Chapter-III

BACKGROUND: THE ORIGIN OF THE AO, SANGTAM AND LOTHA TRIBES

Origin of the Ao Tribe and History of Sungratsu Village

The Ao Naga tradition and legend speaks of an autochthonous origin, in that, they emerged from underneath the ground of Longterok (Six Stones) and later settled at Chongliyimti, which at present is a village in the Sangtam tribal area. This is probably an old extended legend of a different place of the tribe to which have been added local colour and made use as a point of reference. It is said that they stayed at Chongliyimti long enough to evolve their culture. However, the study of the cultural traits of this tribe reveals hints to show that they probably came from the
south of the region in different migratory waves. Generally speaking, it is opined that the Naga tribes did not migrate at the same time but their movement over Burma and into India was spread over a period of time. It is most likely that they entered their present habitat in different waves following one another and in some cases in close succession (Sema, 1986:5). Thus according to Asoso Yonuo, the Aos comprised the second migratory wave of immigrants, whose migration route is believed to be from Burma through the Tangkhul, Chakhesang and Tuensang areas to the present Ao villages (1984:39). According to Alemchiba Ao, the Ao first migrated north touching the outskirt of the present Chakhesang area and entered Yimchung area whence they went still northward through Sangtam area and reach Chongliyimti (1970:20). According to an Ao legend, they went first and were followed by the Lothas and the Semas and later came the Rengmas, the Angamis and the Chakhesangs. Even the present locations of these tribes are in that order.

Ao tradition says that Chongliyimti village was settled under the leadership of six men representing six clans. The village was divided into two Khels (wards/localities) representing two dialects of the Ao language namely, Chongli and Mongsen. Owing to some misunderstanding, during a head hunting expedition between the Chongli and Mongsen groups, the latter established a separate village called Kuppok and lived there for some
decades. Later, due to some reasons, probably an amicable settlement between the two groups, they reconciled to live together at Chongliyimti which was later renamed as Senden Ruju (General Conference Hall). They lived there for about 900 years, which in Ao tribal estimate works out to 30 generations, each generation being constituted by 30 years more or less.

Above all, at Chongliyimti, where the Aos took their first settlement is of great importance and significance in the history of Ao migration. The Aos often remember the life in Chongliyimti which may be described as the "Golden age" of Ao people or the beginning of the new era for their civilization. B.B. Chosh further states that, "it was here that the Aos attained a remarkable achievement as an organized society and tribe with proper village government, distribution of powers, a set of customary law to abide by, and consciousness of moral and ethical aspects of mankind (1979:32)".

At a later stage, the people went west around 1000 A.D. from Chongliyimti/Senden Ruju. After crossing the river Dhiko, they founded a new village called Aonglenden in Ongpangkang range in present day district of Mokokchung. At this village ten sons were born overnight to ten families for which reason they named the place Soyim (So=born; yim=village). After some decades, due to some calamity, they migrated further to another place called Koridang.
Subsequently, they led a raid to a village called Angpang and was defeated. After the expedition was over, more than half of the inhabitants wandered into various directions to establish Ao, Settsu, Kupza, Yangpangchen and Mekeli villages. As a result, very few of them were left for which reason they abandoned their village and subsequently came back to the former village of Aonglenden which today is better known as Ungma (Ung=chief; ma=lost). At a later stage from Ungma, they again split into three different groups and places and established Mekongtsu, Aliba and Mepongchuket respectively.

According to tradition the Aos dispersed into different villages from Chongliyimti and such village settlements are now counted to be 86 (Census 1991) villages. In this process of migration and movements to found new villages, the forefathers of present day Sungratsu village, while leaving Mepongchuket village after two decades found a certain spot where there was a profusion of roots (possibly roots of the rubber tree). The elders made the fellow migrants to rest their load there. From that settlement was formed the present village of Sungratsu (Sungra=roots; tsu=profusion).

The following were the major clans during the formation of Sungratsu village according to tradition namely:
A. CHONGLI CLANS

1. Jamir
2. Ozukum
3. Lemtur

B. MONGSEN CLANS

1. Longchar
2. Aier/Imchen
3. Mozur

According to village custom and tradition, prior to the land being divided among the settlers in founding a village, the construction of Aruju (bachelors hall) was the foremost task in the settlement process. The village was divided into two Khels (Mspu) i.e. Pongen Tenem Mepu and Lenden Mepu. Each Khel was represented by three or four clans respectively. Every Khel had three to four Aruju (bachelors hall), depending upon the number of clans (i.e. one bachelors hall for each clan) and one Senden Ruju (common conference hall), particularly to settle disputes and to discuss common village objectives and policies. It was then followed by land distribution where all the clans under common consent divided the land for the purpose of making houses and of cultivation. Such a similar process took place in the founding of Sungratsu village according to tradition.

The land was distributed among the settlers on the basis of seniority in terms of clan ranking. In some cases, Tayimer (affiliated group and therefore, lower in clan ranking) was also given a share of the common land for use in the village on affiliates’ discretion as tradition says. There are about five affiliated groups in this village.
However, it is thus stated by village tradition that, any affiliate who had affiliated before the completion of three years after the formation of the village were said to be entitled to become genuine citizen (better known to be founding clan or members). Thus the original clans involved in the founding of Sungratsu village came to be known as Yimkum Kein (found clans) as they are till today, namely:

A. CHONGLI CLAN
   1. Jamir
   2. Ozukum
   3. Lemtur
   4. Mozur

B. MONGSEN CLAN
   1. Longchar
   2. Aier/Imchen
   3. Walling
   4. Mozur

After the land was being divided among themselves, they organized the office of the Putu Menden/Putu Menchen (village council) which shall be further discussed in the next chapter. Next was the membership to the village council and thus, after the village council had been formed, the procedure of meat share among the village councillors were decided which still operates today.

Today, Sungratsu village is accounted to be 33 generations (Putu) old. According to Ao-Naga system of keeping counts, each generation (Putu) is constituted by 30 years. Thus, by natural multiplications, Sungratsu village is surmised to be 990 years old. The Sungratsu village council recognizes and practices a cycle of five generation
seats, which corresponds to etymological representation as explained by J.P. Mills (1973 Rept.) and Dr. Clark (1973 Rept.) as is in the table given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Putu (Generation)</th>
<th>J.P. Mills</th>
<th>Dr. Clark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Reyongsanger</td>
<td>Many people</td>
<td>War-like generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medemsanger</td>
<td>Equal people</td>
<td>United generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mechensanger</td>
<td>Those who do not run away</td>
<td>Truthful generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mopungsanger</td>
<td>Wind People</td>
<td>Bad generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kosasanger</td>
<td>Broken People</td>
<td>Swaggering generation</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The Putu menden (village council) of the Sungratsu village is placed under Reyongsanger (war-like generation) Putu menden (generation seat). Each generation of councillors takes the name of the cycle coming after that of its predecessors, till Kosasanger is reached, when a fresh start is made at Reyongsanger (Ibid:182).

Sungratsu village qualifies as an average sized village of the Ao-Naga tribals. It has 535 households and a total population of 2,270 (Census, 1981). It has seven major clan groups, representing Chongli and Mongsen (they also constitute the two dialects of the Ao language). The village is largely characterized by jhum cultivation on the economic dimension, although of late, secondary occupations of trade and commerce and other cash generating activities like developmental contract works significantly adds to their income. Other cash earning activities within the village are also constituted by government school teachers,
village level workers (VLW) of External Agricultural and Rural Development Schemes and that of medical personnel in the village dispensaries.

The village is 16 kilometers from Mokokchung town, the District Capital of the Ao-Naga tribals. It is conveniently accessible from the town by hourly bus services, which takes an estimated time of only 40-45 minutes. Owing to its proximity to the town, the village enjoys all the benefits that the town can provide. It is also subject to much urban influences that gives it the appearance of having lost its rural and traditional characteristics. Despite that appearance, it has managed successfully to retain its traditional roots, which is more evident, by the active and effective function of its village council, which is guided by tradition, customs and convention. In fact, it is described as a very dynamic village, drawing the benefits of change from the urban milieu and yet still drawing its sustenance as a social entity from tradition.

The village population is mainly Christian of the Baptist denomination. The children of the village are now found in all walks of life that denotes the Naga society. In the Government services, the people hailing from the village are successfully found in the administration, law and justice besides having many technocrats and professionals. In the field of business, trade and
commerce, the entrepreneurs hailing from the village constitutes the successful ones in their respective profession.

Origin of the Sangtam Tribe and History of Chimonger Village

At the outset, owing to absence of any written records of this tribe, all the data presented here are directly gleaned from the field. Oral tradition says that the Sangtam tribe originally sprang up from a place called Kuzying-muzung. Prior to this, according to migrational history of the Nagas in general, the Sangtam belongs to the second wave of immigrants which also comprised the Aos, Changs, Khimungans and Yimchunger (Yonuo, 1984:39). They probably migrated from Thangdut, near the Chindwin (now Nagaland, legally constituted by the Government of India) river in Burma. Alemchiba Ao states that "the Sangtam came from the south along the Tizu river and most likely at one time of their wanderings, they might have been an ancient companion of the Ao group (1970:21)". There is a legend about the Phom people also which runs that they at one time stayed together with Sangtam. It is believed that the Sangtam and other Naga tribes migrated through Burma by taking treks directly westward.

In the absence of any authentic historicity we can probably depend on circumstantial evidence as well as assumption on the basis of traditions of other tribes.
According to B.B. Ghosh, there is differences in the stages of development as well as time of arrival in this land, even in the same tribe, for the Sangtams do not go with the details of their migration but simply say that they came from Burma (1981:21 & 24). Another assumption is that according to Naga tradition as described by J.H. Hutton, the Sangtam tribe came from Burma through a place called Yatsimi (a Sema village) across the Tizu river directly westward and migrated further to Yesami in the Sema area where they settled for a considerable period of time along with the Semas. Later, they abandoned Yesami village and further migrated directly towards north and split into three migratory waves, i.e. east, north and west and settled at Chongliyimti (1969, Rept:7), possibly the present Sangtam area. At this juncture, we must point out that Sangtam tradition is closely intertwined with that of the Ao tribes. Thus the Sangtam tradition further states that they lived together with the Aos in Chongliyimti for many generations. The Sangtam version further states that while living in Chongliyimti many people lost their lives in obscurity, which later came to be known as a place which was very closely akin to an Ao name Kuppok, which according to their legend, was exclusively inhabited by the Mongsen group of Ao tribe. Owing to this reason they abandoned that place and migrated towards Yangli (a village in Sangtam area). According to Sangtam tradition, from Chongliyimti, the Aos
migrated towards west and so, after crossing the Dikhu river, the Aos derived their tribal name, which literally means "people who went ahead leaving others behind". As per their explanation, Ao mean "going" or "gone". Thus we can arbitrarily accept that the Sangtams and the Aos came together under one migratory wave with the tribes of other Nagas as well.

However, according to one version of Sangtam oral tradition, they came from Burma with other Naga tribes and settled at Chongliyimti, somewhere in the present northern Sangtam country. Chongliyimti, according to Sangtam version is called Chongliyangti (Chongli=the present Chongli dialect group of Ao and yangti=track), traditionally meaning that once the Aos settled at Chongliyimti and went towards west leaving all the other tribes. Tradition further points out that from Chongliyimti the Sangtam people split into two groups i.e. Jakhama village in Japfu mountain and the rest lived in Chakhesang area (Imchen, 1990:25). Thus it is presumed that either of the party migrated into Kuzying-muzung. However, according to the Sangtam version, the migratory processes after Chongliyimti, possibly after the Aos left Chongliyimti village, till the founding of the Chimonger village, could not be traced out owing to the absence of written or historical evidences.

Owing to some reasons, they abandoned Kuzying-muzung and migrated further to another place called Peyahir under
the leadership of six men which also represents six clans and a village was finally founded. According to the Sangtam version, after they came from Burma and settled at Chongliyimti which they named as Ongterok (meaning six clans with one Onger, i.e. leader of the party) (Ibid, 1990:25). Following this, a particular group of men and women representing all the six clans, founded another village called Chiming (the present Chimonger village of the Sangtam). The history of how the Sangtam came to Chiming is passed into complete obscurity. Yet it is apparent that originally they belong to one stock forming a different wave, and most probably they settled at Chongliyimti, from which they established their present villages of northern Sangtam of the State of Nagaland.

After the formation of Chiming, the village was organized into divisions of six Pongyong (ward/locality) namely, 1) Singmuku; 2) Chongda; 3) Akok; 4) Thonger; 5) Jabo and 6) Kodak, which according to tradition, represented respectively six founding clans namely: 1) Jengru; 2) Anar; 3) Longtithonger; 4) Thongru; 5) Mongzar and 6) Ruthtithonger. This arrangement exists even contemporarily. When the village was formed as tradition says, the first and foremost duty in the village was to erect the institution of Singkongwi (bachelors hall). Each Khel had a Singkongwi respectively and followed by respective administrative councils, to settle disputes and dispense other
administrative functions, such as allocation of lands for cultivation including matters regarding the village in total.

Thus, according to tradition, the name of the village Chiming carries a symbolic meaning. Tradition says that, the then migrants found a spot where there was a profusion of Chiming (a kind of flower). Owing to the natural beauty of the spot as well as being fascinated by the blossoms, the name stuck to identify the village thus. However, it is to be noted that hence the establishment of British administration for administrative purposes, and obviously as a result of mis-pronunciation, the village name was registered in the government file as Chimonger which still identifies it today.

After the establishment of the village, Yangpumji (village council) was organized. The selection of councillors to the Yangpumji (village council) were drawn from each Khel which is still adhered to accordingly in the village even today. Tradition says that there was and is even now among the Sangtam no process of counting generation as with other Naga tribes as a measure of chronological time. Some respondents had pointed out that the village in the search of chronological measurement by inter-facing itself with other tribes, would be about 12 generations old (a generation being about 30 years). Another reference is that according to new explanations of Ao tradition, since 100 A.D. they lived in Chongliyimti prior to the coming of
the Sangtams, and other tribes. At about 1000 A.D. the Aos abandoned Chongliyimti (Imchen, 1990:23). Thus on the basis of Ao habitation of Chongliyimti and later of their movement to found other villages, it is surmised that the Chimonger village of the Sangtam tribe would be about 1000 years and above.

The Sangtam country itself in general is divided into two hilly geographical ranges namely, Tsaru (now better known as Chare) and Longkhim (Sub-division) range. The Chimonger village is the northern most part of the present Sangtam area of the State of Nagaland. Today, the Sangtam tribe is administratively constituted by 19 villages. Longkhim sub-division is the nearest administrative headquarter to this village and the benefits and privileges of the town are availed of by the people in this village. Tuensang is the District Headquarters which is a distance of about 25 kilometers from Longkhim sub-divisional center and which takes 1 hour for transport communication. The village is not directly accessible from the district capital though, which gives it a feeling of isolation. The distance of the village from the sub-divisional headquarters is 12 kilometers of only jeepable road. Till today, no government transport facilities are provided, thus leaving to private vehicles to provide carriage and mobility. The village currently has 442 households and a total population of 4028 (Census 1991) qualifying it as an average sized village of
the Naga tribals. By religion, they are all Christian as a result of conversion historically.

In addition, the basic occupational aspects of this village today is primarily characterized by agriculture and farming for economic dimensions. Beside agriculture, there are also petty shopkeepers, school teachers attached to the governmental institutions, petty businessmen, medico-care facilities like government dispensaries and their staff, skilled labours for wage earning, etc. are some major sources for their livelihood. Yet, there are also wood carvers, cattle rearers to a limited number, weavers, etc. which are some other occupational diversity in this village. Aside from internal sources, there are Village Level Workers (VLW) like Village Development Board (VDB), Rural Development Board (RDB), etc. for village developmental activities which are being provided from the government under its control for their external economic support. Thus the present social and economic condition of this village is one of a subsistent nature, where extremes of poverty are checked and yet without affluence substantially on the other.

Origin of the Lotha Tribe and History of Wokha Village

The Lothas living left of the Doyang river are known as Ndrong, and those on the right bank as Liye. Generally,
the division of the tribe into two sections by a river which is unfoldable for a great part of the year has led to slight diversity of dialect and custom. According to Asoso Yonuo, the origin of the Naga race is veiled in obscurity as the word itself proves and every conclusion is not certain (1984:36). Most apparently, the Nagas migrated towards their present homes from different directions across the barren mountains possibly following the overland route or treks. Historical records states that, most probably, the Lothas, Maos, Angamis, Semas and Rengmas form a wave of migrants (Ao, 1970:19). Thus the following is the Lotha version of their origin and early migrations. The commonest version of their tradition states that the Lothas and plainsmen were once one people who migrated from a place called Lengka somewhere north or north-west of the Naga Hills, the exact site being unknown. They soon split up into two bodies, one of which became the plainsmen of the Brahmaputra valley and the other the Nagas of the hills. According to J.P. Mills, they originated or came out of a hole in the earth near the "miraculous stone" at Kezakenoma, which he derived from the Angami tribal version of themselves and of others (1980, Rept.:3). However, those scanty references give the Lothas an autochthonous origin as well as is acknowledged by themselves even today.

At a later period as tradition says, this tribe had to move when they were driven out from their original
settlements in the south by their Angami pursuers. It is said that it was such a tremendous throng of clansmen, that they were obliged to divide themselves into groups and found different settlements and bring the surrounding land under cultivation to save themselves from starvation. Following this, a huge village called Tiyi Longchem is said to have been founded a little to the north of the present site of Niroyo as their original place from which further splits occurred settling into other areas of the land. So vast was the crowd of warriors that a group of persons later abandoned Tiyi Longchem and established Longseu village. It was clear that they must split up or starve, so they began to move off and found other new villages. Later they founded Longseu a unsuitable place hence abandoned it and later entered the founded present Wokha village which is still in existence.

Traditionally, a village was not always founded by one man alone but collectively. Thus it was quite common for two men of different clans to jointly found a new village, each bringing his quota of families. Each clan would supply wives to the other, and the inconveniences of marriage outside the village were thus avoided. As such, the system is still practiced with most of the Naga tribal villages.

When the Wokha village was formed, as tradition says, 50 persons were present and thus the counting of 50
founding members symbolized and formed the name of the Wokha village (i.e. Wokha means counting the number of people). Tradition further states that during the formation of this village, five clans were present, namely 1) Emtsu; 2) Kethan; 3) Murria; 4) Tungoe and 5) Yanthan. Any clan can be traced back to a single family which has multiplied into numerous families and which in turn have managed to stay connected. Two or more such clans formed a village in Wokha as with all other Naga tribals. Thus, clans belonging to the same tribe may be spread over hundreds of villages. The clan or kinship, therefore, is a continuation of the family unit on the paternal side. Thus to trace back, the clan in its earliest stage was the combination of the families of male cousins from the father's side.

The Wokha village was divided into four Yankho (ward/locality) in pre-British period, which contemporarily are divided into five Yankho, namely 1) Chumpuvu Yankho; 2) Wozhu Yankho; 3) Heyi Yankho; 4) Tongoe Yankho; 5) Kikon Yankho. Formerly, each Khel was occupied by one clan exclusively; now-a-days members of different clans often inhabit more than one Khel. The Pvuti (priest) or Tongti (chiefs) of different Khels in the village formed the village council (Oyan Yansasa or Ngti). The interest of every individual is to first of all concentrate on his family and only then comes considerations of the clan, Khel and finally the village. Each Khel had a separate council
led by one Pvuti (priest) which are today represented by a single unified council, where the selection for Tongti (chiefs) are drawn from each Khel respectively and one or two Pvuti’s (priest) are selected for the village as a whole.

After the village is formed, selection of Pvuti (priest) was the first and foremost task to be performed. It is to be noted that the structural feature of the traditional Wokha village council is apparently different with that of the contemporary village council, where the Pvuti (priest) have over the years lost much of its functional importance as compared to the Tongti (chiefs). Traditionally, after the procedure for selection of councillors to the village council (Oysn Yansasa/Ngti), the basic procedure of meat share among the councillors were and are even now decided, as is observed among the Ao tribe in Sungratsu village for comparison which forms a strong point of similarity.

Generally speaking, a generation is counted as 30 years with Naga tribes. However, according to Lotha tradition, no such process of counting the years or generation is available. Another version states that the Wokha village is counted to be 29 generations hence the formation of this village. Thus the Wokha village is surmised to be 870 years old if the general process of counting generation is applicable to this village. Unlike
the Aos, the village have no process of generation cycles. According to tradition, they simply organized the village council through representatives drawn from each Khel and served 20-30 years tenure of office and succession occurs through mutual consent among the councillors themselves. In the absence of traditional chronological measurement, Wokha village is surmised to have been established in the later period of the 17th century, although how they could arrive of such a conclusion is not logically forthcoming from the field respondents.

Generally, Wokha at large is one of the seven districts of the State of Nagaland, constituted in 1973. The hills is inhabited by the Lotha tribe which belong to one of the most fascinating parts of Nagaland. There are no isolated mountain peaks, but one vast sweep of rolling green ranges, separating enchanting valleys and turbulent rivers. Topographically, Wokha is bounded by Mokokchung district on the north, Zunheboto district on the east and Kohima district on the south. The district is generally divided into three ranges namely, Bhandari or lower range, Sanis or middle range and Wokha or upper range in which the present Wokha village is located.

Wokha town is the nearest district administrative headquarters to this village of the same name. The distance is about 1 kilometer for transport communication. It is very closely accessible from the town for which reason, the
villagers can avail maximum allocations as regards benefits and privileges available from the town. The present Wokha village has 520 households and a total population of 6,000 (Census 1991) inhabitants, which qualifies it as an average sized village for the Lotha tribals. There are altogether 95 villages (Census 1991) in Wokha district including Wokha town. Thus the Wokha village in particular, corresponds to a heterogeneity of culture owing to its urban proximity although they still retain their customs and tradition that can be experienced through the working of their village council hence tradition.

Beside, the present economic condition in this village is characterized mostly by shifting cultivation and other occupations of petty artisanship like cane and bamboo works, wood carving, blacksmithy, carpentry, etc. These augments their income besides the agriculture. Other sources of income like trade and commerce of local products, minor government service like school teachers etc. are some of the supporting factors of resources for their livelihood. Every respondent family has 7-10 children, and the total income per month, per family, were approximately estimated at an average of Rs.600/- and above. Of the 30 respondents, 30 per cent are literate in this village.

Beside, cotton is also grown abundantly for their own use as well as for sale. Important forest products are bamboo shoots, bee wax, local cane juice, and several other
fibres as well. Hunting of animals and birds are some favourite past time for them besides being a source of food. Fishing by using traps and baskets are also another means of sustenance. Most of the villagers by religion is Christian of the Baptist denomination and others like Catholics, Pentecostals and the Revivalists are also present.

Though the Nagas belong to different migratory waves and traditions without any written records, and also of different languages and customs, there are, however, a close affinity among themselves by various reasons as is neglected by the similarities between the three tribes in study here. As such, Shri S.C. Chamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland points out that the dress patterns among the different Naga tribes are identical although there are small variations in the mode of wearing the dresses (Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1989:15). J.P. Mills also stated that "there is a system of inter-tribal corresponding clans existing in all the Naga tribes. A Lotha will say, for instance, that his clan 'is the same' as some particular Ao clan. That Ao can in turn will say that they are 'one clan' with some particular Konyak clan, which in turn has a corresponding Phom clan, and so on. For instance, Lotha Chami corresponds to Ao Jamir and Sema Yepothomi; Lotha Kikung corresponds to Ao Longchachar, Sema Shohemi and Rengma Apungza; Lotha Murri corresponds to Ao Pongener and Sema Chishilimi; Lotha Ngulli corresponds to Ao Alangchar, Sema Wotsami and Rengma
Ketenini, and so on (1980, Rept.:92). Further, the Ao Jamir, Pongener, Longkumer, and Lemtur clans corresponds to Sangtam Jingru, Thongru, Anaru, and Langdithongru respectively (same sequence) and so on. It is thus felt that, though the Nagas are split into different tribes and dialects, they were one at one time a common group of people owing to their apparent characteristics of migrational history, physical similarities, modes of dressing, linguistic similarities (i.e. Tibeto-Burman) etc. which strengthens their sense of affinity.
The village gate of Sungratsu village.

A panoramic view of Sungratsu village.
Loj Drum in its shed at Sunjratu village.

The village museum at Sunjratu village.
The Village Council Hall of Sungratsu village.

A Village General Citizens Conference in session at Sungratsu village.
Young men and women celebrating the Ao Moatsa festival.

Pongen Penem Ipu (now Abunjuna compound), a place where the first room in titelum was located in Sanghai village.