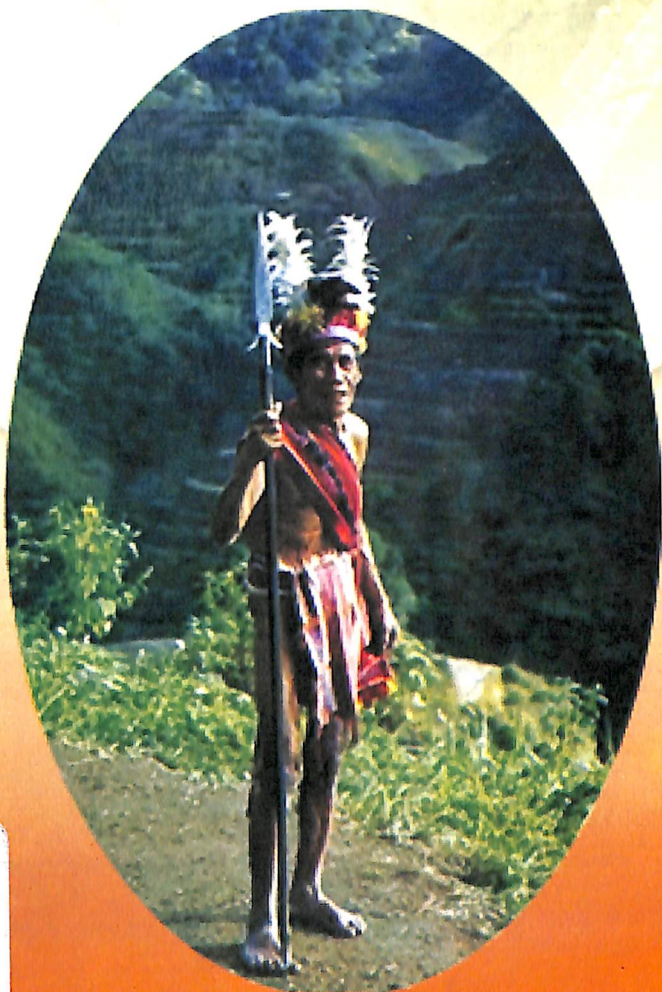


NAGALAND

Past and Present



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HARGOVIND JOSHI

NAGALAND PAST AND PRESENT



Edited by
HARGOVIND JOSHI

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PREFACE

Nagaland, the sixteenth State of the Indian Union, came into being on December 1, 1963. The state has an area of 16,579 square kilometres, extending on the north-east frontiers of the country. It is bounded by Assam in the west and north, and in the north-east by the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. The southern boundary is shared with the State of Manipur, while the eastern limits of the State are on the international boundary between India and Myanmar.

Nagaland, the land of enchanting beauty and charm with its rich diverse cultures, festivities of its various tribes and sub-tribes inhabiting the eastern most state bordering Myanmar is endowed with rich natural flora and fauna, lush green hills and valleys, rivers, resounding echoes of music, dance and gay festivities make it a special place in our nation of diverse cultures. Nature has also gifted this land with many rich resources like forest, minerals, fertile soil, abundant rainfall, moderate cool climate and dust free environment which are waiting to be utilised for economic development of the state and its people.

The State is divided into seven districts: Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Tuensang, and Mon. The maximum length of the border State is about 255 km while the breadth does not exceed 145 km. The terrain is hilly, rugged and mountainous.

This book is designed to present the state and all related issues in one place. Amidst the plenty of literature on Nagaland, this book is unique—which presents the entire discussion in encyclopaedic way.

Once a hot bed of insurgency—Nagaland remained dis-

turbed for years. And thus, the developmental efforts were hampered badly. What are the actual Naga problems? The chief causes of insurgency and hostility are elaborately discussed in the chapter 'A state of Union.' As 'cease-fire and Nagaland problem' is a hot news currently, this book gives the interpretation of the issue.

In preparing this book we have liberally drawn the material from different authoritative sources. Hence no claim of originality. The aim of reproducing the material is to share the erudition and fruits of painstaking research of all those great scholars by a wider readership.

I am deeply beholden to all those men of letters whose writings I have cited or substantially made use of. I am also grateful to my friends and family members who have inspired me for the present venture. Last but not the least, I am thankful to Sri M.P. Misra for undertaking publication of this book.

— HGJ

NAGALAND: CURRENT SCENARIO

Area:	16,579 sq km
Population:	12,09,549
Capital:	Kohima
Principal Languages:	Angami, Ao, Chang, Konyak, Lotha, Sangtham, Sema, and Chakhesang.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Like other inhabitants of the north eastern region, the Nagas too have their share of legends and folklore regarding their origin and evolution through the ages. Nagas are basically tribal people and every tribe had its own effective system of self government from times immemorial. In the 12th and 13th centuries, gradual contact with the Ahoms of present day Assam was established, but this did not have any significant impact on the traditional Naga way of life. However, in the 19th century the British appeared on the scene and ultimately the area was brought under British administration. After Independence, this territory was made a Centrally administered area in 1957, under the administration of governor of Assam. It was known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area. This failed to quell popular aspirations and unrest began. Hence, in 1961 this was renamed as Nagaland and given the status of State of the Indian Union which was formally inaugurated on 1 December 1963. Situated in the extreme north-east of the country, Nagaland is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh in the north, Assam in west, Manipur in south and Burma (Myanmar) in the east.

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AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the main occupation of 90 per cent of population in the State. Rice is the important staple food. Area under *jhum* cultivation is about 73,000 hectare and under terraced cultivation is 61,000 hectare during 1993-94.

INDUSTRY

The process of industrialisation in the State is in its infancy but the need to have more industries has been well recognised. The Nagaland Sugar Mill at Dimapur has an installed capacity of 1,000 tonnes per day. There is a pulp and paper mill at Tuli and a plywood factory at Tizit. A *Khandsari* mill with a daily crushing capacity of 200 metric tonnes is in operation. Handloom and handicrafts are important cottage industries which are mainly being managed by cooperative societies. An industrial growth centre near Dimapur is under construction. The Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation is the premier promotional organisation in providing guidance and capital assistance to entrepreneurs. The Mini Cement Plant at Wazeho has commenced production.

IRRIGATION AND POWER

Minor irrigation works are mostly meant to divert small hill streamlets to irrigate valleys used for rice cultivation. Under minor irrigation, surface minor irrigation covered 1,070 hectare and ground water covered 150 hectare during 1992-93. Number of electrified villages stands at 1,200. Nagaland has achieved cent per cent eletrification of rural areas. A 24 megawatt hydro-electric project is under erection at Likim-ro.

TRANSPORT

Roads

Road network consists of national, state and district roads with total length of 9,351 km. The Nagaland State

Transport operates on 111 routes daily with a total route kilometerage of 12,932 km.

Railways/aviation

Dimpaur is the only place where rail and air services are available. There is a bi-weekly Indian Airlines boeing service connecting Dimpaur with Guwahati and Calcutta.

FESTIVALS

Some of the important festivals are *Sekrenyi*, *Moatsu*, *Tuluni* and *Tokhu Emong*. All tribes celebrate their distinct seasonal festivals with a pageantry of colour and a feast of music.

Area, Population and Headquarters of District

<i>District</i>	<i>Area (sq.km)</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
1. Kohima	4,041	3,87,581	Kohima
2. Mokokchung	1,615	1,58,374	Mokokchung
3. Mon	1,786	1,46,699	Mon
4. Phek	2,026	1,,02,156	Phek
5. Tuensang	4,228	2,32,906	Tensang
6. Wokha	1,628	82,612	Wokha
7. Zunheboto	1,255	97,218	Zunheboto

NAGALAND PROFILE

Nagaland, the land of enchanting beauty and charm with its rich diverse cultures, festivities of its various tribes and sub-tribes inhabiting the eastern most state bordering Myanmar is endowed with rich natural flora and fauna, lush green hills and valleys, rivers, resounding echoes of music, dance and gay festivities make it a special place in our nation of diverse cultures. Nature has also gifted this land with many rich resources like forest, minerals, fertile soil, abundant rainfall, moderate cool climate and dust free environment which are waiting to be utilised for economic development of the state and its people.

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The State is divided into seven districts: Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Tuensang, and Mon. The maximum length of the border State is about 255 km while the breadth does not exceed 145 km. The terrain is hilly, rugged and mountainous. The average height of the peaks is between 900 and 1,200 metres. The highest point is Saramati in the Tuensang district which is 3,840 metres above sea-level. In Kohima district, the highest peak is

Japfu with a height of 3,014 metres. The Barail and the Japfu ranges form the watershed of the State and as they are close to the western boundary, none of the rivers that come rolling down the slopes attains any sizeable proportions until it enters the plains of Assam. The Dhansiri river starts from the south-west corner and receives most of the drainage from the north-western slopes of the hills Doyang is another important river. It originates near Mao, flows in a north-easterly direction for about 70 km and thereafter changes its course to the north-west. The other rivers of some importance are the Dikhu, tizu and Melak there is no waterfall in Nagaland. The only lake well known is Lacham to the east of Meluri.

Geologically, the area is composed of "pretertiary rocks overlaid by tertiary strata". Oldham described the hills for about 32 km north of Mao and east of Kohima as axial.

The hill-sides are covered with green forests, though much of them have been felled in recent years. In the Angami area particularly, the terraced fields are a feast to the eyes. L. W. Shakespear's description of the idyllic countryside is worth quoting:

To a stranger suddenly arriving in the Angami country nothing strikes him with greater surprise and admiration than the beautiful terraced cultivation which meets the eye everywhere, on gentle hill-slopes, sides and bottoms of valleys, in fact, wherever the land can be utilised in this way. In preparation, upkeep, and irrigation, the greatest care is taken, far in excess of anything seen in the north-west. Himalayas. The appearance of the countryside for miles south of Kohima, for instance, is such as to suggest the handiwork and labour of a far higher order of people than these wild Nagas. These terraced fields are often bordered with dwarf alder bushes, are carefully irrigated by an elaborate system of channels bringing water down from mountain streams, and luxuriant crops of rice are grown on them. To

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pass through the valley where stand the two powerful villages of Khonoma and Mozema during late October when the crops are ripe is indeed a delight for the eye—a veritable golden valley.¹

A rich variety of wild life is found in the Naga Hills. The animals include tigers, leopards, elephants, deer, sambar, boars, monkeys, wild buffaloes and bear. These are connected with the social and economic life of the people in different ways.

Rains are heavy in Nagaland. The average rainfall is between 175 cm and 250 cm. Most of the rainfall pours down during the four months from June to September winds blow from the north-west in February and March. The climate, on the whole, is salubricus.

The total population of Nagaland of 12,155,73 (1971 Census) represents 0.09 per cent of the total population of the country. The population of the State showed a growth rate of 39.68 per cent during the decade 1961-71: this was the highest growth rate for all the States of the country. Actually the population of the State has consistently shown a steady upward trend. During the period 1901 to 1971, it increased by about 408 per cent. The majority of the population in Nagaland lives in the rural areas (4,65,055). The population in the urban areas 951,394), Mokokchung (17,423) and Dimapur (12,426). The average density of population is 31 per square kilometre. Literacy is 27.33 per cent as compared to 29.35 per cent for the country.

The fourteen major Naga tribes are the Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khemungan, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema Yimchunger and Zeliang. Some of these tribes are of comparatively recent origin. The Chakhesangs were earlier known as Eastern Angamis and are a combination of the *Chakri*, *Khezha* and *Sangtam* sub-tribes, the word Chakhesang being an acronym. Now the Chakhesang tribe is split further, Pochurys, who were earlier a part of it, now claim a distinct entity.

The Nagas belong to the Indo-Mongoloid family. Opines Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, these Indo-Mongoloids are none else than the *Kiratas* frequently mentioned in the old Sanskrit literature. The earliest reference is to be traced in the *Yajurveda*, where we find the following lines:

*Guhabhyah Kiratam: sanubhyo Jambhakarn:
parvatebhyah Kimpurusam*

A *Kirata* for the caves; a *Jambhaka* (long-toothed man?) For the slopes; a *Kimpurusa* (an ugly man, a wild man, an ape?) For the mountains.

The *Atharvaveda* also mentions a *Kirata* girl digging medicinal herbs from the mountains:

*Kairatika kumarika saka khanati bhesajam;
hiranyayibhir abhribhir girinam upa sanusu*

The young maid of *Kirata* race, a little damsel, digs the drug; digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high ridges of the hills.

In the *Mahabharata*, the *Kiratas* are the hillmen living in the Eastern Himalayas. Bhima, the Hercules among the Pandavas, is mentioned as having defeated seven *Kirata* rulers in the course of a triumphant tour. The *Mahabharata* also mentions Bhagadatta, the king of Pragytisha (Kamrup), who fought on the side of the Kauravas in the epic battle of Kurukshetra along with his *Kirata* warriors and was defeated. The *Ramayana* also mentions the *Kiratas*:

*Kiratasca tiksna-cudasca hemabhah priya-darsanah
Antar-jala-cara ghora nara-vyaghra it srutah.*

The *Kiratas*, with hair done in pointed top-knots, pleasant to look upon, shining like gold, able to move under water, terrible, veritable tiger-men, so are they famed.

Dr. Chatterjee summarised his observations on the *Kiratas* in the following words:

The ways of the *Kirata* were simple. They lived mostly on fruits and tubers, dressed themselves in skins,

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wore their hair in a pointed top-knot, and were a pleasant-looking people, but terrible with their weapons, and cruel in war . . .

It would appear that during the centuries immediately before Christ, and in the early Christian centuries, the *Kiratas* were known to the Hindu world as a group of peoples whose original home was in the Himalayan slopes and in the mountains of the East, in Assam particularly, who were yellow in colour and presented a distinct type of culture. They had spread all over the plains of Bengal up to the sea, and appear to have penetrated as far as West Bengal. They were rich with all the natural wealth of minerals and forest produce with which the mountains and hills and jungles where they lived abounded, but they were adepts in the art of weaving cloth (as their descendants still are), the cotton and woolen fabrics they made being very much in demand. . . .²

The Nagas themselves have different stories about their origin. The Angamis, Semas, Rengmas and the Lothas subscribe to the Kheza-Kenoma legend. It is said that the village had a large stone slab having magical properties. Paddy spread on it to be dried doubled in quantity by evening. The three sons of the couple who owned the stone used it by rotation. One day there was a quarrel between the sons as to whose turn it was. The couple, fearing bloodshed, set fire to the stone which as a result crackled. It is believed that the spirit in the stone went to heaven and the stone lost its miraculous properties. The three sons thereafter left Kheza-Kenoma, went in different directions and became the forefathers of the Angami, Sema and the Lotha tribes. According to another legend, to which the Western Angamis subscribe, the first man evolved from a lake called *Themiakelhu zie* near Khonoma. The Rengmas believe that until recently they and the Lothas formed one tribe. The Aos and the Phoms trace their origin to the *Lungterok* (six stones) on the Chongliemdi hill.

The origin of the word 'Naga' is shrouded in mystery. Different scholars have expressed different views. According to S.E. Peal, the word is probably derived from *Noga* by which these hill tribes were known to the Assamese for centuries, while *Noga* itself is derived from the word *Nok* which means 'fold' in some of the hill dialects. L.W. Shakespear and Robert Reid think that Naga is only a corruption of the word *Nanga* meaning 'naked'. Another theory is that the word Naga is derived from the Sanskrit *Nag*, a mountain, thus Naga meaning a 'hill man'. Be that as it may, it is interesting to reflect that the appellation 'Naga' was quite foreign to the Nagas themselves until very recent times. Capt John Butler³ tells us that the hill tribes living in the areas now known as Nagaland had no generic term applicable to the whole race and that they merely used specific names for a particular groups of villages; thus the men of Mezoma, Khonoma, Kohima, Jotosoma and other neighbouring villages called themselves *Tengimas*. The others, if asked who they were, would merely say that they belonged to such-and-such village; they were quite ignorant of any distinctive tribal name connecting them to any particular group of villages. This was due largely to the state of internecine warfare and the resulting isolation in which the tribes lived. Even as late as 1954 Verier Elwin found the people of Tuensang seldom speaking of themselves as Nagas but as Konyaks, Changs, Phoms, and so on. The appellation 'Naga' was actually given to these hill tribes by the plains people. This indirect and unconscious contribution proved to be a great uniting force to the tribes now classified as 'Naga'. This is, however, not to suggest that there were no common ties binding the diverse tribes. Far from, that a common denominator did, in fact, exist and it is generally agreed that the Naga tribes are by and large derived from the same racial stock.

Dr. H.E. Kaufmann, a German ethnologist, carried out anthropocentric measurements of the Nagas in 1956. He studied a hundred and sixty-six male Nagas (94 Konyaks, 38 Semas, 26 Aos and 8 Angamese). The analysis revealed

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that the Nagas are of sub-medium height, which is true of the majority of the hill tribes of Assam. The head is mesocephalic, which is also common to all the Assamese. The facial index is very low; in fact, it is the lowest in South-East Asia. The nasal index corresponds to a medium nose (mesorrhine), which is the rule among the hill tribes of Assam. The hair is generally straight. The skin is brownish-yellow. The eyes, significantly, do not show Mongolian form.⁴

On the other hand, there is an interesting account in the book *The Wild Tribes of India*. It states that the word "Naga" means a serpent, but it is not pretended that the Nagas are of serpent or Scythic descent. "The name was more probably given to them originally as being best expressive of their character, for of all wild tribes they are held to be the most subtle and treacherous. There are about a dozen septs of them, who differ considerably from each other in several respects, each having some distinct peculiarity of its own and often a distinct language. Those of the upper ranges are generally light-coloured and handsome, and their women pretty though beauty of form is not the rule of the hills; but those of the lower ranges, such as the Lotah Nagas and others, are dark, dirty, and squat. The differences in character also are equally prominent, for, while the Rengma Nagas are spoken of as being good natured, peaceful, and honest, the Lothas are known as unsocial and sulky, and the Angamis as contentious, vindictive, and perfidious. The Nagas *par excellence* are the last, whose name *Angdmi*, or the "unconquered," is their boast. They live high up the mountains, and have always distinguished themselves as caterans and murderers, and also for being perpetually at feud with each other, their feuds going down from generation to generation. Their villages are accordingly planned for everyday defence and stockaded as hill-forts, from which barbarous onslaughts are made, in which neither age nor sex is spared. They gave a world of trouble to the Government by the many plundering inroads they made on the peaceful tribes occupying the loots of their hills' and several expeditions had to be sent against them,

commencing from 1835. In 1855, the location of a special officer in their hills was determined upon, and the country taken under direct management, after which its history was rather uneventful for a long time, though never altogether peaceful. Subsequently some outrages were perpetrated in 1879, in connexion with an attempt to dislodge the British authority from the hills, and culminated in the murder of the special officer, Mr. Damant, and his escort, which led to an expedition being undertaken against the savages by General Nation, and to their punishment. Peace has since been ostensibly restored; but it is hardly to be supposed that it will be long preserved. The bellicose disposition of the race has not yet been mastered, and what seems calculated to master it in the future even more than Government interference is tea-planting, the operations connected with which are gradually spreading British rule over the immense wastes now held by these people, the limits of which are likely to be extended in the end to Muni-pore on the south, and on the east to the Patkoi range and the borders of Burmah and China. The Nagas are carrying on a most profitable business with the tea gardens, and those so engaged have already been partially humanised, at the same time that their occupation has forced them to neglect their internal bickering.

The Nagas are a fine, stalwart race, though inferior in *physique* as compared with the tribes inhabiting the north of the Brahmapootra, having smaller bones and much less of muscular development. Their faces are lozenge-shaped, features flat, eyes small complexion dark; and of hair they have none in the shape of beard, whisker, or moustache, while that on the head is cut short and trained to stand erect. But, despite these drawbacks, their carriage is dignified, and they have over all a wild expression peculiar to them, which distinguishes them from all other tribes in their vicinity. The females are short and waistless, but not necessarily ungainly, though they are too hard-worked to retain any shade of comeliness long, having every employment, apart from fighting, hunting, and traffic, saddled on

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them. There is no clothing for either sex in the higher elevations, and hence some imagine that the name Naga may, perhaps, have been derived from the word "Lunga," or naked. At the foot of the hills the limbs are usually covered with a small piece of cloth dyed with indigo, a larger piece of coarse cloth being also used for covering the body when needed; while nearer the tea gardens the men wear kilts of different patterns and colours, and the women picturesque petticoats, and a cotton *cheddar* thrown across the back and chest. They are very fond of ornaments at all places, and both males and females go loaded with them, the trinkets consisting of necklaces, bracelets, and armlets, made mainly of cowries, and more rarely of greenish beads which are particularly prized. What the Naga most of all delights in, however, are his weapons, which are his constant companions, awake and sleeping. These are: the *dao*, or battle-axe, the spear or javelin, and the shield—for he never uses the bow and arrows. The Angamis have also long known the use of firearms, of which they have got a considerable supply. Fighting and hunting, however, are not their sole occupations at the present day. They understand the advantages of trading and frequently come down to the markets of Assam and Cachar heavily laden with ivory, wax, and cloths manufactured from the nettle-fibre, in exchange for which they receive salt, brassware, and shells, and, by preference, matchlocks and gunpowder if they can get them. Their only other occupations are dancing and debauch, both of which are sometimes, not always, shared in by their women. The war-dance in particular is performed by the men alone, with spear and hatchet in hand, while all the circumstances of battle are acted, namely, the advance, retreat, wielding of weapons, and defence with the shield, accompanied by terrific howls and war-whoops.

As the Nagas are not a migratory people, like the other hillmen around them, their villages are stationary and unchanging, and those marked in Rennel's Maps of 1764 are still to be found. Some of them are very large, containing

as many as five hundred houses, and there are none which have less than fifty. The houses are built after a peculiar fashion, having the caves down to the ground, while one gable-end forms the door to enter by. Every family has a separate house, and each house generally contains two rooms, one for sleeping in, and the other for all other purposes, including the custody of pigs and fowls. The accommodation is necessarily straitened, and the unmarried young men of the family have to sleep out of it, all the bachelors of a village being accommodated in one common building, furnished with a series of bamboo beds covered with mats. In this house are also exhibited the spoils of the chase and the implements of war belonging to the community; and it is further used as the village inn, in which travellers from other villages are allowed to put up. The separation of the sexes in youth, if intended, is not, however, actually very rigidly enforced, young men and women having every facility given to them to become well acquainted with each other; and when they have made up their minds to marry they are at once united, the only form gone through being the execution of a contract of union by both parties, unattended by any religious ceremony whatever. Presents are then made by the bridegroom to the family of the bride, and there is a grand feast given to the whole village, in return for which the villagers have to build a house for the accommodation of the youthful pair. Divorces and remarriages are both allowed and freely availed of, and open infidelity is necessarily not of frequently occurrence.

As a rule the Naga woman is a model of labour and industry, and is mainly valued on that account. She does everything the husband will not, and he considers it effeminate to do anything but fight, hunt, and cheat. The cultivation labours are all performed by the wife, the crops raised consisting of rice, cotton, and tobacco, as well as several kinds of vegetables. She also weaves, both with cotton and with nettle fibres, and manufactures salt from the many salt-springs in the country, though she is not able to make it at less cost than is charged for the salt sent up

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from Bengal. The tending of cows, goats, pigs, and fowl likewise devolves on her in most places, and she of course cooks and performs every other household work besides. One curious way of cooking with some clans is thus described in Owen's *Naga Tribes*: "Their manner of cooking is performed in joints of bamboos, introduced into which are as much rice, chillies, and meat, with water, as each will hold and can be thrust tightly in by the aid of stick. A couple of bamboos placed on the ground, with a third connecting them at the top horizontally, constitutes a fireplace, against which those holding the food rest. By continually turning the bamboos the food becomes well roasted, and is then severed out on leaves from a neighbouring tree." Neither milk nor any preparation thereof is appreciated by the Nagas generally, but they eat animals of all kinds, including rats, snakes, monkeys, tigers, and elephants; and the roast dog in particular is regarded as a great delicacy. Another article equally prized is a liquor manufactured from fermented rice, which is drunk by both sexes in great quantities; they are inveterate smokers also, and are especially fond of the oil of tobacco, which they mix with water and drink.

The Nagas have no kind of internal government, and acknowledge no supreme authority. If spoken to on the subject they plant their javelin on the ground and declare that to be their Rajah, and that they will have none other. The *Gaon Boora*, or elder of the village, has some authority conceded to him; but it is very moderate, and is often resisted and defied. A council of elders is suffered to adjust petty disputes and disagreements, but only in the way of arbitration. There is no constituted authority lodged anywhere in the community; every man doing what he likes and is able to perform. The Naga is by nature fierce as the tiger, and matters are necessarily made worse from the total want of control over his passions. His other vices are drunkenness and thieving, in the latter of which he glories, though it is held very dishonorable to be discovered in the act. His religion consists in the worship of a plurality of deities, or

god and evil spirits, to whom sacrifices are made, and in the belief in omens, by which his conduct is mainly guided. The chief religious festivals called the Genna, a Sabbat extended generally over two or three days and nights, when all the inhabitants of the village celebrating it live in complete isolation from others, sacrificing and drinking, but not permitting any one to witness their debaucheries. There is no fixed time for this ceremony, which is frequently repeated in the course of the year— that is, whenever it is considered necessary to make propitiatory offerings to their gods. The dead among them are buried at the doors of their own houses, and the spear and *dao* of the warrior are always buried with him.”

The district which had suffered most from the Naga raids was Cachar, which, within a small confined area, holds several tribes pushed into it from different directions. Of these the most important are: the Cacharese, the minor Naga tribes, the Meekirs, and the Kookies.

REFERENCES

1. L.W Shakespear, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North-Eastern Frontier*, London, 1914, pp. 206-207.
2. 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas and their Language', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, No. IV, 1875.
3. Those harping on the ethnic affinity of the Nagas with the Chinese would do well to take note of the above findings, especially the absence of epicanthic (or Mongolian) fold in the eyes of the Nagas.

TRAILS OF HISTORY

The Nagas do not possess chronicles or records. Even the outline details in respect of the pre-British period are not available. The Nagas have a legend to explain this absence of any chronicles. It is said that at the beginning of creation God gave the knowledge of reading and writing both to the hill man as well as the plainsman. The plainsman was given paper to write upon while the hillman was given skin. The hillman devoured the skin when he found it edible. As a result, the Nagas have no record of their past.

It should not, however, be construed that the Nagas were unknown to the kings ruling in the Gangetic Valley. The references to the *Kiratas*, of whom the Nagas were a sub-tribe, in the Vedas and the epics have already been mentioned. According to the legend, Ulupi, the Naga princess fell in love with Arjuna, the great hero of the *Mahabharata*, when she saw the handsome Pandava prince in the course of the latter's sojourn in Eastern India. Ulupi took Arjuna to *Nagalok* (the land of the Nagas) and they lived happily for some time until Arjuna moved on to Manipur. In the great war of the *Mahabharata* fought at Kurukshetra, in which contingents of almost every Indian potentate participated, the Nagas rallied their might on the side of the Kauravas.

There is no credible account of the Nagas in the intervening centuries. Ptolemy, the historian, made a brief mention of them in the second century. The sparse accounts that we

have of the Hindu kings of Kamrup between the fourth and the twelfth centuries do not mention the Nagas.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION

The Nagas are an Indo-Mongoloid folk, living in the north-eastern hills of India, divided into over a dozen of major tribes, speaking languages and dialects more than double the number of tribes. A preliminary knowledge of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan and its impact on the composite culture of India and of its repercussions on Eastern Indian history is, therefore, a prerequisite to understand the racial elements in the Indian people and the history of origin of the Nagas as well.

Several scholars have analyzed the racial bases of the population of India. Dr. B.S. Guha¹ one of the scholars postulated the presence of six main races with nine subtypes in India, which are:

1. The Negrito
2. The proto-Australoid.
3. The Mongoloid, consisting of
 - (i) The long-headed Palaeo- Mongoloids,
 - (ii) The broad headed Palaeo-Mongoloids &
 - (iii) The Tibeto-Mongoloids.
4. The Mediterranean, comprising:-
 - (i) The palaeo-Mediterranean,
 - (ii) The Mediterranean, and
 - (iii) The so-called 'Oriental' types.
5. The Western Brachycephals, consisting of:-
 - (i) The Alpinoid,
 - (ii) The Dinaric, and
 - (iii) The Armenoid
6. The Nordic.

18 Nagaland: Past and Present

The Negritos or Negroids, who in chronological order are supposed to be the first entrants into India, came from Africa in pre-historic time through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and spread over the greater part of India, traces of them being found as far east as Eastern Assam among the Naga² and remnants of them are found in South India among a few tribes.

Except the Mongoloids, the other peoples belonging to the races enumerated above do not have any racial affinity with the Nagas. However, from our present purpose and study point of view, it is felt necessary to confine the discussions here with the particular race Mongoloids. The Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids are confined only in a small pockets in India, particularly in North East; this is one of the reasons why this race is less studied even today. The history of the arrival into India of the various Mongoloid groups speaking dialects of the Sino-Tibetan speech-family is not known, nor have all the various languages and dialects in the family been satisfactorily classified. According to the celebrated authority of Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, it would appear that their presence in India was noted by the 10th century B.C., when the Veda books were compiled. And for their late arrival, the Mongoloid elements could not penetrate far into the interior plains of India, and were not in a position to leaven the whole of India, so to say, as was done by the more ancient races. Their earlier history remains obscure and even today we can just make guesses about where they were and what they were doing prior to 1000 A.D.

The Indo-Mongoloid people are all speakers of languages and dialects belonging to Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese speech-family, excepting the Khasis and Jaintias. The area of characterisation for the primitive Sino-Tibetan speech appears to have been North-Western China between the Huang-Ho and Yang-tse Kiang rivers. Dr. Chatterjee in his article *Kirata Jana Kriti* wrote. "Possibly very early offshoots of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids,

before the language was fully characterised, came down to South China and Burma, and from them were descended the Man and Miaotsze peoples of South China and the Karens of Burma-tribes or peoples which are Monogoloid in race but whose speech now appears to be rather distinct from other members of the Sino-Tibetan family.

In Myanmar and Indo-China lived speakers of Austic (Austro-Asiatic) languages, who were largely of the Proto-Australoid race from India. A mixture of these Proto-Australoids with Mongoloids in very early times in Burma and Indo-China is very likely, this mixture producing the ancient, Rmen (Raman) or Mon people in Central and Southern Burma, the Paloungs and Was of Upper Burma, as well as the Khmers, the Chams, the Stieng, the Bahnar and other Austric or Austro-Asiatic speakers of Siam and Indo-China. The Karens, now numbering over a million, are Mongoloids from the North who were established in their present area of occupation in the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salwin and the Menam rivers, by the 6th century A.D.

Linguistically, the Sino-Tibetan languages have been classified into two branches—(i) Tibeto-Burman, and (ii) Siamese-Chinese. All the Naga dialects are included in the former group. The Tibeto-Burman group probably formed an area of dispersion, somewhere in the present province of Sikiang in China, where from they began to spread east and south. From this centre of dispersion, some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes took up their trek along the Brahmaputra river west-wards. They found homes in the mountainous tracts of the Balipara frontier tract to the east of Bhotan as Abors, Akas, Miris, Daflas and in the Sadiya Frontier tract as Mishmis. The Assam-Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burmans include the Nagas and the Bodos, who came down to Burma and entered Assam and Brahmaputra valley in fairly early times. The Kuki and Chin people who are found in south east Assam and in Burma and the Kachins or Singphos and the Lolos who have always remained in Burma.

Now coming to the proper Nagas, we find them in the

Regions with a crude form of Agriculture. All these traits, according to Dr. Chatterji, are of course not found among all the Indo-Mongoloids (whether of Bengal and Assam or of Nepal) of today, but there is evidence to show that these were at one time spread or current among most or all of their tribes. Some of these traits would appear to be of genuine Mongoloid origin; others like the common club and sleeping house for bachelors, and betel-chewing, would seem in all likelihood to have been adopted from the Austric predecessors of the Mongoloids in their present habitat in Myanmar and Assam.

In his article, *The Mixed Culture of Naga Tribes*, Dr. Hutton discusses in detail the varied pattern of culture of the Naga tribes and concludes that: "It seems likely that there were at some time wandering bands of Negrito hunters, as in the Malay Peninsula, some traces of whose blood can still be recognised here and there. But the earliest settled inhabitants of the western ranges of the Naga Hills seem to have been tribes of a pattern more or less conforming to the present Konyak Naga type; often, in not predominantly, naked; wearing cane belts and leg-bands; tying back hair (in the case of the man) in a Chignon; using a communal hut for the unmarried; exposing their dead on platforms to start with, but ultimately disposing of the skull, and perhaps all the bones, separately in stone cists, on rock shelves, or in pots; and subsisting in the main on millets and or taro. These men must have been mesatito dolicho-cephalic, presumably head-hunters, and have shared a culture at one time probably spread over a wide area of south east Asia; it still survives on its fringes in Formosa, the hills of Assam, and Burma perhaps, and in the more inaccessible parts of the Indian archipelago. There are many close parallels in the cultures of the Naga Hills with those for instance of the hilly tracts of Formosa, and any one reading the seventeenth century account of the Formosa hillmen by Arnoldus Montanus (1967) might very well take it for a description of Naga tribes, not excluding canoe-gongs, garments of dog's hair and gaiters for old women.

litical system turning on an autocratic secular chief, with followers who are house-carls. Serfs, or similarly bound retainers known as *mughemi* (literally-orphans); has other culture items strongly suggestive of Kuki affinities; has lost the institution of the bachelor's house; and lacks for the most part the sentiment which ties most Naga villagers so strongly to some particular site, or at least to stones, earth, or water brought from that site. Although clearly Naga, its polity is more suggestive of the Kuki. Moreover as little as thirty year ago it was still at a migratory stage, throwing of new villages wherever it got a chance to do so. The Sema moreover are apparently without any very strong traditional ritual of their own for the performance of magical and religious ceremonial and seem to have taken over the rituals of different tribes conquered and partially absorbed by them.

To Kuki-Chin contacts also we may probably attribute the substitution of gayal-keeping among the more southerly tribes. The semi-feral gayal or mithun is much less untractable and difficult to handle than the semi-feral water-buffalos and the carvings on houses, etc., now pronounced by the Angami and other gayal-keeping tribes to represent the heads of gayal, quite obviously in many cases represent the head and horns of the water buffalo, which however is now actually kept only by tribes of the north and east, Konyak and Tangkhul, and by the Eastern Rengma. Among the Western Rengma gayal (mithun) are clearly an innovation.

But if Kuki-Chin culture has been the latest pre-British immigrant into what may be described perhaps as the Palaeo-Naga Hills, it has certainly not been the only one. The Ao is distinguished from all his near neighbours physically by his greater degree of brachycephaly. He derives his immediate origin from the eastwards in what is now northern Sangtam country and he seems to have some affinity to the Hinduized Meithei of the Manipur Valley. He uses one item of material culture markedly different from that used by all his neighbours for the same purpose, and one possibly

W.C. Smith⁵ after careful study of the cultural traits and physical characters of the Nagas, classified them as Indonesians. In dealing with the Naga affinities outside of the Asiatic Mainland, he took the Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battak of Sumatra, certain groups of Formosa, the Igorot and the Ifugao and several other groups in the Philippines as typical examples. He quoted various authors in his book, to illustrate the Naga-cultural similarities to those of the Indonesians. I would reproduce them again in this book for the interest of our readers.

THE DYAKS

According to Hose and McDougall the Dyaks are "passionately fond of head-hunting". Book says that head-hunting is part and parcel of their religious rites. "When a Dyak wants to marry, he must show himself a hero to his intended, and the more heads he has the more honour he receives from the tribe, and the more she admires him." On this point Gomes says that "the desire to appear brave in the eyes of his lady-love sometimes leads a young man to mean and cowardly crimes". The Land Dyaks of Sarawak permanently kept heads in a separate house, which also served as the bachelors' quarters.

In common with the Nagas and other mainland tribes, the Dyaks build their houses on piles about twelve feet high.

Platform burial is practised by the Kayans, who belong to the same group as the Land Dyaks. The body is dressed and retained in the dwelling for several months, after which the coffin is placed on high poles, or in the branches of a tree. "Any Sea Dyak whom it is intended especially to honour is not buried underground, but his coffin is placed in a miniature house built for him on piles."

According to Roth the Dyaks practise a sort of trial marriage. "Intercourse, before marriage is strictly to ascertain that the marriage will be fruitful as the Dyaks want children". The Dyaks also practise the habit of betel-chewing.

implement as a miniature hoe.

But the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Mr. J.R. Logan was correct in assuming that, at one time, the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula.”

Hall⁷ in his reference to the mesolithic culture of the provinces of Bacson and Hoabinh in Tongking named Bacsono-Hoabinhian, writes, “there has been much speculation as to the possible connection of this culture with the neolithic, which succeeded it. Von Heine-geldern, for instance, has ventured the theory, challenged by other scholars, that the neolithic oval-axe culture founding northern Burma, among the Nagas of Assam, in Cambodia and in the eastern islands of the Archipelago, is connected with the use of a plank-built canoe, and that both represent a development of mesolithic culture. Two other forms of celt come from the neolithic period: the shouldered axe found in many places from the Ganges to Japan, out not south of a line drawn through the middle of the Malay Peninsula, and, most widespread of all, the rectangular axe, found in the river valleys of the Hoang-Ho, Yangtse Kiang, Salween, Irrawaddy and Brahmapatra, as well as throughout Indonesia. As it is found in its purest form on the Malay Peninsula and in middle and south Sumatra, this has been taken to have been the route by which it reached Indonesia.”

It is, however, difficult to establish whether the present Nagas were original settlers, for their tradition is very clear by the time they came to Nagaland, they were fully equipped with iron artifacts. At the same time there is no evidence to show that some other people were in possession of their present land when they invaded it. Tradition is also silent in this respect.

According to the Burma Census Report⁸ successive incursions of so-called Tibeto-Burman peoples came from a

of immigrants. The Semas, who at present occupy the central portion of Nagaland, point to the village Swemi or the hills of Japfu in Angami area as the place from which they came. The Rengmas point Mao area, the Angamis too Mao and the country south of that as the home of their race. The Lothas also say that they once occupied the country which is now occupied by the Angamis. This wave wandered through the plains of Manipur came northward through Mao area and settled in Mekruma. Thence moved north, north-eastward to Khezakenoma, where they appeared to have stayed for a long time. From Khezakenoma the Angami group went Northwest to settle in the present area, another group moved a little northward and entered Chakhesang area. From Khezakenoma, the Lotha branch went northward through Angami area and entered the present area from several directions. The Semas moved from Swemi village in two directions; one branch moved straight to the north and entered the present Sema area. Another group moved westward towards Kohima village but later turned to the north-east and joined the former group. The Rengma branch entered the present area from Khezakenoma through Angami area, one group moved eastwards who are still found in Chakhesang, another group moved westward further to the Kalaiani river and became the western Rengmas. The Zeliangs believe that their ancestors came from the Japfu Mountain, whence they spread towards the south, which indeed would be the natural source if they came through the *Mao jap* and spread south while the other Naga tribes spread Northward.

The second wave of immigrants is the Aos, whose legends give the tribe a more or less autochthonous origin, that they emerged from six stones at Chongliymti, at present a village in Sangtam area. But these legends are probably the old legends of the race which have been given a local value. However, there is evidence to prove that they stayed at Chongliymti long enough to reform their culture. The history of how the Aos came to Chongliymti is passed into complete obscurity. But the study of the cultural traits of the people, reveals hints to show that they also came from

THE WORD "NAGA"

The origin of the name "Naga" has given rise to some considerable speculations, with the result that there are several theories in existence, each with a foundation but with no humanity of opinion. This term "Naga includes the various tribes of the present State of Nagaland, the tribes Noute, Wancho, Tangsa, etc., of North East Frontier Agency now Arunachal Pradesh and their *congeners* in Manipur State and in Somra tract of Burma. In spite of a political system broken down almost to the village unit, and a multiplicity of languages, those tribes had something in common which has made them recognisable as a people since at least the time of Ptolemy, the great geographer of the second century A.D. The Greeks in the 1st century A.D. had heard of these people during their visits to Western India and South India as a wild people with the characteristic flat nose of the Mongol races. Ptolemy, locating what the Hindus spoke of as "Nangalog" or naked people in approximately the area which they still occupy, writes of them as "Nagalog, which means the realm of the naked" (*Geographia*, VII, II, 18). That was about A.D. 150. In the seventeenth century we find Mir-Hussaini, historian of the disastrous expedition into Assam of Shayista Khan's Mogul General Mir Jumla, likewise wrote of the mass 'the nagas', and a Dutch sailor cast ashore on the Bay of Bengal and enlisted to serve as an artilleryman with Mir Jumla's force describes them as cannibals in his account of his shipwreck and subsequent adventures. These allusions, however, brief as they might be, indicated the recognition of a Naga people in spite of the very marked differences of the tribes that constitute them.

Dr. W.C. Smith¹² had mentioned in his book the opinions of different scholars about the origin of the word "Naga", which I reproduce below before giving my own opinion.

According to Peal, the true form of this word is not *Naga* but *Noga*, from a root *nog*, *nok*, meaning "people". They are so named in the Buranjis, or "History of the Kings

In some of their habits, all the tribes have a common semblance. They are, moreover, all distinguished by their weapons, which consist solely of javelins or spears.

So little is known of the dialects of the Nagas, that our present information will not permit us, from the apparent diversity in their languages, it may with probability be inferred, that many of the tribes have not sprung from one common origin. And further researches may yet prove, that while a number of the Naga tribe have emigrated from the north-west borders of China, probably during the sanguinary conflicts for supremacy, which took place between the different members of the Chinese and Tartar dynasties in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, others may of these hills from like political causes, have been driven into the fastnesses from Assam and Bengal, and brought with them languages very different from each other. Thus, while some of the tribes may have dialects derived from a common source, others speak languages of a perfectly distinct stock."

It is difficult to say exactly when they entered into the present Nagaland, but the ancient Hindu literature mentions the presence of early Indo-Mongoloid (Kirata) in Eastern India as early as 1000 B.C. By that time the Kiratas were known to the Vedic Aryans as cave-dwellers from whom the Aryans obtained mountain produce like herbs and drugs. The four books of the Vedas, supposed to have been compiled in the 10th century B.C., maintains about the Kirata in the passages in the *Yajurveda* and this shows that the Kiratas are at least as old as that period. The first reference in ancient literature about the people of this particular area was made by Ptolemy¹⁵ in the 2nd century A.D., who locating what the Hindus spoke of the *Nangalog* writes of them as *Nagalog* which means the realm of the naked. In this connection, it is to be noted that the Aryan speaking Assamese are the most immediate neighbours of the Nagas and there used to be constant contact between the two people throughout the historic period. It was actually that Assamese people who use the word office-and-on and in

BRITISH OCCUPATION AND RULE

The British relations with the Nagas may be divided into three periods. The first period from 1832 to 1850 was one in which the British undertook "military promenades" into the Naga Hills. During the second period, from 1851 to 1865, the British followed a policy of non-intervention with regard to the Naga tribes. This was later abandoned and in the third period, which began from 1866, the British steadily extended and established their control and authority over the entire Naga Hills.

It was not the intention initially of the British Government to rule Naga Hills, but to protect the people of the plains living under ordered administration against the frequent Naga raids. As a result whatever territories were conquered, were transferred to Assam and thus brought under normal administration. Similarly the British Government of India told the raja of Manipur at one time to subjugate the Naga Hills provided they had means to administer them properly. The southern part of Naga Hills now forming the Mao Sub-division and Tamenglong Sub-division thus went to Manipur state. All these had been done by the Britishers on their own will, and particularly from administrative advantage point of view without any consultation with the Nagas, who were then ignorant of what had been happening.

BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE

In the beginning, it was not an easy task for the Gov-

"In twenty years experience," said an Englishman, "I knew of one such oath taken falsely and in the knowledge of its falsehood by the headmen of a village, and the retribution which followed was a terrible one, for the influenza epidemic was then on its way and struck the village as week or two after the oath was taken, and as all the inhabitants were rather expecting disaster, anyhow the death-toll was appalling." Generally speaking all disputes that could possibly be left to the village headmen or chiefs to dispose off were so left; and what the headmen brought to the district officer as beyond their ability, they knew would be dealt with after very patient hearing (often of very irrelevant matter) and consideration of all facts. "Confidence in the administration was established in the first instance by the character of one of two exceptional men like Capt. John Butler, and retained by successors such as, R.B. McCabbe, Sir William Read or H.C. Barnes and it was the less difficult because the long-standing antipathy of a couple of thousand years was absent in the case of the British.

One of the main reasons why the British could establish a stable administration in an area of hilly jungles populated by uncivilized head-hunters and why the new administration became popular day by day was their intimate knowledge and interest of the native people. In this context a portion of the policy statement made by the Lieutenant Governor² of Bengal as early as 1866 is quoted here:

"The only course left us consistently with the duty we owe to a the inhabitants of the adjoining frontier districts as well as to the Angami Nagas themselves, who are torn by intestine feuds for want of a Government, and unable to exercise any general self-control, or to restrain independent action on the part of any villages or even of a section of any of the numerous Villages inhabited by the tribe, is to re-assert our authority over them and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances, and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization."

the Supreme Government made its policy basing on these reports the questions of implementation of the policy was not at all difficult. It was rather welcomed. There are plenty of facts to show that the British Government pursued this policy not only in the cases of Naga Hills but in all over south-east Asia, Africa and among the tribal worlds of Australia at the initial stage of their conquest of those countries.

Henry Balfour, in his foreword note to Dr. Hutton's '*The Sema Nagas*' wrote:

"The rapid changes which the culture of the unrisen races is undergoing renders urgent the work of the field anthropologist. It is of the utmost importance not only to the Science of Man, but also to responsible officialdom, since just and enlightened administration of native affairs cannot be established and pursued without an intimate knowledge of and sympathetic interest in the natives themselves their customs and their point of view. Lack of ethnographic knowledge has been responsible for many of the misunderstandings and fatal errors which have tarnished our well-meant endeavours to control wisely and equitably the affairs of those whose culture has been evolved under environments which differ widely from those of civilised peoples.

"This enlightened policy on the government's part deserves all praise, and should bring well deserved *Kudos*. Apart from their value to ethnologists, these volumes should undoubtedly prove of great service to those whose official duties bring them into contact with the native tribes, and should do much to promote a better understanding and greater trust between the natives and those who are called upon to administer and control their affairs. Encouragement of ethnographical and ethnological research is one of our most crying needs. The material is abundant since we are responsible for the welfare and progress of peoples

Corps from France in 1918: but in both these cases the rapid expenditure of money, accumulated abroad by persons quite unaccustomed for the most part to dealing with it at all, set up a wild but very shortlived inflation of prices, after which the local economics returned to their normal aspect, with the imported money mostly exported again or remaining in the hands of the classes who had wealth and influence before."

"This time, however, it is not a case of Nagas returning from abroad with a limited amount of deferred pay, but of sums of money being poured out locally, in the form of payments to labourers and in the purchase of produce, over a period of some years. Great inflation of prices had undoubtedly taken place, but it is likely that there has been a permanent change in the relative positions of the wage-earner and the producer, which will have shifted influence and social leadership even in remote villages from the more or less hereditary guardians of customs and tradition to a younger generation of *nouveaux riches*, often sophisticated, and both ignorant and scornful of tribal tradition. The local name for such persons is *practice-wallah*, an untranslatable hybrid, a contemptuous appellation which has reference in particular to the habit of the poorer sort of landless labourer of going periodically to the plains of Assam to earn a temporary living, with the prospect of sometimes accumulating enough to retire to his village of origin and live a life of ease and comfort. The ascendancy of the *practice-wallah* in Naga villages, if an accomplished fact, is likely to form a very disturbing factor in Naga society."

"Apart from this, the opening up of communications with Assam and Burma will inevitably shift what one may call the centre of political gravity. The Naga tribes cannot avoid considering their position in regard to external affairs which hitherto have affected them but very remotely. They must now conceive of themselves as part of a large whole, which has mostly hitherto been regarded as something alien and separate, and with the affairs of which they

tance of Indians well qualified to interpret to them the bearing of any step they might take upon the traditional custom or outlook of the people.”

“Even in India, however, the British Government failed to appreciate the requirements of the aboriginals, who stood outside the orbit of Hindu or Muslim cultures, and with whose traditions and needs Indian associates felt little sympathy and had but small acquaintance. The point is not without importance and bearing on the future of the hill tribes of Assam. Later, in speaking of the system of ‘indirect rule’ in Africa. Lord Hailey stressed the important consideration that the successful operation of the system demands a far more intensive study of native institutions than a previous generation though necessary, and that study of this type requires the special technique of anthropologist’. It is important that this should be recognised at a time when reconstruction is at its beginning since it is just such studies of indigenous institutions that can afford, if anything can, a safe starting point for political advances.”

“All through the Japanese invasion of Burma and India the hill tribes generally, and in particular the Karen, Kachin, Chin, Kuki and Naga, have remained consistently loyal and helpful. This was recognised in some measure in an article in *The Times* of December 29, 1944, where it was pointed out that Naga labourers played the major role in keeping the Tamu road open for Field Marshal Alexander’s retreating army in the rains of 1942; that Nagas and Kukis were to be found fighting in the Assam Rifles and in the Assam Regiment, and that at one time Naga Tribe men had the distinction of having captured more Japanese prisoners than the whole of the Fourteenth Army. The Japanese made many and great efforts to obtain the co-operation of Naga interpreters, policemen and Government officials for intelligence purposes, but all in vain. A Naga Government interpreter located a Japanese ammunition party of nine men and organised a band of villagers who surrounded and captured them. This is typical of the sort of assistance

the time being. Dr. Clark, a highly educated man, walked up the jungle paths of the Hills with firm conviction and determination. In those days head-hunting was esteemed by the Nagas as an act of glory. Villages at long distances, separated by thick forests were pinned on tops of the hills for better security against enemy attacks. One can easily imagine how the first white man must have suffered, carrying his bundle of clothes on his back as he travelled from place to place, depending on the rough hospitality of the ancient jungle dwellers. Such is indeed the lot and life of the explorers and discoverers who try to the rugged heights so that they may contribute some new ideas to the world of humanity.

IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY

The primary object of the Missionary was of course to spread the teaching of the Christian religion among the Naga people, but along with it he had the strong idea of bringing the same people to the enlightenment of knowledge through education. With this aim in view he imparted education to as many boys and girls as were available to him and when he thought that they were fairly prepared to teach others, he sent them out to villages to teach other boys and girls.

The Nagas had no written literature of their own. Tradition says that the Nagas at one time had their own written literature recorded on some animal skin. Through the careless use of the scroll by a scribe the skin was devoured by a dog. So Nagas lost their literature. A tradition may serve its own purpose in some way, but the fact about the Nagas so far as authentic history goes that they had no written literature. The first Missionary who came from a country which used the English alphabet took recourse to the use of these letters to transcribe the Naga spoken words. He made use of card-board paper cuttings for the twenty-six alphabets. A Naga girl was trained in the art of using these paper cuttings and within a period of time she could use

southern part of the Naga Hills. Rev. C.D. King came as a first Missionary from Samuguding in 1885 to Kohīma to work among the Angami Nagas, but accomplished very little owing to the disturbances which raged the country. It was Rev. Dr. Rivenburg. His worthy successor, who had made versatile accomplishments in medical, literary and education, came to Kohima in 1885, and took charge of the Mission work in the Angami area. The Angamis are indebted for their education to this talented educationist who spared no pains to open the way for education and enlightenment. He followed the example of this pioneer Missionary in the Ao area in adopting the English alphabet in writing the Angami language. He worked among the Angamis for about 30 years.

W.E. Writer another Missionary was deputed to Lotha area, who first came to Wokha in 1885, but circumstances in that area did not allow him to carry out any successful scheme. He opened the first Lotha School and wrote the first Lotha Primer.

As the Missionaries were carrying out their educational programme at its full swing the British Government in the meantime, came to see the necessity of starting their own schools, partly for the purpose of offering secular education to the children, and mainly for drawing men from them for employment in their various departments. But the immediate problem was how to man the staff. With the consent and advice of the Missionaries the boys who had studied in Mission Schools were absorbed as and its in the Govt. Lower primary schools which were started in the Govt. Headquarters and in a few bigger villages. But such Govt. Schools were negligibly few in number compared with the fast growing number of Mission Schools.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLING

The early missionaries worked in the face of various odds and difficulties, encountering vigorous opposition, as the local people were apathetic to educational and alphabet

A STATE OF THE UNION

As early as the first decade of twentieth century, it was observed by a British administrator of the North East: "We shall have no real peace until we have absorbed the whole Hill area between this and the Chindwin. This can be done gradually and economically. As it is, the huge area of uncontrolled Hill country between Assam and Burma is a anomaly." The Government of Assam agreed with these views, and recorded its opinion that punitive expeditions launched in the past had not produced the desired results "whereas in areas of political control the protection of the British Government has converted scenes of chronic murder and intensive feud to peace and agriculture." The British Government in London, which was also under the pressure of commercial interests wanting to exploit the coal-bearing tracts to the east of Dikhu, found it convenient to support the local government and so the process of expansion went on. Melomi (Meluri) and Primi (Akhegwo) were included in the Naga Hills district in 1922.

World War II engulfed the Naga Hills in its flames. The Japanese were able to penetrate right up to Kohima, where a fierce sixty-four-day battle was fought. It was marked by "some of the most stubborn, close, and bloody fighting in the whole of the Second World War."¹ The battle of Kohima eventually proved to be one of the turning points of the War. The Japanese thrust was repulsed and their 31st Division forced to beat a retreat. Throughout the fighting the Nagas not only remained loyal to the British but also rendered

them valuable assistance. They provided coolies, passed intelligence, escorted patrols, helped in the evacuation of the wounded, and harassed the Japanese in many ways. The help rendered by the Nagas during these critical years was acknowledged by field-marshal William Slim in his book *Defeat into Victory*, where he spoke of "the gallant Nagas whose loyalty, even in the most depressing times of the invasion, never faltered."

A STATE IS BORN

The Naga delegation which went to Delhi in July, 1960, presented the 16-point Memorandum and discussed in detail with the Senior Officials of the Ministry of External Affairs and finally presented it to the Prime Minister, who was also the Minister for External Affairs. The meeting with the Prime Minister was held in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding. The sixteen points were accepted in principle by the Government of India excepting a few modifications, which are stated below as it was finally revised.

Section 3(I) laid down that the President of India shall appoint the Governor for Nagaland with his headquarters within the state. But after considerable argument the Naas accepted the fact that this would entail a heavy strain on the finances of the New state and finally agreed that the same person should be appointed Governor of Assam and as Governor of Nagaland. Section 6 provides representation in the Parliament. Three elected Members shall represent the Nagaland in the Union Parliament, i.e., Two in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha. The Government of India argued that in other states representation is linked to population and hence Nagaland should have only one for Lok Sabha and the other for Rajya Sabha. The delegation finally agreed to have two members to represent Nagaland in the Union parliament.

In Section 7 (3) the following additions were made. The existing laws relating to administration of civil and crimi-

which, since 1903, have been parts, of the Sibsagar and Nowgong District of Assam. It was not possible to make any decision at the time but the delegation expressed its desire that the following should be placed on record:

“The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Reserved Forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another.”

On the matter of consolidation of contiguous Naga area, Section 13 urges that, “the other Naga tribes inhabiting the area contiguous to the present Nagaland should be allowed to join the Nagaland if they so desire.” However, in view of the fact that to provide for the formation of the State of Nagaland and for matters connected therewith.

The Act provided for the following representation in the Union Parliament:

“The Council of State—One representative; House of People—One representative.”

“It also provided that the sitting member of the House of People representing N.H.T.A., immediately before the formation of the separate State of Nagaland shall represent the state of Nagaland in that House until a person is elected in accordance with the law to fill the seat allotted to the Parliamentary Constituency of Nagaland.”

“The Legislative Assembly of Nagaland shall have a strength of 60 members and that members should be chosen by direct election.”

“Section II of the Nagaland shall have a strength of 60 members and that members should be chosen by direct election.”

“Section 11 of the Nagaland Act 73 of 62) however provided that for the period of ten years from the date of formation of the State of Nagaland referred to in clause (2)

THE PEACE MISSION

In the midst of uncertainties, the leaders of the churches in Nagaland thought that they should not remain spectators, but should do something to bring peace which the Nagas needed most after continuous hostilities for a decade. In a conference of the Naga baptist churches held at Wokha in February 24th 1964, a resolution was passed to constitute a Peace Mission consisting Shri Bimala Prasad Chaliha, Rev. Michael Scott and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan as members. A delegation of the NBCC met the Chief Minister of Nagaland to appraise him of the resolution and inter the matter was taken up with the Government of India. At first there were lots of misgivings about the inclusion of a foreigner in the Peace Mission as a member, but the Government of India in their anxiousness to settle the Naga issue peacefully, accepted the resolution and the Peace Mission was constituted.

The Peace Mission members gathered in Kohima and did the initial work in the beginning of May, 1964. On May 24th, 1964, an agreement for cease-fire or suspension of operation in Nagaland was signed at Sakrabama Village by the three members of the Peace Mission and six members on behalf of the Federal Government of Nagaland. The text of the agreement ran as follows:

In the hope of bringing about a cease fire and a peaceful settlement, we the undersigned appointed members of the Peace Mission have given serious consideration to the terms of an agreement designed to bring about a cease-fire throughout Nagaland for the purpose of enabling a peace conference to be held and consultations to take place freely among the people of Nagaland and India.

'On the understanding the terms communicated to us by the Peace Mission will constitute an agreement with the Government of India with whom the negotiations for a lasting peace settlement will take place, we agree on behalf of the Federal Government of Nagaland as from a date to

be informed of the terms and conditions of the cessation of operations.

While the above terms had been agreed upon in application to Nagaland, it was proposed that the area of application should be extended to cover all areas inhabited by Naga people in Manipur, Cachar Hills, and North East Frontier Agency.

Since the principle of making provision for an impartial witness to any peaceful settlement has been agreed upon by the permission of the Government of India, the underground on their part had agreed not to press their requirement of a team of international observers during the early stages of the proposed peace-talks.

On behalf of Federal Government of Nagaland also an order was issued. 'Representatives of Federal Government of Nagaland have been engaged in talks with members of the Peace Mission appointed by the Nagaland Baptist Church Council. As a result of these talks the representatives have agreed to the conditions under which a cease-fire can be arranged to enable direct talks to take place between the leaders of the Federal Government of Nagaland and the Government of India.

"It is the hope and prayer of members of Federal Government and Naga Army that this cease-fire will lead to a new era of peace and friendship between the people of Nagaland and the people of India, an era in which Naga people will again be able to engage in their normal peaceful occupations.

We call upon all people of good will in Nagaland and in India as well as those concerned in the world outside to support this effort to achieve peace in all ways that are open to them."

There had been a good deal of misgivings about the proposals formulated by the Peace Mission in consultation with the underground Naga leaders to bring about cessation of fighting. The Governor of Assam and Nagaland in a

Sri J.P. Narayan and Rev. Michael Scott readily agreed to accept it. Their moral stature and sincere hearts not only convinced the underground Nagas that they would have a fair deal, but also the entire public of Nagaland readily placed its trust in their task and their sincerity of purpose. The Peace Mission's proposals were given to the delegates on December 22nd 1964, which resulted in other three meetings between the delegates of the Government of India and the underground—this time the venue was shifted to Khensa near Mokokchung.

PEACE MISSION PROPOSALS

The Peace Mission proposals were in fact a package deal offered to the Government of India as well as to the underground. Neither the proposals could be read in isolation nor could they be implemented in piece-meal. Though these might not be of much interest to the general but are certainly of great importance to those who have been earnestly expecting an honorable settlement of the political problem. Hence the full text of the Peace Mission Proposals on the basis of which the peace talks were aimed to be moulded are given below:

1. "It has been a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Peace Mission, as to all others in Nagaland and in the rest of India, that since firing ceased on 6th September 1964, for the first time in many years, people in Nagaland are experiencing what normalcy is. The Peace Mission feels that if the moral obligation of every one in Nagaland and more so, of the Peace Mission, in whom so much confidence and faith have been reposed, to see that this peace becomes everlasting in Nagaland, it is in pursuance of this fact the Peace Mission is addressing this communication to both the parties.
2. But first it should be placed on record to the honour of both parties that have been in conflict that the attempt to find peace and agreement to a cease-fire

authorised the Governor-General-in-council to declare any territory a "backward tract" The Naga Hills district was classified as such. Then came the Simon Commission and the Government of India Act of 1935. The Commission introduced the concept of excluded and 'partially excluded' areas. An excluded area was beyond the pale of Provincial and Federal legislatures and its administration was vested exclusively in the Governor a partially excluded area was administered by Ministers subject to the overriding authority of the Governor. The Ruler that followed made Naga Hills district an excluded area from April 1, 1937 with in Assam. In 1947 the discretionary powers of the Governor were withdrawn; henceforth he was to act on the advice of Ministers.

The Constitution promulgated in 1950 contained specially provisions in the Sixth Schedule for the administration of tribal areas in Assam. The Naga Hills district was given an autonomous status and it was represented in the Assam State Assembly. Tuensang (which was originally defined as Naga Tribal Area' in the Constitution) was formed into a separate district within the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1951. The arrangement continued till December 1, 1957, when the Tuensang Frontier Division was jointed with the Naga Hills district to form the 'Naga Hills-tuensang Area to "Nagaland" and provided for the establishment of an Interim Body and an Executive Council. The State of Nagaland Act, 1962 repealed the Transitional Provisions and postulated that a new State to be known as the State of Nagaland shall be formed of territories comprising-the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, and that it shall consist of three districts, namely Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. On December 1, 1963 the State of Nagaland was formally inaugurated.

THE RANI EPISODE

A brief mention needs to be made of Rani Gadiliu a sort of cult leader with followers. One Jadunang of Nungkao village in the 'Fameng-long area of Manipur started a new

VILLAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The following excerpt from the *Assam Gazetteer* would show how elaborate the arrangements were in respect of the outlay of Naga villages.

“The Angami villages are invariably built on the every summits of the hills, and vary much in size, some containing as many as a thousand houses, while others consist of no more than twenty. The villages are all strongly fortified with stockades, deep ditches, and massive stone walls, and the hill-sides thickly studded with *panjis*, a *chevaux de frise* of sharp pointed bamboo sticks planted in the ground. In some cases, also, the sloping side of the hill is cut away so as to form a perpendicular wall. The approaches to the villages are tortuous, narrow, covered ways, only wide enough to admit the passage of one man at time; these lead to gates closed by strong heavy wooden doors, with look-outs on which a sentry is posted day and night when the clans are at feud. Very often these approaches are steeply scarpd, and the only means of entry into the village is by means of a ladder consisting of a single pole. Some fifteen or twenty feet high, cut into steps.”

The remnants of such defences can still be seen in villages like Kohima or Khonoma. The villages begin founded now do not have these elaborate protective arrangements because their *raison d'etre* is gone.

The organisation of the village community differs from tribe to tribe. The Angami, Lotha, Rengma and Ao villages have a democratic structure. Among the Angamis, the village chief is only a *primus inter pares*. Though he is chosen for his wealth, physical prowess and skills in diplomacy, the authority used by the chief is very nominal. Whenever an important decision is to be taken, all the villagers usually assemble and take a collective decision. The chief's voice would no doubt be listened to with respect and would be given weightage also.

The following excerpts from *The Naga Tribes* (c. 1916) would be especially interesting from the point of family structure and domestic life.

DOMESTIC LIFE

Occupation

These tribes 'are all agriculturists and to the operation of the genna system is due the exclusive attention which the cultivation receives during the greater part of the year. When the rice is safely reaped and stored, the energy of the village is turned to trade, to such small manufactures and handicrafts as are known to them, to hunting and fishing. Weaving which is in most cases a general industry carried on by every housewife, is in one group of Tangkhul villages specialised, and as a result more developed there than elsewhere. The case of the pottery industry affords an example of localised industry. *Daos* and spears are manufactured in each village by the blacksmith and are implements which have not yet been specialised. Even in agriculture the plough is not in use and the digging stick and the dao are the main tools. They use the hoe, a small instrument used with one hand which is found all through the hills. We have in the following passage a description of the daily life of the Kabui Nagas which is true of all these tribes now as it was when written by Colonel McCulloch years ago.

"In the grey of the morning the females of the family

green tobacco are then smoked and at such a rate do they pull they appear to be smoking for a wager. I believe the pleasure of smoking is nothing to them compared to that of holding in the mouth a sip of the water of the bowl of the pipe which has been well impregnated with the fumes of the smoke passing through it and that it is only for the purpose of obtaining it² that they so laboriously pull at their pipes morning and evening.”³

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of these tribes are simple specimens of architectural art and Colonel McCulloch's description is generally applicable to all. "The superior elevations being the most healthy, their villages are usually to be found in them. Each house is constructed with reference to its own convenience the regularity of the villages is not cared for, but no house is as far removed from the rest as to preclude its being included in the stockade or rampart of stones which usually surrounds them as a defence, either from their enemies or wild beasts. . . . Some villages draw their supplies of water from great distances, whilst others are more fortunate in having a perennial spring or stream in their immediate vicinity To all the villages the ascents are laborious, and to some of them from the great steepness excessively so but throughout the hills occupied by the Songboos, I am not aware of there being any roads made by them to facilitate general travelling, or for the convenience of communication between villages. Their roads are mere paths overgrown with jungle, except in the neighbourhood of their villages where it is cut down, and these paths, being selected, not for the case of travelling by them but for their directness, are generally over the steepest parts....the houses of the Kowpooes are well adapted to the climate. In the more flourishing villages they are large and substantially built. They are gable ended, have the ridge pole not in a horizontal position, but sloping from the front to the rear where it is in comparison with the front very low and

south, where to one time there were settlements of the Kabuis, in the midst of jungle I have seen stone sculptures, rude, but distinct, and troughs which seem to have been used for the supply of water. The site is now occupied by the Vaiphei, a Kuki sub-tribe.

The Tangkhuls use pine planks and shingless in their houses which possess the appearance of great durability. The different style of house built by the Tangkhuls who have come up from the Kubo valley shows evidence of Burmese influence. Among the Nagas of Mao and Maram the houses of the village chiefs are distinguished by the curved and carved beams crossed in front, a style of distinction which we find in Manipur in the Kangla.⁵ The description given in the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, Vol. I., Part I, pp. 499-510, of a Wa village would apply, with a few and unimportant modifications, to a Naga village. It is notable that down to the detail of the curved beams on the chiefs house the likeness is exact. Simple decorations in crude colours ornament the dwellings of the wealthy. The original motive of these designs is lost and they are nearly always concentric circles. Spirals and whorls are rarely, if every, seen. Here and there the beams are handsomely carved with deers, heads.

The houses of the Kukis are totally unique, and though smaller than the Naga house which is not far evolved from the communal house of other early communities, are more comfortable according to European ideas than even a large morang ghar of a prosperous Naga village.

In Maram we find an interesting regulation which requires that the household at least not face the west because that is the direction in which the spirits of the dead go to their resting place. I do not know whether there is any such necessity imposed on Tangkhuls who also have a definite pathway to their heaven. The prevailing wind is westerly, and it may be observed that whatever the formal sanction of the regulation, it can only have received added validity from the fact that a distinctly useful purpose is served. If

The implements in general use are the *dao*, which serves a variety of purposes, and the implements for weaving, which is a general industry, except in the Tangkhul area. The loom is of the horizontal type, the spindle consists of a pair of twisted canes working together just like cogs, a very rough bobbin and a stout crescent-shaped piece of wood. In the manufacture of earthen pots the implements used comprise a bamboo cylinder, a flat plank, and a pointed stick. The *dao* and the hoe are the implements used by the men in their field work while the women use their stick as a drill and as a support when climbing up and down. The tools of the village blacksmith are a set of hammers of graduated weight and size, bellows and stones on which they sharpen the spears and *daos*. The bellows are made on an ingenious principle. A pair of bamboo cylinders are placed side by side with a common exhaust pipe. The pistons are fitted fairly close and are worked by hand alternately so that the air is forced down one cylinder into the fire while an exhaust simultaneously maintained by the other cylinder and piston.⁷

MANUFACTURES

Six Tangkhul villages, Ukul, Toloi, Naimu, Sandang, Toinem, Phandang, are specially engaged in the industry of cloth weaving. They obtain the raw cotton from the Manipuri women in the *Sena Koithel* or Royal Bazaar, the main centre of the commerce of the State.⁸ They, in their turn, get it from the Kukis inhabiting the hills to the west of the valley. The juice of the wild indigo is used for a black or dark blue dye, and they purchase from the plains a bark which gives a red colour shading to terracotta. Lampblack (soot) is also used for the black dye, but the better black shades are obtained from a strong decoction of indigo. The green and yellow or orange shades are produced from the barks of jungle trees, but it is not at all easy to get the people to talk about the details of their industry, because they suspect an inquirer of ulterior motives and cannot understand his curiosity. All the implements are of a simple

8. *Langoudesum phi*, women's cloth, black and red stripes.
9. *Kasendesum phi*, broad red and narrow black stripes, worn by women.
10. *Melao phi*, the waist-cloth worn by the men, blue and red stripes.

There are no variations from the "sealed patterns, except in the case of the cloths worn by the *khullakpas* or headmen of a clan or village, who are by custom permitted to decorate their cloths with a handsome fringe with the loose ends of the threads tied into tassels, and a pattern of orange, red and white colours with occasionally a little green, diamond pattern on the edge. The stripes of the decorative border are pointed like the pattern on the backgammon board, and when these cloths are new and in good condition, they are very handsome.

The weaving industry is carried on by the women alone and the six villages as far as possible prevent their girls from marrying into a village where the industry is not practised. In this way a "Clothworkers' Guild" is in process of formation, and as a proof of the hold that custom, once it has become custom, has on others outside the charmed circle. I may adduce the case of a woman from the village of Powi and wished to weave cloths in her new village but was forbidden to do so by the people of Powi who, so far from being desirous of acquiring this new and valuable accomplishment, declared that it was forbidden to them to weave cloths and declared it to be taboo, using the Tangkhul equivalent to the Manipuri *namungba*. I have always regarded this glimpse into the morality of the people as affording a valuable indication of the mechanism by means of which the differentiation of caste obtains acceptance. Every specialisation of function in this level of culture seems to derive its sanction from the idea that it is dangerous in some vague mysterious way to infringe the "patent." "Les fonctions les plus delicates se differentient les premieres."¹⁰

tions which arise in the course of an investigation such as this is the relationship in point of evolutionary age of two systems of agriculture such as these. Is the terraced field system evolved from the jhum system and is it legitimate to see in the details of jhum cultivation rudiments of the principles that govern the construction of the terraced fields? This question has been raised by Davis²⁰ who thought that the terraced "system of cultivation gradually spread northwards from Manipur until it reached the Angamis who adopted it for the following reasons: (1) a desire for a better kind of food....(2) the impossibility of raising a sufficient crop of this better kind of food, i.e., rice, except by a system like that of irrigated terraces....(3) a good water supply. The same method of extending and enhancing the cultivable area has been employed all over the world. There are traces of terraced fields in England²¹ and in America the system received remarkable development.²² We have to deal with people whose habits move slowly, so slowly that no use is made of plough cattle though they have the sight of it under their eyes in Manipur. The digging stick is still the implement used by the women and the hoe is the only specialised tool in general use.

If we could be certain as to the original habitat of these tribes, we could settle this and many other questions without difficulty, but as it is, we can only indulge in hypothetical speculations as to the course of progress made by these people.

In permanent and large villages there, are small gardens or patches of cultivation in which are grown such winter crops as chillies, cotton, and tobacco. The manure of the cattle is carefully kept and used, and we have seen wicker cages put over the young seeds. Near Mao is an avenue of holm oaks which have been polled, and we learned that the poles are regularly used by the villagers for their houses. We could not ascertain how or from whom this art was acquired. Among the Tangkhuls there are signs that the cultivation of the potato may be taken up in the cold weather in favourable positions.

CULTURE AND COMMUNITY

The Nagas are distinguished by an impressive bearing and splendid dress. Among their clothes, the most significant is the shawl. It is different for every tribe and, besides, there are varieties and sub-varieties in every group. A warrior's shawl or the shawl of a man who has performed the Feast of Merit is different from that of an ordinary villager. The common pattern among the Angamis is red and yellow (now being replaced by green) bands on black cloth called *Lohe*. The Western Angami villages have their own distinctive pattern. The Lothas have a streamlined gradation of shawls indicating the number of *gennas* performed by the wearer. Thus, a man who has performed the first *genna* wears the *Phangrhup*, its stripes being widened after the second *genna*. The third *genna* entitles the man to wear the *Ethasu*, while after the series is completed and the stone-dragging done the man can wear the *Lungpensu*, which is a dark blue cloth with five stripes of eight blue—and with narrow marginal stripes on each side. The Ao warrior shawl called the *Tsungkotepsu* with figures of *mithun*, tiger, elephant, human head, cock, dao and spear is remarkably picturesque. Each of these figures is symbolic: *mithun* represents wealth of the wearer, the elephant and tiger denote his prowess in hunting, and the human head signifies success in taking heads. These patterns are painted in black on a white band, while the cloth itself is of dark blue colour. Among the Changs, the unmarried boys and girls wear the Kaksi *nei*, while the newly married couple sport the Silang *nei*. Another variety of Chang Shawl. The tobu

nei, is zig-zag patterns in alternate red and black on a blue band. The popular Yimchunger shawls are the *Aneak khim* which is black, and the *Mokhok khim* which is white. *Rongkhim*, a particularly attractive variety of Yimchunger shawl, may be worn only by one who has taken heads in war; it has prominent rectangular red designs, red colour signifying the blood of the enemy.

In the past it was possible to identify, by simply looking at the shawl of the wearer, the tribe he belonged to and occasionally even the group of villages he comes from, his social status, whether he was a rich man or a commoner, and the number of *gennas* he had performed. But nowadays patterns have been introduced. People of one tribe do not hesitate to wear another tribe's shawl. Besides, the Manipuri imitations of Naga shawls have become quite popular because they are cheaper, though the purists do not approve of their use. The shawl is thus gradually losing traditional its representative character.

Besides the shawl, the normal working dress is a kilt which is generally of black colour. It may be embroidered with cowries in which case it is looked upon as a distinctly male dress. The cowries are rubbed on stone before being embroidered so that they may stick well, and these are always sewn by the man using the cloth and never by his wife or anybody else. The cowrie decoration is quite popular among the Nagas and it imparts to the kilt the character of *toga virilis*, signifying his success in love or war

The ornaments are simple but pretty. A necklace of beads is generally worn round the neck. The beads may be made of some kind of stone or shells. The ears are decorated with a tuft of cotton wool or red paper or anything else depending upon the individual's choice. The armllets are of ivory or brass. On the legs rings of cane are worn by the angamis and Konyaks; these leggings are not merely ornamental and it is said that they are an aid to climbing as well. All Naga tribes use hair for decoration. In earlier days, human hair was very much sought after and women

of thirty yards. Some spears are made for ceremonial purposes only; these are decorated with goat's hair on the shaft.

The *dao* is a multi-purpose weapon. It is used to fell trees, cut fowls, divide meat, carve posts and kill enemies—in fact, for any kind of work involving cutting. It is a lifelong companion for the Naga. The weapon consists of a blade about twelve inches long, its breadth being more at the tip (about four inches) than at the base (about one inch). The blade is fitted into a wooden handle which is tightly bound with cane. The Changs, Semas and Aos decorate their *dao* handle with goat's hair. The *dao* is carried in a holder at the back.

The cross-bow is now obsolete. The only defensive weapon used by the Nagas is a shield which may be of leather or bamboo-matting.

A Naga is deeply attached to his weapons. This psychology is a legacy of the past when his very survival in a ruthless society depended upon these protective weapons. Today the rifle and automatic weapons have replaced the *dao* and the spear, thanks to the foreign powers interested in fanning the flames of insurgency in the Hills

The Nagas love hunting, though much of the game is extinct now. Even birds are rare, most of them having been devoured. Gods are sometimes used to track the animals. Elephant hunting is a participially thrilling sport. The hunter sleeps separate from his wife on the night before and consults the owns the next morning before setting out on the expedition. He follows the animal closely until he finds a vantage point where he cannot be easily charged by the elephant, while he himself gets a direct hit on the animal with his spear. The thrust has to be accurate to be fatal. Elephants are hunted not only for the enormous quantity of meat they yield but also for their tusks, the ivory being used to make armlets and other ornaments. Hunting a tiger or leopard is no less exciting. The animal is ringed and drived into a stockade where it is speared to death. In

and would be entertained with meat and rice-beer. When they would eat the meat, the boys would be singing songs inside the *morung*. On the fourth day, the people of Mongsen *khel* would dance in procession in all the streets of the village. On the fifth day, the people of Chungli *khel* would dance similarly. The women were not to take any part in these dances; but at intervals they served rice-beer to the dancers. The old men also would not dance, but follow the dancer singing songs. A drummer always accompanied the party, and the people would dance to the beatings of the drum. On the sixth day, both the *khels* used to dance together.

The main Angami festival is the *Sekrenyi*. It is celebrated in February by the Western Angamis and in December by the Southern Angamis. The festival is to ensure the health and well-being of the community during the coming year. It is an occasion of great merry-making; enormous quantities of rice-beer, beef and pork are consumed. An interesting feature of the festival is that the men have to prepare a separate hearth and abstain from any sexual relations for the first two days.

The Chakhesang *Khilunye* and Rengma *Ngadah* are both harvest festivals. The important thing about the Naga festivals is their corporate character. The community as a whole participates in the celebrations. There is a definite programme stretching over a specified period in which all the village folk join.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Music is an essential accompaniment to any *genna* or festival. The themes have a wide range of variety: they may glorify a tradition, extol a specific act of heroism, narrate an important event of the recent past or relate to a love story.

Given below is a free translation of an Angami folksong. The lovers sing it when they meet in the fields:

AKANSHA PUBLISHING HOUSE

4649-B/21, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110 002 (INDIA)

Email: ektabooks@yahoo.com