CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND POLITY FORMATION

The preceding chapter emphasised the way different Naga segments ensure that their symbols are constantly activated. Thus, their social control and further expansions are assured. The importance of the large politico-religious systems of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist had only a marginal effect upon them. Again it was the British interference that Buddhist Burmans could not hold on too long in this region. Therefore, in this chapter, I am stating how sociological roles and normative behaviour are explained within their society. That is, with reference to what was locally understood and recognised symbols as derived from their indigenous system. The central thrust of this chapter is to understand the way their social structure and codes survived during the pre-British period. Again, I shall discuss how their 'motor' of polity formation operated before being 'frozen' by colonial administrative promulgation; and in what forms traditional codes are still reproduced to assert an ethnic based political articulation for a composite Naga identity in the context of modern day political systems.

The traditional organization of the Nagas can be viewed as representing four typologies which belongs to two extreme
polarities. They are exemplified by the Angami terrace cultivators on the one hand and the Konyak, Wancho and Nocte swidden agriculturists on the other. Oscillating between these two polarities are the other Naga segments, namely, Ao, Sangtam, Chang, Yimchunger, Khiamungan, Phom on the one hand and Rengma, Lotha, on the other. Moreover, Mayon-Monsang, Anal, Lamkang, Tarao, Zeliangrong and Tankhul belongs to this third group. The other typology is the predatory and non-sedentary Semas. In this chapter, I shall try to reconstruct the pre-British organization of these typologies and also the present day set-up. The expansionist politics of Angami (the Kemevohood) and Konyak (Angdom) types are discussed in detail. This historical reconstruction involves developments of their symbolic socio-political systems. As indicated earlier, there are ecological distinctions within the Naga blocks and the most important influence on their polity was the method of utilizing their landscape and attendant stimulus given by valley kingdoms. The polarities indicates these elements as determining factors, for their developments. For example, in the case of Angamis, they inhabites a region with 800-1200 meters in height with valleys suitable for terrace cultivation and generation of surplus. Moreover, a polity expansion was made possible by the collapse of
Kachari kingdom. The Anghdom of Konyaks were stimulated by Shan and Ahom polity formations. Besides these attributes, both these social typologies could manipulate long-distance trade, which in turn consolidated their control over internal trades within specific cultural belts. Beginning with the recorded history of valley kingdoms, these two polar types continued to resist expansionist policies of Ahom and Kachari kingdom right till the time colonial capitalism entered Naga territories.

The two polarities of socio-political systems can be conceptualised as given in the chart. The characteristics of the models will mark out the variations between these two types. Again, the other Naga groups are represented in their specific polar types, arranged according to the evolutionary stage thus conceived.

(i) The Anghdom and its expansion

The highest gradient of polity of Nagas is represented by the Angh (Konyak), Lowang, (Nocte), Wang (wancho), Ongshwet or Oung (Chang), Unger (Ao) and Khi-unger of Yimchunger. Among them the ideal social organization is the Anghdom, through which their socio-political processes may
FIGURE/CHART 1B

CHARACTERISTICS OF TWO MODELS

- Agricultural system
  - Swidden: mixed
  - Terrace: mixed

- Labour cooperation
  - Enforced: mixed
  - Voluntary: mixed

- Megalithic culture
  - Dolmen: mixed
  - Menhir: mixed

- Basis of polity formation
  - Sacred: non-sacred

- Polity
  - Centralised: conical big men

- Feast of merit
  - Restricted to specific clans: unrestricted

- Muscle/Gunpowder technology
  - Controlled: not controlled
  - Production: controlled
  - Trade: controlled

Note: + or - represent presence of particular characteristics on the right hand side chart, note.
be brought out in relief. The Anghdom happens to be a reference model for translation of political and social behaviour of a number of Naga segments viz., Phom, Ao, Yimchunger, Chang and the northern block of Nagas.

For want of an equivalent terminology, Anghdom both the nomenclature and ideal social organization is used as it had ceased to redistribute and clearly indicates a polity different from chiefdoms. The Thendu group is identified with Anghdoms, represented by Mon, Chui, Sāngnyu, Longwa and Borduria. This group is marked by a rigid stratification system. And their rulers seek the principal wives from among daughters of equivalent developed Anghdoms. Moreover, extinct lines of Anghs are replenished by 'importing' from friendly and like Anghdoms. For instance in 1952 Langsam a colony of Chanu was given a wang by Ni annu, this principle works also for the great Anghdoms. The wang of Ni annu (Arunachal Pradesh) is derived from Sāngnyu (Mon district) which subsequently sent out colonies and expanded either by means of supplanting Anghs or outright demographic replacement. It was also achieved by acquiring tributes from villages by individual morungs controlled by a second or third grade of Anghs, i.e., the Wangsa and Wangyhu grades are assigned to offsprings of hypogamous marriage, and designed for consolidation of power through the morung institution within a village or outside. The nature of Anghdom control is illustrated in the charts, thus:
### ANGHDOM OF SANGNYU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hereditary Anghs</th>
<th>Lesser Anghs from Sangnyu</th>
<th>Exchange of Bride</th>
<th>Tributaries</th>
<th>Alliance</th>
<th>Forms of Tribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angh Luhpong</td>
<td>Nyashia</td>
<td>Pongchau</td>
<td>Ruka</td>
<td>Pongchau</td>
<td>Longzang</td>
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<tr>
<td>= Alih</td>
<td>Miaunu (Miano)</td>
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<td>Wetting</td>
<td>Langnyu</td>
<td>Ruka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wife of Shiangah Chingnu)</td>
<td>Longzang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Longphong</td>
<td>Sangsa</td>
<td>Longphong</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zu (vinyu ?)</td>
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<td>Sangsa</td>
<td>Langsa</td>
<td>Ngangting</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pumau</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tizit</td>
<td>Langza</td>
<td>Zakko</td>
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<td>Pongchau</td>
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<td>Zakko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Big fishes caught in community fishing: Skins of game animals: Grains of paddy during Aoling; vegetables three times a year; once a year a 'cup' of rice collected from each household; Angh's paddy field maintained in all the villages.*

- Chating
- Longkao
- Wanu
- Maibur
- Zakko

**Kill pigs in Angh's name annually. A pên is presented every tenure of an Angh.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hereditary Anghs</th>
<th>Lesser Anghs from Mon/Subsidiaries</th>
<th>Exchange of Bride</th>
<th>Tributaries</th>
<th>Alliances</th>
<th>Forms of tribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yanliem</td>
<td>Pongkang (Phungkong)</td>
<td>Chui</td>
<td>Longkai</td>
<td>Sheangha Longwa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chongwang</td>
<td>Tanai (Tanhai)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leangnyu</td>
<td>Longwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Longwang</td>
<td>Wangla</td>
<td>Sangha</td>
<td>Wanpoi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taiwang</td>
<td>Tiri</td>
<td>Longwa</td>
<td>Tuimai</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangwang</td>
<td>Oting</td>
<td>Sangnyu</td>
<td>Pokton</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Khaoba</td>
<td>Longtem</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ato = Aluem (wife from Shangha)</td>
<td>Lapa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tangken</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angh Wangpong (present) = Shensa (wife from Chui)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mokwak</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Lumpong-shianghah) 10 maunds of rice per annum
The socio-cultural identity of a Konyak emanates from being a member of a specific morung hence, it operates as a sanction for the constituents to offer traditional services in the form of labour and tribute. In 1983, the four morungs of Chui were a tightly knit system for the purpose of offering services to the great Angh. It is at any rate not an exogamous system but more of a politico-administrative set up. Besides, the control over subsidiaries of Chui by the direct consanquines of Angh enhances his status and political standing. In the context of inter-polity formation this aspect becomes crucial, as for instance, the possibility of Chui Anghdom as evolved from a throw out of Ahom pressure is indicated by the marital alliances entered between Wakching and the Ahom king. On the other hand, there has been endemic hostility between them since the 13th century till the 16th century, punctuated by mutual plunder-promeades and truce in order to keep their trade routes open. As in the case of Chui Anghdom, the Tobu - Hakjang route was equally essential for the Ahoms. In the later part of 17th century there appear exchanges of beads, cotton and ornaments from the Ahoms and gong, dao and spears from the Nagas. This is indicative of a period of stability between them.
The genealogies of the Anghs approximate with the earliest forms of the Ahoms, however the nature of Ahom polity was not of a coercive nature till the late eighteenth century, therefore, any attempt at attributing development of Anghdom directly to the Ahom 'stimulus' will be a misnomer. Both the polities evolved simultaneously but Anghdom could not attain maturity as the Ahoms did in the later stages. The ecological conditions obviously played a crucial role in this process. The Chui Angh and his councillors were rather vague about his genealogy beyond Khaoba, they however indicated that Ato, his father was a namesake of two earlier great-grandfathers who also bore the same name. It is interesting to note that the rule of Ami, the fourth Angh of Chui was marked by the entry of British into Tamlu, a subsidiary of Chui's satelile village of Wenching. This brought about an indirect means of curbing further extension and development of Chui Anghdom which began at least six generations ago.

The internal polity expansion was possible through outright conquest and supplantation of Anghs. Three decades ago in Hangnyu (Sangnyu) a squabble between the deceased Angh's two sons and his brother ensued for succession to the Anghdom. Since the eldest son of the Angh was still a minor his uncle wanted to become Angh with a seizable
following to himself. The elders sent in a request to Angh of Chui for a pro-tem Angh, the latter however refused the offer. Consequently, the Angh of Pomau sent his brother, Kiwang to officiate at Sangnyu. This, unfortunately was going to be a temporary affair, for misfortunes besetted his rule and finally Auwang took over subsequently. The Anghdom of Sangnyu has socio-cultural attachments with Niaunu of present Arunachal Pradesh, so also their myth of origin and migration is common to each other. Presently, Niaunu controls five villages namely, Niausa, Mintong, Zedua and Longphong. The last one was annexed from Pongchau. At an earlier stage, Pongchau seceded from Kunnyu as it grew in political as well as demographic strength. It is also true in the case of Kankassa which broke away from Khanu. The Angh of Pongchau currently receives tribute from Bonia, Longphong, Kamhuanoksa, Kamhuanoknu and Kankassa. Interestingly enough, Mintong of Niau-jan group is a tributary to Pongchau. Even though Mintong retains its Angh links with Niaunnu (providing an Angh by Niaunnu) political subserviency is probably determined by the degree of protection that could be availed of by a subsidiary, however, legitimacy of Pongchau's political control must come from Mintong's retaining of its Angh house coming in from Niaunnu.
Bonya (formerly Ngosa) has become a subsidiary and remains out of Pongchau's overbearing subjugation, the former was a part of the politico-ritual articulation of Ruka. But as a result of an ultimatum served upon her by Pongchau for outright merger, the Angh went on exile and his subjects acknowledged Pongchau's sovereignty over them. However, a sort of ritual kinship apart from political relationship was brought about by means of providing an Angh (Wang) along with a ritual expert by Pongchau. This politico-ritual kinship was reinforced by presentation of an uncastrated pig and a cock by Pongchau. However the Angh (Wang) was not allowed to enter into marital alliance with a Wangcha henceforth; this is a mechanism to ensure that Angh of Bonya would not produce any pretender to the official position of Pongchau Angh at a latter stage. In other words, the ruling house of Bonya could enter marital arrangements with the Wangpen group only. The ritual kinship was meant for the first generation only, implying that the succeeding generation would be degraded henceforth and invariably debar Bonya to enter into any kind of alliance with Anghdom's centre of power.

The Anghs of Longkao and Maihua are always from the Wangsu class, they are loosely supervised by Pumau, which in turn is a subsidiary of the Anghdom of Sangnyu. This
would mean that the Wangsu class of Longkau, Bonia and Pumau must seek each other in contracting marriages.

The Angh of Banfera (Wancho) is the eldest brother of Wanu's Angh and the latter is a tributary of Sangnyu (Konyak) Anghdom. The Wanchos though cannot reckon the time of their migration to the present habitat, indicates five clans as their original clans viz, Ralang, Arang, Pongla, Niymik and Yangyo. At a point of time the Ralang clan seems to have attained the position of Angh (Wang). Their earliest settlement is said to be Wanu. The Wangham (Angh) family migrated at a later stage and imposed Angh (Wang) authority upon the Wanchos.

From an evolutionary point of view, most of the lesser Anghs are potential great Anghdoms and upon attainment of such a state, the class character of their Anghs are stressed as to restrict others to evolve and usurp power. In this respect, Tang is a case in point. At one point of time, Tang Anghdom rose to the strength of present Anghdoms of Sangnyu, Sheangha, Mon and Chui. Their head hunting grounds are said to have been the Sheangha, Mon Chen, Chui and Sheong Anghdoms. It also had four tributaries then, namely, Sheangha and Longwa to name two important Anghdoms as of now. These two numerically outstripped Tang and seceded. Later on Longwa rose to strength as an
Anghdom. Presently it is in receipt of tributes from six villages which lies beyond the administrative jurisdiction of Nagaland state, i.e., in Burma. These villages are namely, Hoyat, Choilew, Longhe, Khonmoi, Longwi and Longwa Chingnyu. Accidentally the Indo-Burmese boundary runs right across Longwa village, however, traditional politico-administrative writ of Longwa still persists.

Among the Konyaks their Tenkoh group is represented by a non-rigid stratification system. Basically, these are either potential or broken Anghdoms. In most of their villages a number of fallen Angh families are consigned to the Ben class. It is best exemplified by Chowha (Towha) village and its kinship composition thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGH</th>
<th>BEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chenwanglem (Chen,</td>
<td>Kai-hilem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angh clan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetorhu (offsprings</td>
<td>Lamlem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of weto)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahorhu (offsprings</td>
<td>Yanwalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Yaho)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangnyei rhu(offspr</td>
<td>Melulem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ing of Pangnyei)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moklao lem (Moklao</td>
<td>Akanglem (from Anghbang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I was informed that most of the Ben class is composed of Angh families from other villages. This would be explained by the oscillation between Rhu ('offsprings') and Lem ('clans') in both the classes. The latter was indicated
to be of Angh class of now non-identifiable villages or rather they would like to keep it that way. This submerged principle becomes a dominant feature in the peripheral regions of the Angbdoms especially in the Tengkoh group of villages.

(a) ANGBANG OF PHOM SEGMENT

Besides the attempts made by Nocte Lowang for acquiring a non-Naga politico-ritual legitimacy of their standing, as indicated in chapter II; the polity expansion and extension of the Angbdom of Chui based on an indigenous form offers the best example of polity formation of this typology. The Angbdom of Chui has developed a polity that can be said to have already advanced beyond the redistribution of wealth and butterressed by the expediency of claiming a 'royal' status for their Anghs. Besides this they also extended their politico-ritual form to other adjacent Naga groups, namely, the Phcm and Changs. And in a lesser degree to the Ao, Yimchunger and Sangtams.

The Phom segment is formed of twenty five villages which lies in the second important trade route as indicated earlier. The belong to a welter of sub-segments, viz, Yaong-Yachem (Ao); Aokching (Chang); Tamlu (Konyak) and dominated by Hakpang village. Besides, the Piyong mount was equally
important to Chui Angdom for acquisition of ritually sanctified Mithun as was to the Aos. The politico-demographic composition of Tamlu village exemplifies Chui Angdom polity extension. Tamlu was sent an Angh and his retinue by Wanching (a subsidiary of Chui) and they form the present Angh sector comprising of forty households; another group migrated from the Tanabang sector of Yongya village to establish the Tanha sector and subsequent migrations forms the Manglembang sector ('facing the plains'). The Angh clans in Tamlu are namely, Chamang and Yanlem, while the Tanha sector's clans are mostly of Shikapong, Niam, Noklang and Ungtumhu.

As one moves further away from Chui, a sharp distinction among the constituents emerge in the political form. For instance, in Kanching there are two sectors, namely, Khangu ('those who came across Dikhu') and Ungpang (Angh sector). The former is inhabited by the lineages of Ailing ('foremost'); Munkhao ('Mukhao offsprings') Oungh and Lokpanhu they are all migrants from Tansa. The Ungpang sector is settled by Niam, Lokpanhu and Noklang lineages from Yongya, Yongshi and Tansa villages. Though the inhabitants of Unghpang sector is considered to be of Angh class, the Ailing lineage has precedence over them in becoming Unger (Oungh). A number of houses from the Ao Pongem clan has been assimilated by the Ailing; however, they cannot be made head Gaonburah or Unger.
In the inter-segment village of Anaki which falls within the Ao territory and administrative jurisdiction of Mokokchung, there are thirty immigrant households from Tanhai and five houses from Phom's Yongshi. The latter group were temporary residents of Kanching and Tamlu earlier. They were followed by a group of twenty households from Ao Kangtsung later. The establishment of Ao Kangtsung is of interest here to exemplify the type of political alliances that emerged as a precondition for polity expansion. It is said that one Ungerdangba ('taker of Unger's head'), son of Rangtsung from Chubayimkum (now a segment of Longsa village) landed up in Merangkong and met a trader from Yachem, who informed him of possible accommodation in Tanlsa village through the latter's kinsmen, namely, Apong and Nokchem. In Tanlsa one Mukhao was the Angh who adopted and assimilated Ungerdangba into his lineage. Later on the three sons of Ungerdangba (out of his union with a widow of Noklang clan) were made to found Ao Kangtsung village. Over and above this politico-demographic articulations, the relationship between Yongya and Wanching has direct relevance to the great Angh of Chui. During the Monyu (spring festival of Phom segment) representatives of Wanching Angh descends upon Yongya and prestations of rice, meat, cloths are collected; and in winter months after harvest receives an amount of rupees five. This ramifies into
politico-ritual alliances of Yongya with the villages of Tanisa, Yongshi, Tamlu, Kanching and Merangkong (Ao). Here the mutual exchange of one dao and one spear or rupees two in lieu of the above marks their alliance, and inevitably pigs are slaughtered on such visits.

Besides these intra-segment (Ao-Phom-Konyak) networks as discussed, the 'core' of extended politico-ritual alliance can be identified with the Phom village of Hakpang. It is the most dominant of Phom villages and is indirectly allied to Chui Anghdom. The Konyaks refer to this village as Tao-Longching and the Aos call it Mongtiyimbang. There are still six households following the non-Christian ways. A few generations ago the Konyaks entered into Kangyim ('alliance out of an indecisive war') relationship with Hakpang. It began with a war between Longching, Jakpang and Ruka villages with Pongo. In this war a peacemaker from Hakpang was killed by Longching. As a consequence for three consecutive years Longching lands had lain infertile. Finally, Longching requisitioned the help of Mongnyu (Phom) and Jakpang (Konyak) to intervene and appease Hakpang. The highest order of alliance was arrived at by an offer of Lah (Gong), bushels of millet and two mithuns by Longching to Hakpang, with an understanding between them that, "till black hens turn into white, we
shall be at peace". Till date during the spring festivals, i.e., Aoling (Konyak) and Mongnyu (Phom), reciprocal 'meat' is exchanged between their representatives. The ideal socio-political system of the Phom segment is represented by Hakpang. In this village the clans are residential groups and their politico-ritual positions are given in the chart as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORUNG SECTOR</th>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>LINEAGES</th>
<th>PANGSA GAONBURAH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longkang</td>
<td>Phenyu</td>
<td>Angbang</td>
<td>Oiangnak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Khakyung</td>
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<td>Panglanghu</td>
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<td>Nokshung</td>
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<td>Manchinghu</td>
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<td>Poklukhu</td>
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<td>Hukdok</td>
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<td>Langyilang-bong</td>
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<td>Nyubaohu</td>
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<td>Ongi</td>
<td>Hejan</td>
<td>Pongobang</td>
<td>Lungkhu</td>
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<td>Yongjong</td>
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<td>Alunghu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ying-longjong</td>
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<td>opuhu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Molim</td>
<td>Hipu</td>
<td>Numidang-bang</td>
<td>Malanghu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lampang</td>
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<td>Manglanghu</td>
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<td>Longka</td>
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<td>Saponghu</td>
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<td>Anganghu</td>
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<td>Longhu</td>
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<td>Nokchen</td>
<td>Angbabu</td>
<td>Yachembang</td>
<td>Langlak-pong</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The clan arrangements and settlement pattern is based on politico-ritual domination, it is also to be noted that other lineages are included as 'floating' attaches pending future submergence. The Angbang clan is equated with the Angh of Konyaks but here the class character of Angh is an exogamous principle. The ritual justification of Angbang clan predominance as given in a myth follows thus: In the beginning god gave to each clan a hen each of many colours, but to Angbang clan only a black one. So they asked god, "why only a black hen god?". Then god replied, "ah, Anghbang clan, you shall be the overlord of all the other clans". Even today the womenfolk of this clan do not partake the flesh of cow, mithun with a white mark on its forehead, catfish, barking deer, goat and white hen. I was told that Pongobang men are expert traders while Numidangbang is known for soothsaying and Yachembang are generally priests. Probably a degree of functional allocation of duties were becoming institutionalised, it is also true that these attributes are still attached to them today. In the administrative structure of Hakbang, Pangsa is the traditional village councillor and Gaonburahs are present day government agents, it is interesting to note that the Anghbang clan is not particularly interested in having
The same clan arrangement is observed in Ponching village. While the other sub-segments have variations, for instance Aokching polity is based on Chang political system derived from Hakjang. Yaong-Yachem is definitely based on Ao polity. The Konyak type is prevalent in Yongya, Tamlu and Kanching. In Pongo group of villages a different arrangement is seen, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORUNG</th>
<th>LINEAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyoukshet</td>
<td>Phukatu, Chingsantu, Kaikungtu, Mainaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchung</td>
<td>Tansam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokchung</td>
<td>Chingson, Yakpang, Tangnam, Tangkong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngantu</td>
<td>Chingson, Yakpang, Hitang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two morungs are inhabited by, altogether a different migration group from the rest. They reckon this with reference to the dispersal from Piyong mount.
as separate groups, and invariably political power is retained by the first settlers. In the case of Yaong, a clear cut division of political power alongside social segregation is observed. In this village the Okping clan is sub-divided into Angh and Longkong lineages and reckon themselves as equivalent to Ao Imonger (Pongen) and Jamir clans respectively. They are graded higher to the Luni clan which has three lineages namely Loji, Yimyaji and Sungdok (akin to Ozukum of Aos). This clan is considered to be an Ao Mongsen group that came over to Yaong quite some time ago. The lineages of Loji and Yimyaji are exogamous, Sungdok can enter into marital alliance with both of them. By this reckoning they are then clansmen not by consanguinal relationship but with reference to their roles in the politico-administrative set-up of the village. However, as a composite Okping and Luni group they claim descent from Yangpir (Yongpei) group that came away from Changsang settlement as discussed in Chapter II.

Besides the enforced solidarity of the Phom segment by Hakpang, it played a dominant role in articulating political relationships with Trans-Dikhu Naga segments. It is said that those who crossed over to the west bank of Dikhu came to be known as Aor (Ao) and those left behind were considered to be merir. It becomes clear that the
ecological conditions determines the sociological division of Nagas despite the fact that they have kinship affinities. Consequently, political alliances emerged across these natural 'frontiers', one such relationship is the intra-village community fishing in the Dikhu river. Hakpang has specific weirs with Yaongyimti, Longla, and Chakpa villages. So also Chuchuyimlang, Salulemmang and Pomching maintains a common weir with Hakpang. In their annual fishing-cum-political meets, Hakpang men bring over an egg and the rest provide three to ten baskets of walnut tree roots for poisoning the river. An elder of Hakpang ritually breaks this egg and read omens and the fishing begins in right earnest. This relationship is thus renewed in this way every cold season preferably in January. Over and above this, Chuchuyimlang gives a yearly prestation of rupees fifteen, one cow or a pig. Here a symbolic relationship does not enter into an economic orbit as the amount of cash hardly matters today, in other words, social links are more crucial than its amount at face value. Again Agya and Hakpang share a pig when the latter pays an annual visit. It is to be noted that splitting up the carcass of a pig is significantly different from the unequal tribute of a pig to a visiting party by a subsidiary, or mutual exchanges of pigs. This happens to be the highest form of ritual kinship that can be contracted between equals besides the mithun alliance. During the Ao Moatsu (spring festival) the
villages of Salulamang, Chuchuyimlang and Mongsenyimti presents Hakpang a packet of salt after feasting the elders. Moreover Chuchuyimlang and Hakpang have a number of blood brothers among the inhabitants. In the event of hardships faced by such a 'brother' in their respective segment's territories, the village elders will bear all the expenses incurred in looking after such an individual and take over responsibility as should be accorded to its own citizens. This was as significant in the past as of today. This blood brother relationship became a crucial element for safety of visiting dignitaries and traders during the internecine warfare that prevailed in phom area till 1953. In the present context, most of the politico-economic elites of Phom segment acquired their school education through their ritual kinsmen who sponsored them in the urban settlement of Mokokchung till the late 1960's.

(b) UNGER OF Ao

The Aos are divided into two moities, viz chongli and mongsen, they are linguistic, native socio-political as also kinship divisions. The mongsen dialect was the political language of the yore and all Ao ballads (oral tradition) are sung and expressed in mongsen dialect. It
is gradually giving way to Christian missionary and government sponsored chongli dialect. The villages of Mongsenyimti, Ungma, Longsa, Longpha, Jami and all the Langpangkong villages are chongli; while Sungratsu, Mopungchukit and Lungkhum possess both these divisions. In the Japvokong and Changkikong ranges, though there are chongli phratries its dialect is non-existent. In Ao Mokokchung and Kabza villages the reverse decandence can be observed. The changki group of villages speaks a variant of mongsen dialect. This linguistic phenomena can be explained by the nature of politico-kinship articulations of this Naga segment. The predominance given to Ungma and the Lungtrok charter has brought about a submergence of the Mongsen sub-segment within a composite Ao identity. The mongsen ("never ending stream of humanity") belongs to the cognate social groups viz Isongyoner, Changki, Nokrang, Yongpir, Nokrang and possibly Molungers. Their tradition indicates that Kubok settlement was disbanded by a fresh immigrant group that settled Chungliyiti pre-historic site. Thereafter, an amalgamation of these two social groups under one Ariju, (Morung) popularly known as Sendenriju seems to be the basis of their political politico-kinship divisions within an assumed common entity. After sendenriju's overbearing consolidation of this new identity, the
disappearance of their Ungh (headman) at their settlement of Soyim becomes significant. The present village of Ungma is named after this incident, and takes upon itself custody of Ao cultural ethos. At Soyim the Ungh seems to have been killed by a tiger which is considered a polluted death (menen) and invariably dislocation and dispersal of the inhabitants are called for. There is a concealed meaning attached to this story convenient enough to justify establishment of a new social structure as against the Anglom expansion.

The Aos could bring about four confederacies within their segment. viz, Lungkhum and Waroming confederacy controlled Changkikong and Japvokong settlements; Longsa and Ungma dominated over chongli villages of Langpangkong; Mepongchukit held sway over Asetkong range settlements; and Changki and Aliba were allies that put a number of villages under their arms. The mechanisms and modus operandi of alliance and subordination of weaker villages has already been discussed in chapter III and needs no repetition here.

At the close of traditional era, it was becoming clear that the Imchen and Aier clans combine was emerging equally dominant as the Lomkhum and Jamir clans of Engpangkong and Langpangkong in the villages of Ongpangkong and Asetkong ranges. The first clans-conglomerate were Imchen
and Aier of Lungkhum and Mepongchukit respectively and their kinsmen in Mangmetong, Nokpoymchen and Longchang. The second combine hailed from Ungma, Longa and Lungkhum, and along with their kinsmen in Langpangkong became virtually undisputed in the villages on the west bank of Dikhu river. Besides consanguinal links, ritual kinship also buttressed these confederacies to a great extent (see chapter III section II). Among the dominant villages Lungkhum had the added advantage of having both the linguistic divisions, thereby giving them a leverage in Asetkong, Langpangkong, Japvokong and Changkikong settlements along with their kinsmen in these regions. The nature of clan co-ordination is exemplified by a punitive action undertaken by Imchen clan of Lungkhum about eighty years ago. In this the dominant Aier clan of Mopungchukit had a quarrel with rest of her inhabitants over ownership of a tiger's carcass to be mounted in their residential area. It became serious when Aier clan log-drum was split apart by the other clans of Mopungchukit. Thereupon, this aggrieved clan sought the help of their 'kinsmen' at Lungkhum to sort it out. Consequently, Imchen clan descended upon Mopungchukit's lower sector and literally tore it up. This type of punitive actions are known as sensep (C), chencheep (K) ("sweeping money") i.e. inmovable properties are taken by the raiding party after razing standing houses to ground.
Ungma was renowned for this type of coercion over the Langpangkong villages. This insured a form of politico-judicial control over the Ao territory. At times territorial expansions resulted out of warfare, for instance, Lungkhum had reduced Ao settlement village to almost a non-entity leaving only half a dozen Lungkhum names out of the original inhabitants and a chunk of their territory was annexed. In her war with Longsa, Ungma stepped in as intermediary on the plea that the frontier with Sema segment could be maintained only with joint defence pact between Longkhum, Ungma and Longsa.

Lungkhum found Changki and Alibs confederacy a tough nut to crack, however after planting one of Yarangchang lineages (Imchen) at Mongchen in Changkikong and with her ally, Waromong, could jointly control Japvokong settlements. Their alliance was in the form of a ritual kinship with Akangla, the wife of Waromong headman. She was considered as Lungkhum's ritual mother. This is an interesting variant of alliance, presumably catering to long distance alliance as Waromong was not adjacent to Lungkhum. Their alliance itself brought about conflicts with the Ahoms. It is said that their wars with Nokrang began seven generations ago at a time when Ahoms were a nascent power. After the dominant settlement of Nokrang at Natusu was broken up by Longkhum with the help of Waromong, Nokpu village stepped
in to clean out the remnant Nokranggers. Consequently, they got enmeshed in the Kachari and Ahom contest for supremacy in the valley. At one time Kachari militias seems to have aided them in their operations. Later on the Dwar system brought this to a halt and the Hatigoria dwar got identified with the villages of Lungkhum, Ungma, Mangmetong, Chungtia and others. After Nokrang settlement was broken up, the Nokpur resettled Nokpoyimchen (Assiringia). The earstwhile Mirinokpo now called Nokpoyimchen is considered to be inhabited by migrants from Orangkong (Phom, J.P. Mills, 1926, map), however, they claim that as an unsettled group that left Soyim (second Ao settlement) had moved over to Orangkong and thence settled at Merinokpo. The Ao Nokpu people do not accept this version and claim for themselves the Nokpoyimchen (settlement title for their village). These two villages are heading for a long litigation over this issue as it stands in 1986. Now coming back to Merinokpo alias Nokpoyimchen, the Ahom raja Gadodar sinha entered into marital alliance with this village and called it Assiringia and a Dwar was awarded to them. (Nokpu Putu Menden, 1984:)

The alliances were concluded between villages of particular confederacies and were known as Akangtep ("toughten"). The whole Ao country was directly linked by this kind of treaty and were renewed periodically.
In the case of intra-segment warfare, armistice was concluded between frontier villages. This system known as Jongshi ("to better the best") was meant for equals and operated in the Sema front. A few years before the British took over Ao country, the Akekao Insto of Lumitsami along with bucks from twenty villages tried to break through the frontier Ao villages and was checked by such a Jongshi. In this, one Temshimayang Longkhumer of Lungkhum (grandfather of Senkalemba Dobashi) concluded this pact of no-war between Sema and Ao segments. At the close of the last century, a number of big men emerged to consolidate their powers over and above the ritually designated clan statuses of senior clan. Another form of political relationship was called tepu-che ("calling father") in which weaker villages paid an annual tribute to dominant ones, and they were used to be visited by Tatars of the "father" villages. This relationship has become redundant, for instance, in the early 1970's Longmissa refused to continue this system with Lungkhum. In this a plot of land was allotted "ritually" to Lungkhum and designated as their 'territory' within Longmissa land, and it used to fetch a luli ("field-purchase"=rent) of rupees fifteen per annum after currency was introduced, before that it was in terms of rice. In the changed politico-administrative situation Longmissa's action could
not be challenged at all. There were other forms of *aksu* ("pig-kill") called *kidong aksu* ("clan") and *Tinu aksu* ("blood-brotherhood"). In the former type of relationship, clansmen used to visit each other to discuss genealogies, rights and other affairs and were feasted upon by slaughtering pigs. In the later form, (ritual kinship mostly) big men used to visit their ritual kinsmen in different villages. This system was discontinued after the Ao students' conference protested against it, as it entailed crippling expenditure on the part of the bigmen's counterpart and the village. Moreover, the diplomatic role of big men became unnecessary in the inter-village relationship after the Dobashi institution was introduced. The system was abolished in late 1920's.

Besides the dynamics of identity expansion and consolidation, even today, a persistent character of the Ao political system exists without much alteration and it is exemplified by the *Putu Menden* ("generation seat"). The Aos have a standardised cycle of five generations, i.e., *Putu* in a political sense is different from *aso* or biological generation. Each and every citizen included into a *putu* becomes a member of a ruling generation for a period of 30 years (*Chonali*), 15 years (*Monasen*) and 6 years in Longmisa village. The Ao *Putu's* are as under:
Mechensanger (C) Mechenchanger (M)....('those who do not run away')

Mupongsanger (C) Mupongchanger (M)....('wind people')
Koshasanger (C) Kochachanger (M)....('broken people')
Riongsanger (C) Riongchanger (M)....('many people')
Medemsanger (C) Medemchanger (M)....('equal people')

This system is directly linked with the Ariju induction of young boys into its Zungas every year. The cycle begins with Medemsanger which coincides with simultaneous induction to Zungas and continues till one of the inductees procreate a son. Then mending ('seat blocking') occurs and the said generation is considered to be complete and a new Putu starts, in this case the Mupongsanger Putu starts inducting Zungas. In this way a group of Zungas or age-set completes a generation and the follow up age-sets in the Ariju fills up the rest of Putu-s. Here the demographic attribute plays an important role, as one generation may have four Zungas or even six Zunga-s depending on how early the members get married and procreate sons. Nonetheless, on no account the fixed cyclic generation government is hindered, that is, even if a generation has six age-groups, when their turn comes for power, the first and second age group might have died out and the rest will take up the Tatar menden ('councillor post') of a particular ruling generation. When an old
generation goes out of office after every thirty years a ceremony marks the occasion known as Atsungtepba ("pushing out"). In this ritual every member of the incoming putu must contribute a pig each or else he forfeits his right to have a say in decisive matters taken up by his putu.

The ruling generation then throws up elders to fill up official posts in the Tatar menden (C) and Samen (M). These seats are allotted according to clan seniority and is marked by special piece of meat carcass which is reserved for a particular position in the council. These rights to relevant portions of meat are largely symbolic of ones status. Among the chongli these offices are as given under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFICE</th>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>MEAT PORTION</th>
<th>DUTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tazungpur</td>
<td>Junior lineages of above and Jamir Clan</td>
<td>Hump</td>
<td>Executive members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokongpur</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Supply meat in prestations, feasts and sacrifices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shosanglak/ Chitanundang</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>Distribution of meat during festivals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pongener/ Yimsunger

Lungkhumer

Head, if a number of pigs are killed

Head council head

Deputy of Unger
Among the Mongsen moiety their council is designated as Minchen and the members as a group are collectively called Samen - Minchen (meat seat). The offices in this moiety are, viz Tzunghba which corresponds to the chongli Unger and is hereditary for the Mongsentsunger clan or the first phratry. It is followed by Tonglu an equivalent of Tonglu of Chongli and is reserved for the Longchar clan. There are four other senior members occupying the Samen and among them the seniormost is designated as Chuchang which is a counterpart of Tazangpu of Chongli system. Below them are the Tokong ("neck") members and seniormost member is called Tokongtuzumbar ("neck elder") and the rest of samen in the lowest hierarchy are collectively known as Chamitzar. These positions are assigned on the basis of seniority of clans, and every clan designate have a right to nominate as many representatives as there are seats allotted to them.

After a ruling generation relinquishes its office, the members of earstwhile Tatar menden and Samen Minchen becomes Putir (C) Patir (M) i.e., priests. The religious head of the Mongsen moiety is called Patir Tsunghba and is hereditary Mongsentsunger clan to/while in the chongli series Patir Unger is fixed on Pongener or Yimsunger clans. Currently, the role of Patir/ Patir has been taken over by christian priests, however,
The authority of Putu menden/samen minchen is still supreme in all the village politico-administrative affairs. The dynamics of this generation cycle is best exemplified by Lungkhum at it stand in 1986.

There are variants of this cyclic generation in Ao villages, however, the principle remains the same. An important dimension has been added by the introduction of red blanket institution of Gzonburah and Dobashi by
the external powers. A fission process is discernible in the form of creating new *Putumenden* over and above the traditionally fixed number of such authority structures. For example, in Ungma yimlang (lower sector) a new *Putumenden* got established basically designed to acquire legitimacy from the present government. It is a form of according recognition to an interest group presumably for politico-economic gains. In this articulation the clan conglomerates are represented in the new *Putumenden* in accordance with traditionally accepted norms. The government has only to appoint a *dobashi* or *gaonburah* from this new entity and its existence is normally accepted by the village. It follows then, that the deprived junior lineages or ritually attached ones are behind this internal dissention who uses traditional codes to express their interests in the modern context. The same phenomena has come out in Longchang, Sungratsu and Mongsenyimti as late as 1985. In these villages also, the 'deprived' groups simply declare 'secession' from their parent *Putumenden*; and often than not, are sponsored by rival political parties. In the case of Ungma it was the NNDP that encouraged creation of a new *Putumenden* as against the Congress(I) domination of village decision
making body, this runs true in all these villages as mentioned above. However, as said it does not effect the traditional principle of power allocation to specific phratry or clans as originally conceived of in Ao society. Even though it is still a localised phenomena and confined to specific village territory, it certainly reveals a lot of submerged dissent that finds a way out with new legitimations readily in hand in the form of political parties, interest groups and a centralised state. In Ungma putumenden there are seventy members in all representing all its clans, while Ao Mokokchung village has a putumenden for each of its residential sectors of which its upper sector boasts of the biggest number of councillors. The office of Unger and Chuchang represents a kind of internal stratification system, however, it involves more of prestige rather than power in its absolute sense of term. In the chongli dominated villages, Unger appears to resemble a hereditary chief and it does reflect, at any rate, an overflow of Anghdom influence as reference point of power structure among Aos.

(C) OUNGH OF CHANGS

In June 1888 the Ao villages of Mongsenyimti and Longkhung were raided by Tuensang confederacy comprising of Noksen, Litim, Longla, Sangdak, Longdang and Tuensang.
They were invariably opening up a corridor through the Ao villages which did not come within the orbit of alliances of Hakpang (Phom). On the other hand, the west bank villages of Yaongyimti and Chakpa are socially close to the Noksen group of villages and had Pauyim ("alliance") with Hakpang. This indirectly tied them up with Ao villages of Salulemang and Chuchuyimlang. Again Alisopore (Sangtam) had a thirty mithun alliance with Chuchu. In between these networks of overlapping alliances a vacuum occurred geographically as well as socially in this frontier. Moreover, at this stage, the Ao political system was undergoing a traumatic change under the Christian missionary activities and their precarious balance of power was about to collapse especially in Ungma confederacy group.

Economically the trans-polity trade was confined to those segments living close to the Assam plains, and the Changs did not come into contact with the valley till very recently. Consequently, the Changs started using large iron plates known as Lah for trading and the Aos had a counterpart currency called Jabili. Again the salt spring called Tuensang Oham near Tuensang village and another known locally as Chang chem near Changsang produced just enough salt to barter for goods from the
plains via Ao and Phom traders, especially through Longmis village. Therefore, with the absence of a centralised political structure among Aos and restricted long distance trading for Changs a serious crises was imminent. Moreover the need for a stimulus to internal cohesion of Changs and polity expansion brought about this invasion.

Internal solidarity among the Chang segment was given by the Oungh clan; which is a priestly clan and every village must undoubtedly have one of them. They are normally spoken of with contempt and "doubtless represents a conquered population and acquainted with gods of the soil" (Hutton, 1922: p xxxii). However, the reverse could also be true and presumably Oungh clan is an extention of an Angh group as a dominant politico-ritual lineage in Tuensang and Hakjang. This linkage could be established through oral tradition, a Chang story speaks of the creation of Oungphaysem village by war leaders, namely Seang and Thongdi Yongpen of Oungh and Kudemshi clans respectively. This settlement is a deserted place now which lies between Tobu and Nyenem and is said to have been established before Tuensang was founded from Changsang. This village went to war with Changsang over right of possession of a killed barking deer. In the contest that ensued Changsang was worsted as to make them abandon their settlement. The ounghpaysemm led by Oungpang clan deserted
their village also and descended to upper Konyak and
settled Anghbang village (now deserted) near present
Tobu about six hundred years ago.

A detailed discussion was made on segmentation and con-
solidation of Changs in Chapter II in which the two variants
of their polity was given, represented by Tagensang on one
hand and Noksen on the other. The Tagensang socio-political
system is illustrated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Duty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pelashi i (i &amp; ii)</td>
<td>Oungh</td>
<td>Chonganshe Konanshe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head hunters' hands will be washed and act as peace maker between villages on warpath; abstain from partake of the meat of stag, goat, cow and field-rat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pongenshi Ongokshe Nogong...</td>
<td>Onshutpou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanchu ii Kangshu</td>
<td>Kosumchaba sangtishi Tsadangyimpou Hakiong</td>
<td>Kongtenpou</td>
<td>village crier and his house is the administrative seat of councillors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jongpou iii Jongpou</td>
<td>Sangpuokishi Youlosi Senyoungshe Loangshe Okagshi</td>
<td>Kipungungpou</td>
<td>Broadcast first seedling of paddy, maize and millet; at least one member is required by a new village.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loumou iv Lomou</td>
<td>Tesou Ao saktshi Aoyokmat Yachushi</td>
<td>Jempungnakpou</td>
<td>collect new food grains from each household for future prosperity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Hakjang, there are three sectors,
namely, Pongensangmang ("mount sector"), Sangdenyunyukong
("plain sector") and Langpishang ("towards field sector")
and inhabited by Kangshu, Loumou and Ongh (Oungh) clans. Their politico-administrative set up is identical to Tuensang village. The clans of this sub-segment as developed in their first settlement at Changsang (reckoned to have been settled for fifty one generations or Mudens, one muden is equivalent of one hundred years.) are said to be, viz, Oungh, Kangshu, Hakeoungh, Loumou, Kuthemshi, Youloughi, Senyoungshi, Loangshi, Okagshi, Youloshi (the last five are lineages of Jongpou clan in Tuensang.) Ti-so-hongang, Henjoshi and Hongang. Among them the Ti-so-hongang and Hongang seems to be later attachments and are found in all Chang villages other than Tuensang and Hakjang. In the other villages there exists another functionary alongside the Kangshu clan, i.e., the Kuthemshi who sets fire to the paddy field jhumlands. Again the Hongang clansmen are village criers and are associated with sun worship. This links them with a Chang myth of origin and migration, according to this version the Chongs are said to have migrated from the east (east means chang) which might explain for their worship of sun. Moreover, Hcong in Chang dialect means foreigner. It might also be true that Ti-so-hongang are submerged Yimchunger stock as one may reflect back to changsang myth of migration of Ti-so-tiyong group identifiable with the Yimchunger. In fact there is a seizable number of intermixture among Chang and Yimchunger segments in Tuensang village as indicated in Chapter II.
The polity in the Noksen group of villages clearly resembles the Ao putu menden, however, they attribute starting of this system to one sumaknok of Jongpou clan (they consider this as akin to Jamir clan of Aos). This tradition says that he had killed a tiger and for taking it home, age groups got instituted thereon, and inevitably their variant of putu menden began and call it mendensetsang which has a twenty two years cycle. Presently, in Noksen village there are eighty six muden setshang members and they are classified into three grades; viz, Shitwi grade is composed of young men of twenty years and above; Yapen grade belongs to the middle aged to sixty years of age, and Senjovi is filled up by young boys from six years onwards. In this system the younger elements in Shitwi grade are elected and by the time they attain the age of forty or so they enter Yapen grade and does all menial works in the village. While Shitwi are leaders of all the age groups and grades, the Senjovi members are basically social servants who runs messages and the like. This system is convenient for a military nature of affairs unlike the Ao system of leadership devolving on elders.

The nature of Chang polity formation entails both the elements of expansion and migration in order to annex lands or even colonise villages. Therefore, it depended
upon the Changsāng charter to retain their diffused groups and also discourage fission. It becomes clear that the Noksen group could not orbit out of this arrangement because of ecological constraints in the form of Dikhu river. However, Changs could not retain Aokching (Phom) which was situated on the west bank of Yongpi river, though it was very much a part of Hakjang socio-political system.

The intra-segment relationship and boundary maintenance was made possible through alliances. In the Sangtam frontier, a war broke out between Noksen and Persahiri during the time of warleaders namely, Mungtisung and Zachutin. In this war the warriors of Noksen took Mungtisung’s head and Persahiri was worsted. Later on in the time of Selimong (grandson of Mungtisung) of Persahiri, a peace pact was arrived at between them on the agreement that Noksen should receive a tribute of one cow and a pig thereon. This relationship continued till the British administration put an end to this. However, there has been no peace between Chari and Litem and memory is such that when one Saku, a headman of Chari went to Litem with some Alisopore men, he was refused the customary reception normally accorded to visiting dignitaries. In fact, as told to me, he was not allowed to enter their houses even, this incident occurred in 1978. The Sangtam village of Alisopore is socially
very close to Litem, Yaongyimti (now Ao) and Noksen and it did not enter Hakjang's sphere of influence.

It is of great import to note that the Sangtam, Phom, Yimchunger, Chang and Konyak segments manufacture their own gun-powder and muzzle loaders and this technology did not, however, spill over to adjacent segments. The manufacture of muzzle loaders is still a well kept secret among them as it must have been so for gunpowder. This trade secret obviously did a lot for a 'we' feeling among them. The present administration collects a tax of rupees five per annum for each muzzle loader. Previously the Anghdom controlled this technology i.e. in the manufacture of muskets and gunpowder, and also its distribution.

(D) KHI-UNGER OF YIMCHUNGER

The Yimchunger segment has identical polity formation as that of Chang, Ao, Sangtam and Phom and as discussed earlier and the Langa transit settlement brought about a great deal of admixture among these Naga segments. This segment approximates to a peripheral group of Anghdom expansion in the light of their
political structure. The villages nearest to the Sangtam and Chang frontier seems to be the core of Yimchunger identity, while in the south and south-east a constant pull factor is discerned which emanates from Makwari village (now falls under Burma) situated on the eastern slope of Saramati peak. This has become a reference point for a fission process among the Yimchunger segment and the dissent sub-segment now consider themselves to be Tikir and Moguri or Makwari as separate from their parent segment. A new identity has surfaced/styled the Timachir comprising of Tikir and Moguri sub-segments as late as 1970's. Till the late 1940's the composite Yimchunger segment had ceremonial and social links with their kinsmen in Burma which reside in thirty two villages led by dominant villages of Makwari, Laktir, Kolar and Metonger. However, with the boundary demarcation that was done between India and Burma in 1967, a politico-administrative restriction on movements and social interaction has set in and social dislocation is, therefore inevitable.

Among the Yimchunger clan, Khi-Unger ("khi-Khimupû") seems to be an articulation almost identical to Unger/Dungh position with a local cannotation. Presumably their myth of origin at Kimuphu is a necessary condition
to retain a regional as well as segmentary solidarity.

Their ideal politico-administrative structure is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Duty</th>
<th>Approximate to others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khi-Unger</td>
<td>Kongpo.... Kosenkhiung Okchi-er</td>
<td>Chongpo</td>
<td>Morung administrator, priest to wash headhunter's hands.</td>
<td>Pongener(Ao), Oungh (Chang), Angbang (Phom).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jager</td>
<td>Jager Longpur (exists in Lungkhum)</td>
<td>Yangtenpou</td>
<td>Sower of first seedling, fire-maker in Jhum clearance, starts bridge making, worship spring.</td>
<td>Jamir (Ao) Jongpou (Chang) Numidangbang(P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khipur</td>
<td>Khipur Kissor Shunakpur (exists in Sema and Sangtam)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Liquidation</td>
<td>Lungkhumer(Ao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jankhiunger</td>
<td>Dangmiang Jankhiung</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Liquidation</td>
<td>Lemtur (Ao) Loumou (Chang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limchunger</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Liquidation</td>
<td>Tzudir (Ao)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Meson of Khiamungans

The erstwhile Kalyo-Kenyu now known as Khiamungan basically comes under three dominant villages namely, Noklak,
Pathso and Nokho. This segment did not come under Chang-sang's influence as such that they will be considered as belonging to a different typology. Their socio-political type can be exemplified by Noklak village, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Characteristics/duty</th>
<th>Gaonburah (nos)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meya</td>
<td>Shiomeya Meson</td>
<td>Wash hands of head-hunters, enemy skull washed and cleaned, field worship, Priest for defence.</td>
<td>1. but none from Shiomeya and Lammeya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lammeya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chojameya Orang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chio</td>
<td>Longsenchio head of Phiandongchio Kam</td>
<td>Predominantly warriors (Leying)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yiasonshio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam</td>
<td>Lamthai</td>
<td>Most of them are big men (Tset-ememe)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamnya Head of Kam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamthiul Kam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semaolam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nokthanlam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamshing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shontsolam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Their village council is always led by Lam and Chio clans, and a great deal of decentralization in the power structure is found among them. This is possible through semi-autonomous Kampash which is a morung of sorts. In
each sector, called Kam a fixed group of named lineages takes up residence and in each of these Kam, a Kampaoh is established, which is basically designed for twenty or more house holds. (refer also to Chapter III.iii) and is always under the control of an elder from either Chio or Lam clans. This principle extends also to the Meya residential sector, in this Meya Kampaoh a lineage of Lam clan has taken residence i.e. Lamthai. In other words the Meya clan does not have an independent politico-administrative power even in its residential section. Even though a degree of autonomy is given to all the Kampoahs, the centre of political authority seems to emanate from Kam and Kamyan sectors where Kampaohai and Tsatao meya (morung elders) of Chio clan resides. They oversee the socio-political affairs of the village as a whole. The absence of Gaonburahs in Shio meya and Lammeya lineages is very significant in the sense that traditional ritual functionaries are yet to reconcile with alien authority structures, it is not a matter of deprivation but a question of retentive power of native socio-political structure as it stands till date (in fact to be precise in 1986).

(iii) Yangchachar of Sangtams

The Sangtam ("Pirr") segment is akin to Ao mongsen group in their linguistic as well as polity characteristics.
They are the most fragmented segment among the Nagas from a geographical point of view as described in chapter II. They were variously known as Tukomi or southern Sangtam and western Sangtam till they got themselves amalgamated into a compact Naga segment. It is said that during one of the British expeditions, these two groups accidentally met in their labour camp, presumably hearing Sangtam speech being spoken in their campfires, got together and started recounting their stories. Till then a vague (almost a myth so to say) mention of their earlier dispersal in the wake of Sema migration was being made in their house-hold hearths.

There are six clans in the western Sangtam group, namely, Thongru, Langthithongru, Chingru, Anar, Mongsur and Ruththongru. The first two clans are said to have been exogamous before but not now. The first clan, i.e. Thongru are village priests and pole erectors during Morung construction. The men of Langthithongru are basically field path worshippers, while Chingru men are assistant to both the clans. The Anar clan has got no specific functions while Mongsur clan is marked by predominance of soothsayers among its members. The Ruththongru are natural pathfinders and keeps an eye on enemy movements.
The Sangtam Yangchachar (headman) almost always hails from thongru clan and the incumbent must have three qualities, according to them namely, enthropong ("war-leader"); Alipong ("big-man") and Ymithipong ("diplomatic speaker").

The southern Sangtam social structure is based on emergence from a stone through which clan prerogative and functions are determined accordingly, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Office/duty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinger</td>
<td>Chinger; chingerthuru; Ruthithungru; Mongru.</td>
<td>First cutting of Jhumland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thongru</td>
<td>Shonakkuru; Thongru, Yangpithungru, Langki-thongru</td>
<td>First sower of paddy seed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among this group, the village administration is under the chinger clan and during festivals meat is allotted equally to both the grain sower and the Jhumland cutter. The eldest member of Chinger clan is designated as Asiru chingru (headman). It seems that their proximity to Semas and admixture has altered their social structure a great deal, and the propensity of breaking and establishment of new villages is not dissimilar to Semas. As for instance, in Sanchuri village there are five sectors, namely Yangtiru of chinger and Ruthi-thungru clans; Yongpitongya of yungpithungru clan; Thangthoru of Langkithongru; Yangmedemru of Yungpithungru lineage and Kiur of mixed lineages. However, very recently the last
seceded from Sanchuri as a new village. In the midst of this group, a new village, called Nitoi of Sema origin has come up under protection of Yansekyu village. Moreover, the villages of Sitimi, Khuvukhu, Hoikiya, Satoi are inhabited by both Sema and Sangtam segments.

There has been no war among the western Sangtam villages as they consider themselves offshoots of Perahiri settlement which was known to Aos as Lupenyimchen ("old village on Jhumland regrowth"). For peace in the Ao frontier they entered into Aksu alliance with adjoining Ao villages, notably, between Chari and Chuchuyimbang. Ao mokokchung and Longmisa has identified weirs with Chari in the Dikhu for intra-village fishing. Again there is still a three times a year Aksu alliance between Longsa and Chari. These relations are buttressed by co-habitation of Ao and Sangtam households in the six sectors of Chari village. These sectors are, namely, Imsen (christian sector); Pongen (thongru) Longkum (Anar); Mangkoteron (Mangoting lineage); Aoleden (Ao); Ao mepu (Ao). They have a thirty years putu menden with a sosang heading the council of the Ao households and Runusosang (Sangtam) from the thongru clan as Sangtam representative head in the joint village council. The Ao immigrants acknowledge Sangtam identity though they have retained Ao political
structure. The present gaonburah and an elder councillor of Chari, one Sakulepden informed me that they migrated from Longsa and his grandmother was of Yarangchang lineage of Imchen clan of Lungkhum. And according to him the villages of Mongtikang, Litem, Yachem and Yangpi are offshoots of Koridang settlement (dispersal point of Ao villages). The Aos after crossing Dikhu river settled soyim and Koridang successively and dispersed and the mentioned villages on the east bank of Dikhu were settled by a group that recrossed Dikhu. They are said to have first settled Sangpangkong a deserted place located just below chuchuyimbang, it seems as though it was used for rallying those 'merir' group that was left behind in the initial crossing and of the overflow from Koridang settlement and thence to settle those named villages. The nomenclature given by Aos to all those living on the east bank is Merir, literally it means bypassing a well trodden path i.e. moving side ways on the east bank. This appellation has become to an extent a derogatory term to signify "less civilised" humanity as compared to the Aos.

The nature of Sangtam boundary expansion was by means of warfare which began right after they settled Perahiri. During their Yangchachar (chief) Hunchutsung's rule a war ensued with Longsa. In this confrontation,
both the villages agreed to meet at a chosen spot and do battle to decide their territorial boundary. If Perahiri got better of Longsa their land would extend up to Tsutsung stream (a tributary of Dikhu, northwest of Longsa), otherwise, Longsa would have the privilege of annexing up to Tsumeya (Tzumera stream, see, chapter V court case) stream. The skirmish ended up in a draw, however, Longsa bucks entered Perahiri by stealth and took head of Hunchutsung and informed the deceased son, Lichasi of their feat at the heat of another battle. Upon seeing his father's unnatural physical formation of twelve toes and twelve fingers taken already by Longsa bucks, withdrew from battle declaring war by stealth henceforth. Later, after establishment of Chadanger, Mangaki and Chari settlements nearer to Longsa, the latter could not stand the predatory raids of these settlements. Thereupon, Longsa despatched a peacemaker bearing two Tsungkotepsu (warrior shawl) to effect an armistice. Consequently, an alliance was arrived at by which the shawl was returned to Longsa and an exchange of dao, salt and cotton took place and inevitably Aksu at councillors level was initiated. This alliance is still maintained till date.

Besides the boundary maintenance under Perahiri with adjoining segments, they could effectively blunt Angdom expansionist tendencies. This was effectively buttressed
by the Akekaodom of Sema Segment. In other words, an effective pressure was maintained by the Semas which could not break through an equally strong Tuensang confederacy. However, this made for a precarious balance of power in this frontier. The major thrust of Sema Akekaodom, then, turned towards the west bank of Dikhu so as to press Ungma, Longsa and Lungkhum villages. This was the politico-military condition that existed in this region when British forces entered Naga country.

(iv) THE AKEKAO-DOM

The Semas were late entrants to the degraded secondary growth areas of central Nagaland. An environmental circumspection occurred delimited both by ecological conditions as well as resistance by other social units represented by the sedentary Ao, Angami, Lotha, and Rengma segments which virtually brought about development of the Akekaodom. It is understood that sedentarisation triggers a population growth and correlated pressure on resources leads to centralization of a given polity. However in the case of the Semas, a migratory instinct is indicated in the proliferation of new settlements, and villages has households ranging anything from five to a hundred only. These bandlike and rapid moving villages were under an Akeka with an attached
Mughumi bound by a system of land tenure. This in itself led to a form of centralization, even then economic surplus could not be generated with the application of work gangs per force. It will be a misplaced argument that intensification of demands made by the hierarchical authority as associated with larger settlements like Anghdoms could also be applied to Akekao-dom. It was then a system peculiar to itself and at any rate reflects what might have been in the case of other Naga segments in their earlier migrations, as exemplified by the Lotha Ekyungs (chapter II, ii).

Interestingly enough, the Akekao-doms developed only in the Ao Sangtam, Lotha and Rengma regions as combined Sema villages tried to break through to escape ecological depletion, i.e., in the northern frontier of the Semas. Whereas in the southern settlements around the Angami, Chakesang areas they have settled down to a 'democratic' political form and sedentarization. Lazami village is a case in point, in this village there is no office of Akekao?; this is also true of Seromi and Satami villages. It is also noted that in Philimi and Rotomi settlements free labour (either voluntary or enforced) is non-existent. The Akekao is a secular official without any pretentions of a cosmological legitimacy of his standing as in the case
of other Naga segments. Among them Awoa is a religious functionary to initiate all agricultural activities and is considered to be a very important element among them, he is followed by Amthao ("first reaper"), Lapu or Amishou ("the burier of dead") and Ashipu ("butcher of sacrificial animals"). These offices are not hereditary, except in Tukomi clan settlements where Ashipu is invariably the Akekao himself (Hutton, 1921: 216). This act is however looked upon with disdain by Aos and must use an adopted son or a 'slave' to slaughter all sacrificial animals.

I am hesitant to consider chiefdom as equivalent to Akekaodom, for in terms of polity formation they were essentially a clan group or most of the members were potential recruits into its kinship structure led by a warleader designed for predatory war conditions. They were yet to settle down as sedentary and centralised social forms. Therefore centralization in this case is loosely defined as opposed to higher polity articulations. I am not suggesting the the Akekaodom rests at the rock bottom of Naga typologies, but emphasising its peculiarities in contradiction with the mechanical assumption of a "peasant-militia" or a "manorial" attributes as Hutton himself was not sure of. (Hutton, 1921: 144). This Akekaodom can be equated with the migratory Mizo chiefdoms, however, the use of native term would be more apt in this aspect.
A detail discussion on the nature of recruitment to Mughumi has been done in chapter II already, it is clear that none is turned away if an individual seek refuge and call an Akekao his 'father'. And a gift of paddy, a spear and a dao is considered sufficient enough to become ritual kinsmen of an Akekao. Moreover, acquisition of a wife (purchased) and a tie of land tenure brings to an individual all the paraphernalia of rights attached to a consanquine member of the Akakao. It is also noted that every member of the village including those non-Mughumi are expected to give service of four to sixteen days in a year in Akekao's jhum field. (Hutton, 1921: 148). To our mind it reminds us of an overgrown Morung system of other Naga segments. In this case the surplus thus generated is confined in the Akekao's granary, however, it perpetuates a form of droit de seigneur, noblese obligé, in other words, it means redistribution at a later stage, which is not a characteristic of Angahoms. The point I am making here is that the relationship between Akekao and his Anulikesimi does not reflect an archaic form of slavery. The Akekao is assisted by a nominated body known as Chochoomi ("elders") and his kinsmen's council i.e., Kekami together gives them a stable basis for village administration.
The Semas are considered to be akin to the Koirao group of the Mao segment, and as they moved northward a blockade in the form of Angami resistance dissuaded their intended westward migration. After their conflict with the Angamis near Swemi, they entered the Doyang catchment area and a group that crossed over to the west bank are found settled in predominantly Asumi clan villages of Lazami group, namely, Lponomi, Pugoboto, Natsemi, Tsapimi, Asukika Kitami and Chokimi. They have a democratic form of polity, and identification is closer to the Angami political form, as such that in 1986, the public of Pugoboto sub-division made a plea to the government that they should be retained under Kohima district and not Zunheboto. Whereas the Semas were demanding an amalgamation of all Sema areas under Zunheboto district, it seems that Pugoboto group is more closer to Angamis than their Sema kinsmen.

In their northward march a weak resistance was given by the Rengmas as such that Khomoma’s expansionist designs were checked and had to veer to its left flank represented by the Nzonteriphenyu (Rengma) and colonize present Karbi Anglong region. Again the Yephotomi and Ayimi clans ascended the Tizu and Tita river catchment areas and underwent
admixtures with Sangtam and Rengma segments after splitting them apart. Meanwhile the Zhomomi, Awomi, Chisilimi and Kinimi clans took a center position and pushed Ao villages northward, however, they were checked by dominant Ao villages further north. Moreover, the expansion of Anghdom and Khiamungan political stability checked further movements, this in turn created a backlock in the region of present Phek district as to create a group of villages without a dominant polity. That is where the British administration created an administrative tribe for their convenience. In this a mention may be made of Matikhru village which happens to be a Tankhul village and represents by all means an expansion of the southernmost Naga block. Besides this village, the Sema settlements of Swemi, Nahatomi and Tehehumi are now a part of composite Chakesang identity. The elder generations in these villages still speak Sema, but for all practical purpose, Keza and Chokre dialect is used. The argument produced here is that an ideal Sema socio-political structure in its pristine form is undoubtly the Akekaos and his Mughumi, which accidentally got 'frozen' by an administrative promulgation in the form of appointing Akekaos either as Dobashis or Gaonburahs. And this political form in essence will continue as ideal Sema social system for times to come.
(v) THE KEMEVOHOOD

A number of confederacies emerged in the third block of Nagas which gave the most effective resistance to the Anglo-saxon colonial interest in the last part of the nineteenth century. The dominant among them was the Khonoma confederacy consisting of Khonoma, Sachema, Mezoma, Jotsoma, Kigwema and their offshoots, namely Thekrezenama and Sachnobama. The other confederacy was led by Kohima village and it comprised of all the northern settlements, while Viswema had the Zonnuo-Keyhonou group of villages. The villages nearer to Dimapur plains are collectively known as Chakroma consisting of Razepema, Chimukedima, Sitikina, Piphima, Medziphima etc., which are direct offshoots of both Khonoma and Kohima. East of the Viswema sub-segment and hemmed in by Chokre (chakrima), Tengima and Mao (memi) segment are the Keza villages, they were considered to be 'demilitarised' and came under politico-ritual control of Keza-kenoma. While the Chokre sub-segment is a boundary maintenance group and a cognate to Kezas. The Mao segment is basically the ritual head of this welt of segments and Khonoma can be considered as the most dominant political element among them.

We can discern two types of legitimation of their politico-ritual articulations viz, Makhel/Maikhel and
**Kezakenoma.** They are no doubt sources of origin of the composite Angami segment as well as allied politico-kinship segments like Rengma (especially Nzongteri-phenvi) and also of political extensions to Lothas. The first charter has a domination over Angamis in a ritual-sense of term, and it becomes more assertive among the Dzunokeheno Zonnuo-keyhcnuo. This sub-segment while remaining a part of Angami continue to assert a distinct entity, which includes a single genealogical structure and a compact territory. Moreover their land tenure is closely linked with the kinship system and an overbearing importance is given to their ancestress, namely, Dzuli Mosuro.

This becomes important in the light of their dual inheritance system despite existence of a patriarchal arrangement of kinship structure. In this system, the Kayie (estate) belongs to a particular lineage (a corporate group) and all inheritance includes both self-acquired property and ancestral property. The division of ancestral and self-acquired property is done in the lifetime of parents, though it should be ideally based on patrilineal principle, two women, i.e., the widow and the daughter are included in the priority for choice of heirs in order of precedence. This division of property is a part of a wider system of inheritance. Thus, a group
of agnates (including women) are in possession of a kayie. Provided that a women (married with her children) has taken up residence in her partilineage locality, she and her children are entitled to a share in the kayie. The second type of legitimation comes from the Kezakenoma dolmen in the form of a political charter which is asserted by Khonoma, Kohima, Chokre and Keza sub-segments. About this political charter, Hutton has observed that it does "not fit in with the story of the origin of the exogamous clans... (cf Angamis)...but it is a logical position which it is perhaps too much to expect of any race". However, I shall differ with him that it was a deliberate and conscious articulation to legitimise the expansionist designs of Khonoma and Kohima confederacies by the expediency of maintaining real or ritual kinship with other segments, viz, Lotha, Sema and Rengma.

The socio-political segments that come under the two charters can be bracketed under what I shall call the Mevohood (kemovohood) as it has a direct relevance to acquisition of status as well as polity formation. In this aspect, the reference point is the Kemevo. He is always from a founder lineage and directs all public ceremonies, so also is the repositor of genealogical and historical
tradition of his village. The very nature of his sacrosanctity makes him immune from enemy attacks during war. The kemevo selects and builds the first house after all necessary rituals are conducted for establishment of a village. The most significant aspect is the deitification of the Tehuba (round stone sitting place) stone circle which contains the graves of deceased Kemovos underneath, and public affairs are conducted from this sacred place. The Khonoma group has a kemo

...
of the village. The Mevo is neither a warrior nor a wealthy person, on the contrary, there is a belief, current among Mao's that the prosperity of the head stands opposed to the general welfare and prosperity of the inhabitants. Again the ritual taboos and his services to the community effects his agricultural activities as to deplete his economic resources and standing, and they prefer it to be left so.

The Mevo among the Keza sub-segment should neither be killed in war nor engage in agricultural activities. In Kezakenoma the Mevo is always from Tsene clan, however, this principle does not extend to other villages. It is mostly status holders that assume powers of Mevo in those villages other than Kezakenoma.

The kemovo assumes an important entity when it becomes a reference point for big men to acquire legitimacy of their statuses. This status can be attained or approximated by giving a series of feast of merit. Thereafter, the 'secular kemovohood' thus acquired would bring the big men not only enhanced social status but ritual kinship with like 'secular kemovos' of other villages. The Kemovo in his official hereditary position has a standing in specific village territory where as the 'secular kemovo' status holder
invariably uses the same principle of neutrality in intra-village feuds to consolidate trans-village peace and alliances. This mechanism facilitated the conditions for the emergence of confederacies. Both the qualities of a warrior and big man coincides in almost all the cases. Thus the secular Kemovo enters into Chuza (peace treaty) with neighbouring villages by sacrificing bulls of mithun, buffalo and pigs. Henceforth, it is taboo to perform head hunting amongst the participants of Chuza. In other words, no one dares to hunt for their heads for the simple reason that a combined wrath of a number of secular Kemovos would descend upon such perpetrators. This socio-political typology is essentially a variant of the conically structured Naga politics, however, it is unique in its own right. Mention may be made of the observations made by Hutton (1921:197) on the control of Morovocho of Makhremei (Nao) village over the agricultural calendar of the Angami and cognate segments. Obviously, this reference is relevant to secular Kemovos of Angami especially for the big men of Khonoma and Kohima confederacies, and it goes to show that the administratively segmented 'tribes' are quite inadequate in understanding Naga polity formations. Certainly, Kemovohood (morovocho, mevo) extended its principle over a greater territorial jurisdiction in the past.
There are seven sequences in an Angami feast of merit open to all individuals for status mobility. Among the Kohima group a person after performing chisu (highest order of merit) can declare himself a kemovo, the same status is attained by a feast giver in Khonoma group also.

The community functions like Sekrenyi festival held in February is designed for invocation of a good year; it is also known as Phasanye (purification ceremony) for all the male inhabitants and a time for re-affirmation of intra-village relationship through exchange of mutual visits of village representatives or of clans. It is also marked by bridge pulling or erection of new village gate. On this occasion, Mithun or buffaloes do not enter into their ritual relationship, instead dog's meat is distributed and eaten in plenty. This aspect assumes an important meaning, for in Naga cosmology dog is ritually an agent for purification and perpetuation of prosperity, simply stated, dog meat consumption means a relationship between equals (commomers?) as opposed to secular Kemovo's Mithun alliances.

The Angami feast of merit begins with a preliminary of three feasts followed by more elaborate and expensive ones as given in the chart thus:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feast</th>
<th>Foodstuffs Used</th>
<th>Persons Involved</th>
<th>Entitlement</th>
<th>Equivalent Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LHIGE GEI (marking harvest of 100 baskets of paddy)</td>
<td>1 pig</td>
<td>Kinsmen and affiness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRIEGA GEI (marking harvest of 100 of baskets)</td>
<td>2 pigs</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Brush hair straight down instead of tying in a knot.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PICHU PELHIE (for blessing)</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>Elders or 4 Mithun, 4 Zhevos</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHUCHA (performed twice)</td>
<td>40 mounds rice, 6 mithun, 2 pigs</td>
<td>Free distribution of meat to villagers and feasted.</td>
<td>Thatching grass in split bamboo in the front porch.</td>
<td>CHESA (Kohima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEROCHU or Kesla (ancestor worship)</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Monolith erection in honour of deceased ancestors</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZHACHU (Performed twice)</td>
<td>60 mounds of rice, 8 mithun/cow/buffaloes, 4 pigs.</td>
<td>Feast villagers and others.</td>
<td>Two planks affixed to the front gable of his house and wear Zhavakwe Cloth</td>
<td>ZHACHE (Kohima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LISHU (dragging two posts, one forked)</td>
<td>120 mounds of rice, 10 mithun/cow/buffaloes, 5 pigs.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Affix the Kika (house horn) and assume title: Kikakepfuma</td>
<td>LICHU (Kohima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KETSESHE (pulling a monolith for erection)</td>
<td>160 mounds of rice, 12 mithun/cow/buffaloes</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>CHISU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are two types of feast of merit among the Mao segment, namely, Mozu and Yoso. The former is a feast held during December, whereas the Yoso marks the erection of monoliths. On such occasions all the clan representatives of a particular village will gather in the feast giver's house (or big man). They will discuss and review their customary laws and amend relevant conventions if found necessary, thereafter, the elders will announce to public these changes. The changes that can be made in their customary usages and regulations by an assembly indicates to an extend the declining status of the Morovocho in a secular sense. He has been confined to maintaining the agricultural calendar or control over mani (ritual ceremonial days) only.

It can be said that the ritually fixed statuses is the stimulus for big men to emerge and consequently a dynamic polity emerges among these Naga segments under discussion. The most notable polity development and extension is represented by the Khonoma confederacy. A remarkable influence of this polity is found among the Rengma segment, especially in Tseminyu, Phensenyu, Sendenyu, Tsokwnyu and Tsewnyu group of villages. Among the Tseminyu linguistic group, the villages of Tsokwnyu and Choshingvare basically of Angami stock. Moreover, a tradition is current among the Sendenyu
people that their ancestor was one Tsemi and along with his kinsmen, Kahi and Puherile made camp near about the present Nerhema. The tradition also indicates that Kahi and Puherile established Kohima and Nerhema respectively. (one of Kohima's sectors). Again Phensenyu was established in its present political form by one Kselie of Khonoma, he is reputed to have made a round stone seat, presumably in the fashion of Kemovo's seat at Khonoma. It is highly suggestive of planting Khonoma's political form, though not necessarily a wholesale migration of population to this village. Moreover, the Kent clan of Tsemiyou is identified with Tsutonami (Tkhel) clan of Kohima, and it is closely akin to Sopfuma clan of Mao segment. It is also noted that Tsownyu village is partly inhabited by Angamis.

The political authority of Rengma villages called the Kokhugu or Kekhoun ("headman") represents a very fluid type of power structure. Even though this headship is hereditary to a founder clan, a gross mishandling of affairs will deprive the whole clan of this right (Mills, 1937: 138-139). As a case in point, the Tepinyu clan was deprived of Kokhugu-ship by Khinyonyu clan for a period of seven years in the light of their ineffectual administration. Then it reverted back to them and ruled for nearly seven generations till the British Gaonburah and
Dobashi institutions made them insignificant. The same process was observed in Tesophenyu between Kentennenyu (Kent) and Mhatongza clans by Mills (Mills, 1937:139).

The power struggles between clans can be best explained by the nature of their cosmological conditionings and legitimacy thereof. As referred to earlier in Chapter III, the Mao, Angami and their cognates like Rengmas, must literally do battle with the Naga version of St. Peter and enter the kingdom of heaven by force. This is unthinkable in the case of other Naga segments. This crucial element contributed a lot in the formation of a dynamic socio-political structure and polity expansion of this block of Nagas.

In the earstwhile Eastern Rengma (now a part of Pochury) group of villages viz Meluri, Lephor and Sahunyu there is no secular head man as such that their political life is run by big men. They have a religious functionary known as Kachiwa/Kuzesha/Pensengo, however in Meluri village, the Kachiwa takes over the morung administration and another official, namely, Tzuozari functions as the village priest. Their polity functions as given under:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>OFFICE</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tshori</td>
<td>Kachiwa Tzuozari</td>
<td>Morung chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyuwri</td>
<td>Kachiwelo</td>
<td>Initiates cutting of jungle and setting it afire in Jhumming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngori Nyusori Nuthiri</td>
<td>Atsuo-Kevitewa</td>
<td>First to harvest paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phojiri</td>
<td>Ashipiwa</td>
<td>First sower of seed grain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though their polity is closely identified with Angami system, the Iseni-kotseneu group had undergone admixtures with Lotha segment. As indicated earlier, the Maluri group of villages were cut off from mainbody of Kengjums by the Sema movements in Tizu area, as a consequence an expansion could not take place in this direction. This constraint probably gave the necessary impetus for Khonomu and allied confederacies to turn west, represented at any rate by Nzonteri-Phenyu segment and their migration to present Diphu division of Karbi Anglong district of Assam.

The politico-economic interests of the Nagas in the valley of Assam can best be explained by British records, which suggest that the North-Cachar Hills and adjoining areas supplied to Bengal a number of products and animals, namely, timber, precious wood (including sandal), cane, rubber, cotton, silk and elephant tusks. It is also
known that Kajali-ban in central Cachar was an important source of elephants as Persian records\(^9\) testify. Other records\(^10\) also indicate that Rajas of Cachar controlled the external trade and levied duty on the transit stations. Over and above this, the Maibong brine spring and market was an essential stimulus for the power struggle between the Dimasa rulers and the Ahoms; there are evidences to suggest that the animosity and frontier clashes between Ahoms and Dimasas invariably dragged in the hill dwellers into this region. The trans-polity trade among the Nagas in this region was controlled by Khonoma, therefore it was essential for them to send out colonies, which can be identified with the Nzoteri-Phenyu settlement of the valley area. This sub-segment came under the Ahom political network, and as discussed earlier, the Phukanship was conferred upon the most dominant headmen of this sub-segment of Rengmas. This post became hereditary and the last title was held by one Pfuka of Panchirep village of erstwhile Mikir hills. Besides the political articulations, from a linguistic point of view, the numerically dominant inhabitants of present Karbi Anglong, namely, the Karbis (erstwhile Mikirs) are no doubt a part of the western Nagas group. Lyall substantiates this view point that the Mikirs (karbis) are not of Boro or Kachari stock and
"form the connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki-chins and the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter of these two races, especially those dwelling in the south of the Arakan Yoma range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of Irawaddy valley". (Lysal, 1908:151-165).

They were settled in strength in the region north of the Barail range and were directly in contact with the Angami and Zeliangrongs. At the close of the Ahom rule, the Karbis were known as Mikir Nagas (Gait, 1905, Map). It can be safely stated that they were then a peripheral Naga group not unlike the Pakans of Tengnoupal district of Manipur who were designated as Old-Kukis. The latter group as a politico-social identity as Nagas is unquestionable now, however the Karbis orbited out of this Naga identity not by choice but out of colonial interests in the valley and the policy of divide et impera. This is also true in the present context.

The other Naga segments that came under direct control of Khonoma were the Zemi, Liangmei and Ketcha (Zeliangrong). Among the Zemis of north Cachar hills, their Kadepeo (headman) hails from the founder clan, and theoretically all village lands are under his control excepting specific clan lands (Bowers, 1951; 72). In the case of the Kabuis,
political authority is diffused, as George Watt describes their village as "a sort of minature republic" and "without laws or law giver, without even an elective governing body, they live in peace and happiness, the headmen sitting in council only when a crime is committed". They have age groups and grades (Ao system) which has direct relationship with political status, however, a comical clan structure is not discernible among them, that is, the clans carry no distinction in matters relating to socio-political status. The Kabui society is divided into three social institutions, namely, Khangchu, Ganchang-Keibang and Banza-Keibang. And each male citizen is a member of these institutions at different stages of one's life. The entry point is the Khangchu within which there are three age grades, viz Gana (juniormost), Ganpi and Khangbon. Through the Gana grade an individual's entry to morung is effected as he attains the age of seven, in Ganpi grade there are two sub-grades, viz, Ganpi chakphongmei ("unmarried yongmen") and Ganpi kaijibmei ("married men"). The Khangbon grade is composed of middle aged men and their Khangchu (morung) comes under their direct control, it is at this grade that an individual enters the political life of the village. They are now confirmed as Ganchang and later as Banza (seniormost elders). The Banzas them-
-selves have two or three senior elders dealing specifically with religious affairs, and the Ganchangs throw up four of their members to oversee the secular matters. And these two groups of elders have a joint authority in their polity. These bodies approximate the Ao ruling generation and their executive body is known as Pei-kai an equivalent of Ao putu menden, however, their polity is not based on seniority and juniority of clans as in the case of Aos. In their case a group of clans may have a greater say in the village affairs by right of founding their settlement. They are collectively called the Nhampou-Nhampei ("founders"). The pei-kai does not impose any form of tax or remuneration for themselves. When the Meithie state apparatus extended its influence over them, a set of administrative functions got institutionalised in the Pei-kai, namely Khunbu-Khullak, Lulak and Mantri.

The Zeliangs have a council of elders known as Pai headed by an elderly statesman who is preferably from one of the founder clans called Tinku. He is assisted by an executive body i.e., Changloai whose members are nominated from Pai.

The decline of Khonoma conferedacy is directly linked with the entry of British forces into the Zemi and Rengma territories in the valley. The Angamis then had a control
over the salt trade in Zemi areas which was in itself a stimulus to her polity formation and expansion. However, when their 'territorial control' (on the dead bed of Ahom and Dimasa kingdoms) got restricted by administrative promulgations, demographic manipulations and colonial economic interests, a clash with the British became inevitable and led to the Naga wars with the colonial forces.

(vi) WUNGVA/AWUNGWA OF TANGKHULS

The brine springs that dotted the Mao and Tankhul regions were meeting places of all sorts of native traders. The traders from Khonoma, Jotsoma and Somra villages descended upon this place and the salt that was crudely manufactured reached even the Ao villages in the north through a series of intermediaries. They used to call the salt brought up from south as Teretlong ("bone stone") and the Ao mongsen group happens to wear ornaments identical with Somra tankhul women, presumably these articles used to come up along with salt. However, this affinity may not end with simple economic transactions as their socio-cultural attributes are identical to each other. Presumably, the Sema migration is responsible
for splitting up these two Naga segments. The Tan'khul village head man is called the Awungwa/Wungwa and it is a hereditary position meant for founder clans, the village land comes under his control and is responsible for distribution of Jhumlands for cultivation in consultation with the Hangva ("councillors"). The Rephei group has emerged as the ideal-type representative of Tan'khul polity and their dialect is now the lingua franca among them. This dialect was partially enforced by christian missionaries who were stationed at Ukhrul settlement a few decades ago. In this group Ukhrul village is the most dominant and among its thirty two clans (there are twenty six gaonburahs) at least six clans do not have voting rights in the Hangva. This at any rate represents an extreme case of political deprivation. The official position in Hangva as well as Awungva are identified with specific portion of meat car-cass. i.e, the head goes to the Awungwa. The deputy heads viz, Kasaruvo and Kasomwo get hind legs each. The other functionaries, namely, Ngayawoi and Shimzingwo are also alloted a hind leg each. The religious head is known as Awungashi who hails from the Hungpur awungwa clan, his agricultural function, besides other duties, is to plant first seedlings in the jhumland. The Horam and Changsi clans are considered to be priestly in their reckoning. The Awungwa/Awunashi is
the politico-ritual head of the village, however in his absence any warrior of repute may seek signs and omens for the general welfare of the village.

The intra-village confederacy was maintained by a council of representatives nominated by a group of Awungvas called the Longva. An important mechanism for Tankhul interaction was holding of fairs, and such a day was designated Khasho and the fair itself was known an Leigh khangapha. The most popular fair was the Ukhrul market which used to be held during Luira, their spring festival. It was followed by Paowd market in August and Phadang village fair. These meets were designed not only for barter of goods but for meeting and feasting amongst kinsmen of outlaying villages; such feastings were called Rasha khangaphang. Another form of binding relationship was inter-village marital links that were normally contracted between families of big men and Awungva. A woman of this marriage was known as pukreila and she used to be go-between of two warring villages with an unrestricted access to both these villages at war. The killing of such a peace maker was considered dangerous as it meant raikashe or reversal in war.

Within the Tankhul confederacies, the status of Awungva was unquestioned as only they could become members
of Longva and big men were virtually excluded from this council. This was made possible by a ritual known as Marankasa marking the erection of megaliths. It was an erection of five logs of wood with its branches carefully polished and their front side bore caricatures of buffalo head, animal footprints etc. which were either grooved or raised by chiseling. All the other clans other than the Awungva clan were debarred from performing this ceremony. At times long standing feuds between two Awungvas were resolved by performing marankasa, a form of competition without resorting to warfare. This could also take the form of erecting monoliths and the Awungva used to feed the villagers for a considerable period of time till these stone monoliths were brought out from the forest and erected. This performance was marked by a fixed quota to be slaughtered viz twelve buffaloes, one cow, ten pigs, five dogs and an unspecified number of cocks.

In order to perform this Marankasa an Awungva must have built to himself a Longcheng shim (akin to secular Kemevo's house) which was made of planks and wooden shingles in the roof. The front of this house was adorned with long eaves (Lengchengkui). In the case of big men, they could build Longcheng shim along with a Sumkok ("long bed") about 25 feet long and 8-9 feet wide at one end and 6 feet on the other end which was hewn out of a single tree trunk.
This bed could accommodate more than twenty persons at one time. Such big men who could build both the houses and bed were entitled to be guardians of a Lengnao (morung). These customary practices are no longer found in the Tankhul country today.

(vii) THE KHUL GROUP TYPOLOGIES

The Maring segment is composed of three distinct groups, namely, the Rangyang represented by Narum, Saibol and Yongkhul (north); the Uipuwa group with Bijang, Khoibou and Yangmolching villages and the third group represents all the other Maring villages. Among the last group their polity is arranged strictly in accordance with clan seniority based on their emergence from the Khul, as given under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>LINEAGE</th>
<th>OFFICE</th>
<th>DUTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charang</td>
<td>Charangtang</td>
<td>Khulpu</td>
<td>supervise naming ceremony, naming, construction of house, insert reed pipes in jobsears, beer and close all ceremonies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamthaka</td>
<td>Saupulrui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munleiya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangsowa</td>
<td>Kansoutang</td>
<td>Youtuwa</td>
<td>Serve the priest in all functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tontanga</td>
<td>Khulak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youtuwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makunga</td>
<td>Yunglama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pour water in jobsears beer and offer prayers, first serving done by this lineage during festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wairock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Makowa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangsa</td>
<td>Thangsara</td>
<td>Khulak</td>
<td>worship village gate (lamal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karungrang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dangsa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The administrative structure in the Ramyang group of villages is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>LINEAGE</th>
<th>OFFICE</th>
<th>DUTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangsha</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Khulak</td>
<td>Criminal cases are disposed off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dargsa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lumlak</td>
<td>Deputy of Khulak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Inpi, Kangsa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoupong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thouman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narhang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khulpu</td>
<td>Village preist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ronglu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the Maring segment official designation and clan identification with it is closely linked with the tussle that took place in their underworld settlement. Originally, Mailsembu is the secular head and Khulpu takes care of religious affairs and it seems to have changed hands between different clans over time. The khullakapé or Khulak is a Meithie administrative functionary. It is
interesting to note that the **Khulak** post is now coterminus with the function of gate worship in Kurau Khunou village, moreover fixation of 'alien' administrative post like **Khullakpa** to a specific clan is significant. In the Maring traditional arrangement, an adopted individual cannot claim the posts of **Khulpu** and **Mailambu** even today. The representative villages of the three groups of Marings show an even dispersal of clans, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>CLANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ramyang | Yongkhul | Tangtanga  
Khongsa (Kangsawa, Kansou)  
Khel-ling (inpi)  
Dangsawa (Dangsa)  
Shaka (thouman) |
| -do- | Saibol | Angsa (dangsa)  
Charang  
Maku  
Darhang  
Kansowa  
Makhu (extinct)  
Langmaithel (extinct) |
| -do- | Narum | Nangsa (dangsa)  
Marum (kangsawa, kansou)  
Thoupong  
Thounam  
Makhu  
Narhang  
Charang |
| Uipuwa | Khoibu | Thangtanga (marim)  
Charang  
Khongsa  
Khel-ling  
Dangsawa  
Shaka  
Rung-lo (Narhang) |
| Others | Lamlong | Khulpuwa  
Dangsawa  
Tangtanga |
| -do- | Khudei Khulen | Khulpuwa  
Dangsawa  
Tangtanga  
Hleyowa  
Kansowa  
Lamthaka |
The first two groups have different dialects and their myth of origin also varies, however, they have retained their clan structures in its pristine forms. But in the last group, the identification of Khulpuwa with Ningthongja and Dangsawa with Arongja (two chiefly lineages of Meitheis) seems quite significant. Here, the charang clan does not exist and its relation with Khulpuwa is not clear or was it submerged within the Khulpuwa? That is, in the process of its identification with the Meithie clans a kinship nomenclature became a part of politico-administrative entity. Gimson (MIA, 1926:39) has indicated a food taboo (goat meat) as a characteristic of this Khullakpa 'class' and as a non-traditional administrative post, which clearly indicates a polity formation emanating out of their interaction with the Meithei state apparatus, and this articulation is found in those villages nearest to the valley of Manipur.

The Anal of the Khul group have two moities viz, the muchal choko and chanang musum with a number of clans. The Khuruwng (headman) is now an elective post. Previously it was from Sunruwng clan of musum moitie and became hereditary. But now a flexibility comes in the form of big men taking up this post after offering feast of merit. This Khuruwng
is assisted by Mirung for defence of the village and the Pamrung officiates over all the agricultural activities, while Donrung keeps a tally of domestic animals in possession of the villagers. The Khuruwng designate must sacrifice a Mithun and distribute its meat and seven big jars of rice-beer to the villagers, this condition keeps the door open for big men to assume office, that is, economic well being is an essential qualification. The most dominant villages are, namely, Anal khulen, Lampou-pasna and Lamphou-charu and retain most of the traditional ways. The Meithie state expansion did not make much headway in this Naga segment.

The other segments, namely, Moyon-Monsang and Taro still retains a conical clan arrangement, however, they have identified themselves with the Meithie political form to a great extent. In the Moyon segment there are two moieties, namely, Sumphuw and Jungvain and the Irwung (headman) post goes to the former moiety, and the Khurfu (ritual head) is reserved for the latter. The traditional administrative structure has the Irwung heading a council comprised of Khurfu, Vangkhra (aide to Khurfu), Pakhanglak, Ningenlakpa and Nahalakpa (controllers of young boys, girls and youth respectively), Jupen and Laoching (caretakers of
rice beer for elders in session), Serang and Keirung (tax collectors) and Changlu (village crier/announcer).

The Moyons achieved a chiefdom of sorts alongside the earstwhile Moirang segment of the Manipuris. This chiefdom emerged around the seventh century A.D. under one Kurkham Ngariiti (ngoru clan) and is said to have controlled twelve Mon villages. Later it became a tributary to the Meithei King. This brought about an infusion of the functionary posts of the latter. The present offices are arranged thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Meat</th>
<th>Duties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iruwung</td>
<td>Cocks head, head and tongue of animals killed</td>
<td>Overall head of the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senapati</td>
<td>-do- and cocks stomach</td>
<td>Militia mobilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khullakpa</td>
<td>-do- and liver of cock</td>
<td>Social welfare of the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lulakpa</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Deputy to Khullakpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantri</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>the right hand man of Iruwung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurfu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultural priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingsanglakpe</td>
<td></td>
<td>External affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithiramfhu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy of chingsanglakpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vankhrah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Helper to serial No. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakhanglak, Mingo-nlakpa &amp; Nahalakpa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Controllers of boys, girls and Youth respectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juban &amp; Laoching</td>
<td></td>
<td>Caretaker of wine during feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serung &amp; Keirung</td>
<td></td>
<td>Finance controller &amp; tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changlu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Village crier/announcer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Monsang segment has identical clan division and is also exogamous with equivalent Moyon clans as shown under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOYON (clan)</th>
<th>MONSANG (clan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sumphur Ngoru Charu Serbum Buwangjar Turlip</td>
<td>Sippuwti Ngierii Kierii(Lineages) Thhumthee Chalhii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jungvain Roel Wanglar Chirr (Lineages) Nungchum Kartu Sheshong Hungam Shongshir</td>
<td>Reennheti Rohin Wanglaar (Lineages) Khaartu Thhehsong Hongsam Shonsheer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL AND POLITY FORMATION BEFORE THE ENCAPSULATION PROCESS.

The Naga socio-political systems do indicate a transient form of early stages of state formation. Thus the theoretical implications of this aspect is obviously shown by the various Naga typologies as attested by the data just discussed. It can be assumed that further developments were arrested by the British interference and to an extent their original characteristics are still retained.

Two clear cut developments could be discerned, one was the process of demographic expansion in areas where swidden
agriculture was practised and a corelated need for intensified labour input as exemplified by Anghdoms, while the Angamis with their terraced cultivation needed territorial expansion, this necessitated acquisition of slaves or a continued migration and assimilation of alien population as in the case of Mughumi system. The other development was an ecological constraint coupled with social blockade for territorial expansion of various Naga segments; which led to a long term degradation of ecology. (best exemplified by Akekaodom). This stimulated a process for emergence of large exogamous and acephalous clans, where the headmen/chiefs were replaced by big men and village councils. The vertical structure or conical clan system virtually collapsed as shown by Mao, Angami, Moyon, Monsang, Anal and others; however the original arrangement seemed to have persisted in the Ao, Lotha, Phom, Chang, Yimchunger, Sangtam and Khiamungan segments. In the former group of Naga segments, the 'original' clans were consigned to non-entities or made into mere ritual heads with attendant economic disabilities as is in the case of Mevo/Mevoroho and Kemevo. However, they retained their segmentary principle as far as senior/junior clans were concerned at least in a ritual sense of the term. The most extreme case is that
of the Tan'khul Awangva, who could manage to restrict big men to scale up the social ladder or to approximate his status. In the case of the Anghdoms the process of redistribution ceased altogether, and various forms of dependence, exploitation existed side by side, i.e. slavery, clientele and compulsory labour which became a dominant feature of this typology. It was certainly a potential feudal element which got 'frozen' in its track. The Angh also had a slave for his executions of criminals and had the privilege of autocratic power over the life of his subjects. In Chui Anghdom, the executioner was known as Keoba from Wangsu class of Liangha lineage. The banks of river Tapi was used for executions, in other Anghdoms, the Ngo (priest) functioned as executioner, he was normally a son born of a woman (Ben class) who accompanies the Angh's wife when she enters into marital attachment with the great Angh. Moreover, individual village politics ceased to exist as it got subsumed under a larger political unit, i.e. Anghdom. Though these large polities were imperfect, still they could assume the status of native statehood. The process of subordination of lesser Anghs and extension of political influence to peripheral areas (Ao, Chang, Yimchunger, Phom) brought about a tightly woven network of external alliances and polity consolidation. The
efforts to maintain a centralised politico-economic organization can be discerned in the light of their control over external trade and keeping such trade routes open. It was the Anghdom that had the capacity to maintain a considerable circulation of wealth in the economy of a large area, the same could be said of the Kemevhood.

(b)

The Naga cosmology could accommodate head-hunting and correlated feast of merit as a way of life. It was a necessary condition for moving up the social scale and an essential 'motor' for polity formation. Mill has aptly summed it up, thus:

"to acquire merit and status in the world and hereafter one must give a series of feasts, details strictly prescribed...(has therefrom)...right to wear special cloths and encrease in splendour and elaborateness of embroidery...(and)...embellish his house with carved posts and beams...(and)...headhunting gives glory to himself and magical benefits to his village, not only that wears special ornaments" (Mills, Man, 1935:132)

This was directly linked with trading politics and trans-polity trade was stimulated by these basic and social needs, and regulated by dominant villages especially the Anghdom
and Angamis controlled this over compact territories. Therefore, this trading politics was an extension of head hunting itself and necessitated acquisition of ornaments, which in turn created economic and social inequalities as much as social change and shifting of political alliances. As regards the currency prevalent that time, salt was an important ingredient for household consumption as well as for trading as a currency. The barter mediums were the following items:

| 30 medium Lah | I slave |
| I big lah | I mithun |
| 1 small lah | I cow |
| I Jabili | I day's wage |
| I packet of salt (1 kg) | 5 baskets of paddy/one dao |
| I mithun | 5 cows/a pair of Ivory armlets |
| 3 cows | 5 conch shells |
| I bamboo tube of salt (small) | I dao/spearhead |

The iron plates were designated as Lah or Jabili and were currencies in the first two northern blocks of Nagas and in the third block conch and cowrie shells were standard exchange mediums. The Khonoma traders are reported to have extorted cowrie shells from their dominated Zemi areas and also traded off slaves to Bengali merchants. The trading
entrepots were Semker in Mahor stream of present North cachar hills and a flourishing salt market at Maibong. These markets were of paramount interest to Khonoma for internal trade inside Naga country as well as her polity expansion. Their barter trade-cum-political control over Zemi area stimulated a profusion of big men and attendant polity expansion. The need for petrified necklaces and on ornaments were met by Angami and Konyak traders. (Butler, JASB, 1875; McCosh JASB, 1936).

It becomes clear that the Anghdom had transcended the state of chiefdoms and achieved a centralised political structure, based on a hereditary and heirarchical class arrangement with aristocratic ethos. It also had a formal legal apparatus for forceful repression and right over life of its citizens/subjects. Here the 'administrators' were appointed and kinship values became marginal as the Morungs were essentially politico-administrative set-ups rather than a kinship or exogamous clan recruiting points as seen among other Naga segments. This polity is marked by the absence of status validating feast of merit and redistribution by Anghs. The Anghs had control over supralocal population through specific functionaries, that is, a few high ranking Anghs emerged in the scene in tandem with the evolving valley kingdoms. In the case of the Angamis i.e. Mevohood/Kemevohood, a different type emerged buttressed by terrace cultivation technique essential for generation
of surplus and polity development. Among the Anghs a rigid stratification system insulated them from the commoner class and within themselves a series of rankings occurred which were designed for politico-administrative functions. There was absolutely no way in which hypergamy could allow an individual to scale up the class hierarchy. In a lesser degree the Awungva of Tankhuls approximate this typology, as it was only the Awungva that could become a member of Longva and perform the highest order of feast of merit. The reverse was in the case of Kemovohood, this typology is marked by an attempt to repudiate the privileges of inherited social rank of specific clans i.e., Kemevo/Mevo. This was done by the simple expediency of crippling (economically and politically) the 'ritual' Mevo/Kemevo and devolution of political authority on the 'secular' Kemevo/Mevo for contracting alliances outside a village territory and forming federacies. In the case of the Aos (and other conical structured systems), the dominant clans were emerging as dominant powers either as traditionally ritual status holders (Ai'er & Imchen) or as big men (Lungkhumer and Jamir) within specific regions. It happened in Naga segments where feast of merit was not restricted to senior or junior clans.
Following these arguments as detailed in the preceding pages, it follows that there is status ranking in Kemovohood and class rank in Anghdoms. In other words, the measure of status ranking obtained in Mevohood as also seen amongst Naga segments with segmentary polities, while autocracy was a dominant principle in Anghdom and concomitantly greater emphasis is laid upon the class rank. The Sema Akekao with his capacity to exact labour from his Mughumi and also ability to muster followers in raiding expeditions was however, not a stable polity at all. The Akekaodom and Mevohood were at different levels themselves as well as with the Anghdom in terms of access to competitive power and economic attributes.
III  INTERACTION WITH ENCAPSULATING SYSTEMS

(a) NAGAS AND THE VALLEY KINGDOMS

The archaeological remains in the north-east of India leaves much to be deciphered, while the politico-economic history is wrapped up in mythologies beginning with the Hinduisation of Ahom, Meithel and Kachari valley kingdoms. Reference is given by Ammianus Marcillinus, (xxii,vi) who left accounts of a place called Nazavicium which now approximates with Naga country. Ptolemy has referred to this region as inhabited by Nagalogoe. This is the earliest mention made of this region and her people. This would also imply that they came within the ancient trading orbit. Again the land known as Seres or Thina seems to have extended from Sadiya region to the south-east of present Bengal. Then by first or second century A.D. it must have acted as a conduit for trading between valley kingdom known as Kamurapa and hill dwellers on the one hand and long distance trading.

The Nagas came into the chronicles of the Ahoms (1228-1819) however, it was with reference to only the two northern blocks of Nugas, viz, Nocte, Wanchoo, Konyak, Lotha and the Aos. Their relationship stretched over a period of
nearly 450 years has a chequered history. Although Nagas were "never subjugated by the Ahoms" (Gait, 1905:336), the strategic location of their habitat and economic interest of the Ahoms brought them under the mutual orbit of Ahom confederacy against external aggressions periodically. Such relations were translated into mutual defence pacts and trading; the most significant aspect of their relationship has been the kinship that was articulated between the Ahom and Nocte ruling houses which might not have been of a political nature only.

Again to cement the relationships permanent embankments known as Ladoiga line and the Naga-bunds were raised on ground as boundary in the present Sibsagarh and Lakhimpur districts.

The entry of Shans into northern Assam brought about a change in the Naga traditional intercourse with Tibetan trade via the present Arunachal Pradesh inhabitants. It is said that Sukapa, an adventurer left Maulung in 1215 A.D. heading a force of eight hundred with 300 horses and two elephants and entered Naga territory enroute to the Assam valley. In the process of his advance, Nagas suffered defeat and hostility continued till the late 16th century A.D. Later a fragile form of peace was maintained during the reigns of Suchinpa (1644-1648) and Jayadhraj Sinha.
There was also a considerable exchange of presentations which also brought about an advanced polity formation among the first block of Nagas. Moreover, trading intensified so as to effect material cultures of Nagas. The exchanges were, *viz* ivory, gongs, spears and *dao* from the Nagas and ear-rings and beads besides cotton from the Ahoms, clearly their relationship was becoming symbiotic and it lasted till the later period of 18th century. The last contest for supremacy was during the reign of Purandar Singh (1832-38) and subsequently the Ahom territory was invaded by the Burmans.

The most significant of their relationship is shown by the institutionalization of *Dwars* and *Khats* earmarked for politico-economic intercourse. To each of the *Dwars* was attached a *Kotoki*, who were the spokesmen between the Ahoms and Nagas and supervised the grants i.e. *Khats* held by the Nagas of each *Dwar*. In each of the *Khats* three distinct professional groups were settled by the Ahoms, *viz*, the peasants, traders and blacksmiths. They catered to the needs of the Nagas in transit either on trading expeditions or in militia movements in aid of the Ahoms during external and internal threats. In 1873 the following *Dwars* were found held by the Nagas as under:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naga villages</th>
<th>Dwar</th>
<th>No. of Kotoki</th>
<th>Segment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kanjang, Laptang, Nowgaong, Hoedam, Sobang</td>
<td>Namsang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nocte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takami a, Borkhema, Lancha, Boontell, Longthon, Hankan, Tolee, Dhandon, Sorokhoorna, Polung, Kymye and Sorogaon.</td>
<td>Bor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Banf era, Onoo, Nakrang and Longhooah</td>
<td>Banf era</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabuka, Borotho(Yannu), Lungling</td>
<td>Jabuka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panee Deorea</td>
<td>Panee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bor Mothon, Sorro mothon, Khoolong Mothoon</td>
<td>Mothon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangloi, Buragaong(Sangsa), Betur Namsang, Sorogaon, Nawgong monee.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dorgaon, Molung, Nawgong, Pylong (Hungpci) Tinthak, Jylong and Lakhmao</td>
<td>Teru</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Konyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaktungnee a, Kongan, Tablong and Seema</td>
<td>Khepam</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Namsang, Kangching, Nengta &amp; Tangsa</td>
<td>Keleki</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Molutopis(Mepongchukit), Longchang, Orbong, Borymone, Dekhaimong(Molung), Selaju(Sungratsu), Boralange, Sousoo (Chuchuyimlang), Bhugalage, Longtang, Akhcie, Changtongya, Lurageeang and Merangkong.</td>
<td>Dupdur</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assiringia(Mokpoymchen), Lecho, Kam, Poongen, Sooootis, Nowgaong, Booragaong, Monsen(Mongchen) and Khari</td>
<td>Assiringia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japhy, Mookee, Bordoobea(Debuia), Aliba, Scorciela, Kubza, Mangmetong, Lungkhum, Ungma, Khensa, Chungtie and Mekuli.</td>
<td>Hatiguria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soonaregaon, Nowgaon, Peeta, Longkong, Koroe, Teel, Changkha, Khar, Runga and Toria</td>
<td>Panipatsa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lotha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before the institutionalization of the Dwars, the Nagas had already established a region-wide barter system where channels of communication and a standardized demand existed catering to her specific politico-economic and cultural belt. The practice of head-hunting was rather a stimulus to its growth and ensured a regular circulation of wealth and demand for such goods increased. For instance, the brass and beads came from Tibet and Burma respectively, and were closely connected with regional systems of feast-of-merit and statuses. Welsh report on Assam in 1794 (Alexander Mackenzie, 1979. Rep:387) shows various segments of Nagas besides others having trading relationships with the Ahoms in the later part of the 18th century. So also Elwin refers to a later stage of trading between tribals and plainsmen (Elwin, 1959). It is indicated that the highlanders exchanged their surplus produce for their cultural necessities from Tibet and Burma. Some of the neighbouring highlanders acted as intermediaries and prevented direct trading relations with either the traders of Assam, Tibet and Burma. Thus the Mishmi, Memba and Khamtis had direct access to Tibet and this was linked up with Angami traders for internal circulation among the Nagas. Again the Kachins of Burma had a virtual monopoly in the east, till the Singpos took over from 12th century onwards, and had direct links with the
Nagas of first block. This interpolity trade could be meaningfully located with reference to external barter trade with Burma and Tibet in understanding polity formation of the Nagas. It became marked when the Ahoms monopolised the Tibetan links for transaction of goods.

The trans-himalayan trade was as essential as that of Burma and were dispersed inside Naga areas through either the Konyaks and Angamis. Hence, some of the tribes acted as intermediaries and prevented other Nagas living in the interior to have direct trading relations with either the traders of Burma or Tibet. Thus bringing in a semblance of inner cohesion among them. As a medium of exchange cowrie was considered more convenient form of payment in interpolity trade and barter exchanges operated among the Nagas.

Salt became a politico-economic item in the Ahom-Naga relationship as it was a scarce commodity in the plains of Assam. The Ahoms since Sukhapa had considered Naga areas important for strategic and economic reasons. The brine springs of Namsang and Borduria were indispensable in their relations. The explorations of Wilcox and Mc Cosh reveals that, "on the river Disung, (Disang) there are about 20 of these brine springs from which Nagas are in the habit of making salt". So also Pemberton stated that
the salt imported from Bengal was of inferior quality than that was acquired in the salt springs of Borhat and Sadhiya (Elwin, 1969). The Buranji of Kashinath Tamuli Pukan informs of the important salt wells at Mohong which were occupied during Suhumung reign (L. Debi, 1964:33). These were situated between Borhat and Namsang and Buranji records Ahom-Naga relations as basically geared to retain or capture these bring springs till the entry of East India Company in 1838.

In these Khats, the Ahoms derived a large amount of revenue from imported salt of the hills. This necessiated maintenance of friendly relations with Nagas, and they could effectively intervene in Namsang-Borduria internal conflicts in the interest of regular salt production. Otherwise internal feuds had repercussions in the plains. Besides salt, items such as mithun, tusks, goat's hair were also bartered through these Khats.

The Ahom-Naga political relationship varied from peace to unstable skirmishes, punitive expeditions and full scale warfare. For instance, in Mepungchukit village, there is a collection of Ahom arms and armaments it is said that the Ahoms were worsted and left them there. This village is a good three days march from Sibsagarh in interior Ao area. During Pratap Sinha reign (1603-41) Naga garh or ramparts
were erected in the Nocte-Wancha frontier. Again during Gadadar Sinha reign (1681-96) Namsang tried to wrest away a salt mine in 1692, followed by yet another raid on a salt mine located near Borhat in 1701. South of this lies the Ladoiga line which approximates the revenue area of Sibsagarh district and the Naga frontier. These boundary marks did institutionalise the territorial rights of Ahoms and Nagas. The early history of Ahom-Naga is confined more of less to the account of interaction between the first block, the Ao and Lotha Nagas and the valley Ahoms. South of them, the Rengma and Zemi Nagas came into the scene at the close of Kamaleshwar Sinha's reign.

The Nijonyu (Rengma) of Nzungtre-Phenyu group migrated to present Karbi Anglong district (Diphu division) during the unstable political situation prevailing in the Ahom capital under Kamaleshwar Sinha. They belong to a northern flank of Khonoma expansion. During the close of Ahom rule, their chief Kehang was conferred Bor Phukan invariably to fill up a vacuum created by the collapse of the Kachari kingdom. Simultaneously the Kotokis were withdrawn from service in this region. The powers and functions of Bor Phukan is described in detail by E.A. Gait (1963:246).
The Zemis migrated and settled in North Cachar hills up to the Kopili river and were subjected to Khonoma's control. The politico-economic importance is indicated by Elwin (1969:231) and others. Here, Semker settlement was a flourishing centre for slave trading, as there "was widespread slavery and were sold to Bengalee merchants, Moneepores were sold for Rs.3;" a salt market was also located in Maibong. The central Cachar division was also a fertile region for surplus extraction from agriculture and was directly linked with North Cachar, Manipur, Naga hills, Assam and Jaintia hills. The kopili route connected it with Sylhet, and a considerable trade passed through this route and was linked with Burma through the Old Cachar route, which was located in present Tengnoupal district and in Zeliangrong territory. Jenkins and Pemberton also noticed the big market in Mohun-Dijua which was visited by a large number of traders from outside and were highly impressed by economic stability there.

These conditions favoured the Kacharis to establish "an independent state after their expulsion from Kamrup" and had their capital at Dimapur. At the advent of the Ahoms, they were pushed out to North-Cachar hills and established capital at Maibong. Then the Ahoms maintained
pressure to wrest the Kopili-Doyang-Dhansiri valleys and this animosity and frontier clashes continued till they were superseded by the Burmans and later the British in 19th century.

The Kachari rulers of Maibong are said to have subdued a number of Angami villages. About this Angami-Kachari relations, Hutton (1921:13) refers to a legend suggesting that "when Bhim raja (Bhimadarpanarayana 1615-38) built his great Khedda at Sonapur... he fell in love with a Nagini whom he found in the jungle and who became the ancestress of the Diger Kacharis, who pride themselves on their descent" The Khonoma village Sanyu lineage seems to be involved here. Their tradition point to receipt of goats as bride price from the Kacharis. By Naga standard, goat represents the lowliest of relationship that can be contracted. The Mithun is the highest form, followed by buffalo, cow, fish, pigs, cock, hen and goats in that order. This clan is yet to get rid of this stigma and is the butt of jokes in Khonoma. Again till today Ninu village pays a tribute of two goats to Namsang, which reflects abject subservience. It was Namsang that brought about a reconciliation of sorts between Ninu and British forces after the latter was worsted in a battle. (Srivastava, 1973:104).
The Ahoms also entered into marital alliances with the Nagas. Gadadhar Sinha (1681) took one matlong of Wakching, another, Sentishila(Ao) and a Lotha girl. This invariably led to extensions of 'most favoured village' statuses by the Ahoms in the form of land grants to those wife-givers group. Local records confirm that Sentichila alias Changtongyala was taken by stealth by the Ahoms and called her Talime and land grants were given to Nokpu village (Assiringia) and a Dwar got institutionalised thereon called the Assiringia Dwar. Under the British, the Tea garden of Naganijan encroached upon this land and a considerable compensation was given to Nokpu village, they were also given land revenue by the Assam government till 1974. (Nokpu putu 1985: 26ff).
I shall now deal with the Naga-Meithei relationship which will indicate how ecological conditions would determine alienation of composite groups. Leach (1954) and Lehman (1967) has indicated that the valley dwellers were essentially a Naga group that descended into the plains and established themselves into a state. The State of Manipur covers an area of 22,356 square kilometers, of which 1/10 i.e. 1843 kilometers comprises the valley area and four of its hill districts are now occupied by Naga segments. In the valley six groups reside, namely the Meithei, Loi/Chakpa and Yaithibi (indigenous segments) and politico-ritual groups viz, Brahman, Bishnupriya and Pangan. The first segment occupy the fertile northern plains. The Loi/chakpa segment seems to have been superseded by the Meithei segment at a certain period in their feuds to control this valley. Within the Meithei segment the Ningthouja clan articulated the political domination over the others and the nomenclature became not so much as a political entity but also as an ethnic term, a necessary condition for founding the Meithei state. By 18th century this Meithei state acquired legitimation from the Vaishnavite chaitanya religious body of Hindus. This brought about a sharp distinction between the highland Naga and valley "hindus".
It is interesting to note that the coronation ceremony of Manipur raja must be validated by use of Naga warrior dress, dao and spear. The coronation hall of the raja is also decorated with material elements of Naga houses. (Hodson, 1908). The presentation and genealogical articulations that existed between the Amungva of Hundung can not be just political in nature. (Horam; 1975: 42). The state structure, thus established was now in a position to 'degrade' the cognate highlanders, within the Hindu reckoning of purity and pollution henceforth. In this matter, Brown (1874) has reported of the use of Tangkhul captives as gardeners in raja's palace and as Keis (slaves). The Tarao segment was also assigned the menial task of tending betel leaves for the raja. It is also said that Kabuis were brought in as scavengers or sweepers by this raja after resisting the British in their lowland settlements of North-Cachar (Asoso Yonou, 1983) and a 'serious thinking' was given for deporting the Merhuma sector of Khonoma in the same manner by the British after the second Anglo-Naga war of 1886.

(b) NAGAS AND THE BRITISH COLONIAL CAPITALISM

The ascendancy of British in Nagaland was both for strategic and economic reasons. A contest between valley
kingdoms and king of Burma was a grand tussle over essentially a South-East Asian population within a Hindu framework of south-asia and Buddhist Burman efforts to bring them under its control. The Burmans assumed power over Assam in 1822, while Manipur and Cachar were overrun in 1821 and 1824 respectively. The strategic importance to British culminated in the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824. By the treaty of Yandabo, Assam virtually came under British rule but Manipur's independence was however, guaranteed. The main causes of Anglo-Naga wars were the attempts made by the British government for establishing direct communication with Manipur from Assam. But more important issue was made in the interest of Manipur. Because Gumbir Singh was desirous of strengthening his hands against Burma and for having a continued intimate trade-relationships with Assam. However, the efforts of Tularam, the chief of Cachar and the Raja of Manipur to exact reparation from the Nagas for their resistance to opening a route in 1832 proved futile. During this period, the Nagas of the third block were expanding and came into direct confrontation with colonial interests. Therefore, the British had to take over the Naga territory gradually after having failed to appease them by following a policy of non-interference. At first, a foothold was established in Naga area.
by constituting a small territory into a sub-division under the Nowgong district, with Asaloo as the sub-divisional headquarters. This was basically meant to accelerate tea cultivation. Henceforth, any encroachments by Nagas were considered acts of aggression. Consequently, British rule extended further into Naga territory to bring 'peace' to the lowlands. The history of wars and annexations of Naga territory can be divided into four periods, thus:

(i) the period of exploration, (ii) the period of control (1839-46) by a system of show of force from outside and from 1847 onwards by establishing outposts within the hills (iii) the period of absolute non-interference (1851-65) and (iv) the period of extended annexations from 1866 and onwards.

Period of exploration: In January 1832 a team was led by captain Jenkin's and Pemberton. They surveyed a route from Manipur to Assam with outmost trepidations, and suffered loses at the hands of Nagas. This exploration period ended in 1838 with the British decision to bring them under their purview.

Period of control: one of the first group of Nagas, i.e. Nzongteri Phenyu segment of Rengmas met Lt. Grange in 1839 at Mohung Dehoa. This was the first detachment that entered Naga-land for military expedition. The
following expeditions were led into this area:

i. Mr. Grange's first expedition  January 1839
ii. Mr. Grange's second expedition  January 1840
iii. Zigg's expedition  January 1841
iv. Eld's expedition  December 1844
v. Butler's expedition  November 1845
vi. Butler's second expedition  November 1846

It was only during Gange's second expedition that a form of truce-agreement could be arrived at, by which they were required to pay annual tributes to the British. But in 1844, the first year's tribute was refused to be paid by the Nagas. Henceforth, punitive military actions were undertaken when raids were continued in the British frontiers, an experiment of establishing outposts from 1847 and 1850 was attempted, the first one was planted at Samaguting and later on one at Mozuma and another at Khonoma for brief periods. During this time a series of expeditions were carried out; as under:

i. Bogchand Darogh's first expedition  March 1847
ii. Bogchand Darogh's second expedition  April 1849
iii. Vincent's first expedition  Winter 1849-50
vi. Vincent's second expedition  March 1850
During these periods i.e. 1839 and 1850 no less than ten military expeditions were carried out mostly in the Angami territory without bearing any tangible results. These expeditions were immediate results of maintaining Manipur's interest in the British policy. When Purandar Sinha was reinstated as puppet ruler of upper Assam, after the treaty of Yandaboo, a separate treaty was also executed in 1833 with Gumbir Singh of Manipur. The term of that treaty suggested that the raja might not be precluded from annexing the hills into his territory. But it forbade him implicitly to descend into the plains of Assam. Captain Jenkins and Pemberton proposed the government to give all interests in the hills between the Doyang and Dhan'siri definitely to Manipur. Thereby in 1835, the forests between these rivers were declared to be boundary between Assam and Manipur. After signing the treaty of Yandaboo the British discontinued support to the Manipuri king, their relationship is indicated thus: "Shortly afterwards the British government discontinued the payment of the Manipur levy, but still furnished ammunition for the reduction of refractory hill tribes; and further supplied 3,000 muskets and sets of accoutrements, on the condition that the raja should raise the Manipur levy to the same number". Later, in the year 1833, the British thought it expedient to expand its territories by annexing more
hill areas without much success. Therefore, another treaty was arrived at after their failure in the western part of Naga areas. Among other things, the third clause of the treaty with the Raja of Manipur reads thus;

"The rajah will in no way prevent the Nagas, inhabiting the Kalanaga and Noon-jai range, of hills, from selling or bartering ginger, cotton, pepper and every other articles the produce of their country in the plains of Cachar, at the Banshandee bazar, as has been their custom".

But soon after this Gumber Singh died in 1834 which was followed by a series of intermittent wars for the succession to the throne (1834-1850). In the process an undisturbed existence of the Nagas ensued. And only after a lapse of 18 years, Captain Macculock (who later became the first political agent of Manipur) cautioned the government of possible descending of the hill people into Manipur valley. The situation prevailing then, reflects that Manipur was torn by strifes in the valley, and hills were left out from the purview of the Meitei administration. In the later part of 19th century, the British through its political agent, tried to establish a semblance of administration, but 'nominal' allegiances to the British government was often interrupted by the Naga hostility against them in the hill areas. Late in
1891, Manipur was formally annexed to the British Empire.

The British came into contact with the Angami Nagas through their acquisition of Cachar with its hills running up to the Angami country. The duty of controlling the Nagas devolved jointly on Tuluram of Cachar and the raja of Manipur in the hills, the British were still inclined that Manipuris were de facto masters of the hills. Among the Nagas in this region the most dominant village were Mozuma, Khonoma, Jotsoma, Kohima and Kekrima. The Khonoma, Mozuma and Kekrima Confederacies being nearest to British borders, were a thorn on their sides. The strength of the warriors shows reasons for repeated failures of British expeditions. But the constituents were mostly clan groupings and alliances without a compact village going to war as such. Each village opposing the British contained the following numbers of warriors, as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>No. of warriors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozuma</td>
<td>Nilholy</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khonoma</td>
<td>Pelho</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chedema</td>
<td>Pelho</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jotsoma</td>
<td>Pelho</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total 860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to this, within their confederacies the following villages opposed the British:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerima</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipama</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piphima</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pekrema</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techima</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidema</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekrima</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

warriors per house.

$2250 \times 2 = 4500$ warriors

The tenth military expedition of 1850 led to the first battle of Khonoma in December 1850. In this battle Khonoma confederacy was worsted. But immediately after this a policy of 'non-interference' was introduced and lasted a period of 15 years. This was meant to secure an insurance from Khonoma's expansion and control over lowland Cachar and Rengma areas. Meanwhile to keep the colonial interests going, a sub-division of Nowgong was constituted in the year 1852, with Asaloo as the headquarters. The Naga hills district was formed in 1866 with Samaguting as the new district headquarters.
The major portion of the then Asaloo sub-division was inhabited by Zemis (at that time they were better known as Aroong Nagas). After formation of this hills district, the Asaloo sub-division was abolished and the area divided and apportioned to the contiguous areas of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Nowgong and Cachar leaving a small detachment to keep peace among the Aroong Nagas. Thus this portion of territory inhabited by Nagas was transferred to Cachar District. But it became necessary to re-establish this sub-division from 1870 onwards for the security of the British territory. Later on the Naga hills district headquarters was shifted to Kohima. Therefore it was found much more convenient to administer the Zemi territory from a nearer administrative centre of Cachar. This is the first Naga territory transferred out from Naga Hills to a district in Assam.

Meanwhile, during the subsistence of the non-interference policy, in March, 1854 a Manipuri detachment raided the Angami country. Consequently, 22 villages sought British help. This plea was, however, rejected as Nagas were not British subjects at least in the hills. Since 1848 the Rengmas of lowlands were paying revenues and were for all purpose British subjects. Any raid on them by the hill
dwellers amounted now to an interference in British administration. During this period no less than 22 raids were committed in which 55 persons were killed and 113 taken as captives. The Angami confederacies were the least bothered about a foreign power's exercise of legalities over their territory. This in effect let to an absolute decision to abandon the policy of non-interference in 1866. The boundary between Manipur and Naga hills as was demarcated in 1842 received little respect from the Manipuris. As a result Khonome and Mozuma brought to the British notice of attempts by Manipur to levy contributions inside the Naga hills. So, in 1869-70 winter, Captain Butler, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga hills and Dr. Brown, the Political agent of Manipur met at Mao Thana. But upon failure to arrive at a viable boundary line; a commission was endorsed to 'trace out' the present existing boundary between Naga Hills and Manipur. To effect this, Major Godwin Austen was deputed to conduct survey operations and explore a boundary up to the Patkoi. Meanwhile, another party was ordered under lance to survey the northern boundary from Lakhimpur and Sibsagarh districts. The unexplored tract was thus, planned to be opened up by two parties. This marked a change of policy and a gradual and systematic survey of the hills was now undertaken.
Consequently, captain Butler with a military detachment entered Wokha; the chief village of Lotha in January 1875 followed by a visit to the dominant Pangti village. This was resisted by Nagas, hence an out post was established in 1878. These surveys and establishment of military posts led to an assessment for imposition of revenues. Initially, the colonial powers' appropriation of low-lands for economic exploitation led to a need to protect their frontiers, which in turn made acquisition and protection of Naga subjects a paramount issue. The mechanism of subjugation from a political point of view was the imposition of house-tax. Since in the opinion of British officers, "The savage who pays revenue considers himself a British subject, bound to carry out all orders given to him while no savage who do not pay revenues considers himself independent."21

The most organised resistance was offered by Khonoma confederacy when they besieged the British stockade at Kohima on 27 October 1879. The influence of Khonoma increased and many Angami villages entered into common alliances designed to overthrow British administration. But this siege was lifted and the second battle of Khonoma was fought on 22nd November the same year which marked the fall of Naga resistance to superior British firepower.
Following this, the frontier moved forward for reasons of 'protecting' British subjects in interior Naga hills. This dragged the British into interfering in internal feuds of adjacent dominant villages. Internecine warfare among Nagas seems to have woken up the British conscience. Later, their concern for 'humanity' extended the frontier further. They also rationalized that from "moral consideration could not allow them (Nagas) ... to remain in their present condition of barbarity". This brought about what is known as political control areas subject to later annexations. The Naga block in north-west adjoining Sibsagarh district came under this arrangement especially the Aos. In 1886, the Ao Naga controlled area was defined to include all the country, west of Dikhu river to the Sibsagarh borders in the plains. This area came under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, but not until 1889 it remained incorporated into the Naga hills district. This District was controlled at first from Samaguting. And in 1875 shifted to Wokha in order to protect adjoining Nowgong and Sibsagarh districts from Naga raids. Finally, the political capital was transferred to Kohima in 1878. With this Kohima and Wokha areas were designated as Naga hills district.
The Ao political control area thus identified is
premised in the following definition as given by captain
W.M. Kennedy, the commissioner of Assam, that:

"The area of political control and the
policy to be adopted in the administ-
ration thereof were decided by the
Government of India in February 1886:
The political control area at that time
included the Ao Naga Sub-division. The
said area was constituted in order to
stop raids and crimes of violence along
the borders of the Naga hills and
Sibsagarh districts which of course,
had an unsettling effect on those Tribes
directly under our rule as well as to
interpose a barrier between our settled
districts and the wild tribes beyond.
Officers are not supposed to interfere
much in the internal-affairs of villages
in a political control area. It was only
obligatory of punish murder cases but
officers may settle inter-village dispute
if they can. Such village pay no revenue
and are not even guaranteed protection against
raids by independent tribes from beyond
the boundary of our control. It is laid
down that "protection must depend on proxi-
mity and convenience".

Meanwhile political alliances of Aos under dominant
Lungkhum, Ungma, Mepungchukit and Changki were under-
going changes due to proselytism of American Baptists
from 1872 onwards. It marked a breakdown of their
precariously ordered 'verility' as to be subjected to
combined attack on Mongsenyiwiti and Longkhung villages
by Tuensang confederacy villages of Noksen, Litam and
Songtak in July 1888. This brought about establishment of a military post at Mongsenyimi in August 1888. Consequently a confrontation between Tuensang confederacy and the British became inevitable, and a successful expedition was carried out against this trans — Dikhu Naga confederacy. Consequently, in March 1889, an outpost was established at Mokokchung and the following year Ao country was incorporated into Naga Hills district. But for all purposes, Dikhu was considered the furthest extent of British territory till they left the sub-continent.

The country lying between the Dikhu and Dihing rivers, occupied by the Konyak Naga was not politically incorporated into the Naga hills district and the British had not attempted to subvert the status of independence of those Nagas. Though this part of the country was mapped out for geographical strategy, the independent Angdoms were left to their own devices. But since inter village feuds were discouraged it invariably controlled the Anglo-Naga tendencies for expansion and consolidation. It was then more or less a status quo situation for this block of Nagas not unlike Angami expansionist and polity formation that was left totally crippled. The politico-economic aspect of Anglo-Naga
relationship was identical to that of previous Ahom-Naga relationships. But colonial capitalism came in a big way, one was the salt policy and another was the extensions of tea plantation and exploitation of forest resources. The symbiotic relationship of north-western Nagas and Ahoms collapsed when the puppet regime of Purandar Singha at Jorhat was disposed of in 1838, and his kingdom annexed into British Empire. The English gradually interfered in Naga affairs as indicated by Capt. Holroyds' (Political) agent to Sibsagarh) successful settlement of a dispute between Namsang and Borduria over the share of tribute from 6 villages. Besides this, Major Jenkin Commissioner of Assam reported that salt produced at Namsang was considered superior to specimens from brine wells of New York\textsuperscript{22}. However, this 'salt policy' was of a political nature. It was Dr. Miles Bronson, an American Baptist missionary, who suggested control of the brine-wells to Major Jenkins. But the supreme government had to await the receipt of Strong's report in 1841. Later, erstwhile territory of Purbandor Sinha, was resumed by the supreme government on September 16, 1838. It was felt by the local authorities that a British officer should be placed in charge of the salt-wells, and annex the
"Naga country from the su.fry and all the country south of the Buri-dihing to the extreme frontier and with christianity these unfortunate races may soon be raised on the scale of civilization and their country be rendered of importance to the state"^{23}. The British relations with the northern block Nagas began out of East India Company claims over the salt wells as successors to the Ahoms. The British considered that it was salt that made Nagas feel independent and there was no likelier way to make them improve than for the government to make half of it themselves^{24}. There are reports of existence of 85 salt wells belonging to Namsang, Punidur and Borduria^{25}. In all these brine springs with one or two exceptions, the government had an equal share, and reports of Strong^{26} indicated that the government was to have interest in 4 of Namsangs' well; while 3 of which belonged to it altogether and in another a share of 8%. i.e., 8 hats out of 100. In Borduria alone, the government was entitled to work 2 out of the 17 hats, in one well they were to extract salt during night and in another two out of 27 during the day. The Panidur wells were not productive, hence the company laid claim to only one hat out of 20 during the night.
Besides the need to securing an effective strategic boundary. There was a complimentary requirement to bring the region within the effective orbit of the British metropolitan economic interest. All these resulted into an amount of distortion in the local economy and inter-ethnic relations between the hills and the plains. As a result of British intermediary role, the Nagas began to get insulated more rigidly from the plainsmen. The crucial economic component was tea that changed the Anglo-Naga relations. The Governor-General deputed Capt. Jenkins to report on the resources of this region and explore its commercial feasibility. The report submitted on July 22, 1833, recommended a scheme of colonization by the Europeans over the "ignorant and demoralised state of native inhabitants". A tea committee was nominated by the government in 1834, and a number of experimental tea nurseries were established on the hills of the Patkoi ranges, especially between Buri Dihing and Tingri rivers. In 1838, tea was successfully manufactured and its quality was approved. The enterprise was entrusted to private entrepreneurs and Assam company was formed in 1839. It was also to develop and extract the local resources such as iron, coal, oil and timber. Subsequently the Assam Railway and Trading Company was
formed four decades later. In the southern hills of Nagaland, the Assam Company prospected plentiful good quality of coal in 1840. The permission to mine coal and extract timber and bamboos from these hills were secured from the Naga Anghs on a very nominal rent. The Borjan coal mine brought British to Wanching and Wakching areas which were under the Angh of Chui.

The rapid expansion of tea cultivation along the frontier gave rise to difficult problems from 1869 to 1873. The limits of the revenue jurisdiction of Lakhimpur and Sibsagarh to the south was then the old frontier road of Dhodur ali (Naga bund) and Ladoigah Ali. The southern revenue boundary of Sibsagarh coincides with Ladoigah from Jaipur to Gabruparbat and from Gabruparbat a line called Naga bund coincides with the Southern revenue boundary of Sibsagarh. The survey of India map of that time also indicates that Naga bund/ The political revenue line/the inner line was the boundary between Nagá territory and other British Indian areas. The need for a strict boundary demarcation became paramount and the "inner-line" of British jurisdiction was issued. A regulation was drawn up by the Lieutenant Governor and approved by the Governor-General in council which gave effect to this policy.
In 1872-73 the statute 32 and 33, chapter 3, of the Inner Line Regulation Act giving a power of summary legislation for backward tracts to the executive government was extended to Assam. The text of this notification runs thus:

"1. Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No.1486 P., dated the 21st June 1876.

Under the Provisions of Section of Regulation V of 1873 the Governor General in council hereby notifies that the line described below shall be the "inner-line" under that regulation in the district of Sibsagar.

The line shall follow the southern revenue survey boundary of the district from its eastern limit, namely a point on the Dayang river, under the provisions of the section above quoted, the Governor-General-in-Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subject from going beyond the "inner-line", hereby notified, without a pass under the hand and seal of the deputy commissioner of Sibsagar.

But another notification discarded the Ahom - Naga traditional boundary as given under:

"2. Notification by the Government of India Foreign Department, No.330 E.P., dated the 24th February, 1882."
In notification of the Foreign Department Notification No.1486 P., dated the 21st June 1876, and under the provision of section 2 Regulation 1 of 1873, The Governor-General-in Council is pleased to notify that the line described below shall be the "innerline" under that regulation in the District of Sibsagarh:

The line shall follow its present course from the Dayang river to the Desai river to the foot of the hills, thence skirting the hills till the river Jhansi is reached down this river to the point where the present line intersects it and thence along the course of the present inner line to the Disang river".

This amended notification in effect pushed the "Inner Line" out to the foothill and take in the tracts covered with valuable forest. At the initial stage traditional Ahom-Naga boundary was acknowledged, but economic compulsions prevailed later on. Earlier the recognition of a defined boundary is indicated, thus:-

"...It appears that the Ladoigah line is assumed by the Nagas to be the boundary, and that the propriety of the claim seems to be in some measure admitted by the local officers who regret that some grants have been made beyond the line, and the late Lt. Governor accordingly prohibited any fresh grants beyond the line".27
Again, "...On consideration of all the circumstances the Lt. Governor thinks it right to make the prohibition to grant fresh land south of the Ladoigah road permanent". 28

Because, "...as a boundary, the Ladoigah is better than any natural boundary which be selected nearer in the hills. 29

Hence, "...on this point (Ladoigah as natural boundary I am to state that his excellency in Council considered the views expressed by you to be quite correct" 30.

Finally, the revenue/political boundary line, and also the inner-line coincided as shown by correspondence,

"The line already demarcated would never do for innerline for that no better selection could be made than the Revenue boundary" 31

Further, "...The boundary which has been ordered to be laid down between civil and political jurisdiction of the 'Inner Line'. To this the commissioner replies that he would make the two lines identical and in this the Govt. of Bengal acquiesced" 32

Upon shifting the 'Inner Line' further inside the Naga territory, the Assam - Bengal Railway was constructed. And to accommodate tribals of central India working in the railroad construction and tea plantation, as also to impose labor laws and regulations for forest exploitation, chunks of Naga territories were transferred
to the adjoining districts of Assam in 1898, 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1923. (See appendix 1). Further, for strategic reasons, a viable sphere of influence was thought imperative to check uneasiness in the frontier, and the extension of the boundary up to the western most watershed of the Patkoi was considered. Besides, a special administrative parlance and style was ushered in for control of this territory. The Nagas, by a Regulation of 1880, became "Excluded". That is, "unsophisticated" tribes did not entail administration of a complex nature, thereby traditional laws were recognised as more effective in maintenance of both civil and criminal cases. Further from April 1, 1937, the Naga Hills district was declared 'Excluded area' of the province of Assam. The Nagas in Burma meanwhile came under the Governor as backward areas in 1923 without legislative control. Before a semblance of authority could be exercised over them, i.e. Nagas on both the slopes of Patkoi, the separation of Burma from British-India in 1937 saw the need for demarcation of a boundary. Thus, the "Watershed theory" of Brahmaputra and Chindwin was found convenient as a demarcation point.
(c) NAGA NON-STATE NATION

The Nagas as an assertive national identity entered the Indo-Burmanese politics with non-state nation characteristics in 1946 and 1947, led by the Naga National Council and the Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council. Here, their ethnic oneness was considered a moral category and the local resources were controlled by a traditional system and their composite identity was valued as a pressure group. While manipulating equally the geo-political and historical conditions, they utilised the colonial-administrative term i.e., "Tribes" to denote their segments for composite self-identification. The emergent elites were drawn from government officials and a few leading headmen of neighbouring villages of Kohima and Mokokchung urban centres. Almost fifty four years of Baptist missionary proselytism and education produced a few educated elites, who took up a position of leadership in the modern sense of term vis-a-vis the traditional elites. The latter was represented by Dobashis who were interpreters in the British administration. In 1918, Naga club was founded at Mokokchung and Kohima to consolidate a common platform for their diverse socio-cultural articulations. The club members petitioned the Statutory Commission led by John Simon with Clement Attlee and
E. Cadogan as members during the commission's visit to Kohima on January 10th, 1929.

It reflected their desire to be kept out of the reform scheme and to leave them alone to determine for themselves as in ancient times. However, the Naga hills district was grouped along with other areas as "excluded area". Finally, in 1945 Mr. C. R. Pawsey, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga hills, formed an institution to unite them and called it the Naga Hills District Tribal Council. Later on a meeting of the representatives of the tribal Councils held on 2nd February 1946, changed its name to that of Naga National Council. At that time the NNC was composed of 29 members. The president of NNC declared this body as a "national organization", while Adams, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga hills, observed that "the NNC is the symbol of unity and sign of growing unity among the Nagas. In former days each village thought it could live alone... This idea is... gone... (now... should think in terms of the whole Naga community... everyone of you is indebted to your national council... make it a real peoples' organization). Initially the NNC aimed at providing "a way of working together for peace and agreement between all the Naga tribes, of preserving and developing what is good of their own culture and customs and to promote the growth of democratic institutions". The organization
was split into two sub-divisions. The Kohima central council had 12 members, seven were Angamis and Mokok-chung had 15 members of which five were Ao, four Sema, three Lotha, two Sangtam and one Chang. Gradually it became a representative body of all Naga areas. As in the instance of Anal, Monsang, Moyon, Lamkang and Tarao who are given as old-Kukis in anthropological literature threw in their lot by giving the NNC subscription. Their basis of affinity as Nagas was specified in a memorandum to the NNC/NFG in 1963-4 besides sending twenty boys to its armed wing. They presented ten points of characteristics attributed to Nagas, Viz, Traditional dormitory present before their christianization; collected stones in graves; clan exogamy practised; maintained long timber seat in chief's house for young bucks; hanging of articles on the graves, polygamy existed before; practise child marriage; a preference to son marrying sister's daughter; now pursue animal hunting in lieu of previous head hunting, and their house construction is akin to that of Lotha and Thankul type.

In Naga Hills in their movement under the NNC oscillated between an osmosis of three distinct groups of decision makers. One group was the Dobashis, they were represented by Senkalemba (OBE) of Lungkhum belonging to the dominant
Ao block; Kahoto, son of Inato the most dominant Sema chief; and Imlong Chang (OBE) of the Chang Tribe. The second group was dominated by student leaders and government officials. They had an infusion of a westminster type of political future in their thinking. The handful of them educated in Indian universities were namely, Sashimeren Aier, who was very close to Pandit Nehru and author of the 16th point agreement; A.Kevichusa of Khonoma who was the first Naga graduate; Aliba T. Imti IFAS, who later on became NNC president; the first NNC president was Mayangnokcha, a teacher by profession of Changki village. They were the educated elites that brought about a telling effect on the future of Nagas within the union of India. At a later stage entered Zapu Phizo of dominant Khonoma village. He had entrepreneurial skills and was subjected to the influence of the Indian National Army and Burmese brand of revolutionary change in the body politics. This gave a new dimension to their politics with a radical tone. Meanwhile the Nagas of Burma got organised under the Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council. It was formed by a union of Somra tract Nagas and Naga hills of Burma. They were led by Khaplang of Heimi tribe as chairman of ENRC and Chauba the vice-chairman who hailed from Somra village. They were gearing up to boycott
the Panglong conference convened to achieve the early unification of valley Burmans and welter of hill tribes in 1947. The course of Naga identity expansion had been determined by what emerged in Naga hills district of Assam, it could be true of future trajectory of political developments in the coming years.

Within the Naga hills on their political issue three views emerged, a group advocating the immediate declaration of independence, another favouring continual governmental relationship with India in a modified form till such time they become 'sophisticated' to run a 'nation state', and a third advocated placing Naga areas under the British crown as a mandatory state for a specific period. A compromise plan emerged favouring an interim government under a joint Anglo-Indian guardianship with full legislative, executive and judiciary powers having inalienable rights over land, revenue and expenditure with a grant from the guardian power. And a security force was to be maintained by the power under a joint responsibility. This was placed before the advisory committee on aboriginal tribes on May 20, 1947, which was however, not accepted. Immediately after this the Hydari agreement recommended that "the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their free expressed wishes is recognised". But
a major controversy arose on the interpretation of clause 9 of the agreement. The Nagas interpreted this as that Nagaland would be sovereign after the ten years stipulated period of 'special responsibility' of governor of Assam on behalf of the Union of India. In 1948, the NNC central council was comprised of six Aos representing all the Ao ranges, six Angamis, 1 Konyak, 2 Rengmas, 4 Semas, 2 Sangtams, 3 Lothas and one Chang. Then within its jurisdiction existed two central councils of Kohima and Mokokchung. The tribal councils under Kohima were viz, Angami tribal council; Nzemi and Kuki Tribal council; Rengma tribal council; Mikirs and Kachari in Dimapur. Under the Mokokchung central council were Ao tribal council, Chang tribal council, Sema tribal council, Lotha tribal council, Sangtam tribal council and Konyak tribal council. The Chang and Sangtams were represented by Dobashis and other settlers at Mokokchung town, until this time the trans-Dikhu tribes did not come under effective administration. It was only when a military post was opened at Tuensang in 1948 that disturbances took an ominous turn.

Meanwhile, immediately before India won her Independence, the hill area leaders of Manipur secured incorporation of a clause in the Manipur constitution which was drafted
in May, 1947 giving the right to any section of the hill people to secede at the end of a 5 years period if the conditions within that constitution was found not satisfactory. Finally the committee recorded that the provisions agreed to in these resolutions were binding for the 5 years period only and all action of the community represented in the Committee reserved the right of complete freedom of action at the end of 5 years period corollary to this on 15th August 1948, the Mao-Nagas launched a no-tax campaign against the Government of Manipur demanding a merger with Naga hills. This gave an essential impress to the NNC movement at a later stage for its expansion outside Naga hills district.

An important event was Phizo's ascendancy in the NNC and purging it of moderates with his Peoples' Independence League members which gave the movement an extremist policy. By now, the NNC had mobilized a complete cohesion of human and material resources and with its revenue collection power an ultimate local politico-economic legitimisation was achieved. Moreover NNC was recognised as the legitimate and the only organization of the Nagas by the union government. This is reflected in a copy of telegram dated 4-8-47 from the Adviser to the Governor of Assam, to the D.C. Naga hills as forwarded under the memo No.549G dated, Kohima 6-4-47 which reads thus: "Under the terms of
the understanding reached with the NNC His Excellency agrees to the levy of the sales tax by the Kohima council, provided the NNC approves. Besides, "it was aided by the Assamese government which recognised Phizo, the NNC president as the representative spokesman of all Naga tribes and even referred to the NNC on some occasions as a legitimate government". Pandit Nehru's policy is also reflected in a letter, thus: "Tribal areas should have as much freedom and autonomy... that they should live their own lives according to their own custom and decision, Naga territory should be an integral part of Assam province, and yet should have a certain measure of autonomy for its purpose... the whole Naga territory should go together and should be controlled in a large measure by an elected NNC", Besides this, an interesting fact is that NNC was banned under the unlawful activities (Prevention) Act only in Sept. 1, 1972 and the ban was lifted on November 11, 1975. In the intervening periods a sense of legitimacy was mutually acknowledged.

The promulgation of the sixth schedule in 1950 was considered a rejection of the 9 point agreement by the NNC. More so with the transfer, the 'discretionary power' and 'individual judgement' to the Governor of Assam over the 'excluded' area of erstwhile Naga Hills District. The
NNC at least conducted preliminary democratic functions: mass agitation, civil resistance and a unilateral plebiscite, followed by a demonstration of rejection of the constitution of India by boycotting the first general elections of 1952. Their writ was also shown when Pandit Nehru along with Thakin Nu, the Premier of Burma arrived in Kohima for a public meeting which was boycotted by the Nagas.

Despite their ideological contradictions the Nagas at least till 1956 under the NNC was clear on one point that the question of "separation could arise only when there had been union, in our case there was not that 'union' which would give ground for calling our national struggle to regain former sovereignty a separatist movement much less an 'anti-Indian' movement since the claim of our national independence is not to oppose India". A confrontation became inevitable when Government of India obtained pre-emption of inheritance and held the legal title over the Naga territories, and considered NNC as coming within the 6th schedule as an appendage of the politico-administrative apparatus. For India the erstwhile Naga hills of "excluded area" became the nodal point of exercising and extension of territorial
and political jurisdiction over contiguous Naga areas. Whereas NNC considered the other Naga areas as free and declared that the plebicite they conducted on 1951 May 16, was "meant for those Nagas within the confines of that region of Nagaland known as Naga hills in Assam excluded area"45. By 1955 NNC was wrought with dissensions; one group mostly comprised of Dobashis and a segment of educated with a second rung of NNC leadership who were essentially based in urban areas of Naga hills and Tuensang division, did not subscribe to Phizo's hard line policy. Moreover the government servants viz: Dobashi etc., were asked to resign their posts by the NNC on pains of death. Thereupon the urban centres became sanctuaries for 'political expatriates' as Nagas called them then. Consequently, the politico-administrative legitimacy of the government ceased beyond the few urban - military centres.

The political mayhem started when government of India sent a mission of armed forces in 1948 to Tuensang, to which the inhabitants reacted as aggression in unadministered area which they called free Nagaland. As a reaction to this the "peoples' Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland" was formed, by at this time Phizo had established himself at Chingmie village of Tuensang area. Yengpang village was
a traditional enemy of Noklak and Pangsa, and these rival elements entered into the new political articulations. The warriors of pro-NNC Yengpang had killed a Pangsa buck, in retaliation Indian armed forces aided Pangsa and Noklak to invade and destroy Yengpang village on November 14, 1954, presumably designed to bring 'peace' in this region as the British also had rationalised their actions earlier in the same vein. Thereafter, armed elements of both contesting parties began confrontation in right earnest. The Honkin46 government was established by the extremist Nagas and consequently Tuensang division was declared a 'disturbed area' in April 1955, and civil disobedience led to the promulgation of this order in Naga Hills on 29th January 1956. At that time all the important leaders of the NNC went underground. On 22nd March, 1956 they proclaimed their own government at Phensinu in Rengma area. The persistent tribal structure was effectively exploited by the NNC and the Naga Federal Government. They levied a house-tax of Rs.8/=p.a. and a NNC fee of 0.50 p.; an Army maintenance subscription of Rs.8/= and tribal council fee of Rs.2/= . The government servants were required to pay 10% of their salary. Its military wing was bolstered up by a draft from each clan/lineage at the village level with all the paraphernalia of ranks associated with a regular army. A fine of Rs.10,000/= was imposed on
any village which failed to meet the requirements of the NNC. Moreover, a fine of Rs.1,000/ was collected in lieu of a clan recruit failing to join the Naga army.

By 1964, the NNC and Naga Federal Government had extended its sway all over the Naga territories lying within the jurisdiction of Government of India. The Nagas considered themselves as organised within five states viz., Patkoi state for Tuensang segments; Dikhu for Ao, Sema, Lotha and Rengma; Japuo state for Angami, Chakesang, Mao and Zeliangrong; Hung State covered Tankhul and Maring. While Anal State covered the Nagas of Tengnoupal district of Manipur. They came under one Angh (Governor) each. They had two houses for legislations viz, Tatar Hocho (lower house) and Kemhao (upper house). In the Tatar hocho there was one representative per 15,000 population and a council of Kilonsers (ministers) were elected from this Tatar Hocho. Above this was the post of Kedhage (President) and declared that "any citizen of Nagaland who is born of Naga blood and has completed 45 years of age, and is qualified for election as a member of Tatar Hocho shall be eligible for election to the office of Kedhage". In the Kemhao "the members to be nominated by the Kedhage shall consist of persons having special knowledge and practical experiences in politics, foreign
diplomacy, education, art and literature, public administration, social and ecclesiastical affairs". This house was presided over by the Kidalho (vice-president).

The Naga Federal Government and NNC based their local-level legitimacy upon the village council which was comprised of "(1) The recognised chief or chiefs of the village, if any, (2) gaonburahs, (3) the elders elected by the resident adult males of the village in accordance with tribal procedure". The NNC began at grassroot levels by having village representatives at the sub-tribal council the latter in turn was represented in the tribal level council and an apex body known as NNC central council represented each tribal body. The President, vice-president, General secretary and joint secretary were duly elected from this central council. Simultaneously administrative functions began in the village council. Here, the chief executive was Runa Peyu. In the sub-regional council, which approximates a range within a compact tribal territory the Raja Peyu was the head appointed by Midan peyu. This Midan puyu was the agent of Kedhage and executive of the regional council. This regional council approximates a specific tribal area. Beginning with the sub-regional council, election by secret ballot was the method of forming these councils up to the regional council. Besides
those officials, Fangtong (Deputy Commissioner) were appointed in districts of the States. In each of these states, a Lacey or State assembly was established. The Naga Safeguards and Naga Home guards got amalgamated and styled itself as the Naga Army. Each "State" boasted of a formation approximating a regular army brigade, and within a tribe a number of 'battalions' were raised according to ranges. When the writ of the administration ceased to exist in rural areas elements of the Indian Army was induced to decide the question of legitimacy of authority.47. In January 29, 1956, Naga hills was declared a disturbed area and the army moved in two days later. At this stage, for India it was a matter of retaining territorial integrity as devolved unto the Indian nation state by right of de jure inheritance from the Anglo-Saxons. Consequently, after a sustained military operation and combined with attendant reactions of the middle-class elements based in urban settlements of Mokokchung, Kohima, Mon, Dimapur, Wokha, Zuheloto and Tuensang; an erosion in the support to NNC/MFG developed. As a result the decision making body shifted to the moderates who were essentially 'dependent' middle class comprising of a few Naga IFAS inducted in 1953 for frontier administration. Most of the erstwhile
members of NNC and Naga youth movement that provided a second-line leadership to NNC could not reconcile with the hardline policy of Phizo. Henceforth the moderate leaders were the educated elements like Kevichusa, and T. Aliba Imti, both of them were to become Members of Parliament in India; and a NNC reformist group was led by T.N. Angami and Jasokie who became chief Ministers of Nagaland State later on; and the uncommitted Dobashi-s threw in their lot with this moderate group.

However, till 1964 not a single important NNC/NFG leadership could be brought into the Union's fold. Instead a serious situation developed with the entry of China in support of NNC/NFG in terms of material and moral backing. Besides, the movement had split over to adjoining Naga area of Manipur and Assam. Nonetheless, combinations of de jure claims of India, and contradictions in the regional or negative inner-dynamics of NNC/NFG produced in effect the first signs of failure of the NNC. This ushered in the political party politics in Naga areas of India. This was first sustained by Dobashis and the urban middle class and 'reformed' NNC workers who came under an appellation "The overground Nagas". This process filtered down to the village level, thereby giving the Union government a leverage in terms of legitimacy of authority in its absolute sense of term.
Naga Peoples' Convention

A movement began in Mokokchung town for this group to consolidate a view to bring about a dialogue with the government of India. The main organisers held a meeting on 13th May, 1956. Their middle class character is revealed in the chart as given under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subongnuklo</td>
<td>S.D.O.(P.W.D)</td>
<td>Mongsenyimti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noksangyoba</td>
<td>Sub-Inspector of Schools</td>
<td>Changki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senayangba</td>
<td>Dobashi</td>
<td>Lungma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senkalemba</td>
<td>Dobashi</td>
<td>Lungkhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longrikaba</td>
<td>Gaonburah</td>
<td>Khensa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imosemba</td>
<td>Dobashi</td>
<td>Mepungchukit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imtisupong</td>
<td>Pandit</td>
<td>Sungratsu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arishingang</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Chuchuyimlang</td>
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<td>Imonungba</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Longchang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Makenba</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Longchang</td>
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</tbody>
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They organised an Ao public meeting with active connivance of the government of India's administrative representatives. The resolution passed in their June 10-11, 1956
meeting endorsed upon the Nagas to search for a peaceful settlement. It said that if such a situation "is allowed to continue for a further period Nagas will perish as a people "and" called upon all Nagas and Sorkar (Government of India) to convene a Naga public meeting". This brought about a series of meetings under the Naga people's convention beginning with the 1st NPC held at Kohima in August, 1957. In this convention two different views emerged. One led by Ao group along with Kevichusa Angami IFAS who maintained that the NPC's role should be to act as 'bridge' for the two conflicting parties. While the other view considered it as 'sufficient' representation of Naga political aspiration. Here most of the Dobashis and government servants excepting the Ao group and Kevichusa subscribed to the former opinion. This was preceded by issuing of a statement signed by the chairman T.N. Angami of the reforming committee of A NNC advocating peace, order and security in Naga areas, and also a demand to set-up an administrative unit for Nagas with adequate safeguards to Naga customary usages. This led to a resolution that "The sole answer to the Naga question is a satisfactory political settlement" and appealed to "The countryman in arms to give up the cult of violence". Consequently, Naga Hills and Tuensang area were amalgamated as an administrative
unit in December 1958. In the second session of NPC held at Ungma in 1958, a liaison committee was appointed to contact the NNC and NFG members. It was intended to persuade the latter into coming overground and consolidate a common opinion for a political future. Finally, in the 3rd NPC, convened at Mokokchung from 26-30 October 1959 a 16 point was arrived at for negotiation with the Government of India, consequent to this, the Nagaland (transitional provisions) Regulations of 1961 established the interim body consisting of 42 members. Finally Pandit Nehru moved in the Parliament a bill for the Thirteenth amendment of the constitution for creation of State of Nagaland. Formally the state of Nagaland was inaugurated in December 1, 1963. This led to the transformation of NPC into Naga nationalist organization and another political party, the Democratic Party was floated "for lasting good relations with the government of India". Concerning the political grouping as it stands till date, the chart indicates their alignments in their positions according to ideologies.

The efforts to maximise their authority over the land base and population through political mobilization is a pertinent case here. In other words, the "Naga tribal government" upon which the NNC/NFG were built up has supreme
NAGA POLITICAL GROUPING

Naga National Council, Naga Hills, 1946
Naga National Council, Manipur, 1946
Naga Peoples Republican Federation, unadministered area, 1953

Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council, Burma, 1947
Democratic Front, 1963

Naga Integration Council, 1968
(Nagaland, Manipur, Assam) 1969
United Front, 1969

NPRF (Honkin), Revolutionary Group, 1968
United Front, 1969

Chedema Group (Shillong Accord) 1975
United Democratic Front, 1972

Naga National Janata Party, 1977
Naga National Democratic Party, 1980
Naga Peoples Party, 1983

Naga National Workers Conference 1983-84
Congress (I)

Naga Dimension
Regional dimension
National dimension
jurisdiction in domestic matter, tax, and mineral resources with limited criminal jurisprudence. Later, in deference to the wishes of NPC this was legitimised by the Indian state on the strength of the sixteen point agreement and article 371A of the Indian constitution. However the extent of sovereignty is blurred since the area of jurisdiction exercisable in this is dependent upon the constitution. The political articulations of moderates could not be satiated on two pertinent points. One was the 6th Clause (2) of the 9 point agreement of 1947 which runs implicitly "to bring under one unified administrative unit as far as possible all Nagas. All the areas so included would be within the scope of the present proposed agreement". The other one is the 16th point agreement of 26th July 1960 between the Government of India and the Naga people's convention which clearly stated "the inclusion of the Reserved forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas".

This lead them to form the Naga integration council with the expressed view of amalgamating all Naga areas within a territorially extended Nagaland within India. This movement ran parallel to the NNC/NFG movement. This council involved most of the middle class Nagas of Manipur, and it set into motion overlapping sets of political interest groups, and intra-segment rivalries came into prominence led by emergent middle-class elements. The Tengnoupal
Naga union composed of Anal, Moyon-Monsang, Târao and Lamkang (a component of Naga Integration Council) entered the state election of 1971-2, which was compelled by a counter move by non-Nagas viz Kukis, Hmar, Haokips under 'committee for Kuki-Mizo integration of Tengnoupal district' into Mizo-hills. Again the NFG efforts to weld the Mao Maram, Thankal and others of Manipur east district under a common name called the Sepumārempth could not proceed further. Here also the Mao-Poumai segments' fission process came in the way. And it got reflected into a scramble for political leadership in Manipur assembly the prominent leaders were Larho Poumai and Rio Vio Mao. At any rate the traditionally embedded identity of a local nature could not be transended at all. And resultant effect was counter-productive to the Naga integration efforts.

Another fission process got expressed by the Zeliangrong Nagas on 11th October 1980. They reviewed their fifty years of movement for amalgamation with other Nagas and reunification of the Zeliangrong areas scattered in different administrative territories. The lukewarm response of other Nagas and the indeterminate political future of the Nagas brought about a resolution that:
"the consensus of opinion expresses in favour of a separate state comprising the said Zelianrong areas, within the Indian Union". Their inner cohesion has come about after the amalgamation of three distinct social streams, Viz: Kabuis of Manipur plains; Zeliangs of North Cachar, Nagaland and Manipur hills under Jadonang; and Zelianrong components of the NNC/NFG. Among them two parallel streams are indicated besides the NNC/NFG political influence. The fusion process of Zelianrong begins with the Kuki rebellion of 1917-18 and also of rapid migration of the latter ethnic group into Manipur. The threat of Kukis was a necessary impetus for seeking a solidarity among themselves. The chart indicates this process thus:
ZELIANGRONGS

Agangmei (1925)
An organization of Khullakpas (Chiefs) of Kabuis, who were under Manipur king. Organised to confront Kuki encroachments.

Kabui Chingsang (1927)
An organization under Lampus, a British title for Chiefs.

Kabui Samiti (1937) At this stage Kabuis were considered a Sanskritised group of Manipur. Basically organised on anti-Kuki sentiments.

Kabui Naga Association (1946)
The NNC movement was filtering in at this period.

Manipur Zeliangrong Union (1947)
A component of NNC, but also a part of local Zeliangrong movement.

Zeliangrong Union (1957)
a unit of Z.U. of Naga hills, Assam and Manipur. In 1960 Integration of whole Naga area predominant and NNC/NFG well entrenched.

Jadonang, a leader of Zemis, hanged by the British in 1931.
Exposed HARAKA Cult.

Gaidinlu, raised a private militia and fought the NFG and was conferred RANI title by union Government.
Till the end of second World War, only the Rongmei (Kabui) had an organisation called Kabui Naga Association, it was clearly articulated by middle class elements residing near the Manipur valley. Later, Zeliangs from Nagaland namely. L.Lungalan, IFAS and Dr.T.Haralu managed to turn KNA into a composite Zeliangrong council. The meeting was held at Keim shamthong village (Kabui) on 15 February 1947. Meanwhile Gaidenlu was released from Tura Jail in 1947. In February, 1946 NNC was formed and four months later gave the call for unification of all Naga areas in the province of Assam (British) though they were reluctant to join the union of India. The Nagas in Manipur under Athiko Daiho (of Sepou maram composite identity) gathered at Tungam Khamai in Mao area to begin a movement for joining the rest of the Nagas. The Tankhul group led by Major Kathing (Former APO of Tuensang in 1956) and R. Suiza a hill areas minister in Manipur, disassociated from a non-cooperation movement thus planned, but offered solidarity to a common cause. Therefore, Mao-Maram and Zeliangrongs went ahead with their non-cooperation move with the government of Manipur. In August 27, 1948, their leaders were arrested and a number of the agitators were killed by the Assam Rifles. By then Manipur acceded to the Union of India in 1949 and was put under a Chief Commissioner. Consequently, Manipur become a Part C State and later a union territory
in 1956. This was a turning point for them in Manipur. At this time the Manipur Naga National Council was formed.

The Manipur NNC decided to boycott the general elections in 1957, however, it was only a partial success and a Tankhul was elected MP from the outer constituency. Meanwhile, Gaidinlu advocated unification of Zeliangrong areas within the Indian union and did not see eye to eye with the alleged Christian dominated NNC and NFG. She went underground in 1960, along with one thousand of her followers, and opposed both the concept of an independent state of Christian Nagas, and 'insensitivity' of the union government on the historical plight of her people. She also feared Angami domination a psychosis that was generated centuries ago. Later she surrendered to the union forces in 1966. 49

The Zeliangrong have a chequered history and till 1971 there was not even a middle school for Zemis of North Cachar Hills of 20,541 (1971) population, and a dispensary at Laisong was basically meant for Assam police battalion stationed there. In Manipur, for a population of 54,000 there was one high School; clearly, they were in the backwaters of backwardness. After the
movement for Naga integration petered out in early 1970's, the Zeliangrongs are now ready even to orbit out of other Nagas administratively speaking, provided 'development' is assured for their people. However, such fissions among them must also be seen as a convenient tool for the encapsulating systems, without actually acceding to their demands.

Another segment, the Monsangs are one of the most articulate groups in local politics of Manipur. As late as 1938, they were members of the Indian independent movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. They came under one Irabot Singh and his organization was called Kishan Sabha. Later, they joined the 'Khulmi' ("emerged from Hole") an organisation of all tribal groups of Manipur who are said to have their origins from Khul. The formation coincided with the establishment of the State of Manipur in 1949. One Ng. Mono was an executive member and also its general secretary later. They were mostly led by middle class elements and came under the platform of abolishing the hereditary chiefships prevalent specially among kukis. A majority of them got elected in the 52 member Manipur state legislative Assembly in 1948 under this banner. Afterwards, this extended organisation got restricted to a Tengnoupal district political organization, under the
name Pakán (Same as 'Khul'), and orbited out of the other non-Naga groups. In this, Ng. Mono got elected as MLA for 41 - Chandel constituency, predominantly inhabited by Anal, Lamkans, Moyon and Monsangs. They had began to identify themselves as separate from Kukis as articulated by their modern elites. Later, under the same platform, Messrs. Angnal Anal and H. Khelsung were elected to the electoral college and Manipur Territorial council respectively. Again, the Samyukta socialist party led by a Tankhul, Rishang Keishing became another focal point of solidarity. In which Ng. Mono was elected a member at the district level, and the community as a whole threw in their lot for Rishang keishing in his successful election to the Lok-Sabha. Then in NNC/NFG movement the community was actively involved for nearly a decade. Again, when the integration council called for integration of all Naga areas, Ng. Mono and Rishang Keishing were made president and secretary respectively. The Nagas of Tengnoupal district (known as old-Kukis) has definitely entered the new political 'Naga' connotation and nomenclature as a people. I was in Chandel in 1983, when the local district council faced a serious crises of defection. The Kukis have engineered 'defection' of a Lamkang besides others, to replace an incumbent chairman, who was a Naga.
Here, the composite identity was effectively utilised to bring 'back' this recalcitrant member by the six Naga segments inhabiting Tengnoupal district.

NNC and NSCN

The church leaders took an initiative with the consent of NNC and NFG for constitution of a Peace Mission. This mission acceptable to all sections of political opinions was composed of Rev. M. Scott, J.P. Narayan and J.P. Chaliha. The members along with five NFG delegates signed an agreement for ceasefire which came into force from the midnight of Sept. 5, 1964. This was for an initial period of one month after which it had been extended from time to time till August, 1972. During the negotiation period between the Union government and the NFG delegates, there were six rounds of talks. The first three rounds did not yield any result. In the fourth round Indira Gandhi while maintaining Nagaland as an integral part of India, made a significant concession by proposing that, it should enjoy "Complete autonomy". And stated that she was prepared to consider a settlement within the Indian union which would not necessarily be within the present constitutional frame work. The next two rounds of talks were futile since both sides remained rigid.
A pivotal role expected from the western powers was not forthcoming especially of Phizo's efforts to raise the issue in the UNO. Therefore, since 1963, the NFG under Ato Kilonser Sukhai turned to Peking, appealing to recognise the territorial rights of Nagaland, her people now and forever. This was followed by Kedhage's appeal "That it had become impossible for the NFG to resist unaided the might of Indian force" and sought "any possible assistance in any forms". But besides the political and material support, an ideological shift could not be discounted at any rate. The first batch of Nagas to reach Yunan for military training was led by T.K. Muivah, then general secretary of NNC who ushered in a new line policy later on. That time they had two choices open to them, one was either to fall in line with the Anglo-saxon type of body politics exemplified by India, or the revolutionary forms as prevailed in south East Asia represented by Burma, China and the Vietcongs of erstwhile south Vietnam. Till this time, the NNC and NFG had registered an appreciation of the former in its structure and spirit. Again nine decades of American Baptist proselytism had a telling effect. Therefore, the NNC/NFG could not transcend these factors for a simple reason that Christian ideology is the basis of Westminster type
of politics in most of the third world. And invariably their "Nagism" was developed in this same vein. Therefore, arose the question of independence from whom? Subsequently inner — contradictions emerged as a result. This became glaring when the Revolutionary government of Nagaland was formed led predominantly by Semas against the 'China policy' of the NNC. This culminated into a virtual split and approximated a near civil — war among themselves. Later, the remanants in Naga areas of India were left with no alternative but to be stampeded into signing the Shillong Accord on November 11, 1975. This group had now accepted the "Constitution of India on their own volition" and other issues are left for solution as and when they raise it with the government of India. The "Chedema group" of NNC/NFG plays an important role as a transit medium of surrendered undergrounds. They advocated an ambiguous statement during the negotiation before signing the accord that "The Federal Government of Nagaland will continue to administer and defend the nation. But if we were to be exterminated one day, all the power are given to Mr. A.Z. Phizo, president of NNC to continue to fight from abroad in defence of the remnant survivors of Nagaland."

A development of far-reading consequences was in the form of a meeting on August 16, 1976 held in the Heimi
region. Here Th. Muivah censored NNC vice-President Imkongmeren, and A.Z. Phizo was denounced for his alleged participation in the Shillong accord. It was this accord that had precipitated a goodwill mission to the eastern lands viz. Kachin areas, etc. The first group led by Isak Chisi Swu established themselves in Naga - Burma area. While another went to the eastern lands led by Th. Muivah sometime in 1977, and returned in January 1978, and took residence in Burma Naga area. Here the new line policy emerged. The Naga Burma is considered divided into Heimi region, (Sector three) adjoining the wanco-Nocte-Konyak areas. South of this lies the Lainong region (sector two) and Khiamungan region (Sector one). At the dominant village of Sikhba village in Sector two, Th. Muivah and Isak Chise Swu passed a resolution on 2nd August 1978, to reject A.Z. Phizo's leadership and the original policy of NNC. Alarmed by this defence council of Naga army in Burma put under the protagonists of this new line policy on August 1978, and declared a military rule. This was lifted on 9th March 1979. Later at Tatar Hoho meeting in Lainong region on 13th March 1979, Khaplang Heime was elected the Federal President to be assisted by a council of four Kilonsers. Then on 2nd February 1980 Th. Muivah, Isack Chisi Swu and Khaplang Heimi made a joint declaration to the effect
that the Federal Government of Nagaland would henceforth be replaced by National Socialist Republic of Nagaland. This indicates gradual amalgamation of Naga territories into the movement with an added impression on their changed ideological frame. It also means that they are virtually not at all in a position to orbit out of political ideologies of the dominant nation-states.
1. Watlong, of 'royal' class of Anghs, was born of one Longmoi of Tanhai then a tributary of Chui Anghdom got married to an Ahom raja. She lost her father at an early age so along with her mother, Nonzeng, sought a home in her uncle's village of Wanching. Her uncle Moilem, the Angh of Wanching (Satellite of Chui) took them in as his household members in 1660. Meanwhile, in the Ahom capital, the autocratic Lora raja on the advice of Laluki Borkahan ordered mutilation of all the Ahom ruling family members in order to disqualify them from contesting for the throne in the year 1679. Consequently, Godapani, the heir apparent fled to the hills and through his sympathisers in Ponkong village could take residence in Wakching. One Taiwang of Wanching was the Angh then. Later on during a friendly feast between Wanching and Wakching, Godapani was taken in by the beauty of Watlong. Therefore, after he ascended to the Ahom throne and assumed the title of Godathor Sinha in 1682, he took Watlong as his second wife a year later. As a gesture of binding relationship between them, the Ahom king granted Mezenga Borthar, Ligiri, Pukhiri chunpura lands to the Anghs of Wakching and Wanching. Till very recently, the Angh of Wanching used to collect an annual revenue of Rs.140 from his share of land grants.

2. 'The rudimentary state was underdeveloped as an organ of coercion in the 16th century... self preservation mainly depended on civic militia without expansion of serfs... (again)... the Ahoms became staunch Hindus from 16th century onward, only after six decades of its adoption, cremation replaced burial, pile houses by mud plinths, Ahom replaced by Assamese, and king Rudra singh acknowledged shakti cult as state religion.' Amalendu Guha, Indian Historical Review, Vol I, March 1974. See also, S.K. Bhuyan, Sastri Asom Buranj University, 1969. It can be assumed that the Anghdoms evolved simultaneously with the development of Ahom Kingdom and not necessarily a direct offshoot of the latter, moreover the ahom state apparatus was not designed for conquest and consolidation of other territories.

3. During my field work among the Western sangtams at Lungkhim, I happened to met two of my clansmen but
belonging to the Bangchen lineage of Lungkhum village, they were on their way to acquire a Piyong mithun; in the said village a sizable number of traditionalists still exist.

4. There is a good number of Gorkhali sawyers in Yaong-Yachem land. I was informed in Yaong village that about ten households have been 'adopted' as Nagas and about nine more houses are said to be awaiting completion of the traditional procedure for assimilation within this polity (in 1983). However, none of these naturalised citizens may become Pangsa. It is also to be noted that Luni clan is allotted two Pangsa posts out of twenty in Yaong village.

5. His son, late Senkalemba OBE, former head DobaShi of composite Ao, Lotha and Sema segment's District of Mokokchung and his cousin, Late Imkongmeren, former vice-president of NNC, brought about a virtual split in political articulations of Aos during the troubled years in Naga hills. The former sided with the establishment and the latter expoused an extreme view of Nagas.

6. During their Yungmangshibu (community fishing) expeditions, the age groups gather Khaih (berry) or Thungluh (root of walnut tree) and thresh them into poultice. In the river, an old man ritually cuts a white chicken to read omens and chant thus: "from the source to its mouth, let Menoanokdang (Dikhu) give up all her fishes," then the poultice is pounded into the weir, immediately, the age groups rush in to collect stupified fishes, which is a great mayhem and also a competition among various age groups. This method was observed in Ao village of Longsa a few years earlier.

7. In the cold season of January and February, cold wind blows in Naga hills drying up her soil to dust. And perched atop their mountains are houses set on bamboo piles which have urinals constructed in bamboo platforms behind each such houses. Down below these urinals the soil dries up with its saturated chemicals. This is scooped up by a scrapper and boiled in water in huge iron troughs. As the water evaporates, the sediments thus collected produce two types of gunpowder: black and white. It is then sold by the cup, i.e. now, 2kg enamel
mug and each cup costs Rs. 5. I have not been able to elicit anything regarding the technology involved in manufacture of muzzle loaders.


9. H. Blochman, 'Koch Behar, Koch Hajo and Assam in the 16th and 18th centuries, according to the Akbatnama, the Padishanama, and Fatiya-i-Ibriya', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (hereafter JASB) Vol.XII, 1872, P.94.

10. Amalendu Guha, "the Ahom political system" in *Tribal politics and state systems in pre-colonial eastern and North-eastern India* Calcutta, July 1981, P.109(MSS)

11. The brine springs in Mao area is linked with a local tradition, which says that an old woman by the name Shiro-mate passed urine and henceforth the Naga got a plentiful supply of salt. As a token of gratitude, the elders of Mao villages wraps up thirty packets of salt in plantain leaves and left in the brine springs as her share every year. As indicated earlier, these brine wells located in Naga country assumed a politico-ritual significance and made possible large settlements to get established as well as social structure to get a bearing on places of origin. Moreover, Ahom Naga political relationship was also determined by the control over brine-springs.


18. J. Butler Travels and Adventures in the province of Assam, p.127. By 1848 the Rengmas were already paying revenues in present Karbi Anglong district of Assam. Local sources gives that Kehon, the Bar Phukan was sent by Ahom monarch to meet the British officer. The Warrior dress appeared to be an apparition to the officer. Hence he inquired of what the natives call a ghostly appearance in a dream. The Bar Phukan reply became affixed to this group of Nagas as Rengma or Rema ("ghost").


20. The exercise of this transfer is recorded in Para 14 of letter No.3525. Fort William; 1st June, 1865 from Hon'ble A. Eden, Secy. of Bengal, Judicial Deptt. to the commissioner of Assam and No.30T dated the 26th January 1866 from H.A.E. Eden, Secy. to Govt. of Bengal to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department. The Map of Surveyer General of India, Calcutta July 1876, corrected upto 1875, shows the Naga hills district incorporating present Diphu-sub-division of Karbi district.

21. Foreign political proceedings - A: Damant to Secretary Chief Commissioner, 21 February 1879. (FPA henceforth FPP).


23. FPP, 1840, 9 Nov, No.83.

24. FPP, 1840, 9 Nov, No.82

25. FPP, 1840, 9 Nov, No.82

26. FPP, April, 4, 1838, No.121.
27. No.2733 dated Fort William the 19th June 1871 from H.L. Harrison, offg. Junior Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner of Assam. Also see. From Lt. Col. W. Agnew offg. Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to Govt. of Bengal Judicial Deptt. No.185 dated Gowhattan the 10th June 1869.

28. From Hon'ble A. Aden, Secy. to Govt. of Bengal, Judicial Deptt. to the Offg. Commissioner No.530T dated Fort William, The 30th Sept. 1867.

29. Letter No.142, dated Shillong the 20th May from the Chief Commissioner of Assam to Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt.

30. Letter No.186 R, dated Fort William the 4th August 1874, from Govt. of India to Chief Commissioner of Assam.

31. From Deputy Commissioner Sibsagarh to the secy. to the Chief Commissioner of Assam No.4, dated 6th May 1874.

32. The Government of Bengal Letter No.2909, dated 8th October, 1873.


34. In the strict sense it took 140 years to arrive at a semblance of a boundary with 62% of 880 kms. following water divides, and 33% coinciding with the median lines of streams and rivers, and the remainder consisting of straight lines connecting beacons erected in 1894. The boundary issue was effectively settled on 10 March 1967 by the Indo-Burman Boundary Commission.

35. The Naga Nation, Dec. 1946, vol. 1, No. 5; p.7. (Kohima)


37. The Naga Nation, Ibid.

38. Personal interview with chauba at Meluri, Nagaland 1983. He hails from Somra village.

40. Memorandum Submitted to PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi, by the Naga students' federation at New Delhi 9th May, 1973.

41. Marcus Franda, Economic and Political Weekly annual, New Delhi.


43. Letter No. 556/C dated 30/3053 from D.C. Naga hills to secretary NNC disallowing a welcome speech in written, ten minutes before the meeting started" Press Note 3, NNC Kohima, April 3, 1953.


45. A.Z. Phizo's letter to the President of India, dated 11 April 1951, NNC Papers (unpublished). At Changuang village, (Ao area) Nagas in 1953 resolved that: "None of the NNC members will be betrayed to the government, hence all its members must go underground; no house tax/land tax will be paid; Government requisition of free labour will be boycotted; In all Naga villages volunteers and women society members will be elected; and all Gaonburaha must submit their resignations to the government". This was the beginning of non-cooperation movement of Nagas.

46. Guardian Rangoon, vol.III, No.1956 p.4. This was led by the predominant Tuensang village. To obtain a legitimacy, the NNC meeting held at Lakhuti village in Lotha Region on the 27th April 1955 unanimously resolved that "Any person or persons, who in order to destroy or undermine the integrity and well-being of Nagaland, and who, for this purpose, act, abet or set up organization against or oppose the political administrative and traditional institutions of the Naga nation, or attempt to do so, whether with or without the aid of another country or countries shall be deemed to have committed treason".


50. This complete autonomy was to retain the whole parapernalia of organizational structure of NNC and NFG with their Yezahbo with little or no alterations at all. Here, J.H. Hutton and Keith Cantlie letter (in the *Times*, January 27, 1965) reflects that "In effect this means that Nagaland is completely independent in all matters except those of foreign relations and external defence". This Nagaland would include also the three districts of Manipur inhabited by Nagas and the hill areas of Assam that had came under the cease-fire arrangement.
