode of acquiring mates, bride price, life-cycle rituals, the role of the *nyibu* (priest), their divinatory media such as chicken liver and egg, the social control organisation known as *kebang*; beliefs in malevolent and benevolent spirits and the recent orientation of their religion as *Donyi-Polo* (sun and moon). The book contains a glossary of Adi terms. Parul Dutta (1969) in *The Tangsas* deals with the origin of the name Tangsa, their sub-groups, physical features and the habitat. It also gives the description of their different myths, their origin, migration and trade, which involves the system of maintaining accounts with the help of a chain of bamboo rings. It also deals with the community's artisan crafts, weaving, dress and ornaments, hunting and fishing, methods of war and head hunting and languages. Materials related to their daily life and their various occupations are illustrated with sketches. With regard to social life, the book covers the family system, kinship, clans, life-cycle rituals, dormitories, marriage system and laws of inheritance, political life and mechanism of social control. It also deals with the religious beliefs in spirits and deities, the role of the priest and ritual experts.

The book *Among the Wanchos* by Srivastava (1973) covers in narrative style, the various aspects of Wancho life, their geographical and ecological settings, economic condition, social systems, political institutions, religious beliefs and practices, life-cycle rituals and the *morungs* (dormitories).

In *The Hill Miris* Pandey (1974) describes the habitat of the Hill Miris, their origin and migration, family life, life-cycle rituals, beliefs about life after death, agriculture, animal husbandry, craft, dress, martial rules, property laws, punishments for negligence and murder, relations with their neighbouring communities, feuds with others and

possessing of captives and their belief in different spirits.

Bhattacharya (1975), in his book *The Tangams*, covers the community's natural environment, mentioning medicinal plants, aconite, fauna and snake-bites and their treatment. He also covers the community's origin and migration and gives short comments on their houses, granaries and community halls. A description of their material culture, traditional occupations such as agriculture and other subsidiary subsistence resources such as hunting and fishing is also given. Under social life, family as an institution has not been covered, barring a mention of the family size and post-marital residence. The book says that the Tangams' mode of acquiring mates is by service or by exchange. There is also a mention of bride price, the status of women, social control, customary laws, beliefs in spirits and their mystic faith in magic and dreams.

In *The Singphos and their Religion* Baruah (1977) gives a description of their habitat, migration, place of origin and domestic and social life. He elaborately deals with their mythology, delineating their beliefs in spirits, traditional faith in different magical powers of the shamans and the priests and life-cycle rituals, concluding with translations of prayers to the spirits by the priest.

In *The Nocte* Parul Dutta (1978) gives a general coverage of the Nocte community's location, flora, fauna, climate, legends about origin and migration, early history and language. A mention has also been made of their housing, settlements, hair style and tattooing; their economy, including agriculture, hunting and fishing and their food and livestock. Dutta gives a detailed account of their social and cultural life, describing the family structure, kinship system, clan organisation, life-cycle rituals, dormitory system, games, dances, festivals and musical instruments. In the chapter on political life he describes the customary laws and local judicature. Another chapter has been devoted to religion, which covers popular beliefs and the philosophy of Vaishnavism.

Kumar (1978) in his book *The Boris* gives descriptions of the people, topographical features, mythological origin, migration, difficulties in communication, trade routes, language, housing and settlement patterns, dormitories, art and craft including weaving, dress and ornaments, food and drinks, music and dance, economic life including land tenure, *jhum* (slash and burn) cultivation, hunting, fishing and cattle breeding. The book deals with the social organisation, mentioning social divisions, clans and lineages, family system, the

earlier slavery system, kinship systems, life-cycle rituals, dormitory system, extra-marital sexual behaviour, mechanism of social control and political organisations. It also deals with the community's myths, oral traditions and religion, the supreme deity being *Donyi-Polo* (the sun and moon god).

In *The Pailibos* Kumar (1979) includes brief descriptions of their habitat, neighbours, topography, climate, flora and fauna, origin, communication, trade routes, population and language. A mention has been made of their utensils, dress and ornaments, weapons, food and drinks and music. The book also deals with the mechanism of social control through the *libo-keba* and *dolu-keba*, beliefs in supernatural powers, role of the *nyibu*, practice of omens through divinations, life-cycle rituals, belief in after-life, family and marriage systems and the customs of pre-betrothal sexual relations. The book ends with a mention of their calendar and genealogies of some clans and lineages in the appendix.

The *Gazetteers of Lohit* (1978), *Tirap* (1980) and *Subansiri* (1981) by Dutta Choudhuri deserve a special mention as these are good compilations of information on various aspects of the state and its different ethnic groups. Starting from the details of flora and fauna and physical features, they cover its history, ethnic traits, agriculture, industries, banking, trade and commerce, communication (both traditional and modern), occupations and economic trends. They also give a good account of its general and revenue administration, law and order and justice, information about the different administrative departments, local traditional self-government, Panchayati Raj, education and associated activities, medical facilities, voluntary social service organisations and places of historical importance and of tourists' interest. Niranjan Sarkar (1981) in his book *Tawang Monastery* gives a detailed account of the history of the monastery activities and the monastic system. In *The Sulungs* Deuri (1982) deals with the community's origin, migration, topography and flora and fauna. Their distribution, relations with the Bangnis, Mijis and outsiders, occupations, trade routes, housing, dress and ornaments, tattooing, handicrafts such as weaving and bamboo, cane, metal and wood-work, pottery and leatherwork are briefly covered. There is a mention of their agriculture and ceremonies connected with it. A mention is also made of food gathering, food habits and taboos associated with it, drinks, other occupations such as livestock, honey collection, hunting, fishing, etc. The book also covers their clans, family and kinship systems, the position of men and

women in society, the institution of marriage, bride price, divorce and life-cycle rituals. We are also told that their customary laws and practices are dictated by the Bangnis.

The other set of publications includes an important memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. V Extra no. pp. 1-99) on the Adis. Titled *Abors and Gallongs* and written by George Duff, Sutherland and Dunbar, it gives a good account of the anthropology, history and external relations, physical features of the locality, inter-tribal relations, various ethnic traits and their mythology and religion. In 1962 Furer-Haimendorf published a pioneering work titled *The Apatanis and their neighbours*. It gives a neat delineation of the cultural and social life under various heads such as utilisation of natural resources, trade and barter, social structure, position of slaves, family life, maintenance of law and order, relations with neighbours during peace and war, religion and moral order. In a book titled *Techno-Economic Survey of NEFA*, published in 1967 by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, Furer-Haimendorf compares his earlier visits of 1944 with his second visit to the area in 1962. At the micro level there is a comparison of the techno-economy of the people during the two visits, diagnosing different causes. The book is supplemented with a number of tables showing budgetary provisions utilised in the area under different heads. Lal and Dasgupta's *Lower Siang People*, published by the Anthropological Survey of India in 1979, provides information and analyses of the ecological and socio-cultural conditions of the lower Siang villages which are inhabited by the Gallong, Minyong and Pasi communities. The variables of different altitudes and ecological settings have been employed to examine the process of adaptation of the people to the environment. This has been done through the analysis of the data on population distribution, settlement pattern, house types, economy and land use shaping their social, political and religious life. The authors have deduced that in spite of a common cultural base, the Gallongs and Minyongs of the lower Siang region have some differences with regard to the women's hair style, importance of the dormitory, base of the cane hats, etc. This leads to the inference that in lower Siang, the Gallongs are representative of western Siang culture and the Minyongs of the eastern-central type. It has also been observed that though the ecological variations run from north to south, the cultural variations run from east to west.

The book *Eastern Himalayas* by Sharma and Mazumdar (1980) mentions pre-historic archaeological findings in the Mishmi Hills and

the Kameng and Lohit districts. It also compares the Apatanis with other tribes in the region.

A Himalayan Tribe: From Cattle to Cash by Furer-Haimendorf (1980) is mainly a review of his earlier investigations conducted in Arunachal Pradesh since 1944. The author deals with a number of tribes from east to west, analysing their life patterns under the parameters of environment and settlements, farming and land tenure, development of commerce, elements of social structure, pattern of family life, traditional social controls and values, rituals and ceremonies, the world of gods and spirits, interaction with past and present neighbours and recent social and political developments. In the last chapter titled 'Prospects for the Future', he analyses the social life of the Apatanis in the contexts of space and population, problems of the educated elite, position of the traditional leaders vis a vis the recent developments and the policy of the Inner Line. The author predicts that the Apatanis will remain a self-contained society in the foreseeable future.

Furer-Haimendorf assesses the different tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh in his *Highlanders of Arunachal Pradesh* and categorises them under settlements and houses, economic base, trade and barter, family structure, ceremonial exchanges, slavery, the role of force in a lawless society, modern developments, religious beliefs and rituals and the Buddhist societies of the Kameng district.

In 1982 Furer-Haimendorf published another book titled *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*. Here he describes the changes and development in Arunachal Pradesh with a special reference to the Apatani tribe.

Neeru Nanda published *Tawang: the Land of Mon* in 1982, in which, while describing Buddhism in Tawang, particularly the incarnate *lamas* and the Tawang monastery, she highlights remnants of the pre-Buddhist era. These include the legends of primeval gods and goddesses and the ancient art of black magic rituals and poisoning, which are still extant in remote pockets of Tawang.

In *Arunachal Pradesh — Rich Land and Poor People* Jha (1986) examines the socio-economic transformation of the Arunachal tribes during the last few decades. In doing so the author discusses their historical background, demographic features, social institutions and ritual practices. The book has discussions on natural resources such as land, water, forests and minerals and activities such as agriculture, industry and trade and commerce. It also gives an assessment of measuring the infrastructure that could promote the utilisation of

local potential for development.

Krishna Haldipur (1985) gives her touring experience along with descriptions of the land and people from the east to the west of Arunachal Pradesh in *Around the Hills and Dales of Arunachal Pradesh*. In *Society, Culture and Ecological Adaptation among three tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* Jayanta Sarkar (1987) describes the land and people with a special reference to the Khamptis' settlement patterns, material culture, economy, social organisation, cycle of festivals, political organisation and contact with outsiders. *Alluring Frontiers* by Bhattacharjee (1987) is a description of experiences gained by the author during his long stay in and frequent tours of Arunachal Pradesh as a government officer. Chandrika Singh (1989) in his book *Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State* gives an exhaustive account of the history of the people of Arunachal Pradesh — their origin to the emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a state. There is also a mention of the different democratic processes in the state, specially those operative in the post-Independence period, and the political and cultural responses to them. Maitra (1988) in his book *A Guide Book to Lisu Language* deals with kinship terms, social usage, conversational analysis and grammar of the Lisu language. In *Arunachal Through the Ages* Chowdhury (1982) gives a detailed historical account of the state. The book deals with the land and its people, migration of the Mongoloids and their contribution to Indian culture, the story of the McMahon Line and relations between the people of the area with the surrounding people and the British as well. The political and economic development of the area, from a frontier tract to a union territory, has also been included.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Arunachal Pradesh, the fascinating land of the rising sun, was earlier known as the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). Situated along the north-eastern frontier of India, the area has great strategic significance. The whole state is covered with the Eastern Himalayas and is bounded by Bhutan in the west, Tibet in the north and north-east, Myanmar (Burma) in the east and south-east and Assam in the south. It is a thinly populated state lying roughly between the 26°28'N and 29°30'N latitudes and 91°30'E and 97°30'E longitudes and occupies an area of approximately 83,578 sq. km. The entire area towers over the

plains of Assam in the shape of a horseshoe.

Unlike other states, Arunachal Pradesh has a varying geomorphological and geoclimatic set-up. While the climate is very humid in the lower altitudes and the valleys, it is extremely cold in the higher altitudes. The altitude varies from 150 to 7,000 metres. The rugged terrain has snowclad peaks, deep river gorges, swift-flowing streams and river valley flats. It has a narrow belt of foothill plains along the border with Assam. Amidst the highly rugged terrain there are also some beautiful valleys. The Apatani valley in the Lower Subansiri district is one of the most beautiful areas in the state. Except for a few places such as Pasighat, Bordumsa and Tezu there is hardly any plain territory. The entire state is covered with a dense evergreen forest, which presents a very colourful and picturesque sight. Thus variation is found in the climate of the state mainly due to the undulating mountains and altitudinal variations.

The important rivers passing through the state are Siang, Kameng, Subansiri, Dibang, Lohit, Tawang, Dihing and Tirap. Small scattered settlements are found in the mountainous terrain, whereas the foothills and the plains of Lohit, Dihing and Tirap are comparatively thickly populated. The temperature plummets from 40°C in the foothills and plains to 0°C in the higher altitudes. The state has only two seasons — winter and rainy. It falls in the heavy rainfall zone of the country with the annual average rainfall ranging from 300 to 400 cm. The rains start as early as April and continue almost till October. According to Elwin, the "rain comes down all through the year, breaking the Indian rule of hot, cold, and rainy seasons". Often during the monsoon, communication between some areas of the state and the rest of the country is completely disrupted. Communication by air also depends on the weather.

The state is rich in mineral resources like dolomite, quartzite, graphite, limestone, coal, marble, oil and natural gas. A crude oil extracting plant at Kharsang in the Changlang district has been set up. Three types of forests, namely tropical, temperate and alpine, are found here. About 61,000 sq. km. of the territory is covered with forests, which are an important source of revenue for the state. The state is rich in forest products such as bamboo, cane and timber. A large variety of medicinal plants are also found, the most important being *mishmi teeta* (*Coptis teeta*). The state is very rich in flora and fauna. It has a great variety of wild life such as the tiger, leopard, black panther, elephant, bear, wild boar, barking deer, musk deer, monkey,

langur, wild goat, wild buffalo, flying fox, squirrel, porcupine, etc. The gibbons, one of the great apes, can be found in the Tirap and Changlang districts. The famous hornbill deserves a special mention. Thus, these districts provide a good research field for primatologists and physical anthropologists. The *mithun* (*Bos frontalis*), a semi-domesticated animal, is the most important among the animals and plays an important role in the social-cultural life of the people. The yak is a common domestic animal in the higher regions.

Nearly 96 per cent of the total population is engaged in agriculture. Irrigated area forms about 26 per cent of the total cultivated area of about 1,33,430 hectares. The majority of the people practise *jhum* or shifting and terrace cultivation, but settled farming is becoming increasingly popular. A total of 56,270 hectares have been brought under *jhum* cultivation.

HISTORY

The history of Arunachal Pradesh is shrouded in myths and legends. Except for a few archaeological finds, there are hardly any written records of the ancient period. The discovery of neolithic celts in the hills suggests that this part of the land became a human habitat in pre-historic times. Written references to the people of this area first appeared in the Ahom *Buranjis* (chronicles of the Ahoms of Assam) and Mughal chronicles during the medieval period.

Some researchers, however, suggest that a vast area of the state was administered and ruled by different rulers and local administrations. The plains area of the state was ruled by the Chutiyas and the Kalitas in ancient times. Later, in medieval times the area came under Ahom rule. The Ahoms succeeded in gradually bringing the entire stretch of land from Sadiya to the Subansiri river on the north bank of the Brahmaputra under their control, and in doing so came in direct contact with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Some of the hill tribes troubled the Ahom rulers with their sporadic raids and plundering in the foothills. The Ahoms were quick to realise the futility of embarking on a policy of subjugating the hill tribes. They simply wanted to contain them in their own hills and sent out punitive expeditions only when there were major raids. Indeed, the Ahoms never made any attempt to annex the tribals' territory, nor did they interfere with their internal affairs. They, therefore, struck upon a policy of conciliation

backed by a show of force, which was a forerunner to the frontier policy of the British as formulated in the following lines quoted by Mackenzie (1884): "... conciliate them if you can be persistent in demanding surrender of murderers, but endeavour so to approach the tribes that a basis may be opened for friendly intercourse". It may be mentioned in this connection that the Ahoms introduced a system of paying *posa* to some tribals of Arunachal Pradesh, which formed a part of the above policy. The *posa* was a kind of payment made by the Ahoms to the tribals in lieu of peace.

In 1826 the British replaced the Ahoms in the north-east (then known as Assam). When the British annexed the whole of Assam in 1838, they made it a Non-Regulation Province of British India. In 1873 the Lt. Governor of British India prescribed the Inner Line, which would pass through the Kamrup and Goalpara districts towards Bhutan; the Darrang district towards the Bhutiyas, Akas and Daflas; the Lakhimpur district towards the Daflas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos and Nagas and Sibsagar towards the Nagas. Beyond this line no British subjects of certain classes or foreign residents could pass without a license. This regulation also stipulated rules regarding trade, possession of land beyond the line and other related matters and is known as the Inner Line Regulation. In order to deal better with the hill tribes of these regions, the post of Political Officer was created in 1882 with Sadiya as the headquarters. Thus, by establishing friendly relations with the tribes, the British slowly brought the whole of the area under their administrative control. In 1914 the hill area of the northern districts of Assam was separated from the plains to form the North East Frontier Tract. The tract was divided over a period of years into administrative units such as the Balipara, Lakhimpur, Sadiya and Tirap Frontier Tract Units. In 1954 these units were reconstituted and renamed as the Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap Frontier Divisions. The Tuensang Frontier Division, earlier included in the then NEFA, was amalgamated with the present day Nagaland in 1957.

In 1838 the British took over Assam from the last Ahom king, from which time they protected the plains area from tribal raids for about a century by undertaking punitive expeditions into the hills. The occupation of tribal territories by the British Government was marked by a series of punitive measures. The British realised that it was necessary to form the tribal regions into non-regulation tracts to be administered directly by the Deputy Commissioners. In order to bring

about some uniformity in the administration of the tribal areas, the scheduled district Act was passed in 1914. Some pattern of administration emerged in the region with the notification of 1914 by the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, which provided for an extension of the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulations of 1880 to the hills inhabited by the Abors (Adis), Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Khamptis, Bhutiyas, Akas and Daflas (Nishis). The North East Frontier was formed vide the North East Frontier Area (administration) Regulation, 1954. Under this regulation, the administrative units were also reconstituted with redefined boundaries and renamed as follows: (a) Balipara Frontier Division bifurcated and renamed as Kameng Frontier Division and Subansiri Frontier Division; (b) Tirap Frontier Tract renamed as Tirap Frontier Division; (c) Abor Hills District renamed as Siang Frontier Division; (d) Mishmi Hills District renamed as Lohit Frontier Division; and (e) Naga Tribal Area renamed as Tuensang Frontier Division.

In 1957 the Tuensang Frontier Division was excluded from the NEFA and included in Nagaland. The other frontier divisions were respectively renamed as the Kameng, Subansiri, Tirap, Siang and Lohit districts in 1965. The Political Officers (later renamed Deputy Commissioners) were put in charge of the district administration. From August 1, 1965, the administrative responsibility of NEFA was transferred from the External Affairs Ministry to the Home Ministry of the Government of India. Practically all the district headquarters were opened at their present locations between the years 1953 and 1955. The administrative jurisdictions of various categories were streamlined in 1965. In 1972 the union territory North East Frontier Agency was renamed Arunachal Pradesh and on January 20, 1987, it emerged as the 24th state of the Indian Republic.

The archaeological findings at Rukmaninagar and Bhishmaknagar in Dibang Valley, the copper temples at Tamreswari and Parsuramkund in the Lohit district, the ruins of a fort at Bhalukpong in West Kameng, the ruins of the Ita fort in Lower Subansiri and Malinithan in West Siang suggest some contact between the rulers of Assam in ancient times and the people of Arunachal Pradesh living near the Assam border. The Mahabharata and Purana stories indicate that the kings of Assam also ruled over the neighbouring hilly tracts.

An Aka legend informs us that the ruins of a fort near Bhalukpong in West Kameng was the home of Bhaluka, the grandson of Raja Bana in the Mahabharata. It may be mentioned here that some Akas believe

they are the descendants of king Bhaluka. The Idu Mishmis claim king Bhishmaka as their ancestor. The Ita fort finding also substantiates the fact that the Kalita kingdom extended to this Nishi-inhabited area between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Ahom kings maintained friendly relations with these people, which were occasionally strained by a display of force. The kings continuously strived to restrain the people of Arunachal Pradesh within their hills. The Ahom king, Raja Udayaditya Singha, was defeated when he tried to subjugate the Nishis. Another Ahom ruler Swargadeo Pratap Singha introduced the system of paying *posa*. The Arunachal people such as the Akas, Nishis and Miris paid an annual tribute with their hill products. They were allowed trading facilities on the condition that they would not commit atrocities on the Assamese. The Ahom government appointed some officers to supervise the maintenance of relations with the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

The first important step taken by the British administration after taking control of Assam was the introduction of the Inner Line system in order to control the trade between the hills and the plains; prevent free access to the rubber traders; prevent the spread of tea gardens and restrain the possession of land and property beyond the Inner Line without a special permit.

The tribes of the Kameng district have different oral accounts of migration. In some cases, the descriptions seem to be contradictory. For example, some reports state that the Monpas migrated from the south, that is, from Assam; some others say that they are from the west, that is, Bhutan; while yet other reports state that they are from the north, that is, Tibet. The overall impression prevailing about their migration suggests that they came from the north. The Sherdukpens claim their origin from the union of the local prince with a princess from the south, possibly of Ahom origin. The Akas believe that they inhabited the plains of Assam before settling down in their present habitat, and trace their first place of settlement to Jigago which is possibly situated somewhere in upper Assam. From Jigago they shifted to the present settlements at Jamiri, Palizi and Buragaon. The Mijis, Bangnis and Khowas trace their origin to places situated somewhere north of the present Chayang Tajo circle of the Kameng district.

In 1941 Dwarika Nath Das published an exploratory report on the Ita ruins. He identified the ruins with ancient Mayapur, the capital of King Ramachandra (later part of the 13th century) who was also known as Mayamatta and probably descended from the Jitari dynasty

of Assam. The report states that Doimukh is situated in the Nishi Hills, six and half miles to the north of the Harmutty tea garden in the North Lakhimpur sub-division. This place is north of Majuli or Ratanapur of ancient times. The Nishis call the hill on which the Ita ruins have been found Hita Rokpo. Most of the accounts from different sources on the Ita ruins agree on the description of one Arimatta, an important ruler mentioned in a number of legends and traditions popular all over Assam. Arimatta is said to have killed his father unknowingly and committed suicide in repentance. According to the Asomar and Kamrupar *Buranjis*, legends of the local Nishis, the reference to a capital named Mayapur in the hills and other supporting evidence, it may be guessed that King Ramachandra, the father of Arimatta, was the founder of the Ita fort. The same sources attest that Arimatta, whose mother was the legendary queen Harmati, ruled over the Ita fort. It is quite probable that the fort was built in the latter part of the 13th century when the Muslims invaded from the west and the Ahoms advanced from the east. Though there is no archaeological evidence to establish the date, the bricks of the fort are typically medieval and of the pre-Ahom period. The pottery found in the ruins shows traces of similarity with that of the medieval period of Assam.

According to recorded history (as distinct from archaeological evidence and the Ahom *Buranjis*), Arunachal Pradesh came into existence from the days of the Ahoms. After dominating the Chutiyas and Kacharis of Assam, the Ahoms gradually came in contact with the northern tribes of Arunachal Pradesh such as the Mishmis, Adis, Hill Miris, Nishis and Akas and established extensive relations with them. According to writer Mohammad Kazim, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, the Nishis were an independent people. One of the Ahom kings (1552-1603) took strong measures to keep the Nishis and Akas in check. There were several expeditions into the Nishi area by the Ahom kings in the 17th century. In order to resist the Nishis, the Ahom king, Swargadeo Pratap Singha (1603-41), constructed a fort called Daflagarh in the Darrang area.

The first reference to the Hill Miris is available in the Ahom *Buranjis* during the time of King Swargadeo Pratap Singha. He appointed *katakis* and arranged the system of *posa* to conciliate the Hill Miris. The survey reports by Wilcox and Dalton in 1825 and 1845, respectively, refer to the Hill Miris and the preliminary note on the Miris (1897) contains information on them. Till 1852 the Nishis caused a lot of anxiety to the British who established unilateral posts along the

frontier to secure peace. In 1872-73 the Nishis again raided the plains. From the early part of this century, the relations between the Nishis and the government became friendly because of direct contact being established with the Nishis of the interior. A survey party first visited the Tagin area in 1911. In 1951, after a long gap of 40 years, an Assistant Political Officer of Along visited a part of the Tagin territory, giving a good account of the community. But an official visit to the area in 1953 received a blow when the Tagins killed 47 of the 165-strong visiting party in Achingmori. Subsequently, a sympathetic attitude and tactful handling helped in pacifying the Tagins and no such unhappy incident recurred. According to Sachin Roy (1960, pp 13), the Tagins are believed to have migrated from Penji, a village in Tibet, to the Tadadege region. From Tadadege they seem to have migrated to their present settlements in the Upper Subansiri district. The Miri Mission (1911-12) reported about the Hill Miris, stating that they inhabit a jungle area at an altitude of 300 to 4,000 feet. Then, in 1944 Furer-Haimendorf explored the area and published an ethnographic report on them. The Apatani valley was first visited by H M Krowe in 1889. Four years later he visited the area again with Captain Dum. The Apatanis did not give any trouble to the government except once in 1896. The valley was visited by the Miri Mission in 1912. Haimendorf was appointed Special Officer for the territory in 1944 and collected information on the general ethnic traits of the Apatanis.

A reference to the Nas, a small community living near the Indo-Tibetan border immediately below the Greater Himalayan Range, has been made by Furer-Haimendorf. The Nas build houses of stone. Their ethnographic descriptions have been covered in some detail in the joint Subansiri expedition of 1974 and in the investigations made under the People of India project in 1986-87. A close look at the prevailing legends relating to the origin and migration of the Adis suggests that they came to India from further north of the Himalayas. It is rather difficult to ascertain the cause of their migration. It may be presumed that a great natural upheaval in their place of origin or large-scale racial movements caused by political turbulence forced them to migrate to their present location. It is also difficult to ascertain whether they came in small groups over the centuries or in a single mass at one go. In Roy's opinion (1966), in the initial stages the movement of the community was from east to west, particularly in the Siang area. The southward expansion occurred later, when the area was fully occupied and could not accommodate any further settlement.

It is reported that the Adi territory was first visited by Captain Bedford in the year 1825-26. Father Krick followed him and visited the Padam area sometime before January, 1854. Dalton was the next to visit the area in 1855. The British tried, but failed to establish a trading post in the Adi area in 1847. In order to establish an administrative control over them, two consecutive expeditions were sent to the area in 1858 and 1859, but the mission was unsuccessful. Another expedition was contemplated in 1862 but was not implemented, as an amicable settlement was reached under which the Adis agreed to a proposal for the extension of the British administration up to the foothills. It was also agreed that there would be free trade and communication between the two parties. The period from 1866 to 1892 was more or less peaceful, except for a few interruptions and breaking of the treaty by some of the Adis. In 1894 a successful expedition was made to the Adi villages of Dambuk, Silluk and Bomjur under Captain Maxwell and F J Needham. After this, the area remained calm till 1903. The last Adi expedition was conducted in 1912 in the event of the killing of some British officers in 1911. The Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract carried out a tour of the unadministered territory of the Adi area in 1936-37, and yet another tour of the same region (including the Minyong area and the Simong and Siyom valleys) in 1937-38. In April 1940 R W Godfrey, the then Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract, toured up to the Siang valley and the Gallong area. The jurisdiction of the Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract was extended as far as the upper Siang valley in 1941 and two posts were established at Riga and Karko.

The Idu Mishmis were earlier known to the people in the plains as the Chulikatas (people with cropped hair) for they cut their hair round the head. This interesting connotation is connected with the Rukmini legend. According to the legend, the Idu Mishmis bear the mark of punishment inflicted on them by Krishna himself because they had opposed his marriage with Rukmini. The story suggests that the Idu Mishmis followed the *Bhishmak* tradition through centuries. The Ahom chronicle pertaining to the reign of the Ahom king, Sutyinpha Naria Raja (1644-48), refers to a rampart called Mishmigarth, possibly constructed to maintain communication with the Mishmi traders. There is only one instance recorded in the 600 years of Ahom rule of Mishmi aggression in Ahom territory. This took place during the reign of the Ahom king, Suklampha [also known as Ramadhvaj Singha (1673-75)]. An edict found near Sadiya and probably inscribed

around 1687 mentions the name of the Mishmis with reference to their domination of the area governed by the Ahom administrator, Dihingia Bargohain. It may be mentioned that the Mishmis did not enjoy any *posawith* the Ahom rulers. Lt. Burlton was the first British to report about the Mishmi Hills in 1825. In 1836 Griffith found that the Digaru Mishmis were eager to come to Sadiya for trade. The Mishmis, isolated for centuries, were suspicious of foreigners stepping into their territory. In 1854 Krick, a French missionary, with his colleague M Bourj undertook a journey to Tibet through Mishmi land escorted by a friendly Mishmi chief. In the last part of their journey they met a Mishmi chief named Kaicesha who helped them pass through his territory. Being refused an award demanded by him, both the missionaries were killed near Rima in Tibet. The British took it very seriously, but the neighbouring Mishmis were eager to continue trade with the plains and so offered their assistance to the British administrators. Ultimately, Kaicesha and members of his family were punished. The British Government always tried to be friendly with the Idu Mishmis, and towards this end a fair was held on February 18 and 19, 1866, which was attended by the Mishmis and other neighbouring tribes, such as, the Khamptis and Singphos. At the fair the tribals exchanged textiles, *daos* (long iron blades) musks, ornaments, rubber and medicinal herbs like *mishmi teeta* for salt. There were breaches of peace in the Mishmi area till 1956, except in the period from 1934 to 1944 when Dibang Valley was recognised as a separate sub-division under the charge of an Additional Political Officer with its headquarters at Roing.

The Khamptis belong to the greater Tai groups. According to Khampti mythology, their first ancestor came from heaven. The Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh immigrated from Mung-Khampti or Bor-Khampti in Burma. The actual meaning of Khampti is 'land of gold'. (Wilcox first visited the Khampti area and reported that the nearest people were the Singphos staying a little far from them). The Khamptis, who are also a Shan tribe like the Ahoms, probably moved from the north of Burma towards India in the 1740s. Being Shans, they were permitted by the Ahoms to settle along the Tengapani river in 1751. The Khamptis occupied a larger area of land, because of which a rebellious situation prevailed in Assam from 1799 to the beginning of the 19th century. The internal conflict among the Ahoms provided an opportunity for the two Khampti chiefs, Burha Raja and Deka Raja, to become the masters of Sadiya. Though for a temporary period the

Khamptis lost Sadiya, they regained it during the period of the Burmese invasion of Assam (1816-1824). By the time the British came in contact with them, the entire Sadiya region was under the domination of the Khamptis. The Khampti chief of Sadiya, with the Ahom title of Sadiya Khowa Gohain, was recognised as a lawful ruler of Sadiya, subordinate to the British Government. The Khamptis reconciled themselves to the measures taken by the British, and 1845 onwards started showing loyalty to the Government. According to Mackenzie, the Khamptis occupying the lowlands are not strictly a hill tribe. According to Dalton, the Khamptis were highly knowledgeable and excelled in the arts.

The Singphos made their first appearance in Arunachal Pradesh when Assam was under the regime of the Ahom king, Gauri Nath Singha (1780-1795). In about 1793 the Singphos crossed the Patkai pass and confronted the Khamptis to the east of Sadiya. Finally, they settled in the areas intersected by the Burhi-dihing, Noa-dihing and Tengapani rivers. The Singphos joined the Moamaria rebels in 1797 and ravaged eastern Assam, but the Ahoms defeated them. The Ahoms tried to reconcile with the Singphos through matrimonial alliances but the Singphos did not respond. The Singpho chief, Bichanong, sought assistance from Burma and made violent raids on Ahom territory. In 1825 some 7,500 Singpho fell upon the Khamptis and the Moamarias. The Khampti chief of Sadiya, Sadiya Khowa Gohain and Bor Senapati, the ruler of Matak country, sought help from the British who agreed for defensive purposes. The allies, sensing they may not win over the Singphos, wanted to negotiate with the British. During the course of these meetings, it was made clear that negotiations would be possible only if the Singphos released the Assamese captives and would not raid the villages of Sadiya. The British Government also wanted to protect the border against attacks from Burma. The Singphos were grouped under different chiefs of whom Bisa Gam, Duffa Gam, Luthova Gam and Lattao Gam were important. Each group was guided by its own interest. The negotiations revealed that the Singphos needed British protection against Burma. In 1825 the Burmese were driven out when they attacked Singpho areas, and about 6,000 captives were released. Of the 28 Singpho chiefs, 16 came to an agreement with the British government in June 1826. Till 1941 the Singphos were mostly engaged in internal conflicts. Later the Singpho area became very quiet and its management was transferred from the Political Department to the Revenue

and Judicial Department of the Bengal Government. In 1843 a large number of the Burmese Singphos tried to create disturbances in which the local Singphos and Khamptis took part. The revolt was quelled immediately and since then the Singphos have lived a peaceful life.

The migration of the Lisus to India is a recent phenomenon. In 1940-41 a party of the Lisus made their way towards India from Putao. Initially, they settled on the Indo-Burmese border, but later moved on to their present settlement known as Gandhigram in the Tirap district. The government records show that in 1961 a party of Assam Rifles traced 21 huts and 230 people of the Lisus. Two habitations consisting of 26 people are situated between Gandhigram and the Chaokan pass. The Lisus live under the influence of some ex-army Nepalis.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC FEATURES

According to the 1981 Census, the total population of the state is 6,31,839, of which 3,39,322 are males and 2,92,517 are females. The sex ratio is 862 females per thousand males. The area of the state is 83,743 sq. km, which gives a population density of eight per sq. km. The population is distributed over six towns and 3,257 villages. The percentages of rural and urban population are 93.44 and 6.56, respectively. Out of the total population, 69.82 per cent of the people belong to the category of scheduled tribes. The literacy rate in the state is 20.79 per cent, with urban literacy being 53.22 per cent and rural literacy 18.51 per cent. The state is divided into 11 districts for effective administration and from the development point of view. Their population and headquarters in brackets are mentioned below: Tawang (Tawang) 21,735; West Kameng (Bomdila) 41,567; East Kameng (Seppa) 42,736; Lower Subansiri (Ziro) 1,12,650; Upper Subansiri (Daporijo) 39,410; West Siang (Along) 74,164; East Siang (Pasighat) 70,451; Lohit (Tezu) 69,498; Dibang Valley (Anini) 30,978; Tirap (Khonsa) 66,439 and Changlang (Changlang) 62,211. The capital of the state is Itanagar, situated on the foothills in the Lower Subansiri district.

We have identified all together 66 communities for the purpose of the People of India project. These communities (based on the list of the Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh) together constitute approximately 80 per cent of the total population

of the state. Of the 66 communities, 63 are scheduled tribes. The Nepalis, Sonowal Kacharis, Tibetans and Chakmas are migrant people. Some of the communities are well known.

Distribution of the Tribal Groups

The westernmost tribal group in Arunachal Pradesh is the Monpa, which has six sub-groups, namely the But Monpa, Chug Monpa, Dirang Monpa, Kalaktang Monpa, Lish Monpa and the Tawang Monpa. The Tawang district is exclusively inhabited by the Tawang Monpas. The rest of the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Akas, Khowas and Mijis inhabit the West Kameng district. The Bangnis are the predominant community in the East Kameng district along with the Sulungs and some of the Mijis and Akas. The Nishis, Apatanis, Hill Miris, Tagins, Mikirs, Nas and Sulungs live in the Upper and Lower Subansiri districts. The 15 sub-groups of the Adis, namely, the Ashings, Bokars, Boris, Gallongs, Karkos, Komkars, Milangs, Minyongs, Padams, Pasis, Pailibos, Pangis, Ramos, Shimongs and Tangams along with the Membas, Khambas and Mishings/Miris are the inhabitants of the East and West Siang districts. The Mishmis have three sub-groups viz. , the Idu Mishmis, Digaru Mishmis and Miju Mishmis. The first sub-group lives in Dibang Valley along with some of the Adi communities. The other two sub-groups are distributed in the Lohit district where the Khamptis, Khamiyangs, Zakhrings/Meyors, Chakmas and Tibetans also reside. The Tangsas with 15 sub-groups, namely the Havis, Juglis, Kimsings, Lungchangs, Lungphis, Mukloms, Morangs, Mosangs, Ronrangs, Sangwals, Sankes, Tikhaks, Tonglims and Yongkuks live in the Changlang district. Changlang is home to the Singphos, Deoris, Lisus, Chakmas, Sonowal Kacharis and Nepalis as well. The Tirap district is inhabited by the Noctes and Wanchos.

The cultural fabric of Arunachal Pradesh consists of broadly five cultural zones. From west to east these are: (a) The Mon cultural zone, which covers the Tawang and West Kameng districts and is inhabited mainly by the Monpas and Sherdukpens. The Akas, Mijis and Khowas also belong to this zone. (b) To the east of the first zone lies the Nishi cultural zone encompassing the Bangnis of the East Kameng district, the Nishis of the Lower and Upper Subansiri districts and two unique communities — the Sulungs and Apatanis. Other groups living in the zone include the Nas, Tagins, Mikirs and Hill Miris. (c) The Adi cultural zone extends from the eastern part of the Upper Subansiri

district to the western boundary of the Dibang Valley district, covering all the Adi sub-groups as well as the Khambas, Membas and Mishings/Miris. (d) The Mishmi cultural zone, covering the districts of the Dibang Valley and Lohit, is predominated by the three sub-groups of the Mishmi community, and among them lives a small community — the Zakhrings/Meyors. Other communities in this zone are the Khamptis, Khamiyangs, Deoris, Chakmas and Tibetans who are settled in the plains bordering Assam. In the past, the Khamptis and Khamiyangs have functioned as a liaison between the Mishmis and people of Assam. (e) The Nocte-Tangsa cultural zone is spread over the Tirap and Changlang districts. The major communities of this zone are the Noctes, Wanchos and Tangsas, with the Singphos, Sonowal Kacharis, Lisus and Nepalis being the small groups inhabiting the area.

Bio-anthropological Studies

There are some sporadic data on the morphological, genetic or biological traits of certain tribes of the state. These include a small report on the serology ('ABO' and 'MN' blood groups) of the Digaru Mishmis by Duarah (1979) based on 80 individuals. Duarah's report shows the preponderance of the 'B' gene ($q=0.65$, $p=0.16$) and the 'M' gene ($m=0.829$). Waddell (1901 — cited by Risley, 1903) undertook an anthropometric survey among the Khamptis. He found that the Khamptis belong to the Mongoloid racial stock with an average stature of 1,641 mm, an average cephalic index of 79.1 and an average nasal index of 80.8. Guha (1948-49 and 1949-50) and Gupta and Dutta (1962) were perhaps the first anthropologists to undertake an anthropometric survey among the two sub-groups of the Adis (the Adi-Pangis and Adi-Padams). Roy (1966) made a systematic anthropometric survey of the Adi Shimongs, Adi Pasis, Adi Minyongs and Adi Ashings. The anthropometric surveys undertaken by Guha (1948-49 and 1949-50) and Roy (1966) suggest that the various sections of the Adis have a short or below medium stature (which is 1,573.24 - 1,604.84 mm for males and 1,463 - 1,496 mm for females), a long or round head, a medium flat nose and a long or round face. Kumar (1954) and Bhattacharjee (1954) undertook serological studies among certain sub-groups of the Adis (viz. , the Gallongs, Minyongs, Padams, Pangis and Pasis). Their studies indicate that unlike the Teraon Mishmis, the various sections of the Adis have a preponder-

ance of the 'A' blood group gene rather than the 'B' blood group gene. A survey conducted by Bhattacharjee (1955) of finger dermatoglyphics among three Adi sub-groups (the Minyongs, Padams and Pasis) suggests that the Minyongs and Padams have a higher frequency of whorls rather than loops, while the opposite is true in the case of the Pasis.

Jaswal and his team undertook a detailed bio-anthropological survey of the Apatanis of the Lower Subansiri district (Jaswal and Jaswal, 1981; 1983; Jaswal and Padmanabham, 1983; Padmanabham and Jaswal, 1985; Jaswal, Jaswal and Sengupta, 1986), which revealed that the Apatanis are below medium in stature, have round heads and a medium flat nose. Their population is characterised by a preponderance of the 'A' and 'B' blood group genes over the 'M' and 'N' blood group genes, respectively. It is also characterised by a complete absence of the 'Rh negative' blood group gene. The finger dermatoglyphic study among them suggests that they possess a higher frequency of whorls than the loops, which is believed to be a Mongoloid feature.

Among the Naga groups inhabiting the south-eastern fringes of the state, only the Wanchos have been studied from a bio-anthropological point of view. They are well-built, sturdy and of medium stature and exhibit Mongoloid features. They also possess a higher frequency of the 'A' blood group gene than the 'B' blood group gene (Das, 1969; Sengupta and Dutta, 1980). The different sub-groups of the Monpas have not been studied as independent communities from the bio-anthropological point of view. Duarah (1986) studied the Monpas without considering the different endogamous segments separately. He studied the Monpas of Dirang, Kalaktang and Tawang and found a high frequency of the 'O' blood group gene followed by the 'A' and 'B' blood group genes. With regard to the PTC taste sensitivity, the Monpas possess an equal frequency of the taster and non-taster genes, the mean taste threshold of the tasters being 6.83 ± 0.06 .

With regard to the Singphos of the Changlang and Lohit districts, Dalton (1973) stated that their features are of the Mongoloid type with very oblique eyes, high cheek bones and heavy squared jaw bones. Their complexion is never ruddy, but varies from tawny yellow or olive to dark brown. A tight complexion and pleasing features are sometimes seen in the families of the chiefs. The mean age of Singpho women at menarche was found to be 12.59 ± 0.15 years and the mean age at menopause was 43.63 ± 0.45 years (Kar and Mahanta, 1975: 51-57).

Languages

Arunachal Pradesh is very often called a linguist's paradise. With each group of people speaking in its own dialect, there are some 66 dialects to be found, inclusive of the Chakma, Tibetan and Nepali varieties. Some linguistic groups are small, while others are large. The linguistic pockets are well marked. Broadly, the languages of the state fall under the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. The exception is Khampti, which belongs to the Siamese-Chinese branch. Only the Khamptis, Tibetans, Monpas, Sherdukpens, Khambas and Membas have their own script and a relatively important literature. The Monpas use the Tibetan script for their religious scriptures. The absence of a script among the other tribes is often explained by some myths which say that in the remote past their greedy forefathers ate the hide on which the script was written. In the recent past, Assamese was the medium of instruction in schools up to the secondary stage. However, some of the text-books were written in local dialects and education was imparted through the mother tongue till the primary stage. At present English and Hindi are the media of instruction in both primary and secondary stages.

The languages spoken in the state belong to the Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan families. The second category has reached the people through their long association with the Assamese and also through various government and non-government agencies. The Tibeto-Burman speeches can broadly be divided into four categories: (a) Tibetan dialects which are mostly spoken in the East and West Kameng districts and in the upper portion of the West Siang district; (b) The second category consists of languages with elements of both Tibetan and Burmese. These are spoken in Upper and Lower Subansiri, East and West Siang, parts of East and West Kameng, Dibang Valley and Lohit and are locally known as Adi dialects. (c) The third category consists of a language more affiliated to Burmese and is spoken in the Tirap and Lohit districts. (d) The fourth category has affinities with the Naga languages and is spoken in the Tirap and Changlang districts. A list of languages/dialects spoken in the state would be as follows: Apatani, Ashing, Assamese, Bangni, Bokar, Bori, Bugun, Deori, Gallong, Hill Miri, Hrusso, Karbi, Karko, Khamba, Khampti-Shan, Komkar, Lisu, Memba, Milang, Minyong, Mishing, Mishmi, Monpa, Na, Nepali, Nishi, Nocte, Padam, Pasi, Ramo, Sajalong, Sherdukpen, Shimong, Singpho, Sulung, Tagin, Tangam, Tangsa, Taraan, Tibetan, Wancho

and Zakhring (Meyor). The lingua franca of Arunachal Pradesh, popularly known as Nefamese, emerged as a product of cultural contact with the neighbouring territories of Assam. Nefamese (broken Assamese), used in the Legislative Assembly and as broadcast media in the radio stations of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, is playing a vital role in keeping the inter-community linkages alive. Of late it has been observed in many parts of the state that Hindi is gaining prominence and is being used by the people as the lingua franca.

Food Habits

The food habits and food consumption patterns of all the tribes of the state are more or less similar. Almost all the communities are non-vegetarian and relish all kinds of meat. Their main agricultural products are rice, maize, millet, arum, potatoes, garlic, chillies, soyabeans, sugarcane and a variety of leafy vegetables. In addition to these, oranges, pineapples, papayas, pears, bananas and other jungle fruits are also grown. Rice is the staple food for most of the people, with maize, millet and other cereals being next in importance. Other food items include wild roots and shoots, wild edible leaves, fish and meat. Rice is mainly used to prepare the drinks. *Tasse*, a kind of food produced from the wild sago palm tree, is common to the Nishis, Sulungs, Tagins, Digarus and Miju Mishmis. Maize and millet are considered to be the staple food of the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Pailibos, Boris and Tangams. The Monpas and Sherdukpens consume milk and milk-products. Other tribes domesticate cattle but never consume their milk. Rice, maize, millet, vegetables, meat and fish are usually taken boiled by all the tribes. Some food items such as meat and fish are smoked over fire and preserved for months together. They not only consider it delicious but also as having good economic value. Among all the tribes of the state, smoked meat and fish are very popular and have a good demand. They also consume roasted meat or fish, which are normally taken with the drinks. The preparation of food items during festivals is not much different from day-to-day cooking, the difference being only in quantity. In some of the societies consumption of meat by women is taboo. Some Buddhist tribes like the Sherdukpens, Khamptis and Khamiyangs do not take beef. Goat meat is taboo for all the Buddhists of the Mahayana sect and among the Sulungs. The Pailibo girls do not eat the heart, lung and stomach of animals killed in a hunt. Eating eggs and honey is taboo for Khampti

and Singpho women during pregnancy and sometimes after delivery up to a certain period. Consumption of all meat, except mouse and wild bird, by the Idu Mishmi women is also taboo. After puberty the Digaru and Miju Mishmi women are forbidden from eating eggs and the meat of cows, buffalos, *mithuns* and all domesticated animals. But they are allowed to take fish and the meat of small birds. Recently, some changes in the food habits of the tribals have taken place. Some of them have started taking milk and milk products, edible oil and spices available in the market.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

The communities of Arunachal Pradesh are undergoing a process of transformation, from a state of seclusion and adherence to a traditional economy towards a multi-faceted socio-cultural and socio-economic development programme. However, the transformation is not a sudden break from the past. The people, along with their age-old economic traditions, are adapting themselves harmoniously to the fast-changing socio-economic conditions. A good progress in communication has helped them overcome the geographical barriers and have a broader outlook, enabling them to tackle the modern economic programmes and pursuits.

The major resources of their traditional economy are land, water and forests. The operative mechanisms that have kept the indigenous economy dynamic and fruitful to the members of the communities are the systems of barter and exchange. These systems operate even when the items to be exchanged are raw materials and expertise. For example, the Nishis have been providing cotton to the Apatanis whereas the Apatani women have been weaving clothes for the Nishis.

Historically, the people of the state, especially those living along the border, brought various items such as salt, copper, woollen garments, and precious and semi-precious stones from Tibet in exchange for forest and agricultural products such as animal hides, rice, etc. They also procured salt, *endi* (silk) *chaddar*, etc. from Assam in exchange for agricultural products. Since Independence the state has been experiencing increased exposure to modern trade and commerce, larger scale employment through development programmes and greater contact with people of pan-India composition. The people are gradu-

ally grasping the concepts and ideas of trade and commerce, such as industries, factories, workshops, co-operative movements, etc.

The indigeneous people of the Tirap and Changlang districts had trade relations with the people of Burma through the passes across the Patkai range. In exchange for handloom products, tea leaves, salt, and beads, these people imported *daos*, fishing nets, spears, pen knives and garments from Burma. Opium was one of the main items of trade. The people of the Tirap and Changlang districts had regular trade relations with the people of Assam living in the plains. Before the advent of the East India Company in Assam, the Noctes supplied local salt and the Wanchos raw coal and crude kerosene oil to the people of Assam. The Singphos did very well in the rubber trade and even people from Bengal were their customers. Barter trade existed between the Singphos and the Mishmis, the commodities being cattle and opium, respectively.

The economic development among the Apatanis deserves a special mention. According to Furer-Haimendorf (1962): "The economy of the Apatani is without exact parallel among the tribes of India's border land, secluded from the outside world by natural barriers and war-like neighbours, the Apatanis have developed the resources of their small home-land in a way which would be credible to any advanced community and it is truly astonishing in a tribe of archaic in many ways primitive material equipment". The Apatanis have converted their wide flat valley (13 sq. miles approximately) into big, carefully tended rice fields, while on the higher sides of the ground, they grow pine, bamboo and fruit trees. Their achievement becomes more prominent in view of the primitive method of cultivation practised by the neighbouring Nishis and Hill Miris. The Apatanis enjoy a surplus in food grains and vegetables. For the supply of animals as well as several other raw materials such as cotton, gourd vessels, dried bamboo shoots, cane belts, cane hats, fibre rain-cloaks and earthen pots, the Apatanis have regular barter trade with the Nishis and Hill Miris. The Apatani commodities for exchange are rice, *daos*, knives and clothes. They barter large quantities of rice for cotton which the Nishis grow. Now the Apatanis also run departmental stores and the transport business.

Before the imposition of the restrictions on trans-border movement, the Upper Subansiri people had trade relations with Tibet. The articles carried by them were hides, musk, rice, salt, Assam silk, etc. They exchanged these for wool, blankets, bronze, brass vessels, beads,

bee-wax, baskets, chillies and ponies. The Tagins, along with other people of Upper Subansiri, went on regular visits to Tibet and exchanged items like cane, red dye, bamboo tubes with the articles mentioned above.

There are a number of communities in Arunachal Pradesh, particularly the Nishis, Tagins, Mishmis, Tangsas and some Adi sub-groups, who traditionally have had village or clan ownership of land.

The Mishmis of the Lohit and Dibang Valley districts have had barter trade with the people of Assam, Tibet and Burma from very early days. Commodities like musk pods, musk deer, skin, honey and *mishmi teeta* were exchanged for cane, cloth, yarn, salt, utensils, cigarettes, bidis and glass beads. The Khamptis, who marketed good quality rice, potatoes, embroidery bags, metal and wooden articles, used to purchase ivory, *daos*, rubber and opium from the Singphos. They brought brass pipes, gongs, woollens, copper vessels and beads for ornaments from Tibet, and ivory, elephants and opium from Burma. Locally, the Mishmis had trade relations with the neighbouring Adis. The Padams supplied the Mishmis with *mithuns* in exchange for Mishmi coats, helmets and hand bags. A number of co-operative departmental stores are run by the Mishmis at Roing and other places in their area.

A number of small-scale industries have been established in the state since Independence. Some such industrial units are Capital Saw Mill, Steelage Industries Syndicate, Arunachal Printers, Tasa Oil Mill, Modern Furniture Industries, Arunachal Spun Pipe Company and Riba Vulcanising Unit, all at Itanagar. Some others are Apatani Cooperative Furniture Mart, Hapoli Cane Works, Vijay Rice Mill at Daporijo, Token Rice Mill, NEFA Udyog and Arunachal Steel at Bandardowa. In Upper and Lower Subansiri, a number of small-scale industries based on the local raw materials such as bamboo, cane and honey have been established.

One co-operative saw mill located at Pasighat in the East Siang district processes the timber available in the neighbourhood and employs local people. A light roofing sheet factory has also been established at Pasighat. At Namsai, in the Lohit district, Assam Saw Mill runs a plywood plant. This is a public limited company; a majority of the shares are held by the Assam government and Jalan Industries. But the administration of the mill is in the hands of the Arunachal Pradesh government. In 1964-65 the plant produced 5,64,000 tea chests. The administration used to collect a royalty of Rs 44 per cubic metre. At

Tezu, the district headquarters of Lohit district, a cement factory has been set up recently. A veneer mill named Narottam Cooperative Industries Limited (which also includes a mustard oil crushing unit) has been established at Deomali in the Tirap district for the processing of timber in the Nocte-inhabited area. The average annual production of the industry includes 2,50,000 tea chest veneers, 50,000 cubic feet of sown timber and 200 quintals of mustard oil. Arunachal Saw and Veneer Mill Private Limited at Jairampur also produces plyboard, tea chests and veneers. Two other units are Nocte Timber Company Limited and Assam Saw Mill and Timber Company Limited at Deomali. Horticulture and fruit culture have been developed successfully, especially for the production of oranges and apples, in the districts of West Kameng and West Siang.

The leaders of the nation, at the time of achieving Independence, were aware that the age-old isolation of the tribals living in the hills of Assam (including present-day Arunachal Pradesh) must be ended in their own interest, but not at the cost of their exploitation. Hence, the constitution provided special administrative units with certain reservations with regard to the tribal rights and autonomies. Since the Government of India wanted an all-round development of the tribes, it provided them sufficient financial assistance for economic upliftment and political consciousness, which ultimately enabled them to have an independent place in Indian politics.

On the development front, Arunachal Pradesh is progressing rapidly. The government has taken up a number of development projects and schemes in this regard. In order to raise the standard of living of the rural people of the state, the following schemes and programmes were launched by the government: Integrated Rural Development Programme, National Rural Employment Programme, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme and Assistance to Small and Marginal Farmers. Under these development programmes, people are benefitting gradually and are being made conscious about the processes through which economic prosperity can be achieved. But they are still very far from the dynamic processes of industrialisation. Their economic resources are very limited. Most of them still practise the traditional *jhum* cultivation; large areas come under such cultivation. Development will not be possible until the traditional method of cultivation is improved upon. Unfortunately most of the cultivators are very reluctant to adopt new methods. With persuasion and help from development agencies, some of them have adopted settled

cultivation and started using better quality seeds, new agricultural implements and chemical fertilisers. Some of the people are engaged as small contractors and labourers in contract work, such as road-building, house construction, etc. A number of them run their businesses independently, while others are dependent on tea stalls and small shops for their livelihood. There are some who have become self-employed with the help of loans from banks and are engaged in small-scale industries like saw mills, piggery, basketry, bamboo-work and cane-work. The educated in the various communities have government and private jobs. The mineral resources of Arunachal Pradesh are still unexplored and unexploited, though some initiatives have been taken.

In order to bring the state economically on a par with the rest of the country, efforts are being made to improve the economic conditions of the people through greater financial assistance and development of their traditional methods of cultivation. They are also being provided with better irrigation facilities. Incentives are being considered for those farmers who have successfully adopted new methods of cultivation.

The communication system in the state is poor and undeveloped, the obvious reason being the undulating topography. The area is mountainous and covered with dense forests. The villages, scattered and situated even as high as 10,000 feet above the sea level, are virtually unapproachable. There is no communication facility to reach these remote villages other than foot-tracks. The development of a communication network in the different parts of the state is not only expensive but also very difficult in some of the areas. Both mountains and rivers present great obstacles in the way of communication development. The government has adopted several schemes and gives preference to the construction of new roads connecting the villages and towns of the area. A special stress has been laid on the construction of roads in the state in the seventh plan. The total length of the roads in the state is 5,700 km (according to the 1981 Census). Speaking to newsmen in August 1987, the Public Works Department Minister said the department proposes to construct over 2,400 km of roads in the state for light vehicles during the seventh plan. A number of villages have been connected by motorable roads and several new towns have appeared in the state with the rise in commerce and business. Now all the district headquarters are connected by motorable roads.

Postal facilities in the state have expanded. At present there are 200 post offices, but only 23 of them have telegraph facilities. Under the rural

electricity programmes about 316 villages have been electrified. Drinking water has been made available in 337 villages through pipes. There are 284 minor irrigation projects functioning in the state. There are 17 branches of various banks in the state. Medicial facilities are available to the people through three general hospitals, 15 district and sub-divisional hospitals, 65 dispensaries, 53 health units and periodical visits by the mobile medical teams. Besides, there are 16 ayurvedic and homeopathic dispensaries in the state. Five tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoria and a leprosy hospital have been established. Apart from seven medium industries and 795 small-scale industries in the state, there are 25 craft centres, 20 weaving centres and 22 sericulture centres. Three English newspapers are published regularly from Itanagar.

In the field of education the people of Arunachal Pradesh have made negligible progress. Most of the people in the state are illiterate. This part of the country was cut off from the mainstream till Independence, after which the government opened a number of schools and colleges in the state. Before Independence it did not have any exposure to the missionary programme either.

In the decade 1971-81 literacy grew in the state at a rate of 77.95 per cent. The 1981 Census recorded the percentage of literacy at 20.09, with urban literacy at 54 per cent and rural literacy at 17.80 per cent. The literacy rate for males worked out to 27.98 per cent, whereas it was 11.02 per cent in the case of females. The increase in the male literacy rate in 1971-81 was 57.01 per cent. In the case of females, the increase in the literacy rate went up from three per cent in 1961-71 to 9.30 per cent in 1971-81 (a jump of 210 per cent). The 1981 Census mentions there are four colleges, 18 higher secondary schools, 34 secondary schools, 120 middle schools, 926 primary schools, 49 pre-primary schools and five other schools in the state. The Arunachal University was set up in Itanagar recently. A number of schools have been opened where education is imparted free of cost. Scholarships, stipends and free hostel accommodation are also provided in order to encourage students in their academic pursuits. Efforts are being made to open schools in villages which are still deprived of educational facilities. Thus, the state is gearing up to move towards a modern educational set-up.

Political Organisation

The political system of Arunachal Pradesh may be defined as a part of the total life process, which is engaged in the maintenance or estab-

lishment of social order or social equilibrium among the Arunachalis. It essentially consists of the activities connected with the political institutions of the area. In its broadest sense, a political system or organisation of a people consists of forces of social control, the institutionalised customs by which law, order and peace are maintained in a society. Almost all the communities of Arunachal Pradesh are governed by the traditional forms of government. The heads of these governments are called by different names in the different communities. Actually, these heads are none other than the village headmen. Each village has its own headman. The post of the headman is hereditary. However, if the incumbent is not found suitable, the village elders may choose a headman. The headman alone cannot adjudicate disputes. He must seek help and consent from the elders who assemble at a convenient place. Among the Wanchos, Noctes and Singphos, the community chief settles disputes. Boundary disputes, non-payment of bride price, disputes relating to marriage, theft, etc. are the offences tried by the headman or chief. Physical or capital punishment is generally not given. Disputes are settled by imposing fines in cash or kind. Generally the communities of Arunachal Pradesh have no set code of rules or laws to protect the rights and privileges of their people. The judgement given by the headman or chief is considered decisive and is respected by one and all.

The guiding principle behind the Mishmi political system is that the culprit should not go unpunished and justice should be awarded to the aggrieved. The punishment varies according to the nature of the offence committed. Sometimes pardon is awarded to the wrongdoer when the offence is due to ignorance. The Miju and Digaru Mishmis are simple people. They hardly violate their traditional rules. Instances of contemplated murder and inter-village feuds are uncommon. Their temperament is such that if they once hold a point to be correct, they adhere to it. For all sorts of offences a fine is imposed on the wrongdoer, to be paid either in cash or kind. In the case of any dispute, attempts at an amicable settlement are first made by the parties concerned. If the parties fail to come to a settlement, the case is forwarded to the council consisting of village elders. The legal procedure of the council is not burdened with cumbersome formalities and it does not involve any expenses. The council allows both the defendant and the complainant to put forth their points to help establish the truth. A man who fails to account for money entrusted in his care is looked down upon by the society. Sometimes he is publicly

defamed. For offences such as setting fire to a house and having an extra-marital affair, the culprit is confined for some days by fixing a wooden cuff to his feet. Later a heavy fine is imposed upon him. For wilful and wrongful taking away of goods belonging to another person against his consent, with the intention of depriving him permanently of his property, a man is liable to restore the goods and in addition pay a considerable amount as fine to the aggrieved.

The Khamptis have developed a council system which is presided over by a village headman. The council members are chosen by the villagers. Usually they are middle-aged men with experience in legal matters. The Khamptis have a highly developed and a very effective system of trying cases. When anyone brings a case for trial, the village headman fixes a date for the hearing of the case. On the fixed day the hearing of the plaintiff and the defendant is attended to by the headman and the councillors. A great deal of questions are asked of both the parties and a discussion takes place. The headman and the councillors arrive at a decision on the punishment to be given after consulting a book called *Themasat*.

The political system of the Adis is essentially democratic, autocracy in any form being unknown to them. The structure is very simple and effective. Every village functions as an independent unit with a council of elders called *kebang*. The *kebang* exercises the highest legal and judicial powers and all social and political control of the village rests with it. The members are known as *kebang-abu* and are chosen from the village itself on the basis of their personal influence and ability to present a case in the traditional manner. Some of the members are called *gam* (headmen or chiefs), who represent particular clans. Usually each clan has one *gam*. The *kebang-abus* are mostly senior men with a long experience and extensive knowledge of tribal lore, but younger *kebang-abus* are not rare. The *kebang* directs all village activities according to the traditional laws and customs of which it is supposed to be the repository, and it punishes those who deviate from the right path and watches over the welfare and well-being of the village community. All matters of common interest are placed before it and nothing can be done without its approval and sanction. The opening of agricultural plots, building of new houses, punishing wrong-doers and whatever else that concerns the village, either individually or communally, is discussed and decided on by the *kebang*. The *kebang* being the chief judiciary in the village, all disputes are brought before it for judgement. The contending parties, backed by

their fellow clansmen and supporters, appear before it and try to convince it of the justice of their cause in the traditional form — by long speeches delivered in a loud voice with bold gesticulations. Every speech begins with a preamble narrating the ancient history and glory of the Adis.

When the *kebang* is in session, *apong* (local beer) has to be distributed and pigs have to be sacrificed. The *kebang* in its turn has to maintain a strict impartiality towards both the contending parties before it can accept the entertainment with a clear conscience. Women generally do not take an active part in the *kebang*, but every man may. When human discernment proves inadequate for settling disputes, supernatural guidance is sought through ordeals. A *kebang* has jurisdiction over its own village only. Inter-village disputes are settled by inter-village councils set up by grouping together villages into what are known as *bango*. All the *gams* within the jurisdiction of a *bango* and a few other influential villagers constitute a *bango* council, which has a secretary in charge of the office. The *kebang's* decisions are supposed to come from the people. The headmen only help to enforce them.

The Ering Committee introduced modern democratic norms in Arunachal Pradesh by providing the people an opportunity to exercise their right to franchise. Till 1967 Arunachal Pradesh was represented in the Lok Sabha by a member nominated by the President of India. The first general election was held on January 3, 1980, for the formation of a Legislative Assembly during its tenure as a union territory. At that time there were only two political parties, namely the Congress(I) and People's Party of Arunachal Pradesh, a new entrant in the political arena of the state. So far two Assembly and Parliamentary elections have taken place and the people have taken part without any fear or compulsion.

Social Structure

The social organisation of the people is concerned with social activities, relations and behaviour. It can be seen through their social institutions like family, marriage, clan and the dormitory system. The smallest unit of the society is the family consisting of father, mother and their children. Mixed extended families are common in most of the communities in Arunachal Pradesh. However, nuclear and vertically and horizontally extended families are also found. When a family

breaks up, custom demands that either the youngest or the eldest son continues living in the parental house to support the family and his old parents. Sometimes, even after marriage, other sons stay on with the parents till they have two or three issues. According to custom, in some cases, the delivery cannot take place in the father's house. All members of a family living in the same household take their meals from a common hearth. The food is cooked by the mother, or by the wife of the eldest son if the mother is too old. All movable and immovable property such as cultivated land, bamboo groves, palm leaves, gardens, livestock, granaries, utensils and ornaments are held commonly by the family. The father who is the head of the family is the sole owner of the property, though other members can also show their attachment to it. The authority over the property lies with the father and is inherited by the eldest or youngest son, or by all sons equally after his death. The women have no claim over family property, except the articles given them when they get married. Polyandrous families are prevalent among the Buddhist communities like the Monpas. The societies in Arunachal Pradesh are patrilineal and the people reckon their relationship through the male line. But an analysis of their kinship terms reveals that their system of kinship terminology is a classificatory one, where they recognise the cognatic persons as well as affinal relationships.

Almost all tribes are composed of a number of clans denoted by local categories. Some of the communities have sub-clans, for example, the Tangsas. The Tangsa clans are not connected with totemic objects, but they are ancestral clans. Each tribe traces its descent from a single ancestor, a semi-mythical figure. The subsidiary ancestors are the founders of distinct clans. The clan's function is to regulate the marriage system. Clan endogamy is considered to be a heinous crime and traditionally punishable. Generally, the clans continue for a period of seven generations or more till, perhaps, due to migration or over-population, they split collaterally. This gives rise to sub-clans. The clans and sub-clans are exogamous. In the past, among the Adis the settlement pattern of the villages depended on the distribution of clans. Traces of this pattern are noticeable among the Singphos at present. The social organisation of the Noctes is greatly influenced by the traditional chieftainship system. Two distinct classes are found among them — the chief and his kinsmen form one class while the commoners form the other. Within these two main classes there are different clans. Like the Noctes the social organisation of the Wanchos

is governed by a traditional chieftainship system. There are four classes in their society (in descending order): Wangham (the chiefs), Wangsa (the small chiefs), Wangsu (the intermediate class) and Wangpan (the commoners).

The communities of Arunachal Pradesh allow a lot of freedom to young boys and girls who can mix freely with each other without any reservation, provided they observe the rules of clan exogamy. The boys and girls of the different clans select their friends freely and meet each other generally in the place where young girls sleep. This unrestricted mixing helps them in selecting their life partners. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are endogamous, but clan, phratry or moiety exogamy is the fundamental and basic rule of marriage. Intra-clan marriage is considered a serious crime. If any one violates this rule he or she will not only be excommunicated but also be exterminated by the society, except in the case of the Lisus. Marriages are generally confined to the same or particular villages. Monogamy is the general rule, but polygynous marriages are prevalent among the chiefs of the Noctes and Wanchos. Some cases of polyandrous marriages are found among the Monpas and some other sections of the Buddhist communities. Mostly negotiated and love marriages prevail among the communities of Arunachal Pradesh. There is no fixed age of marriage. Sororate and levirate marriages are also prevalent. Bride price is a common practice among the tribals and is generally paid in kind. Marriage with the cross-cousin (specially mother's brothers's daughter) is preferred in many of the communities of the state. Divorce is allowed on payment of a fine and both the partners have the right to seek divorce among the Noctes, Wanchos and most of the Tangsa sub-groups, Adis and Mishmis. It is not permissible among the Deoris, Tikhaks and Mukloms.

The dormitory provides a place to learn the art of living in an informal manner. It gives an opportunity to young unmarried boys and girls for courtship prior to selecting a life partner. Among the Singphos, when the girl attains puberty she is segregated from the family. She is then provided with a separate room called *pinta-khak* in the house. The girl's dormitory or *pinta-khak* is always situated towards the end of the house so that the girl and her friends may enter without being noticed by any member of the family. Among the Noctes, the boy's dormitory is called *pang*, but the girl's dormitory is very rare, though not unheard of.

The Wancho grown-up boys sleep in dormitories called *morung*. There

is no separate dormitory for the girls, but they sleep in the houses of widows who are not blood relations. Each Wancho village has several *morungs* for boys. Among the sub-groups of the Tangsas, the Mukloms have a girls' dormitory. The *moshup* (bachelors' dormitory) is a very important institution in Adi society. It is not only a training centre for all practical purposes but also the centre and upholder of cultural traits. The institution is called by different names by the different sub-groups of the Adis. The Minyongs call it *dere*, the Padams term it *moshup* and among the Milangs and other allied groups the institution is known as *ngaptek*. The Boris and Ashings call it *bango*. The *moshup* is usually constructed in the centre of the village from where different approaches to it can be watched and guarded. The *moshup* is used as a sleeping house by all young men from the age of 10 till they take wives to their homes. There are a number of *merums* (fireplaces) in a *moshup*. Each *merum* is under the supervision of a senior boy who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline in his *merum* and is empowered to punish any defaulter. The *moshup* is used for holding different types of meetings, especially those of the *kebang*. They are also used for different types of feasts and festivals. During some festivals, girls are allowed to dance inside the *moshup*. Like the Mukloms, the Adis have a dormitory for girls called *rasheng*. It is a small hut with only one square room with a fireplace in the centre. The adolescent and unmarried girls of the village sleep in their respective clan *rashengs*. These remain unoccupied during the day as the girls return to their respective houses early in the morning. Like the *moshups*, each *rasheng* is under the supervision of a senior and experienced girl and is the training institution for spinning, weaving, dancing, singing and discipline. Young boys from different *moshups* come and join the girls in the *rashengs* at night and mates are selected in the process. In Adi society marriage succeeds the selection of a life partner by the boys and the girls during their stay in the *moshup* and *rasheng*. Thus, the *moshup* and *rasheng* play an important role in matrimony.

Village Settlement and House Types

The selection of the site and structural plan of a village in general depends on various physical features such as geology, drainage, relief, climate, soil and natural vegetation. The orientation and arrangement of clusters of different sizes belonging to different communities depends upon cultural factors, such as the type of agriculture, that is, shifting or settled, population density, accessibility, social customs,

traditions and taboos. Most of the villages in the state are settled mainly along the course of rivers and their tributaries, but avoid the lowlands. Generally hill tops are preferred as they ensure some security against inter-village feuds.

The majority of the settlements in the state are uni-ethnic. The settlements chosen vary according to the nature of the environment and the available building materials. The range of house styles extend from the fling bamboo huts of the Sulungs to the enormous ones of the Wancho chiefs. Several communities in the state live in large, compact villages. The largest of these is the Apatani settlement with well over 500 houses. The Apatani settlements are characterised by closely clustered houses. Some of the Adi communities, too, build large, compact villages. Most of the Wancho villages occupy the crest of a range and consist of scores of houses. The characteristics of a typical Nishi settlement stand out. In the past, the size of these settlements ranged from three or four houses to about 30 houses in the case of large villages. The individual houses are usually widely dispersed. Each long house, standing on a separate site, preferably the highest point of a hillock, is surrounded by granaries and pig sties. Most of the houses are joint family dwellings with up to 12 hearths and rooms for many nuclear families. It is not unusual for 40 to 50 men, women and children to be staying together.

The Apatanis have open sitting platforms (*lapang*) and small ritual huts (*mago*), which in combination may well be the surviving remains of the institution of community houses. Nothing similar exists in the Nishi and Hill Miri villages. These are very similar to the dormitories of the Naga tribes. The Padams call such houses *moshup* and the Minyongs *dere*. They are located in the centre of the village and are constructed like ordinary houses, though they are generally larger and are partly open on the sides. There are a number of fireplaces in a *moshup* and these correspond to the different groups in the village. All the boys who use a fireplace form a closely knit group and remain bound by feelings of friendship. Most of the Adi settlements are generally protected by fencing from the ravages of cattle. The villages are almost invariably on healthy sites offered by high spurs. Bamboo pipes bring water into the villages if there is no spring or stream close to the houses and considerable skill is shown in the alignment of the aqueducts, some of which are of great length. The Nishis bury their dead within the precincts of the village and the Adis just outside it. The Mishmis bury or burn their dead just outside their villages. The

granaries are built outside the dwelling houses in order to protect them from rats and fire. The Idu Mishmi villages in Dibang Valley are scattered over wide areas, especially when they are situated at remote distances from each other.

In Monpa settlements there are two types of house structures. The Monpas in the higher altitudes prefer stone-built houses, while those living in the lower altitudes prefer wooden structures. In the Tawang region, where the altitude varies from 6,000 to 12,000 feet, the entire outer shell of the houses is usually made of stone, while wood is used for the interior and in the form of stout planks to cover the roof. The Sherdukpen houses are based on stone foundations ranging from five to seven feet high. The basement serves as a stable for domestic animals. The upper floor, where the Sherdukpen family lives, is laid up with thick wooden planks. The roofing consists of light planks, bamboo matting and occasionally grass thatch, weighed down by heavy stones. The lower half of the wall is fitted with wooden planks and the upper part covered with bamboo matting. The shelf-like flat and open space between the ceiling and the roof is used as a store room and a granary. The stone houses are small in size and constructed to keep out the severe cold of the high altitude regions. Normally, they have two to three rooms. The foodgrains are kept inside the house and one room is used for *puja* purposes. The main living room has one hearth on one side. Generally the stone houses are 15 to 26 metres long and seven to eight metres wide.

The houses in the Singpho villages are spread over a considerable area facing all directions. The villages in the flat lands are higher than the surrounding areas. Most of the time there is a perennial water source near the village for the supply of drinking water and fish. The villages are generally away from the main thoroughfares. The paths leading to the villages pass through jungle areas. In the habitation areas, loop paths branch out leading to the houses, plantations and fields. Some homesteads are enclosed with a fencing of split bamboo. The Tangsa villages are situated on the slopes of hills and the site is chosen mainly by considering its proximity to water sources and suitable land. Usually the houses are made close to each other. Few villages have more than 20 houses. The Tangsa village consists of a number of houses, a granary, a farm house and the girls' dormitory. The granaries are either near the houses or at the paddy field.

The Akas get the main material for constructing their houses from the bamboo groves which are grown in plenty in their area. That is the

reason the same type of bamboo houses are found all over the Aka region. Their houses have a long structure on a platform about six feet high. The houses are divided into two compartments by a partition wall. The space between the platform and the ground serves as a shed for pigs and goats of the household. Bamboo sheets form the floor, walls and the roof, while wooden logs serve as the main pillars on which the house structure stands. The roof is usually thatched, supported by bamboo sheets. The walls are usually quite high. The main entrance of the house is from the front and just behind the front door there is a small apartment for guests. A small granary is built, usually near the house, and very often a small kitchen garden is grown as well. The houses in an Aka village are generally scattered throughout the village.

A Nishi house is a long hall erected on poles. The width of the house is usually 18 to 20 feet, but the length varies depending upon the number of hearths. Houses 50 yards long with 10 families living in it are very common in a Nishi settlement. The walls are made of mats knitted with bamboos. The thatches used for roofing can be dried plantains, cane leaves, millet or paddy straw, or thatching grasses. At the rear end of the house, above the ground is the *tumko*, a spacious platform of wooden beams usually half open and half covered with thatch. A notched ladder placed slantingly connects it with the ground. The other end of the house is the *batung* which is a small porch where mortars and pestles are kept for pounding grains. The granaries are built at some distance from the house to save them from fire. Inside the house, the fireplaces run in a row along the centre.

The Tagins prefer to locate their villages on the slopes and in the shadow of the hills so as to secure a natural protection. Some of their villages are very small and consist of only a few families. Their houses resemble those of the Nishis in many ways. They are thatched with leaves and are rectangular in shape. The floor is made of split bamboos supported by wooden pillars. One end of the house rises straight from the ground to a height of about six metres, while the other end may rise to about one metre with the canes almost touching the ground. The Tagin house has two or three doors. It is provided with a verandah on three sides. A log ladder hewn with steps is used for entering the house which is divided into several apartments with a hearth in each. The house has a store room in one of the corners. There is a pigsty under the floor.

The Apatani houses are raised on high wooden piles, a few feet above the ground on both sides of a narrow street in a systematic

manner, leaving hardly any space between two houses. The houses consist of a main hall and two fenced verandahs. The verandahs form extensions to the house on two sides. From the main hall a small portion is separated by a bamboo partition, meant for grinding, husking and winnowing the paddy. A part of the separated portion is also used for keeping poultry. The floor is reached from the ground using a notched tree trunk placed at the verandahs. The width of the house varies from 12 to 18 feet and the length depends on the number of hearths. Normally, an Apatani house contains a maximum of three hearths. The building materials used are bamboos, wooden planks, cane, paddy straw and cane leaves. The wall is made of multiple layers of mat made of flattered bamboo. The fireplace is rectangular and in the middle of the house. The granary is usually built at a little distance from the house.

Normally, the length of a Hill Miri house is 70 feet. The flooring is of split bamboo on a framework of timber raised several feet from the ground. The roof is thatched with leaves. There is an open balcony at each end of the house. The whole house is partitioned into large apartments. The Hill Miris usually select the slopes of hills for setting up their villages as a means of natural protection. The granary is located at a distance away from the village.

The Adi houses are made from local materials, such as, bamboo, wood, leaves of trees, paddy straw, etc. The houses stand on a platform usually three metres high. The walls are made of wooden planks, while the roof is made of leaves or paddy straw. There are no windows. There is a sliding door in the front. The houses may be divided into three parts — an inner part, a verandah for males and a verandah for females. The inner part of the house is a square-shaped big hall with a fireplace in the centre. The outer part of the house consists of a covered verandah facing the main entrance. The outside verandah has an uncovered portico used for drying paddy. The houses have two entrances, one in the front and the other at the back. The houses constructed on the hill tops have platforms, the front portion of which is about three metres high but the back portion is only one metre high. The pigsty may be a part of the residential hut, or a little away from the main hut. The granary is made away from the houses.

The Mishmi houses are generally built on the slopes of hills, on bamboo or wooden piles. Leaves, thatching grass, bamboo and timber are used as building material. The floor is made of split bamboo and the roof is thatched with leaves fastened to strips of bamboo matting.

The houses are often very long. In the case of a rich man's house the length may extend up to 30 metres, the width being five metres and a passage running from one end to the other. The houses generally accommodate 10 to 60 people. Each room has a square-shaped hearth made of clay. At each end, there is a verandah and the front one is covered and has a small guest room attached. A notched log or a ladder is fixed at the front verandah for entering the house.

The Khampti houses are strong timber structures with a raised floor and thatched roof. The houses are built on piles. The floor is made of bamboo and is nearly 1.50 metres above the ground. The main materials used for building a Khampti house are big logs, bamboo and *tonku* leaves (similar to palm leaves). The houses have three parts, namely, a main room used for sleeping, an extended portion of the main room used as a sitting room and an open verandah. There are two doors, one between the main room and the extended portion and another for entry from the verandah into the sitting place. There is a ladder for entry into the house.

The Singphos use thatch, bamboo and wood for building their houses. The usual dimensions of a house are about 18 to 20 feet in width and 50 to 60 feet in length. It consists of a front verandah, a long hall with a number of partitions and an inner portico. The length varies, depending upon the size of the family. The houses of well-to-do families are built practically in the same fashion as those of the poorer people, but they are longer in size. Big wooden posts are often used instead of bamboo.

The Tangsa house is built on stilts and is rectangular in shape with a double-sloped roof. The portico is open and has only one side wall. There are three main parts to the house. The front part is open except for one side wall. The portico-like front is used both as a common and a guest room. It has a fireplace in the middle. The middle part has a long passage on one side with compartments, and each compartment has a fireplace. One of the compartments is used as a common kitchen for the whole family. A lavatory is attached to each compartment. The front portion of the common room is decorated with heads and horns of buffalos, pigs and other animals sacrificed on festive occasions. The Tangsas utilise the open space under the *chang* as a pigsty. The building materials are leaves for thatching, bamboo, wood and cane.

The house style of the Noctes is based on the usual *chang* pattern. All houses are rectangular in shape and constructed on raised bamboo piles. An open bamboo platform is found in front of every house for

drying food stuff, such as paddy, rice and other articles. The house consists of a big hall which is divided into a number of rooms. In the main room women sleep, cook food and keep all the articles of the house. The head of the household sleeps in the front room which is decorated with skulls and bones of animals, beaks of birds and other articles such as guns, bows and arrows. Separate areas in the main room are used to store water, fuel, utensils, clothing and grains. Poultry is kept in one corner of the front room whereas the pigs are kept under the platform. The latrines are built at the rear, separated from the house by a wall.

Religion

Most of the communities of the state believe in traditional tribal religion. Important aspects of tribal religion are the observance of various festivals, ancestral worship and taboos. The beliefs in malevolent and benevolent spirits and deities and rituals performed to propitiate them, corroborated by the concept of the supreme being or god (called variously as *ske*, *matai*, *rang*, *rangkauhauwa* by different communities), constitute the animistic tribal religion. The Adis, Singphos, Mishmis, Lisus and some others believe in spirits presiding over various diseases and spirits dwelling in rocks, mountains, rivers, waterfalls, trees, etc. There are also spirits presiding over crops, rainfall and cattle. These spirits are diligently propitiated to ward off the dangers associated with their influence.

Like any other people who are simple in their beliefs, most of the Arunachal communities such as the Mishmis, Adis and Tangsas have an anthropomorphic view of nature and natural happenings. They view every event to have been caused by an agent which to the tribal mind, is a spirit, either benevolent or malicious. These communities, therefore, are constantly under emotional pressure to please the ill-tempered spirits who are regarded as dispensers of worldly fortune and capable of bringing misfortune to humankind.

According to Rukbo (1985) Donyi-Poloism is the religion of the Adis, Apatanis, Tagins, Nishis and Mishmis. It has a vast mythology with all its mundane and supernatural elements. *Donyi-Polo* is a combination of two terms — *Donyi* means 'sun' and *Polo* means 'moon'. These two physical and material objects, particularly *Donyi*, are the source of power and energy for living beings which cannot be disputed scientifically and philosophically. Thus *Donyi-Polo*, the spiritual source

and symbol, is believed to be the supreme power governing the universe. In other words, *Donyi-Polo* is omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. In this faith the priest, locally known as *miri* or *dondai*, has an important status and enjoys a prestigious position in the society. The priest carries out the rituals to propitiate any god, goddess, spirit or deity for the well-being of a particular family or community. There is no fixed place for prayer or worship in the village. The *moshup*, the community hall of the Adi village, is a court as well as a sacred place and has a cabin called *banggo* in which many of the religious rites are performed. However, a place for worshipping *Donyi-Polo* and community prayers has been constructed at Along (in West Siang). In the *Donyi-Polo* faith there is no idol or image. The concept of *Donyi-Polo* as god is in everybody's heart and the followers have a deep belief that one's happiness or suffering after death is the result of one's deeds in this worldly life. If one leads a righteous life in this world, one gets a peaceful and happy life after death. There is no written scripture for Donyi-Poloism. But there are numerous hymns and myths, handed down from generation to generation. These rhythmic hymns and myths are called *aabang* in the Adi language.

Besides the tribal religion, some communities of the state profess Buddhism, Hinduism (Vaishnavism) and Christianity. A section of the Noctes, Tikhaks and Deoris are Hindus. The Nepalis living in the state are also Hindus. According to the 1981 Census, the population figures for different religious groups in Arunachal Pradesh are: 1,84,732 Hindus; 86,483 Buddhists; 27,306 Christians; 5,073 Muslims; 1,231 Sikhs; 42 Jains and 3,26,000 other religions. Another 972 persons did not state their religion.

The Buddhists are concentrated only in West Kameng, Tawang and the plain areas of the Lohit and Tirap districts. They also have a sporadic distribution in the Tuting and Mechuka areas of the West Siang district. There are two main forms of Buddhism in the state — the Lamaistic form of Mahayana Buddhism and the Hinayana form of the Tai-Burmese school. Buddhism followed in West Kameng and Tawang was introduced by the Tibetan rulers in the historical past, whereas the Hinayana form of Buddhism was brought to the plains of the Lohit and Tirap districts by the Shan Khamptis. The Buddhism followed in these areas is tinged with pre-Buddhistic animism as well as animatism, and many of the cultural practices are opposed to the principles of Buddhism, such as consumption of liquor, meat and fish, animal sacrifices, belief system, etc. Many of the festivals are also pre-

Buddhistic in nature. The religion of the Singphos, Sherdukpens, Zakhrings/Meyors and of some of the Monpa sub-groups is a peculiar blend of Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic tribal religious beliefs. The Lamaistic form is also the amalgamation of Buddhism and pre-Buddhism *Bon* religion which was prevalent in ancient Tibet. The Lamaistic form of Buddhism is being followed by all the Monpas (except the But Monpas), Sherdukpens, Membas, Khambas and Zakhrings/Meyors. This form of Buddhism has three sects, namely, Nyingmapa, Karmapa and Gelukpa. Of the three sects, Karmapa is the oldest. The Gelukpa sect came very late to Arunachal Pradesh. With the establishment of the Tawang monastery and the coming of the Tibetan refugees, it steadily gained supremacy over the Nyingmapa sect. However, the Nyingmapa sect was predominant among the village priests. The Nyingmapa *lamas* (priests) wear red hats and do not practise celibacy and abstinence. The Gelupka *lamas* wear yellow hats and strictly practise celibacy and abstinence. The sacred books and hymns are written in the Tibetan language. The Khamptis and the Khamiyangs follow a form of Buddhism less influenced by pre-Buddhistic animism. Their sacred books and hymns are written in the Pali language. All the festivals of the Hinayana schools are Buddhistic in origin, though some indigenous Tai folk beliefs and customs have been grafted with the festivals. In many of the Buddhist communities, besides the regular Buddhist priests, there are also shamans and traditional tribal priests for treating diseases and ailments and for protecting the villagers from evil spirits.

Christianity, as an instrument of socio-economic reform, has been penetrating many of the tribal groups, such as the Lisus, the various Tangsa sub-groups and some of the Adi sub-groups along the borders of the Assam plains. Christianity made its debut during the British rule at Pasighat, and that too, among some sections of the Adis. Christianity has made the tribals educationally and technologically advanced through western education, ideas and thoughts. It is diffusing into the state from the adjoining areas of Assam (the tea garden areas in particular), Nagaland and Burma. The Lisus and many of the sub-groups of the Tangsas received Christianity from across the international boundary, i. e. from Burma. Some of the Noctes and Wanchos received Christianity from their Naga counterparts in Nagaland. Of late, some of the students of the state are receiving Christianity through modern education in Shillong and other urban centres in the north-east. The American Baptist Mission is more dominant numeri-

cally than the Catholics. Roman Catholics can be found among some of the Adis. The Lisus, some of the Tangsa sub-groups, Noctes and Wanchos belong to the American Baptist Mission. There are churches in Pasighat and in many villages in the Changlang and Tirap districts. The Christian tribals of the state have retained many of their beliefs and customs. Besides the major Christian festivals, they celebrate many of their tribal festivals as well.

Festivals

Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by tribal communities professing different religions. Some are Buddhists of the Lamaistic sects, some follow the Tai traditions, others the tribal religion, while yet others claim to be followers of Donyi-Poloism. Each of the groups have their own festivals. *Losar* is one of the most important festivals of the Lamaistic Buddhists such as the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Membas and Khambas. It is held for 15 days sometime in January-February according to the Tibetan calendar and almanac. A festival of joy and rejoicing, it marks the Tibetan New Year. *Sangken* is the biggest festival of the Khamptis, Khamiyangs and Singphos. It is celebrated for three days in the middle of April as a spring festival. According to their calendar (the Tai-Burmese calendar), it is the end of a year as well as the beginning of a new year. During this festival, the monks and the villagers pour water on the images of Lord Buddha and they also sprinkle water on each other with great fun and merriment. *Mopin* is the most popular festival of the Gallongs. It is observed to propitiate the deity of wealth to seek a rich harvest, good health and happiness. It is observed with great pomp and enthusiasm. The festival is associated with agriculture and is held sometime in the month of March-April. Among the Adis, *Solungis* is one of the most popular and colourful festival and is celebrated during the month of July-August. The *kebang* (village council) fixes a date convenient to all the people. The festival lasts for seven days. It is connected with agricultural activities and has a socio-economic significance. The major festival of the Nishis is *Nyokum*, observed to propitiate the gods for a rich harvest. It is held in the month of August. During this festival people dance and sing and also offer payers to deities for a better harvest, good health and vitality of the domesticated animals. The Nishis also celebrate the *Longteyahu* festival. The most important festival of the Mijis is *Khan* which is held sometime in the month of February-March. It is a great occasion for

merriment with songs and dances for the Miji people. The most important festival of the Akas is *Nechido*. It is held in winter and has a socio-religious significance. The Apatanis of the Subansiri district observe the *Dree* festival to propitiate deities for a bumper crop and prosperity. Dances and songs form a major part of the festival. It is held in July and continues for three days.

The other important festivals celebrated by the various communities of Arunachal Pradesh are *Tamla du*, *Reh* and *Thung* of the Mishmis; *Mol/Moh*, *Kuk/Kuh* and *Champang* of the Tangsas; *Loku* of the Noctes; *Oriya* of the Wanchos; *Gumkum Gumpka* of the Sulungs and *Mokhosil* of the Lisus. Most of these festivals are associated with agricultural activities and propitiating of deities to invoke their blessings for better health, production and prosperity. Animal sacrifice is invariably associated with most of the festivals.

Dress and Ornaments

Dress and ornaments are important aspects of civilisation and their shapes, sizes and styles depend upon the natural environment in which the people live. A dress generally protects and prevents our body from the effects of climate. Sometimes it also acts as a determinant of status, religion and the ethnic group to which one belongs. The Monpas, Khambas, Nishis, Adis and Mishmis can be immediately identified by their dress. The priests of different religions are also identified by their dress. For example, consider the white surplice of a Christian father, the jubba of an Islamic Maulvi or the saffron gown of a Buddhist monk. A community can also be identified with the help of its traditional ornaments. While discussing the indigenous dress and cloth materials of Arunachal Pradesh, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once stated, "I am horrified at the picture of these people being made to give up their old artistic clothes or even lack of clothes in favour of a dirty pair of shorts or some such thing. I am also greatly disturbed at certain shabby articles of modern civilisation replacing the artistic products of these people. I am quite clear that we should prevent cheap mill cloth going there as far as we can. We are in fact encouraging hand-spun and hand-woven goods all over India. . . I do not agree with the criticism that the preservation of tribal art and tribal dress indicates a desire to keep the tribal people as museum specimens. The danger is that these people will lose their culture and have nothing to replace it." (Elwin, 1959: 118). It came to the notice of Elwin that there

is some correlation between dress and health hazards. "Foreign clothes are dangerous from more than one point of view. They undoubtedly spread disease. A tribal who wears them does not always change them when he should, for probably he has no others to put on. A man will arrive at the top of a hill streaming with perspiration and then take his coat off to get cool. The wearing of foreign clothes has in my opinion, contributed to the spread of pulmonary disease in the hills. Secondly, they are entirely unfit for a tribal mode of life. Long skirts for women are not suitable garments for weeding in rice drenched with rain. A dhoti or shorts are possibly worse. The close fitting bodices for women and shirts for men are positively dangerous in a climate where workers are soaked daily with rain or perspiration." (Elwin, 1959: 132).

In Arunachal Pradesh the dress of the indigenous people mostly depends upon the economy and climate of the region. The style and format of an indigenous dress is the product of a long interaction between the people and their ecological setting. Apart from this, their dress is sometimes meant to protect them from the attack of certain insects and worms. Usually they make their own clothing. The different ethnic groups of Arunachal Pradesh, in spite of belonging to the greater fold of Mongoloids, mostly have a distinct style and fashion regarding their dress. This is manifested in their choice or selection of the colour for the fabrication of embroidery, the shape and size of their costumes and in the design of their ornaments worn in different parts on their person. The Adi dresses generally bear distinction and vary slightly among the sub-groups, like the Ashings, Boris, Bokars, Gallongs, Padams and Minyongs. The only variations that can be marked distinctly are mainly in colour and decoration. The Ashing men use a long coat and a piece of loincloth with a cane belt, whereas the womenfolk use a blouse and a skirt. The Bori women wear a gown striped with black and blue garments. The upper garment of the Gallong men is known as *lavik*, whereas their women use a special type of lungi embroidered with black thread. This lungi and blouse are common among the Adi women of the region but have different names among the different sub-groups. For instance, the Minyong women call the shirt/gown by the name of *galuk*; the Boris call it *popojabar*, the Pailibos *jepo*, *jalijebor* or *eje sareke*, and the Ramos *japung*, *kedung* or *pupje*. Similarly, the men's upper garment among the Minyongs, Komkars, Pasis, Ramos and Pailibos is known as *gale*, *ugan*, *galling*, *hogen* and *keder*, *sisak kedu*, *sale-bi* and *serek*, respectively. The

Tangam men's dress consists of a blue full-sleeved long coat and a *hopung* (loincloth), whereas the women's dress consists of the *gyabin* (blue coat) and *abe* (maroon shirt). The Akas of the West Kameng district use a dress which is akin to that of the Mijis (Sajalongs). Both the sexes use a *polu* (long coat), while the women also use the *guddu* (piece of coarse cotton cloth). They tie a piece of cloth on their leg for protection from the bite of the *damdim* (fly) and other small insects. Similarly, the Bangnis use a long piece of cloth to cover their bodies; the women use a shirt with a green border. The Apatani men can be identified by their traditional cane girdle worn around the waist. The girdle has a long bushy cane tail attached. Besides, the Apatani men also wear multiple rings of red colour. The Chakma and Deori men use a *chillong* (shirt) and *aneku* (coloured dhoti), respectively. The Chakma women use the *pinou* (lungi), *hadi* (a piece of cloth for covering the breasts) and *khobong* (turban). The dress of the Deori women is popularly known as *eger* (coloured lungi).

The dress is similar in all the Buddhist communities irrespective of the region, but they have different names for them. The Khamba dress (irrespective of the sex) is known as *boko* (upper garment). The dress of the Lisu, Memba and Monpa men consists of the *jabonochi* (coat), *phu-chau chupa*, *chuba*, *khamja*, *dorma*, *rago*, *gusir*, *chudang*, *kobogi*, *shuba* (jacket), *aciphudung* (shirt), *dornath* (trouser), *khutuna* (cap made of yak's hair) and *dorna/dornok*, *todung*, *khanjar*, *sinka*, *dorwa*, *tana*, etc. The women in these communities wear the *jamubachi* (blue petticoat), *phime chupa*, *tegu*, *meo*, *sting*, *kingom*, *along*, *landen*, *chiden*, *teho*, *todung* (jacket), *sinka* (gown), *mukhok*, *chudang yamu/chitoo*, *jambo* (cap made of yak's hair) and the *khizing* (waist belt). The Digaru Mishmi men use the *ting* (a sleeveless coat), *athu* (loincloth) and *kahang* (turban), while the Idu Mishmis use the *kathu*, *etoyo* and *apatolo* (cap made of cane). The Miju Mishmis use the *bran* (loincloth) and *galkana* (sleeveless jacket) as their garments. The women in these three communities wear the *tinga* (blouse), *kajunging* (shawl) and *galsai* (jacket), respectively. The main garment of the Hill Miri men is a length of black markin cloth covering the torso up to a little above the knee. The women wear broad cane belts as the bodice and a grass skirt while working in the fields or the forest. The male garment of the Nishis consists of a coarse loincloth and a blanket. They also use the *milhun's* hide to cover the chest. The women wear a skirt with a green striped border and the upper part of their body is covered with a blanket. The Singpho men wear the *haka* (checkered lungi), *palong* (skirt), *longha*

(jacket) and a *boong bam* (turban), while the women wear the *jookang* (skirt), *ningwat* (waist band), *palang* (blouse) and *bapai* (lower dress). The traditional male dress of the Noctes consists of numerous cane belts round the waist, a strip of cloth worn in the fashion of a *langoti* (loincloth) and bamboo rings worn round the legs and arms. The Nocte women wear a skirt, usually white or black in colour. Shawls are common to both the sexes. Tattooing is also common to both men and women. Among women it is generally done on the arms and back. A man from the chief's family has very elaborate designs all over the body, while others, lower in rank, have simple ones. The chief hunter has special designs on the face and body as marks of bravery. The Khampti men generally wear the *chyu* (a tight-fitting cotton jacket) and *fanoi* (lungi), usually checkered and patterned with green, red, violet and black. They also wear a white turban. The female dress consists of the *sein* (black shirt), *khenyao* (a long sleeved jacket) and *longwat* (embroidered waist cloth). The traditional men's dress of the different Tangsa sub-groups, such as the Lungphis, Lungchangs, Lungris, Mukloms, Morangs, Ronrangs, Juglis and Kimsings consists of the *tangling* and *raibin* (a kind of cloth prepared from bark). It also consists of the *khumboichum*, *miwah khatsa*, *payan*, *maiwe-khesong* and *impavar* (lower garments). The women's dress consists of the *kathi*, *minulo khatsa*, *khaitu*, *zeehak*, *khesnag*, *khailong* and *naitak* (lower garments). The dresses of the Zakhrings resemble the Tibetan dresses. Both men and women wear the *chowa* (stitched cloak). It reaches the knees in the case of men and the ankles in the case of women. The cloak is sleeveless for women and full-sleeved for men. The men also wear a *namboo* (trouser) and *wanchu* (shirt). After marriage the women wear a *thou* or *poday* (apron with red and blue stripes).

The ornaments worn by the people of Arunachal Pradesh vary from one community to another. Some of them tattoo their bodies, while others colour their teeth to decorate themselves. Though the menfolk also use ornaments, the women are more fond of them. Generally the women pierce their ear lobes for wearing earrings of various shapes and sizes. The ornaments are made of silver, costly beads and shell. Butler (1847), Father Krick (1913) and Dalton (1960) have given a beautiful description of the Adi ornaments. Father Krick describes the ornaments of the Adis as: "The women wear heavy yellow necklaces, and iron copper bracelets, but most peculiar articles of their ornamental apparel are in their earrings, which are long spirals of wire about two inches thick, sufficiently heavy to bear the ears, and stretch them

out of shape, so that the ornaments dangle on the shoulders. The men wear a kind of necklace, composed of unusually neat cut blue stones strung together. This article is highly valued and transmitted from father to son, as they pretend to have received it directly from god. Some stick into their ears silver or wooden (bamboo) tubes." (Roy, 1960: 86). The Wancho men wear bead necklaces decorated with human figurine and other symbols of hunting. The traditional identifying mark for the Apatani women is the *yapinghule* (wooden nose plug) worn on both sides of the nose. Both men and women wear tattoo marks on the face. The Aka women wear a number of silver ornaments as well as bead necklaces. The common silver ornaments are the *sombin* and *gichli* (earrings). Tattooing is practised among the women. The Tangsa men wear a few coloured beads strung on a copper wire, on their ear-lobes. The women adorn their bodies with various types of ornaments. Besides a *laksu* (costly bead necklace) and *patnato* (carrings), they wear a number of bead necklaces of different sizes. A necklace made of four anna coins is a valuable ornament to them. They also use a pair of *yaksans* (bangles) made of metal and leggings made of beads. The Hill Miri women use the *sutak* and *turiya* to adorn their ears, whereas the men use silver earrings called *talerubin* and *lechi*. Like their men, the Nishi women wear numerous strings of multi-coloured beads. In addition they wear a number of metal bells and brass chains which dangle from the neck over the breasts. They wear large lead rings on the ear lobes, with or without bamboo plugs. Their wrists are always covered with *hoofi* (bangles). They wear a couple of brass or silver rings on the fingers. Among the Noctes, both men and women wear ornaments, such as the *jinhap* and *lik* (a necklace of coloured beads worn by men), *kathung ru* (a necklace for women), *jan nate* and *waki melap* (women's ear ornaments), *sanka* (metal bangles for girls) and *wandaktho* (wristbands for men). The chiefs wear costly bead necklaces which cannot be worn by others. The Singpho women are fond of *deo-mani* (enamelled beads). They wear bright pieces of amber inserted into their ear lobes in the same style as that of the Khampti women. The men tattoo their limbs slightly and married women tattoo both legs from the ankle to the knee in parallel bands.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh present an extraordinary divergence in culture, language and custom. They also have a tradition of artistic craftsmanship which manifests itself through their various products. The people of Arunachal Pradesh are divided into five

cultural zones. But from the viewpoint of art and crafts, they may be divided into three zones. In the first zone we may include the Buddhist tribes, that is, the Monpas and the Sherdukpens of the westernmost part of the state. The Khowas, Akas and Mijis; the Membas and Khambas of northern Siang; and the Khamptis and Singphos of the Lohit and Tirap districts may also be included to some extent. The second cultural zone occupies the central part from East Kameng to Lohit. The third zone is formed by the south-eastern part of the state.

The people of the first zone make beautiful masks. They also periodically stage pantomimes and mask dances. Beautiful woollen carpets, woollen and yak-hair caps, shoes, painted wooden vessels and silver articles are the specialities of the Monpas. They are experts at dyeing and painting. In the second zone, the people are skilled in cane and bamboowork. The Apatanis, Hill Miris and Adis make beautiful articles from these materials, which reflect their skill in handicrafts. The shawls and jackets of the Apatanis, the *Adi gales* (jackets) and shoulder bags and the Mishmi coats and shawls are reflective of the weaving talents and artistic sense of these people. The people of the third zone are famous for their wood carving work. The Wanchos weave beautiful bags and loin cloths. Goat hair, ivory, boar tusks, stone beads, brass and glass are of special fascination to these people. Weaving is the occupation of the womenfolk. The designs they make are basically geometrical. Some of the woven products that deserve a mention are the Sherdukpen shawls, Apatani jackets, Adi skirts, jackets and bags, Mishimi shawls and jackets and Wancho bags. The cane and bamboo industry of the state is of a very high standard. Hats of different sizes and shapes, various kinds of baskets and a variety of cane belts and necklaces are some of the state's important products. Carpet-making is the speciality of the Monpa women. They weave colourful carpets with dragons, geometric and floral designs. The Monpas of Kameng, the Khamptis of Lohit and the Wanchos of Tirap are famous for their wood carving. The Monpa wood carver makes plates and cups and carves out beautiful masks for ceremonial dances and pantomimes. Wooden masks are also made by the Khambas and Membas. The Khamptis make beautiful religious images, toys and other objects. Wood carving is a speciality among the Wanchos of Tirap. They carve beautiful bamboo pipes and human and animal figures. The Akas make beautiful bamboo bangles and ear ornaments. The Noctes and Wanchos of Tirap make beautiful strings of beads with attractive patterns. Making silver ornaments is the speciality of the Idu

Mishmis of Dibang Valley. The Apatani women wear nose-plugs which are an exception to the community. Thus, we find a variety of crafts, namely, weaving, painting, pottery, smithy work, wood carving, bamboo-work and cane-work practised by the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

and polyandry still prevail. A major religious faith centring on the cult of *Doyni-Polo* has taken root here.

Arunachal Pradesh has made substantial progress in many areas of development. A middle class with growing interest in business and trade has emerged. However, the depletion of natural resources, particularly forests, is a cause for concern.

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PRADESH

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The Anthropological Survey of India launched the People of India project on 2nd October, 1985 to generate an anthropological profile of all communities of India, the impact on them of change and the development process, and the links that bring them together.

As part of this all-India project the first ever ethnographic survey of Arunachal Pradesh was undertaken by the ASI in collaboration with the Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, and local scholars. This was the first time all sixty-six communities of Arunachal Pradesh were surveyed. The cultural profile covered origin, distribution, social organisation, occupation, attitude towards change and development. Other dimensions studied were language and human biology. The ethnographic material was discussed in Itanagar in May 1988 and at a number of workshops held at the North-Eastern Regional Centre in Shillong between October 1985 and May 1991.

The population of Arunachal Pradesh is predominantly tribal. It is considered to exemplify the Nehruvian policy on the tribes, helping them retain control over their resources and maintain their institutions despite joining the national mainstream. Ethnographically Arunachal Pradesh is marked by more ecological diversities and cultural-linguistic heterogeneity than any other region of the country. Here some of the tribal institutions like chieftainship, polygyny

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