CHAPTER  1
INTRODUCTION

Co-operation and inter dependence is the nature of human existence. No individual, no community or no nation can live in isolation. Every individual, every community and every nation needs the help and support of other person, community or nation. The elsewhere mighty Soviet Union needs the help of the American countries for its food stuff needs. The United States of America, on the other hand runs its myriad motor cars with the fuel drilled by the Middle East countries like Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia etc. Far advanced and highly industrialized European nations like Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Britain etc. reverberated their industries with the raw materials supplied by the under developed and developing African and Asian countries. India too corraborated with the Japanese technology to produce its enchanting and cozy motor cars.

Because of the adaptation to their environment and mutual adjustment among themselves, the different components which comprises this earthly world, such as the sun shining in the sky, the wind blowing overhead, the trees and grasses that make the green meadow, the rivulet water trickling down the hills, the animals living in the forests, and the birds flying in the sky - all make this pleasant and green wonderful world. The fishes thriving within the water body and the innumerable macro organism that creeps at the bottom of the sea makes another wonderful world beneath this
atmosphere. This magnificent creation of the universal almighty God is God’s gift for human being to live peacefully. Therefore, this wonderful world can be described as a huge Ecosystem, within which existed numerous micro or macro ecosystems. Like the different components, or constituent that make this huge ecosystem, a good number of people belonging to different communities, speaking different languages, following different religious cults, and practicing different culture and traditions are living together in Manipur in complete harmony. Therefore, Manipur can also be described as a “Micro eco-system” or “Mini India”.

1:1 Manipur

Manipur is a bean shaped small state in the north eastern corner of India lying between 93.03’ to 94.47’ East longitudes and 23.50’ to 25.41’ North latitudes. On the north it is bordered by Nagaland, on the east by Myanmar, on the south partly by Mizoram and partly by the Chin Hills of Burma, and on the west by Cachar district of Assam. The total are of the state is 22,327 square kilometers. Approximately 854 kilometers of it is the total boundry of Manipur, out of which 352 kilometers is the international boundary lying between India and Burma.1 Physiologically, the state can be divided into two natural regions - the central oval shaped fertile valley and the surrounding chains of blue Mountains. The central valley spreading over 1,843 square kilometers constituted 9 percent of the total area of the state, while the hills covering 20,513 square kilometers represented 91 percent of the total area of the state. Average elevation of the hills from the sea varies between 1,500 meters and 1,800 meters,

1 M.T.Laiba : The Geography of Manipur, Imphal, 1988, p.43
whereas the average elevation of the valley is about 790 meters.² Manipur is blessed with a peculiar clement weather, which is neither too hot in summer, nor too cold in winter. A political map of Manipur is shown below:

Political Map of Manipur³
1.2. The People

The 2001 census shows the population of Manipur as 23, 88,634. The population is a heterogeneous mixture of different communities with different culture and traditions, believing in different religious cults and speaking different languages. As Manipur is occupied by people belonging to different communities, the epithet “unity in

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4 Census of India 2001, Manipur, Provisional population total paper – 1 or 2. Directorate of Census Operation, Govt. of Manipur, p.13.
diversity” is the true corollary of this state. As a whole the entire community can be divided into two broad divisions - the generals and the tribals. Both the Meiteis (the majority of the general people) and the tribals shows predominantly Mongoloid feature.⁵

**Generals**

The generals consist of the Meiteis, Muslims, Nepalese, Sikhs, Biharis, Malwaris, Assame, etc. The Meiteis including the Scheduled Castes constituted the majority community of the state. The four valley districts, such as Imphal East, Imphal West, Bishnupur, Thoubal and also Jiribam Sub-division are inhabited by the Meiteis as the dominsnt majority community. Some Meiteis are also found residing in the hill stations such as Churarachandpur, Moreh, Senapati and Tamenglong towns. Physically, the Meitei are muscular and stout with well developed chest and hard limbs. They possess enormous muscular power and stamina. Women are beautiful with improved Mongoloid features like slightly sharp facial expression. But they are not as yellow as the Chinese or the Japanese. Dress of old man is usually white kurta, dhoti, and pagari. On ceremonial occasions, woolen or endi or silk shawl is wrapped round the body over the white kurta and dhoti. Usually women used to cover the upper portion of their body with choli and the lower part upto the ankles with skirt type garment called phanek. Women are fond of ornaments and possession of gold ring, necklace etc. is considered a sign of richness.⁶

Next to the Meiteis, come the Muslims in terms of majority. Some Muslims entered Manipur from Sylhet and Cachar while others entered along with the royal

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troops. On the basis of labour the Muslims can be divided into four classes - sepoys, gardeners, turners and potters. Their characteristic feature is long hair around the mouth. They inhabit the fertile tracts of land on the banks of the Irl and Imphal rivers. Muslims villages are also found in the locality of Mayang Imphal, Yairipok, Lilong, Thoubal etc. They are also found in some parts of Imphal East and Bishnupur districts. Their population according to 2001 census was 200045.7

2001 census recorded that among the generals the Nepalese come third in the hierarchy of population with a population of a little over 60,000. The Nepalese sprung from the loins of Alpa, and they entered Manipur after the second world war. The retired army personnel were settled at Sanakeithel near Singmei in the Sadar Hills. Most of the Nepalese entered Manipur as laborers and servants. They went into the interiors of the hills and found a suitable land of the tribal chiefs for their cultivation. Cattle rearing are their main occupation. The main Nepale belts are the small valleys in Mao, Maram, Karong and Kangpokpi. Some Nepalese are also found in parts of Chandel and Churachandpur districts.8

Most of the labourer classes in the state capital and some district headquarters comprises of people coming from Bihar and Utter Pradesh. They came here to earn their bread. They are hard working and some are good businessmen. The Marwaris and the Punjabis are the communities which dominat the business hub in the state. They deal in big business and wholesale trading. The Bengalis are government employees as well as

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7 Interviewed Md. Kheiruddin, about 50 years at Lilong on 27th July 2007.
8 Interview with Professor Prasain of Kanglatongbi at Manipur University, Canchipur on 12.3.2007
businessmen. The Tamils and Keralites are also found in Moreh and some other places; mainly as teachers.

**Tribals**

According to the 2001 census the tribal population of Manipur was 6,69,474. As per the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Modification) order, 1956 of the Constitution of India, there are 29 recognized tribes in Manipur. They are Anal, Aimol, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Khoirao, Koieng, Kom, Mao, Lamgang, Mizo, Maram, Maring, Monsang, Mayon, Paite, Purum, Ralte, Sema, Simte, Sukte, Tangkhul, Thadou, Vaiphei, and Zou. Again, another four tribes such as Kharam, Tarao, Pumei Naga, and any Kuki tribe were given recognition by the Government as published in the Gazette of India in January 2003. Now, there are a total of 33 recognized tribes in Manipur. Unofficial, but on the basis of their ethnic and cultural affinities, and also on their political affiliation the tribals can be divided into two groups - the Nagas and the Non-Nagas.

Tribe wise population of Manipur according to 2001 census is shown in the Table given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Aimol</td>
<td>2,643</td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>10,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Anal</td>
<td>13,853</td>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Monsang</td>
<td>1,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Angami</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Moyon</td>
<td>1,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Chothe</td>
<td>2,675</td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Purum</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Gangte</td>
<td>15,100</td>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Ralte</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10 The *Gazette of India*, Published by Authority of Law and Justice, dated 8/1/2003, New Delhi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hmar</td>
<td>42,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kabui</td>
<td>62,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kacha Naga</td>
<td>20,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Koirao</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Koireng</td>
<td>1,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Kom</td>
<td>15,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Lamkang</td>
<td>4,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mao</td>
<td>80,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Maram</td>
<td>10,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Maring</td>
<td>17,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Sema</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Simte</td>
<td>7,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Tangkhul</td>
<td>1,12,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Thadou</td>
<td>1,15,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Vaiphei</td>
<td>27,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Zou</td>
<td>19,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Sukte</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Unrecognised</td>
<td>75,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,69,474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 The Nagas

The Naga group consists of the following tribes: Tangkhuls, Kabui, Mao, Liangmei, Lamgang, Maram, Maring, Anal, Monsang, Moyon, Angami and Sema. They have ethnic and cultural affinities with the people of Nagaland. The Tangkhuls inhabit the east and north east Ukhrul Sub-division adjoining Burma. The Maos also called the Paomai, the Marani and the Thangals live in the north sub-division of Mao and Sadar Hills bordering Nagaland. The Marings, Moyon, Lamgangs and Anals occupy Tengnoupal area which belonged to the old Kukis class. They form a bridge between the Nagas and the Kuki tribes of Manipur. Koirao and Mayangkhong group are found in south of Mao and Maram hills. The Kabuis inhabit the hills to the west, and west and North West of Tamenglong area. Chiru, Koireng, Maring and similar tribes are found in the hills bordering the valley.12

The characteristics which easily distinguish the Nagas from other communities and also from among themselves are their dress, coiffure and the weapons they used.

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Majority of them have straight nose - flattened at the nostril. Their eyes are usually brown, beards very uncommon, and hair on the face is very rare and usually cut short.¹³

The Nagas tie a cloth round the loin with the loose end hanging down in front. Gulap Khan Gori had said that the Naga tribes did not understand each other’s language. They had to use Manipuri language when conversed with each other.¹⁴ Comparison of the languages of different Naga tribes shows their dissimilar syntax. About the origin of the Nagas different ideas were enumerated. The first idea traditionally connects the Nagas and the valley people. Because of the heat and mosquito the Nagas migrated to the hills.

The second idea contended that the village of Hundung (which was different from the present Tangkhul Hundung) was the centre of their dispersion. Third idea pointed out that the Nagas, the Kukis and the Meiteis descended from a common ancestor. Their progenitor was a deity named Asu who had three sons. They were Mamo, Alapa and Tuto. From Mamo are descended the Kukis and the Nagas, while the Gurkhalis sprung from the loins of Alpa and the sons of Tito are the Meiteis.¹⁵

### Comparison of the languages of different Naga tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Tree</th>
<th>Cloud</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Cow</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Shirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anal</td>
<td>Luche</td>
<td>Du</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Paduh</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Shal</td>
<td>Bu</td>
<td>Lungam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angami</td>
<td>Utsu</td>
<td>Dzu</td>
<td>Seibo</td>
<td>Kimhou</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>Mithu</td>
<td>Ke-chucha</td>
<td>Boulie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabui</td>
<td>Pi</td>
<td>Dui</td>
<td>Thing bang</td>
<td>Muang</td>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>Guai</td>
<td>Nap</td>
<td>Thiura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koirao</td>
<td>Pi</td>
<td>Dui</td>
<td>Koi</td>
<td>Kamong</td>
<td>Kei</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Tak</td>
<td>Pakon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koireng</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing kung</td>
<td>Sumphai</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Sarat</td>
<td>Bu</td>
<td>Song kol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tribes other than the Nagas are not encompassed by any common nomenclature. Certain common features such as physical appearance, language, religion, cultural and traditional practices, are seen running through them. They resemble closely to each other in their appearance; speak almost the same but slightly different Tibeto Burman language. Their legs are short in comparison with the length of their bodies; their arms are long; face nearly as broad as it is long and is generally round or square. Their eyes are small, nose short and flat with nostrils. Cheek bones high, broad and prominent. Hair is usually long and straight. A distinguishing feature of the Non-Nagas is the presence of a blue Mongolian spot. The Mongolian spot is a blue mark as big as two times the size of the tip of the thump which can be seen at the buttock of every newly born child - both male and female. This Mongolian mark, however, disappeared when the child becomes two or three years old. Their skin color varies between dark
yellow-brown, dark olive copper color. In the past dress of the Non-Nagas consist of a blanket or else a dhoti, wound round the loin passing between the legs from the front and fastened behind in the regular Indian way. They can converse with one another in their respective languages. A Non-Naga tribe can easily learn the language of another Non-Naga tribe. Comparison of the languages of the different Non-Naga tribes shows their language proximity. They exhibit the Mongolian type of countenance. They are short, sturdy with a well developed muscle. Their average high is 5 feet 6 inches, with chess measuring 35 inches.

The Non-Naga tribes are Anal, Aimol, and chothe, Chiru, Koireng, Kom, Purum, Lamgang, Gangte, Lushei Vaiphei, Thadou, Ralte, Simte, Sukte, Paiite, Zou and Hmar. Before independence the word “Kuki” was the common used to to refer these people. But after Independence and with the recognition of the tribes by the government, the term Kuki’ has lost its relevance. Kuki is no longer accepted by these non Naga tribes. Each and every recognized tribe now pledged that as they have been recognized as a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Tree</th>
<th>Cloud</th>
<th>Door</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Cow</th>
<th>Gun</th>
<th>Food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aimol</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing kung</td>
<td>Sunghai</td>
<td>Inkhur</td>
<td>Inh</td>
<td>Sarut</td>
<td>Salai</td>
<td>Buh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiru</td>
<td>Luh</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing kung</td>
<td>emei</td>
<td>Thong</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Sei</td>
<td>Silai</td>
<td>Buh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chothe</td>
<td>Ulin</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Shum thai</td>
<td>Thong</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Shil</td>
<td>Nong mei</td>
<td>Buh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangte</td>
<td>Lu chang</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing phung</td>
<td>Mei buol</td>
<td>Kot</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Bong</td>
<td>Meithal</td>
<td>An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hmar</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing kung</td>
<td>Mei</td>
<td>Kot khar</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Bawng</td>
<td>Silai</td>
<td>Bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Neihsial Tualchin: *History and Culture of the Zomis*, Ph.D.unpublished Thesis submitted to the Manipur University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kom</th>
<th>Lu</th>
<th>Thi</th>
<th>Thing</th>
<th>Sumphai</th>
<th>Kot</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Sehat</th>
<th>Meiphum</th>
<th>Buh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Chum</td>
<td>Kawngkar</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Bawng</td>
<td>Silai</td>
<td>Cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paite</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Singkung</td>
<td>Meipi</td>
<td>Kongkhak</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Bong</td>
<td>Thau</td>
<td>Ann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simte</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Singkung</td>
<td>Meilum</td>
<td>Kot</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Bawng</td>
<td>Meithal</td>
<td>Ann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thadou</td>
<td>Lu chang Tui</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Meibuol</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Bong</td>
<td>Meithal</td>
<td>Bu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiphei</td>
<td>Lu chang Tui</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Singkung</td>
<td>Sumpi</td>
<td>Kot</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Bawng</td>
<td>Meithal</td>
<td>An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zou</td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Tui</td>
<td>Singkung</td>
<td>Meilum</td>
<td>Kong</td>
<td>Inn</td>
<td>Bawng</td>
<td>Thau</td>
<td>Ann</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ralte | The Raltes in Manipur were no longer convergent with Ralte language as they speak Mizo language |

Tribe, their recognized tribe’s names stand for their identity. The Non-Nagas have closer affinity with the Mizos of the Mizoram and the Chins of the Chin Hills in Burma. In Burma their counterparts are known as “Chin” or “Zomi”; and in Lushai Hills, “Lushai”. Jhuming is their traditional method of cultivation and chieftainship is by custom, inherited. The son inherit the father’s property by the right of birth and takes initiative in all matters concerning the administration of their villages and clansmen.

Cary Tuck traced and summed up the main characteristics of the Non-Nagas in the following:

“The slow speech, the serious manner, the respect for birth and knowledge of pedigrees, the duty of revenge, the taste for and the treacherous method of warfare, the curse of drink, the virtue of hospitality, the clannish feeling, the vice of avarice, the filthy state of the body, mutual distrust, impatience under control, the want of power of combination and of continued effort, arrogance in victory, speedy discouragement and panic in defeat are common straits throughout the hills”.  

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20 Interview with Mangboi Kom, Research Scholar, Manipur University, Canchipur on 23rd March 2008.
22 Carey Tuck: op.cit.no.15, p.165
1.5 The Kukis

It is not exactly known when and where did the word “Kuki” originated. For the first time in history the word Kuki appeared in the history of Tripura when the Tripura chronicle mentioned about the services of the Kukis rendered to king Rajamala during his reign in 1513 A.D., and also mentioned about the story of love affairs between the king and a Kuki woman.\textsuperscript{23} From the writings of several scholars it is also known that the word Kuki was derived from Bengali language which means “Hill man” or “Highlanders”. Lieut Col. Reid wrote in 1893 that the word Kuki was originally applied to the tribe or tribes residing in the tract lying immediately to the south of Cachar, who were in the habit of raiding the North-East Frontiers.\textsuperscript{24} Alexander Mackenzie also mentioned in his book about the report of Colonel Lister in 1853 which gave a brief account about the nature of the Kukis. The report stated that:

“The inhabitants of the plain to the south of Cachar were in constant alarm and dread of the tribes of Kookies who resided both within their boundaries and without, and also the independent Tipperah Hills and the Manipur territories”.

This Kukis which he mentioned were the Lushais, Hrangkhols, Thados etc. He further said that during that time these Kukis who lived far in the interior part of the hills did not know the use of fire arms and their bodies goes unclothed.\textsuperscript{25} They used to come down and attacked the villages in the plains, massacred the inhabitants, took their heads, looted and burned their houses.\textsuperscript{26} From these instances it can be established that the

\textsuperscript{23} Priyadarshini M.Gangte: \textit{Historical and Cultural background of the Mizos}, a news item published In Sangai Expres dated 23.9.2007.
\textsuperscript{24} Thangkhomang S.Gangte: \textit{The Kukis of Manipur}, Gyan Publication, New Delhi, 1993.p.32.
\textsuperscript{25} Carey Tuck: op.cit., no.22.p.12.
\textsuperscript{26} Alexander Mackenzie: The \textit{North East Frontier of India}, p.287.
Kukis were by nature fierce, aggressive and were war like; they inhabit the interior parts of the Cachar hills, Tipperah hills and the Manipur territories.

In the context of Manipur the term Kuki was heard for the first time in between 1830 A.D. to 1840 A.D. Ashok Kumar Roy wrote a book in 1950 called “A study of the Thadou-Kukis in Manipur”. In the book he stated that the term “Kuki” was a canopy term covering a large number of tribes and sub tribes other than the Nagas. Col. McCulloch, the then Political Agent of Manipur also mentioned in 1859 that the “people to the south of Koupooes (Kabuis) as Khongjais or Kookis (Kukis)”. Shaw also wrote in 1929 that, “the people occupying the hills of the state of Manipur on all sides of Imphal valley are Kukis”. Thus it is clear that the different communities residing in the hill areas of Manipur other than the Nagas were collectively called Kukis. These Kukis includes the present day Aimol, Chothe, Chiru, Koireng, Kom, Purum, Anal, Lamgang, Mayon, Gangte, Vaiphei, Thadou, Simte, Sukte, Paite, Zou and Hmar. According to their migration some writers divided the Kukis into two groups. Those who migrated into Cachar by about 1800 A.D. were called “Old Kukis” and those who entered into Cachar by about 1848 A.D. were called “New Kukis”. The Old Kukis were Aimol, Chothe, Chiru, Hmar, Koireng, Kom, Purum, Anal, Lamgang, Mayon, Monsang, Gangte and Vaiphei. The New Kukis included Thadou, Simte, Paite, Zou, etc.

28 Thangkhomang S.Gangte, op. cit. n. 24, p. 24
The term Kuki was never used by them and it was not found in the language vocabulary of those upon whom it was applied.\textsuperscript{31} It was a name imposed on them whether they like it or not. During the British rule any tribal who would like to join government services should call himself or herself as “Kuki”, or “Lushai” or “Naga” because Kuki, Lushai and Naga were the officially recognized community’s names. Tualchin Tombing of Paite veng, Imphal narrated his story. When he was invited to join the Assam Police services because of his efficiency in foot ball game he went to Dibrugarh in 1943 to join the Assam police. He said that he belonged to Paite tribe but as Paite was not a recognized community or tribes in Manipur during that time his joining into the services was delayed for two months. But after he stated that he belonged to the tribe Chin-Paite (Chin was a recognized tribe in Burma) his joining into the service was accepted.\textsuperscript{32} In 1956 the Government of India accorded recognition to 29 tribes residing in Manipur. This was rather a death blow to the \textit{Kuki} terminology. Each and every recognized tribe has now claimed that they have their own distinct language, culture and tradition, and as such they have been called by different names and that the name of their recognized tribe should stand for their identity. Henceforth, the cognate tribes such as the Paites, Hmar, Simte, Gangte, Vaiphei, Zou etc. has no longer accepted the term Kuki, and Kuki has been relegated to name a particular tribe i.e. Thadou language speaking- community only. Therefore, the irony at present is that the culturally, physiologically and ethnologically related communities which were once known by a common term are now segregated and put into different water compartment.

\textsuperscript{31} C.A.Soppitt : \textit{A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North East Frontier}, FIRMA Publication, Aizawl, 1976.p.2.

\textsuperscript{32} Interview with Tualchin Tombing, Assam Police retired, Paite veng, Imphal on 4\textsuperscript{th} May, 2006
without any common terminology which can conglomerate them into a common platform.  

New trend

Considering their fraternity, unshakeable blood relationship, similar history and proximity of languages, there has been a surging awareness among the elites of different Non-Nagas tribes of Manipur, that oneness, unity and fraternity should be fostered among them and that their social, political and economic cohesion should be enhanced so that they may be able to achieve a common social and political goal. With these aim in view several bodies or organizations have made serious attempts to evolve a common consensus which can form a common nomenclature and forge unity among them. The following were the various steps that had been taken up in this direction. The ‘Zomi National Congress (ZNC)’ was born on 28th January 1972 under the stewardship of T.Gougin at a hamlet called Daijang village in the Singngat Sub-division, Churachandpur district. This visionary leader compared the ZNC with Lord Jesus Christ and said, “Lord Christ, the saviour of mankind was born at Bethlehem. Similarly, the ZNC was born to pave way for the destiny of 2 million Zomis of this hemisphere who were languishing in communal ponds for years together with the least hope for survival as a people”. Similarly, the “Zomi Re-Unification Organization (ZRO)” established in 1997 with its headquarters at Churachandpur is another active and powerful organization. This organization aimed at bringing together the Zomis of Manipur, Assam, Mizoram and Myanmar under one political ideology and to strive for peaceful

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living among the different communities. Till date 7(seven) communities have converged under this umbrella.\textsuperscript{35}

The chin re-unification movement existed during the 1950’s and 60’s. In the Chin hills of Burma three organization, i.e. the Chin National Organisation (CNO) formed in 1957, the Chin National Liberation Front (CNLF) formed in 1964, and the Zomi National Front (ZNF) formed in 1966 were existed. In Manipur also under the leadership of a young, efficient and energetic, far sighted and dedicated patriot Pumkhopum Baite, who was the second son of Thangzatun Baite, chief of Panglian village in Churachandpur district was formed the Chin Liberal Unification (CLR) organization on 23\textsuperscript{rd} December 1962, and the Chin National Liberation Army (CNLA) became its armed wing. The aims of these organizations were to fight for the political unity of the Chin ethnic groups and the geographical re-unification of their lands which were divided among India, Burma and Bangladesh. The important fighters of this CNLA were Tunkhopum Baite President, Paobul Baite Vice President, Lt.Col. Sonkhopau Chief of Army staff, Vungzlian Commander No.1 Demkhosiak, Brig.Hangkhokam, Holkhotong Baite, S.T.Jamkhn当局, etc.\textsuperscript{36}

In the meantime with the aim of fighting for independent state for the Mizo people, Laldenga founded the Mizo National Front (MNF) on 28\textsuperscript{th} October 1961 in the elsewhere Lushai Hills District. The CNLA and MNF in the initial stages of their movement worked together and their cadres had military training together in the then East Pakistan. But when their activities gained momentum differences crop up between

\textsuperscript{35} Interview L.B.Sona, President ZRO on 11.5.2008 at Churahandpur Headquarter

\textsuperscript{36} Pumzathang Tombing : \textit{Tunkhopum Baite (A tullou Lungtup)\ Published by the 3\textsuperscript{rd} World Zomi Convention, October 2013, Master PrinzWOC Road, Manjunath Nagar, Bangalore 560010, p.93
the two parties. Rivalry between the two parties resulted in the downfall of the CNLA movement; and the MNF movement also culminated with the attainment of a full fledged state status by the Lushai Hills District on 20th February 1987.\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Mr. Tunkhopum Baite President CNLA}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Alter of Kuki Nations symbol of unity at Songpi, Churachandpur\textsuperscript{38}}
\end{figure}

Zo Re-Unification Organisation (ZORO) was another organization formed by two political parties, i.e. the Peoples Conference (PC) from Mizoram and the Zomi National Congress (ZNC) from Manipur, along with the representatives of Zo people from the Chin Hills of Burma, Arakan and Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh, and Tripuira hill areas, at their Champhai convention, Mizoram held during 19-21\textsuperscript{st} May 1988. This convention was called the First World Zomi Re-unification convention with Sona Thangkhangin Ngaihte as its convenor. This organization aimed at re-uniting the Zo people who were once living in the Zo country, but were destroyed and divided into different countries during the British colonial period. The word Zo was considered the most appropriate and suitable term to use because all the Chins living in the Chin Hills

\textsuperscript{37} Pumzathang Tombing op.cit. no.36.p. 259.
\textsuperscript{38} Calendar “Lamka Photographic Service 2014” for the month of November & December 2014.
of Myanmar, Lushais living in Mizoram and the Kukis living in Manipur and all their kindreds living in different parts of the world are descendents of their ancestor Zo.\textsuperscript{39}

By accepting to re-unit the Zo people as their political right and to achieve this goal, letters were sent to different countries. First to the Prime Minister of England, then to the President of the United States of America and to the ..in Zeneva. In the letter to the British Prime Minister it was stated that as it was the Britishers who divided the Zo people into different countries, it is now your duty to unit them.

To the American President it was stated that during the second world war, when the allied forces were terribly afraid of being defeated, we, the Zos people which were not within British India, Burma, or foreign state, but placed under the excluded area by the Government of India Act. 1953 were asked to make declaration during the war. It was on 3\textsuperscript{rd} April 1943 at Magmolh, about 300 Zo chiefs and elders gathering proclaimed independence for the Zo people. The Allied forces invited them to fight together with them in the war on the condition that after the war, if they came victorious, they, the Zo people will have the right to exercise their choice. Following the agreement the Zo people fought in the war with the British, died whenever necessary. But the promise of the Allied forces has not been fulfilled; it is now lying pending till date.\textsuperscript{40}

The Zo Re-unification Organisation becomes a recognized Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) body under the United Nations Organisation on 21\textsuperscript{st} May 2004. R.Thangmawia, President of ZORO addressed the Assembly of the United Nations People Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPF II) on 26\textsuperscript{th} May 2006. In his speech he

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{39} Interview with R.Thangmawia, President ZORO at Aizawl on 26.10.2009
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
congratulated the chairman on his election to the prestigious post and appraised the gathering that the Zo people were the inhabitants of the undivided country, 91,000 sq. miles, covering the present hill areas of Tipperah; the Cachar Hills, Assam (India); the south eastern and western part of the Lushai Hills, now called Mizora (India); the Chittagong Hill tracts (Bangladesh); the Arakan Hills, the Chin Hills, the lower Somna tract including the Kachin Hills, Myanmar. The Britishers called this country as the land of the Chin-Lushai-Kuki. The British forces invaded this Zo country and conquered twice; one in 1871 and another in 1888; and by dividing, place one part of it in Burma, one part in Bangladesh and another part in India. Thus they were deprived of their rights and previllages.

Knowing this division unjustified, the British convened Chin-Lushai conference in 1892 and resolved that the countries which the Britishers recently conquered and divided among different countries should be re-united and placed under one administrative unit as soon as possible. The same authority decided to keep pending the fulfillment of this decision till the arrival of favourable condition, and it is keep pending till today. He therefore, on behalf of all the Zofate (sons of Zo) living in India, Burma and Bangladesh made an appeal to this august gathering of world body to fulfill the aspirations of the Zo people and take necessary actions so that the United Nations Millenium development programme mean for development of all races of the world reached this remote bordering areas of the Zo countries and the Zo people, who were languishing in backward communication, education and economy also get the light of development on equal footing with the rest nations of the world.\footnote{C.D. record Interview between R.Thangmawia, President ZORO and Editor ZONET at Aizawl 2006.}
The grand *KUT* festival in Manipur which is observed at the state level on 1\textsuperscript{st} November every year belonged to the Chin, Kuki and Mizo communities. This *Kut* is organized under the aegis of CHIKIM. CHIKIM stands for Chin, Kuki and Mizo. The main objective behind the organization of this festival is to give thanks to the Lord after harvest every year and to promote love, peace and unity among all communities in general and among the Chin, Kuki and Mizo in particular.\textsuperscript{42} Another organizations, such as the “All Zomi Students Association (ALZOSA)” and the “Eimi Worship Service” in Delhi, the “Zomi Students Union” at Shillong, and the “Manipur University Eimi Welfare Society (MUEWS)” at Canchipur were established with the same aim of bringing together the *Zomis* or *Eimis* (those people who are non Nagas in Manipur and could understand each others’ language) into one unity. Although there has been no substantial achievement to be mentioned in this regard till date, it can be well said that

\textsuperscript{42} Donn Morgan Kipgen : *The CHIKIMS and Natural Environmen* : an article published in the Sangai Daily News paper published at Imphal on January 26, 2008.
all these attempts were encouraging signs and they can be considered as precursors of future success in their course of endeavor for unity.

1.6 The Chins

Different ideas were expressed by different historians about the origin of the term “Chin”. The first and earliest origin of the term was believed to be that of the Chin dynasty. A dynasty called Chin dynasty was established in China by about 255 B.C.\(^4^3\). Chin or Tsin was the name of the ruler of this dynasty and become the terminology of the people of this dynasty.\(^4^4\). Hrangnawl, a former Parliamentarian from Haka, Burma conceptualized the idea that there were many places in the Zo country (Chin Hills of Myanmar) which have Ciiin, Tsin, or Chin as their name such as Ciiinmual, Chintlang or Tsinkhua. These names suggested that they might have been so named after the name of the cave or rock from which, according to legend the Zo people had emerged into this world as human being. This cave was called Ciiinlung, Chhinlung or Tsinlung by different communities. Carey Tuck also mentioned in his book that the Chins did not recognize their name which was a Burmese corruption of the Chinese word Jinor Yen (meaning men).\(^4^5\)

Another theory about the origin of the term was that when the Shans and the Mons, two different tribes in Burma, asked about the identity of the Chins they said, that they were “Jen” (meaning-men) which the Shans and the Mons pronounces as Chin.\(^4^6\). Another version was that the term Chin is a Burmese word which was used to describe

\(^4^4\) Vumson: Zo History, Aizawl, Mizoram, p.3
\(^4^6\) Ibid.
the people residing in the country between Burma and the provinces of Assam and Bengal. As regards the people who were first called Chins, it is said that there was a group of people of Mongoloid race who came from Kale-Kabow valley, making their way towards and occupying the southern most part of the mountain which separated Burma from Assam in about the sixteenth century A.D. These people were closely related to the Lushai to the west, the Haka and the Lakher tribe to the south and the Kuki to the north. Their number was about 26000 in the late 1950s. These people were called the Chin proper. Again as the Chin Hills Regulation 1896 was applied to the townships of Tonzang, Tedim, Falam, Hakha, and Thantlang they were considered to be the Chin Hills proper.47

Another story told was that when the Burmese moved down the Irrawady river and came to the Chindwin valley, they found the people residing in the valley carrying baskets on their back. They called the river valley as Chindwin, which mean “valley of baskets”, “Chin” means - basket, “dwin” means - valley.48 In 1950 Burmese encyclopedia define ‘Chin’ as ally. Professors G.H.Luce and F.K.Lehman, authorities on Zo history also speculated from the way Chin was spelled on Burmese inscription, Chin can mean ally or friend. This translation was to show the friendly relationship between the Burmese and the Chins. But this interpretation was strongly opposed by Tunaung, an MP from Mindat who accused the Burmans for politicizing the name. Haugo, a lecturer at Mandalay University also opposed the meaning by saying:

47 Sing Khaw Khai: Zo people and Their Culture, Churachandpur, 1995.p.6
“Chin is altogether foreign to us, it has been externally applied to us. We responded to it out of necessity but we never appropriate it and never accept it and never use it to refer to ourselves”.

When the British officers came to administer the unadministered Chin Hills of Burma, they found different people speaking different languages, residing at different places, but belonging to one generic group. They used the term “Chin” to refer the wild hill tribes. Thus the hill which was occupied by the Chins was called “Chin Hills”. After annexation of the Chin Hills by the British in 1896 Queen Victoria of England gave recognition to the term Chin as a legalized name, and Chin Hills as one of the administrative unit within the British Empire. The Chin Hills Regulation 1896 widened the scope by defining Chin to include Lusheis, Kukis, and Nagas. Detailed survey made in 1931 revealed that there were as many as forty four tribes or dialects among the Kuki-Chins. They are (1) Kahte, (2) Kyaw, (3) Thado, (4) Siyin (Sihzang), (5) Sokte (Sukte), (6) Kamhow (Kamhau), (7) Yo(or Zo), (8) Tahson (Tai-sun), (9) Yhow (zahau), (10) Laizo, (11) Kwangli (Khuangli), (12) Ngom (Ngawn), (13) Lushei, (14) Whelngo (Hualngo), (15) Lyente (Lente), (16) Zanhnyet (Zanniat), (17) Lai, (18) Lakher (Miram or Mara), (19) Lawhtu (lauk-tu), (20) Kwelshim (Khualsim), (21) Zotung, (22) Sentang (Senthang), (23) Tamang, (24) Miram, (25) Zolamnai, (26) Torrr (thawr), (27) Taoo, (28) Mgan (makan), (29) Welaung, (30) Chinbok, (31) Chinme, (32) Yindu (Zindu-Dai), (33) Chinbon, (34) Taungatha, (35) Sho, (36) Khami, (37) Anu, (38) Kaungtso, (39) Kaukadan, (40) Matu, (42) Sittu, (43) Chaunggyi Chin, and (44) Saingbaung. Later

on, in 1957 the definition was amended in which the term Chin include only the citizens of Burma who settled down within the Chin Special Division.  

1.7 The Zos and Zomis

Linguistically, Zo is a word common to all the Kuki kindreds of Manipur, Lushai kindreds of Lushai Hills, and Chin kindreds of the Chin Hills in Burma. “Zo” means Highland and “Mi” means Man. Here highland does not simply mean any high place or mountain but such high places or mountains which have certain characteristic features. The Zo people divided the mountainous regions into two parts. The higher part of the mountain which have cold, wet and damp climatic conditions with ever green forests, which are usually covered with monsoon clouds during the rainy seasons and the sun can hardly penetrate the forests are called Zo. These areas are good for profitable cultivation of potatoes, maize, sulphur, beans etc. The lower parts of the mountain with a warm and drier climate, where bamboo thrives and hill - side rice may grow well are called Shim or Chhim. The people inhabiting such higher areas are called Zomi. Therefore, “Zomi” mean residents of high hills or high lands which some writers considered it to be the origin of the term Zo. This is the linguistic interpretation of the term. But, historically its meaning is different. Zo is a generic name. It is the name of the progenitor of the present day Zo people. Therefore, Zomis are the ethnic or linguistic or cultural group of people who had commonly inherited the history, the tradition and culture of the Zo as their legacies. Then, who was the Zo? When and where did he live? These are the important questions that need to be answered.

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50 Singkhawkhai: Op, cit. n.47. p. 16.  
52 Sing Khaw Khai: Op, cit., n. 50, p.3.
The history of Zo can be traced as far back as their arrival in the Chindwin Valley. Fancho, a diplomat of the Tang dynasty in China mentioned in 852 A.D. a kingdom in the Chindwin valley who’s Princes and Chiefs were called Zo and his subjects Zomi.\(^{53}\) Again in 1508 A.D. Sir Henry Yule, Mission to the Court of Ava quoted a reference mentioning Zo (Yau) country-west of the mouth of Chindwin. In conformity with these two remarks another writer Father Sangermano, a Roman Catholic Missionary who came to Burma in 1783 A.D. had prepared a book in which he had stated about Zo as: “To the east of Chien mountain between 20:30 & 21:30 north latitudes is a petty nation called Jo. These people become burmanised, speaking their language abruptly and adopting all their customs”.\(^{54}\) These chronological evidences established the fact that the Zo dynasty whose existence which was established in 852 A.D. had existed or its remnants exist till 1508 A.D.

Evidence which bear testimony to the historical existence of Zo dynasty in the past can be seen from the fact that a group of people in the Chin Hill of Kampetlet area are called Cho; another people in the Central Chin area are called Sho or Asho; the Mirams (Lakher) also called themselves Zao; the Lais too originally called themselves Zo. A village existed near Falam town was called Laizo, and another village near Hakka town is also called Zokhua. The Zahuas in Falam area considered their clan name to have been derived from the name of their ancestor Zo.\(^{55}\) Therefore, it can be concluded

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\(^{54}\) Reverend Father Sangermano, *A Description of the Burmese Empire*, Translated by William Tandy DD, Reprinted at Government Press, Rangoon, p.35
that the names of different clans which contained the alphabet ‘o’ in their clan name can probably be the offspring of the same ancestor or dynasty.

Awareness among the different tribes inhabiting the Chin Hills of Burma to have a national title grew. At the initiative of a retired Pastor Sukte T.Hau Go the Teddim, Falam and Hakka Baptist Association was formed during 1952. Ten leaders each from Tedim, Falam and Hakka Baptist churches were selected to draft a constitution for the new Christian organization with T.Hau Go, as its Chairman. The Constitution Drafting committee, after thorough discussion and research recommended ZOMI to be the name for the new Baptist Organization.\(^{56}\) This proposal was based on the following concrete basic concept - to the north of Teddim the Thados and all other tribes call themselves Yo, in Falam- Laizo, the Teddim people call themselves Zo, the Lushais were called Mizo, in Hakka-Zotung, Zophei, Zokhua. In Gangaw area Zo is pronounced as Yaw, in Midat, Joor Cho, and in Paletwa - Khomi. In prome, Thayetmyo, Sandoway, and Bassein area, they call themselves A-Sho. The Baptist Convention held at Saikah village in Thantlang Township in the year 1953 approved the title ZOMI to be their national name. Hence the “Zomi Baptist Convention” came into existence.\(^{57}\) Therefore, according to T.Gougin “Zomi is not a forlorn word, it is neither a hypothetical assimilation, nor a make believe; as the word ‘English’ comes from the word Anglican, Zo comes from the name Zo”.

Under such circumstances, it appears that there are two substratums of people in the Chin Hills of Burma – one called Chin, and another called Zo. These two terms can

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\(^{56}\) Sing Kho Khai: Op. cit. n. 54. P. 10

\(^{57}\) Ibid.
lead one to misconstrue to mean two different communities. The two terms are in fact, synonymous to one another. Chin was the former name of the people which originated from the Chin dynasty in China. It has a broad coverage and it include all the tribal and their descendants living in the Chin state, while Zo was the later appellation of a section of the Chins which originated from Zo dynasty in Chindwin valley in Burma. Another convincing conclusion to these confusing terms has also been made by Sing Khow Khai in his book ‘Zo people and their culture’. According to him, the term spelt as Chin has become to denote a particular group of people having a social identity in relation to the historical development of a new nation called ‘Union of Burma’. In other words, the name Chin expresses its true meaning only in relation to the historical community of Burma. The term Zo, though, it seems to be resolutely propounded by the people, it fails to exercise its sway over the inhabitants of certain pockets of the Chin Hills. The people of Tonzang and Tedim districts obviously accepted this new nomenclature, while the people of Falam, Khalkha, Matupi, Kampelete and Paletva districts are still stifling in their old name i.e. Chin.\(^{58}\)

### 1.8 The Lushais and Mizos

Dr. Grierson in his linguistic Survey of India noted that the language spoken by the present day Mizos was initially known as *Duhlian Tongue* or *Duhlian Language*.\(^{59}\) According to this Duhlian language “*Lushai*” means Long head. “*Lu*” means Head, and “*shai*” (shei) means long. The ancestors of these *Lushais* used to keep long hair, fastening the hair into a knot at the back of their heads. Because of this hair style their

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\(^{58}\) Interview: Khuppi, 46 years of Sakollam (PAG), Tedim on 21\(^{st}\) December 2007 at Canchipur, Imphal.

\(^{59}\) G.A.Griersonj: Lignuistic Survey, 18904. S.V. “*Lushai or Duhlien*”.
head looks long. So, the progenitor and the progeny were known as Lushais (long headed man).  

The hill tract of land lying between Chittagong on the south, Cachar on the north, Hill Tipperah on the west, and Burma on the east; which is about one hundred miles in length from north to south and, say fifty, sixty or seventy miles in breadth from east to west is inhabited by races of savage and murderous nature of homogenous composition, speaking a common language and are bound together by ties of consanguinity; these people, during the British period were known as “Lushais”. These Lushais were closely related to the neighboring Kookees living in Tipperah, Sylhet, Cachar, and Manipore. Their stature and appearance were so similar and it was difficult to distinguish them. The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal also noted in a Minute, dated 18th May 1871, that it was difficult to get at the true meaning of Kookee and Lushai. He said, Kookee is the larger word of somewhat wider applications, while Lushai is a more restricted term; all Lushais being Kookees, but not all Kookees being Lushais”.  

All the early Lushai chiefs trace their pedigree to Thanngura, who was said to have been the son of a Burman by a Vuite woman. Thangura set up his first village at Tlangkua north of Falam, Burma. From him sprang six important lines of chiefs, Rokum, Zadeng, Rivung, Thangluah, Pallian, and Sailo. Sailo could crush all his rivals and had developed such a talent for governing and exercising undisputed sway over all clans throughout the Lushai hill. Thus the Lushai genealogy was represented by the Sailo. The term Lushai includes the inhabitants of the North Lushai Hills such as (I)  

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60. The Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India, Vol. IV, 1907. p.233.  
Duhlien or Lushai, (ii) Hmar, (iii) Ralte and (iv) Paite. Regarding the Sailo geneology the statement given by Shakespeare is quoted here:

“The existing Lushei Chiefs all claim descent from a certain Thangura, who is sometimes said to have sprung from the union of a Burman with a Paihte woman, but according to the Paihtes, the Lusheis are descended from Boklua, an illegitimate son of the Paihte Chief Ngahguka”.  

The British initially adopted the term *Loosye* as the designation of all the Zo people living in the western part of the Zo country which was later changed to Lushai as the ruling clans of these people were known to them as Lushai. The hill tract occupied by the Lushais was annexed as Lushai Hill District by the British in 1891. It was on 9th April 1946 that a conference was held at Muallungthu village (Lushai Hills), attended by representatives belonging to different communities. At this conference a union called “Mizo Union” was established. The aim of this union was to bring the Zo people belonging to different Zo clans under one nomenclature and to set up an independent state of the Zomis living in the Indo-Burman borderland. Thus, the term Mizo came into existence replacing the old term Lushai. The Mizo National Front which was the armed wing of the Mizo Union waged a long armed struggle against the government of India for independence. The historic Mizoram Peace Accord was signed by the Government of India and the Mizo National Front in June 1986. Following the accord the former Mizo Hills District was granted a full fledged state status on 20th February 1987.

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1.9 **Origin of the Kuki, Chin, Zo and Lushai**

The physical characteristics such as brown skin color, straight and black hair, short and wide nose, prominent check bone, flat face and average stature etc of the Kuki, Chin and Lushai clans contributed to their classification under the Mongoloid group of human race. Their languages are also related to the Tibeto Chinese languages. The Tibeto Chinese group is again divided into Karen, Tibeto Burman, and Tai-Chinese. Because of their cultural and political affinities many writers considered the Chins, Kukis and Lushais to be the offshots of the Tibeto Burman lineage.\(^{65}\) So, logically it can be proved that the origin of the Tibeto-Burman group should naturally be the origin of the Chin, Kuki, Lushai groups.

By about 2500 B.C. there were eight principal historical cultures in China. The Chiang tribe, ancestor of the Tibeto Burman group was one of these cultures. They were found in western China in the province of the present day Szechuan and the mountainous region of Kansu and Shensi. Their economy was based on sheep rearing and raising of Yakes, Ponies and Pigs.\(^{66}\) In 1960 A.D. the Readers Digest published a World Atlantic map in which it was pointed out that “within the Szechuan province of China, on the bank of the river Yulung, above Chamdo, at the confluence of longitude 100.50 E and Latitude 31.3 N, there is a desolated old village site called Sinlung”. This Sinlung is believed to be the origin of the present day Zo people.\(^{67}\) S.K.Chatterji also made an attempt to identify the area of North West China, between the head waters of

\(^{65}\) Tualchin Neihsial op.cit no. 64. p.10.
\(^{66}\) Vumson: Op. cit. n.63. p. 27
Huang Ho and the Yangtse Kiang rivers as the origin of the Tibeto Burman group. Dr. Grierson also agreed North Western China between the upper course of Yangtse Kiang and Hoang Ho rivers as the original home of the Tibeto-China race. The bones found in the caves of Chou k’outien, south of Peking, known as Peking man is believed to be the bones of the earliest man in China and its surrounding areas. According to anthropologists the Peking man possessed certain characteristics peculiar to the Mongoloid race.

Traditionally, the story tellers of the Kuki, Lushai clans claimed that they came out of the Khul. “Khul” means Cave. This idea of cave origin is known as “Khul Theory”. The Mizos called it Chhinlung; Hmars called it Sinlung, Vaiphei, Paite, Gangte, Simte, Zo, Thado etc. called it Khul; whereas, the Aimol, Anal, Chothe, Chiru Maring, Lamgang, Kom etc called it Khur.Exceptionally, Changsan, Langum, Thangeo and Lunkim of the New Kuki group claimed that they are of celestial origin. According to L.Hranglien Songate, a Hmar historian, the word Sinlung was derived from the name of the Chinese king Sunlung who established the Sunlung city which is now called Silung in China. Therefore, the myth origin Chhinlung, Sinlung, Khur etc.’ as told by the old people of Chin, Kuki and Mizo Conformed to the origin advocated by various historians. One folk song also proved their Khul origin. (Translated into English)

My mother land famous Khul,
Home of my own ancestors,
Could it be called back like Chongzil?
Home of my own ancestors.
What prompted the Tibeto Burman group to migrate from their original settlement in China to North East India and Burma can not exactly be established. Various reasons are contemplated by different writers. According to one idea the rivalry between the Shang people and the Chiang tribe (ancestors of the Chin, Kuki, and Mizo group) could be one reason. During the Shang Dynasty (1600-1028 B.C.) the Shangs and the Chiang tribes were neighbors; the Shang people live in South West region of Shansi and Shensi, while the Chiangs live in North West China. But they were in constant state of war.\(^1\)

Another writer considered that after the end of the Zhou Dynasty, a new dynasty called Chin Dynasty was established in China by about 1122-255 B.C. *Shih Huang Ti* (meaning first ruler) was the greatest of all the Chin emperors. His reign came into being from 246 B.C. Sih Huang Ti was a great and an ambitious emperor. He wanted to consolidate his position and wanted to gain the credit of being the originator of all history. For this purpose he collected and consigned to flames all history books, monuments, chronological and historical records, and all things that contained past history, except medicinal research and preservations of astrological discoveries of that time. So that new history, new records, new ideas and new researches started afresh with his reign. Not only had that, in order to prevent his territory from his enemies the emperor constructed the great “China Wall”. The Zomi progenitors were employed by the king to construct the wall by coercion. Unable to endure forced labor and dislike of massacre of those people who preserved historical records by the emperor with a view to

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\(^1\) Priyadarshini M.Gangte : Op. cit. n. 23
building his own castle the Zomi progenitors abandoned their habitation and sojourned towards south. Another conjectured reason was famine which caused an acute food shortage leading to Zomis migration.\textsuperscript{72} Erique was emphatic in telling that the Mongolian race who occupied the South East Asia and the North East India originated from the Western China lying between the sources of the Yangtse and the Huang-Horivers and migrated in three waves. The first wave was the TaiChinese wave. The second was the Mon Khmer wave- consisting of Talaing, Pa Lung, En Riang, Ma, Pale, Khais and Annimite. They followed the Mekong valley towards south into Kampuchea and Thailand until they reached Burma. The third wave was the Tibeto Burman wave - consisting of Pyu-Burmese Kachin, Kuki-Chin and Lolo. Initially they moved towards west and divided into several groups following different routes. Some of them reached Tibet on the south.\textsuperscript{73}

In the course of their movement towards south, the Tibeto Burman group halted for quite sometime at a place called \textit{Kham} region which lies in the mountainous region between Yangtse and Mekong rivers within the territory of the present day Tibet. This Tibetan Kham region is still inhabited by such Tibeto Burman speakers, as Lolo, Muhso, Chiang etc. The close relationship between these Kham people and the Zos of Burma is established by the way they drunk alcohol, custom of sacrifice, practice of an oath, and setting up of stone monuments in recognition of their valour in wars, etc.\textsuperscript{74} Tibet during that time was called \textit{Khaw a chen} or \textit{Gangjong} (land of ice). During the 9\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. the Muslim writers wrote it as \textit{Tubbet} or \textit{Tibbit} which afterwards was changed to

\textsuperscript{72} Vumson: Op. cit. n.70. p. 35
\textsuperscript{73} Tualchin Neihsial: Op. cit. n.65..p. 6
\textsuperscript{74} Thangkhomang S.Gangte: Op, cit., n. 28. P. 17
Tibet by the European explorers. Probably because of their settlement at this place, or as a mark of memory of their origin the Paletwas of Burma called themselves as Khammi (Khummi), and also the Tedim Chins of Chin Hills of Burma called themselves as Khamtung mi (man of hill people).\(^{75}\)

1.10 Entry into Burma

No specific date can be given to the entry of the Tibeto Burman groups into Burma. Because they did not come down as social or cultural units as it exist today; but they came down in parts from groups. According to C.C.Lowis the Tibeto Burman groups came down to Burma following two separate routes. One route in the west followed the river sources of Nmaili Hka – Chindwin. Through this route came the Chins and the Kachins. Another route in the east followed the river sources of Mekhong – Salween – Nmai Hka. Through this route came those Mru and Lashi who settled in the valley of Nmai Hka, those Lisaws who settled in the valley of Salween, and those Lahu and Kaws who settled in the Valley of Mekong River.\(^{76}\) Ngulkhopau Hatzaw, a Tiddim historian had also mentioned that the ancestors of Zo came down to Burma from Tibet along the Irrawady river and settled at its bank in the central part of Burma, and lived there together with the Mons.\(^{77}\) The Suante source of Tedim migration myth says that Zo ancestors from Tibet directly descended into the plains of Irrawady through the place between the rivers Chindwin and Irrawady and made their settlement at Amarapura.\(^{78}\)

\(^{75}\) Sing Kho Khai: Op. cit. n. 56. p. 63
\(^{76}\) Tualchin Neihsiel: Op. cit.n.73. p. 6
Luci puts this distant period of Tibeto Burman entry into Burma at about 100 B.C.\textsuperscript{79} From the Romans’ record also it is found that such ethnic tribes such as the Mru, Sak and Zo had existed in the \textit{Rakhin} (Arakan) Hills during the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{80} When the Burmese descended to the plains of central Burma during the ninth century A.D. the Zo people had already been in the Chindwin valley.\textsuperscript{81} The Burmans fought against the other occupants of the area, such as the Thet, Mon and Pyu, but they did not fight against the Zos because of the absence of conflicting interest between the two tribes concerning their territory. The Burmese settled to the east of Irrawady river and the Zo were dominant between Chindwin and Irrawady rivers.\textsuperscript{82} Therefore, the ancestors of the Zo or Chins entered into Burma prior to the entry of Burmans and stayed in the valley of Irrawady river for several centuries. They were known by different names during different historical epochs and under different kings.

During 618-906 A.D. the Tang dynasty rose to power in China. The Tangs traveled widely and had recorded the existence of three kingdoms in Burma. They are (i) the Shak kingdom with their capital at Chindwin river valley, (ii) the Pyu kingdom in central Burma with their capital at Hanlingyuiin Shwebo district, and (iii) the Mon kingdom with their capital at Tali, near Waw. The Shaks were believed to be the ancestors of the Zos. Pagan inscription also shows that the Shaks spread over central Burma above and below Pagan, and they were the aboriginal tribes of the valleys.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} Op.cit. n.78 p.44.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Luci : \textit{Pre Pagan Burma}, p.12
\item \textsuperscript{81} \textit{Outline of the Burmese Political History}. (Rangoon : Sapay Printing Press, 1971), p.122
\item \textsuperscript{82} Vumson: Op. cit. n.72. P.35
\end{itemize}
Another contemporary kingdom known as Nanchao kingdom rose to power in Yunan Province of south west China with their capital at Tali. Kolofeng, the powerful king of Nanchao kingdom, conquered Tufan (Tibet) and fought a battle with the Shak kingdom. In the battle 6,000 Tsang troops were killed and Kolofeng became the undisputed emperor. He established trade route to India and to the kingdom of Pyu in central Burma. He also established permanent garrison at staging posts and dominated northern Burma. In 832 A.D. the Nanchao plundered the Pyu capital and carried off thousands of captives to Kuming. Thus the Pyu kingdom came to an end.

Fancho, a diplomat of the Tsang dynasty wrote in his book “Book of the southern Barbarians” that in the eight century there exist a Zo kingdom with its wooden stockade capital at the confluence of the Chindwin and Irrawady rivers. The Zo people had settled to the north and west of this capital. The Chinese called the Chindwin river Mino and the people living in the Chindwin valley Mino people. He further mentioned that the Mino people were by nature polite and respectful. Whenever they address anyone they came forward making a bow at each step. They called their princes and chiefs Shou. This Zo kingdom was destroyed in 835 A.D. by a Chinese Nanchao king called Man probably Kolofeng. Remnants of Zo ritual ground, memorial stone of 13 feet of earlier days and Ash ground is still found today at a place, two miles away from Sibani village. 83

After the destruction of the Zo capital, Khampat seemed to be the next capital founded by the Zo people. It was established during the middle of the ninth century

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A.D., located at forty-three miles from Kalemyo on the Tamu road. According to Lalthangliana, a Mizo historian, Khampat was the first and the oldest capital of the Zos. This capital was invaded by the Shans in the middle of the sixteenth century which led to the migration of the Zos from this place to the Chin Hills.\(^\text{84}\) The Teddims moved from Kale valley following up the Tuikang stream and founded Chiimnuai, the Falams moved up along the river Manipur and made their first settlement at Lotsom. The Chiimnuai settlement was preceded by their refuge inside a cave, the location of which is identified between the present Saizang and Phaileng villages. Some historians referred this cave as Khul and considered it to be the origin of the Zomi, Kuki, Chin groups. Chiimnuai was another place more suitable for hiding from their enemies. It is a hidden place from view and lies on the eastern bank of the Manipur river, enclosed by the Lentaang (Inn buk) range on the west and the Lethal (Thangmual) range on the east. According to Dr. Thantun, Professor in the Department of History, Mandalay University, the northern Zo who settled in the plain of upper part of Chindwin were the Thados, Sihzang, Sukte, Kamhao and Zo. Therefore, they are believed to be the Zo tribes who founded the Chiimnuai settlement.\(^\text{85}\) The Teddim chronicles say that the migration from Kale Valley to Chiimnuai was led by Songthu with the help of Songza, Sonkip or Zakhai. This time of Zo settlement at Chimnuai is estimated to be between 700-1000 A.D.\(^\text{86}\)

\(^\text{84}\) Vumson: Op.cit. n.82. p.34.
\(^\text{86}\) Falam Township People’s Council, Lailun San Thuanthu (Mimeograph